

СРЯДА 16 ДЕКЕМВРИ 2009 Г.  
 MIÉRCOLES 16 DE DICIEMBRE DE 2009  
 STŘEDA, 16. PROSINCE 2009  
 ONSDAG DEN 16. DECEMBER 2009  
 MITTWOCH, 16. DEZEMBER 2009  
 KOLMAPÄEV, 16. DETSEMBER 2009  
 TETAPTH 16 ΔΕΚΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ 2009  
 WEDNESDAY, 16 DECEMBER 2009  
 MERCREDI 16 DÉCEMBRE 2009  
 MERCOLEDI' 16 DICEMBRE 2009  
 TREŠDIENA, 2009. GADA 16. DECEMBRIS  
 2009 M. GRUODŽIO 16 D., TREČIADIENIS  
 2009. DECEMBER 16., SZERDA  
 L-ERBGHA, 16 TA' DIĊEMBRU 2009  
 WOENSDAG 16 DECEMBER 2009  
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 QUARTA-FEIRA, 16 DE DEZEMBRO DE 2009  
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 SREDA, 16. DECEMBER 2009  
 KESKIVIikko 16. JOULUKUUTA 2009  
 ONSDAGEN DEN 16 DECEMBER 2009

3-002

PRZEWODNICZY: JERZY BUZEK  
*Przewodniczący*

3-003

## 1 - Opening of the sitting

3-004

*(Posiedzenie zostało otwarte o godz. 09.05)*

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3-005

**Göran Färm (S&D).** – Mr President, at the beginning of this week's part-session you answered a question from my Austrian colleague Jörg Leichtfried on the new Members joining this Parliament as a result of the Lisbon Treaty and when that could take place. You answered that this is now up to the Council. I agree as regards them joining this Parliament as full Members, but I am not sure that this is the case when it comes to their status as observers as an introduction to actually becoming full Members.

I interpret the decision we took recently on David Martin's report on our own internal rules so that we are actually free to let them start working as observers as soon as they are elected and their election confirmed by their Member State, and that we as a parliament can decide ourselves on the conditions for their position as observers.

Mr President, could you please discuss this with the rapporteur, Mr Martin, in order to come to a solution as soon as possible? It would be unreasonable if new Members who are already elected and whose election has been confirmed by the national authorities have to wait for months and months before they can actually start working. Many of them are prepared to start immediately.

3-006

**President.** – As I said before, I have asked about the decision of the European Council, and the Committee on Constitutional Affairs should also take into account and study the problem. There is no final decision yet about the number of new seats and from which country they should come. There is no final decision; I know it is the decision of the European Parliament, but it is not final, so it is not so easy to take observers without having the final decision about the number and from which country they should come. So we must wait. I am thinking about that and taking care about that very strongly.

3-007

**Rebecca Harms (Verts/ALE).** – Herr Präsident, meine Damen und Herren! Ich stimme damit überein, dass es schwierig ist, das zu klären. Ich halte das nicht für unmöglich, möchte aus Sicht meiner Fraktion zur Diskussion in Frankreich allerdings erklären, dass wir es für unerträglich hielten, wenn Beobachter, mit welchem Status auch immer, gleichzeitig auch Abgeordnete der nationalen Parlamente blieben. Wir sind der Auffassung, dass diejenigen, die als Beobachter hierher kommen, ihre nationalen Mandate dann aufgeben müssen.

3-008

**Jean-Pierre Audy (PPE).** – Monsieur le Président, conformément à l'article 110 du règlement intérieur, nous sommes rassemblés pour traiter du compte rendu de la Présidence suédoise – je salue son Premier ministre, qui a assuré une présidence courageuse, utile et efficace –, mais nous sommes également rassemblés pour examiner le compte rendu du Conseil européen des 10 et 11 décembre dernier.

À ce sujet, je voudrais attirer l'attention du président de la Commission qui est la gardienne des traités et de leur application, sur l'article 15, paragraphe 6, du traité sur l'Union européenne, qui prévoit que c'est le président du Conseil européen qui doit présenter un rapport à la suite de chacune des réunions du Conseil européen.

Il paraît établi que M. van Rompuy, le nouveau président du Conseil européen, ne sera pas là et je le regrette. En effet, il est élu depuis le 1er décembre 2009, il mène une activité diplomatique intense et je trouve que son premier acte politique aurait dû être de venir se présenter devant le Parlement européen. C'était donc à lui de venir présenter les conclusions du Conseil européen des 10 et 11 décembre 2009.

3-009

**Przewodniczący.** – Wyjaśniam, że zostało zawarte porozumienie pomiędzy przewodniczącym Rady Europejskiej panem Hermanem Van Rompuy'em i urzędującym przewodniczącym Rady Europejskiej panem premierem Reinfeldtem, że jeszcze ten ostatni miesiąc prezydencji będzie prowadzony według starych zasad. To jest porozumienie, które obowiązuje. Przewodniczący Rady Europejskiej pan Herman Van Rompuy obejmie urząd w dniu 1 stycznia 2010 r.

3-010

**Jean-Pierre Audy (PPE).** – Monsieur le Président, ce n'est pas aux chefs d'État ou de gouvernement de traiter de l'application des traités qui ont été ratifiés par les peuples.

3-011

**Przewodniczący.** – Wyjaśniam Panu bardzo szczegółowo: zapraszanie i współdziałanie z przewodniczącym Rady Europejskiej i z urzędującym premierem, który reprezentuje rotacyjną prezydencję należy do decyzji wszystkich członków Parlamentu. My także będziemy decydować, kto będzie zaproszony i w jakiej kolejności. Będziemy również uzgadniać międzyinstytucjonalnie – Parlament Europejski i Rada Europejska – w jaki sposób będziemy współpracować. Także myślę, że to są przedwczesne uwagi.

Muszą być zawarte międzyinstytucjonalne porozumienia. Komisja Europejska jest także w to włączona. Przedwcześnie jest dyskutować na ten temat. Jest bardzo ważne, żebyśmy w odpowiedni sposób zachowali równowagę pomiędzy urzędującą prezydencją i premierem rządu, a przewodniczącym Rady Europejskiej Hermanem Van Rompuyem. Nasze prezydencje się zmieniają, a przewodniczący pozostaje ten sam, ale my potrzebujemy także współpracy z premierami. Potrzebujemy współpracy z rządami, bo jako ciało ustawodawcze musimy mieć stały kontakt z rządem kraju, który sprawuje prezydencję.

Także to, w jaki sposób będziemy współpracować i kogo zapraszać, jest także naszą decyzją. Oczywiście w uzgodnieniu z Radą Europejską. Będziemy rozmawiać na ten temat. Chciałem powiedzieć Panu Koledze, że to jest grubo za wcześnie, żebyśmy na ten temat działali. Tymczasem premier Reinfeldt składa sprawozdanie z półrocznej działalności Rady Europejskiej. Pan Van Rompuy nie brał udziału w tych działaniach, bo był nominowany dopiero przed kilkoma tygodniami, także w ogóle nie mógł tej sprawy dzisiaj omawiać. Sprawa jest zupełnie oczywista, Panie Kolego.

3-012

## **2 - Postanowienia wykonawcze (art. 88 Regulamin): Patrz protokół**

3-013

### 3 - Bilans Prezydencji Szwedzkiej - Konkluzje Rady Europejskiej z 10 i 11 grudnia 2009 r. (debata)

3-014

**President.** – I would like to warmly welcome Prime Minister Reinfeldt, who has been with us for nearly half a year as President-in-Office. I would also like to welcome President Barroso.

The next item is the joint debate on:

- the Council statement on the results of the Swedish Presidency;
- the European Council report and Commission statement on the outcome of the European Council on 10 and 11 December 2009.

3-015

**Fredrik Reinfeldt, President-in-Office of the Council.** – Mr President, I am grateful for this opportunity to address the European Parliament once again and at such a crucial time.

As we speak, representatives from 193 countries are gathered in a conference centre in Copenhagen, talking, arguing, negotiating and trying to meet the expectations of millions of people around the world. In just two days the UN climate conference will be over. Soon we will be looking back at a meeting that was crucial, not only for the EU but for the world; a meeting that was decisive for those who cannot grow their crops because of lack of water, decisive for those who have lost their homes in tornadoes or floods, and decisive for those who are vainly building walls against a sea level that rises every year.

We know what is at risk, so why is it then so difficult to act? Is it because we fear any change of our way of life? Still, we know that if we keep on using the world's resources the way we do, our current way of life will no longer be an option and we will face even more drastic changes. We have much greater things than our everyday comfort to fear.

The fight against climate change has been at the top of the agenda throughout the Swedish Presidency, at all our European Council meetings and in all our summits with the Union's major partners. As you probably know, we adopted a comprehensive mandate at our October European Council to keep the EU's leading position in the climate negotiations. We agreed on a long-term goal for emissions reductions of 80%-95% by 2050 and we renewed our offer to reduce emissions – 30%, provided that others make comparable efforts. We agreed on emission reductions for international transport and, despite resistance from some corners, we put figures on the global financial need in developing countries to fight climate change. Last week – after weeks of bilateral consultations – we took yet another step: a collectively put-together financial package earmarked for the 'fast start' of climate action in developing countries, offering EUR 7.2 billion for the coming three years.

I know that this is not enough. Therefore I must say that, while I am satisfied that the European Council could agree to this step, the time is now ripe for other developed countries to join us.

So, what do we need to do in Copenhagen? We need binding commitments to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, not just from the developed countries, but also from developing countries, to ensure that global warming keeps below the 2°C target that science tells us is necessary.

I have sat down with the Indian and Chinese leadership. I know what they say about this. Why should they agree to develop clean and green, when we have polluted the world for decades? That is one way of looking at it, but the problem is this: the developed world cannot solve the problem alone. Emissions from the developing world are already starting to exceed those from the developed world. That is why we must work together to solve the problem. From our side, we can compensate for years of irresponsible behaviour. We can help finance climate action in the developing world. The European Union took its responsibility last week. It is not the form that matters in Copenhagen but the substance. We can be satisfied if we get a deal on emissions reductions and on financing, and a commitment to start immediate action and, more importantly, we can start fighting climate change.

Last year we were suddenly faced with the most serious financial crisis since the 1930s. The ground was literally shaking under our feet. Suddenly it became clear to us how interlinked the financial markets were and how interdependent we all were in finding a common response. In the course of only a few months, governments in the EU adopted extraordinary support measures. It was a fast and impressive response but it came with a price. Our aggregated deficit in public finances now amounts to almost 7% of GDP – over three times more than last year. Twenty Member States are experiencing excessive deficit procedures. So the follow-up to the economic and financial crisis has, quite naturally, been another main priority throughout this autumn.

Let me briefly touch on what we have done. At the end of October we agreed on a fiscal exit strategy, and at last week's European Council we agreed on principles for exiting from financial support schemes. In addition, we agreed on a fundamentally new structure for financial supervision in Europe. When financial flows are international, supervision can no longer be national. Now it is up to the European Parliament to agree to the final steps.

It was also clear to us that the 'bonus culture' could not continue in the way in which people had become used to. I am pleased that the EU managed to convince the G20 to agree on far-reaching changes to this policy. The new rules will reinforce the need for a link between result and reward.

The economic and financial crisis hit us hard but we have shown the ability to act and we have strengthened our resistance. Once we have secured our recovery, the EU will stand stronger, thanks to the measures we have adopted.

The Swedish Presidency took place during a period of institutional change. When we took over on 1 July, this Parliament was newly elected. We had not yet appointed a President of the European Commission. The outcome of the then pending Irish referendum was uncertain. It was not clear whether the Treaty of Lisbon would be ratified by all Member States. It was not even clear whether it could enter into force during the Swedish Presidency.

Then the drama unravelled. In close consultation with this Parliament, José Manuel Barroso was appointed President of the European Commission for a second term. The Presidency now had a stable counterpart in the Commission to work with. The outcome of the Irish referendum was a victory for Ireland. It was a victory for European cooperation. It brought us one step closer to the Treaty of Lisbon.

But then the unexpected happened. At a late stage, the Czech President came with new conditions before he would sign. We had to handle these requests in a way that did not trigger similar conditions from other Member States and we managed to do this at the European Council in October. A few days later the Czech President signed. Immediately after the signature I started to consult my colleagues again. We had to agree on high-ranking positions – on the President of the European Council, and to nominate the High Representative. I am not exaggerating when I say it was a relief when all preparations were finalised on 1 December. The Treaty of Lisbon could finally enter into force.

Now the European Union will be more efficient. It will have better tools to fight climate change and influence the global economic agenda. The new President of the European Council will ensure continuity. The High Representative will assure coordination in our external relations. We will have a more democratic Union with the greater involvement of the European Parliament and of our national parliaments. A new era for the European Union has begun.

When I stood here before you on 15 July, we were still in the throes of the financial and economic crisis. There was uncertainty on the transition of the new Treaty. We did not know whether we would manage to unite ourselves and encourage others on the not so long – but very winding – road to Copenhagen.

With the European Council meeting last week, the Swedish Presidency has delivered on all five of its priorities: a strong EU mandate for climate change; follow-up of the economic and financial crisis; the EU Baltic Sea Strategy; the Stockholm Programme for justice and home affairs; reinforcing the EU as a global actor, including enlargement, and a new external action service. As I said, with the Treaty of Lisbon in place, a new era has begun in the European Union.

I would like to end by thanking all of you. The Presidency needed the help of the European Parliament in tackling the challenges we were facing. Thank you for giving us that help.

I would also like to thank the Commission, and especially José Manuel Barroso. I have probably spent more than a healthy amount of time with José Manuel this autumn. He has been a tremendous support to me and to the Swedish Presidency.

Finally, I would like to thank the Member States for their will to put aside differences and start compromising – with the best for Europe at heart – to find solutions that are not only of benefit to them, but to Europe as a whole. This unity is our strength.

3-016

**José Manuel Barroso, President of the Commission.** – Mr President, Prime Minister, during the past six months we have seen a new Treaty come into force, ending almost a decade of debate and opening the door to new opportunities for this new, enlarged European Union we have today. We have seen the first evidence that decisive action taken to stabilise the European economy in the face of crisis is bearing some results. And as we enter the end game in Copenhagen, we can be clear that the European Union has been working hard to maintain the momentum it has championed towards decisive global action on climate change.

I would therefore like to pay a very sincere tribute to Prime Minister Fredrik Reinfeldt and all the team of the Swedish Presidency for a highly successful presidency. It is particularly important that the Swedish Presidency has been so effective in ensuring the completion of the ratification process of the Lisbon Treaty, managing the transition to this new

Treaty while achieving all the other objectives. We have seen the appointment of the first President of the European Council and of the first High Representative, the Vice-President of the Commission, by the European Council. And let us not forget – because it was a very important moment for this Parliament, following the unanimous designation by the European Council – we have seen the election by this Parliament of the President of the next Commission with a qualified majority.

Last week's European Council was the first time that it has met as a fully fledged institution. It was also the first time that the new High Representative and Vice-President of the Commission, Catherine Ashton, has attended. The new President of the European Council will be fully functioning by 1 January 2010 and has presented his ideas on how to organise the European Council in the future. I very much welcome all the proposals to give the European Council more consistency and more continuity in its work. I also welcome the ideas of having more political, frank discussions and short and punchy conclusions.

There were many other issues that were the object of the European Council. I would like to highlight just some, not forgetting one very important one, the definition of the Baltic Strategy, which can be a model for other regional cooperation inside the European Union and with some of our partners.

On the economy, we are keeping the right balance between maintaining the stimulus and preparing our exit strategies. I presented the scene for our European 2020 Strategy. I hope the European Council will focus on the discussion of this very important agenda for the future of Europe, namely through discussions in the next meetings, in the formal European Council in February and in the spring European Council. I would like to reiterate here my offer to come to this plenary so that Parliament can organise a specific debate on this very important issue. I think it is extremely important that there is full ownership by the European Parliament and, on the side of the Council, by the European Council, of this European Union 2020 Strategy, which is where our future will be played.

On the Stockholm Programme, the Commission's proposals have now been translated into an agreed approach for the next five years. I know that many in this Parliament share our determination to use this springboard to seize the opportunities of the Lisbon Treaty for a step change in European action on freedom, security and justice. That was one of the major reasons why I decided to reorganise the portfolios of the next College in this area. It is going to be one of the most important areas of the European Union's work in the next five years.

The European Council had a particular significance for climate change. In the past few years the European Union has developed a consistent and ambitious approach on climate change. I am very proud that the Commission has been the initiator of this very ambitious agenda. The impact of reduced emissions may only be felt in several decades' time, but we are already taking concrete steps, giving our targets the force of law.

Let us be frank about this. Some of our partners are announcing their intentions by press statements; but we have announced our intentions by law, law that is already agreed by all the Member States. The developed world must act, but it must also help the developing world to decouple growth and emissions. I think that it is right that the European Council last week centred on how we can put this global leadership at the service of an ambitious deal at Copenhagen: by promising help to developing countries not in some distant future but already next year; by making clear that the deal must be comprehensive and must have the verification mechanisms to make it stick; by maintaining our readiness to up our targets, but only if others put ambitious commitments on the table as well.

I think the European Council achieved very important results, namely on two matters. First, on finance, the Council was able successfully to put together a fast-start finance package, bigger than expected and, critically, with every Member State involved. Of course, some have said that this is not enough coming from the European Union, but EUR 7.2 billion, more than USD 10 billion in the current circumstances, and for three years, is a very serious commitment. I hope the money is now guaranteed, not just an aspiration. It is now for others to match it. The European Council also reiterated its commitment for medium-term financing, to ensure it gives the fair contribution that is necessary for 2020.

Second, action on climate has sometimes been a divisive point for the European Council. However, the atmosphere this time was different. There was a strong shared sense that everyone has an interest in the European Union pulling its weight. We should now be getting the benefits from the investment we have made as the pioneers in this agenda.

What I did find generally encouraging was recognition that the European Union has to stand together. Let us hope that this determination holds firm under the pressures of the next two or three days.

What can we expect over the next few days? Prime Minister Rasmussen of Denmark will probably put forward a text today – but with a lot of the key numbers still left blank. The leaders' task will be to move this forward to a deal. This is why I am going to Copenhagen immediately after this debate. Together with Prime Minister Reinholdt, we will do our best for the European Union to lead this debate.

We know that the atmosphere at the moment is not easy at Copenhagen. We also know that this is part of the usual rhythm of a top negotiation. However, the arrival of so many heads of state and government will be a powerful driver to reach a deal. If that deal includes real commitment to cut emissions from both developed and developing countries; a clear commitment on financing to make this happen; and an agreement on how this is to be applied and verified – if this agreement includes the different elements of the Bali road map and can be seen to be in the right ball park to respect the 2°C limit, then I think we will say rightly that it will be a major achievement. We are not there yet, but I believe it is possible to reach that agreement.

The next few days will show whether the ambitions we have discussed in this Parliament so often are going to be realised, but I sense already that there is a compelling need for change and that we need to make this success in Copenhagen. There is a huge amount at stake. There is of course a balance to be found, but there is also a sense that today's generation knows that there is a challenge which cannot be avoided. I believe last week's European Council left the European Union ready to meet the challenge. I hope that with European leadership we will achieve success at Copenhagen.

3-017

**Joseph Daul**, *au nom du groupe PPE*. – Monsieur le Président, Messieurs les présidents, chers collègues, le groupe PPE se reconnaît dans la façon dont, cher Fredrik Reinfeldt, vous avez géré la présidence tournante, conformément au traité de Nice. Il se reconnaît aussi dans les dernières propositions du Conseil européen, que ce soit sur le climat, la crise, ou encore la mise en place d'une Europe de la sécurité, d'une Europe qui protège.

Oui, mon groupe est d'accord avec la gestion honnête et responsable des affaires européennes, qui a été la marque de fabrique de la Présidence suédoise. Gestion honnête parce qu'au moment où tant de nos amis, voisins ou parents sont frappés par la crise parce qu'ils ont perdu leur emploi ou en sont encore menacés, l'Europe ne leur a pas fait de fausses promesses. Elle bâtit l'avenir, notre avenir, en faisant en sorte que les entreprises retrouvent les moyens de créer, d'innover et donc de créer des emplois.

Gestion responsable, parce que sur le climat, sur la sécurité, mais aussi sur l'emploi et l'économie, l'Europe met en œuvre le modèle de l'économie sociale de marché. Elle organise le calendrier, les modalités d'une sortie de crise concertée, progressive, mais difficile. Elle moralise les pratiques désastreuses des décennies passées sur les marchés financiers. Elle soutient les PME, elle renforce la cohésion sociale, sans laquelle rien de durable ne peut se faire.

Mais prenons garde de ne pas répéter les erreurs de la stratégie de Lisbonne qui, en fixant des objectifs irréalistes, a déçu plus qu'autre chose. Attention à ce que la nouvelle stratégie économique, baptisée "Union européenne 2020", ne soit pas une nouvelle usine à gaz. Chers Présidents Reinfeldt et Barroso, sur le climat, là encore, l'Europe fait preuve d'esprit de responsabilité. En décidant de débloquer une aide de 2,4 milliards d'euros par an sur trois ans, l'Europe montre l'exemple en comptant pour un tiers des aides mondiales aux pays les plus pauvres.

J'attends maintenant que nos partenaires en fassent autant. J'attends de Copenhague des engagements équilibrés, des engagements sur le court et moyen terme, et des engagements vérifiables, assortis de sanctions financières en cas de non-respect. En d'autres termes, j'attends de Copenhague qu'il ne soit pas un marché de dupes pour l'Europe.

Pour terminer, le groupe PPE approuve les orientations du Conseil sur la sécurité avec le nouveau programme de Stockholm. Nos concitoyens sont demandeurs de plus de sécurité, mais aussi de respect des libertés publiques. Ils veulent être protégés dans leur vie quotidienne, ils veulent savoir ce qu'ils mangent et ce qu'ils consomment, mais ils entendent, dans le même temps – et c'est normal –, vivre dans une société plus juste et plus respectueuse de l'autre. C'est précisément le type d'Europe que nous, PPE, défendons et promouvons.

Chers collègues, après le temps des crises aiguës, après le temps des péripéties institutionnelles est venu celui des grandes décisions, et notre marge d'erreur est étroite. Dans quelques jours, on verra si le courage de l'Europe sur le climat a payé. On verra si les États-Unis, la Chine et les autres ne font que jouer la montre ou s'ils veulent se qualifier pour la finale des acteurs mondiaux responsables.

Je remercie la Présidence suédoise pour ses efforts et surtout, maintenant que c'est Noël, M. Fredrik Reinfeldt. Vous avez bien travaillé pendant six mois, ce n'était pas facile, nous le savons tous. Je souhaite aussi le meilleur à Herman Van Rompuy, qui prendra le relais pour deux ans et demi et je demande au Conseil de ne pas oublier que, désormais, Conseil et Parlement jouent dans la même ligue avec un petit plus de transparence.

3-018

**Martin Schulz**, *im Namen der S&D-Fraktion*. – Herr Präsident, meine sehr geehrten Damen und Herren! Der Begriff des Übergangs ist heute mehrfach bemüht worden, und ich glaube, dass das genau der zutreffende Begriff für die schwedische Präsidentschaft ist. Sie war eine Präsidentschaft des Übergangs von einem Vertrag, dem Vertrag von Nizza, der sich als völlig unpraktikabel erwiesen hat, hin zum Lissabonner Vertrag, der überfrachtet ist mit Erwartungen, von denen ich übrigens glaube, dass er sie nicht alle wird erfüllen können. Denn auch der Lissabonner Vertrag kann nicht das Ende der institutionellen Entwicklung Europas sein. Insofern müssen wir vorsichtig sein und dürfen nicht alle Wünsche für alle

Lösungen aller Probleme dieser Welt auf den Lissabonner Vertrag richten. Denn wie schwer mit dem Lissabonner Vertrag umzugehen ist, haben wir eben bei den Wortmeldungen zur Geschäftsordnung gesehen.

Ich möchte gleich mit der institutionellen Problematik beginnen, die dieser Vertrag produziert hat. Wir haben heute noch den schwedischen Premierminister hier. Wer vertritt denn die Ratpräsidentschaft beim nächsten Mal? Herr Van Rompuy, der rotierende Ratspräsident, dann der Kommissionspräsident, dann Frau Ashton – wenn die alle reden, haben wir wenigstens zum ersten Mal bei den ersten vier Wortmeldungen nicht diesen permanenten PPE-Kongress, sondern dann ist Lady Ashton dabei und damit eine anständige Sozialistin, die den Laden aufmischt. Das ist schon mal ein Vorteil.

*(Zwischenruf)*

Ich weiß ja nicht, ob Herr Van Rompuy kommen wird oder Herr Zapatero. Aber ich danke Ihnen, Herr Langen! Wenn Sie schon wissen, dass Herr Zapatero kommt, haben Sie auch einmal einen guten Beitrag geleistet. Vielen Dank!

Die schwedische Präsidentschaft war eine Präsidentschaft des Übergangs, aber auch eine Präsidentschaft, die wieder einmal erleben musste, dass die Damen und Herren Merkel und Sarkozy ihre Karten bis zuletzt an der Brust hielten, den amtierenden Ratspräsidenten laufen – die Öffentlichkeit sagte: „Ja, der weiß ja gar nichts, der bekommt ja gar nicht die Enden zusammen“ – und den Preis für ihr taktisches Spiel bezahlen ließen. Das war das Schicksal von Fredrik Reinfeldt in den letzten Monaten. Das ist jetzt Gott sei Dank beendet. Das ist der Fortschritt des Lissabonner Vertrages: ein bisschen mehr Transparenz im institutionellen Gefüge. Und sicher eines mehr: eine gewachsene Macht des Europäischen Parlaments. Eine gewachsene Macht des Europäischen Parlaments bedeutet aber auch für die anderen Institutionen, dass sie damit werden umgehen müssen. Das bedeutet für den Ratsvorsitzenden, dass er die Entscheidungen, die er im Rat vorbereiten will, zumindest die gesetzgeberischen Entscheidungen, mit dem Parlament abstimmen muss. Er ist klug beraten, den Präsidenten des Europäischen Parlaments nicht als Zaungast bei den Ratssitzungen zu betrachten, sondern als den Vertreter einer mächtiger gewordenen Institution wahrzunehmen. Das ist z. B. etwas, was ich von Herrn Van Rompuy erwarte.

Der Rat ist gut beraten, aber auch die Kommission, wenn sie versuchen, sich auf der Grundlage dieses neuen Vertrags eine Mehrheit im Parlament zu suchen, die den sozialen, ökologischen und finanzpolitischen Herausforderungen, die sie selbst in ihren Programmen formulieren, auch gerecht wird. Denn für die Gesetzgebung brauchen sie am Ende, wenn sie ihre Initiativen durchbekommen wollen, eine qualifizierte Mehrheit in diesem Parlament. Deshalb ist die Kommission gut beraten, in der gesamten Breite des Parlaments eine Mehrheit zu suchen, was vielleicht nicht damit einhergeht, dass Mitglieder der Kommission stellvertretende Vorsitzende europäischer Parteien sind und damit die Einseitigkeit von bestimmten politischen Tendenzen dokumentieren. Darüber sollten Sie, Herr Kommissionspräsident, ernsthaft nachdenken.

Die schwedische Präsidentschaft hat sich viel Mühe gegeben. Das will ich hier gerne konstatieren. Sie hat aber schlussendlich – das ist nicht Ihre Schuld, Herr Reinfeldt, sondern Schuld der Struktur – auf die großen Entscheidungen, auch die, die jetzt in Kopenhagen anstehen, keinen Einfluss gehabt, weil eine einzelne rotierende Präsidentschaft gar nicht so sehr beeinflussen, sondern nur koordinieren kann. Und zwischen Koordinieren und Beeinflussen gibt es einen Unterschied. Einfluss nehmen auf die Kontrolle der Finanzmärkte, Einfluss nehmen auf den Klimawandel, Einfluss nehmen auf die wirtschaftspolitischen Revitalisierungsanstrengungen – das kann Europa nur als Ganzes und im Zusammenspiel seiner Institutionen. Deshalb glaube ich, dass der Vertrag von Lissabon ein Fortschritt ist. Dass die schwedische Präsidentschaft ihn am Ende durchgebracht hat, das scheint mir der große Erfolg dieser Übergangspräsidentschaft gewesen zu sein.

3-019

**Guy Verhofstadt**, *au nom du groupe ALDE*. – Monsieur le Président, tout d'abord, je ne parlerai pas ce matin de questions institutionnelles comme cela a été déjà fait. Nous aurons certainement le temps de le faire puisque le Conseil va apparemment demander de mettre en œuvre un protocole qui nécessite une conférence intergouvernementale. Il faut examiner la question de savoir si l'on veut, oui ou non, une conférence. Je pense qu'au sein du Parlement européen, nous aurons tout de même quelques idées à ce sujet pour faire avancer la démocratie européenne et compenser le manque de transparence et de démocratie dans les cooptations qui sont proposées.

Ceci dit, je tiens surtout à remercier la Présidence, le premier ministre M. Reinfeldt, ainsi que Cecilia Malmström pour les excellentes relations entretenues avec le Parlement et la bonne gestion de dossiers pourtant très difficiles – je parle naturellement de la ratification du traité de Lisbonne. On a même dû contourner "l'obstacle Klaus"; on parlera dorénavant de l'obstacle Klaus et de l'excellence avec laquelle la Présidence suédoise a résolu ce problème.

Deuxièmement, je crois que l'autre élément le plus important, c'est le programme de Stockholm, qui a été adopté et qu'il faut maintenant mettre en œuvre. Mais, naturellement, Monsieur Reinfeldt, pour vous, la Présidence ne se termine pas aujourd'hui, puisqu'il y a encore le sommet de Copenhague, où il vous faut obtenir des avancées.

Je voudrais délivrer aujourd'hui, devant cette Assemblée, un message optimiste et volontariste, qui va un peu à l'encontre de ce qu'on lit aujourd'hui dans presse. Dans la presse, c'est le pessimisme qui règne actuellement: va-t-on parvenir, oui ou non, à un accord? Je pense que c'est possible parce qu'il y a des partenaires sérieux qu'il faut essayer de trouver et de motiver.

Le fait que le président Obama et le premier ministre chinois arrivent demain et après-demain témoigne de leur volonté de parvenir à un accord. Je pense qu'il faut suivre une stratégie. Mais quelle stratégie, chers collègues? Je pense qu'il faut suivre une stratégie où l'on essaie de mettre en place une coopération triangulaire entre les États-Unis, la Chine et l'Europe.

Si ces trois-là trouvent, dans les deux jours qui viennent, un début d'accord, alors nous disposerons d'une base sérieuse pour convaincre les autres – l'Inde, le Brésil, les autres pays – à se joindre à cet effort. Je plaide donc pour une approche volontariste. Il faut avant tout rechercher cette alliance triangulaire, nécessaire pour parvenir à un accord, et proposer, dès le début, une réduction des émissions de 30 %. Il faut faire preuve de volontarisme dans cette proposition.

À mon sens, nous devons nous laisser guider, dans cette phase finale des négociations, à Copenhague, par Hegel qui disait que ce n'est pas l'impossible qui désespère, mais ce qui était possible et n'a pas été atteint. Je crois que la ténacité de la Présidence suédoise nous permettra de remporter un succès pendant le sommet de Copenhague.

3-020

**Rebecca Harms, im Namen der Verts/ALE-Fraktion.** – Sehr geehrte Herren Präsidenten! Nachdem ich bereits vier Tage in Kopenhagen verbracht habe, fällt es mir ausgesprochen schwer, das Wort „Führungsrolle der Europäischen Union“ überhaupt noch anzuhören. Führung – und das habe ich schon im Kindergarten gelernt – erlangt man in erster Linie durch gutes Beispiel. Ich möchte jetzt die Frage stellen, ob Sie, Herr Reinfeldt, Herr Barroso, eigentlich glauben, dass man mit einer Strategie, die auf Lug, Selbstbetrug und großem internationalen Betrug aufbaut, in einem solchen internationalen Prozess in Kopenhagen Führung erreichen kann.

Sie sollten wissen, Herr Reinfeldt – und Herr Barroso weiß das mit Sicherheit, weil er lange genug dabei ist –, das Zwei-Grad-Ziel ist eine *mission impossible*, wenn die Europäer bei ihren bisherigen Angeboten bleiben. Das Reduktionsziel ist nicht ausreichend. Gleichzeitig haben die Europäer alle Hintertüren, um Reduktionspolitik zu Hause zu vermeiden, sperrangelweit geöffnet. Das *offsetting* kennt keine Grenzen mehr, *hot air* ist nicht nur für Polen, sondern auch für Schweden ein Thema geworden. Die Anrechnung der Wälder, die gerade Sie mit Ihrer Regierung propagiert haben, Herr Reinfeldt, ist ein weiterer Beitrag der Europäer, sich aus der aktiven Reduktionspolitik herauszuschleichen.

Es ist in Kopenhagen von vielen Experten bilanziert worden, dass das, was Sie bisher selbst im Optimum anbieten, dazu führen wird, dass bis 2020 die Emissionen in Europa nicht sinken, sondern ansteigen werden. Also bitte, Herr Reinfeldt, machen Sie klar, wie es gehen soll, das Zwei-Grad-Ziel zu erreichen, wenn Sie bei dem bleiben, was bisher angeboten wird.

Verschärfend kommt hinzu, dass eine deutsche Zeitung, die „Financial Times“, heute veröffentlicht hat, dass Sie das 30 %-Ziel für 2020 aufgeben und erst für 2025 anbieten wollen. Ich bitte Sie hier ganz eindringlich: Wenn Sie den Prozess tatsächlich noch fördern wollen, dann nehmen Sie das, was heute in der Zeitung steht, als Linie der Europäer zurück.

Ein Letztes zum Schluss: Es werden Tausende von offiziellen Beobachtern in den nächsten Tagen – obwohl sie eine Akkreditierung für die Konferenz haben – vor den Türen des „Bella-Centers“ stehen. Das sind Leute, die seit Jahren, zum Teil seit Jahrzehnten, wirklich hart für die Klimapolitik arbeiten. Stellen Sie sicher, dass diese Leute nicht, weil sie plötzlich nicht mehr teilnehmen können, in Käfigen landen oder stundenlang mit gefesselten Händen auf dem gefrorenen Boden dort sitzen müssen!

Es gibt in Kopenhagen eine Menge Führungsrolle zu verlieren. Aber die Art und Weise, wie sich der europäische Rechtsstaat dort präsentiert – ich habe nichts für Randalierer übrig, überhaupt nichts – und wie unverhältnismäßig mit friedlichen Demonstranten umgegangen wird – Cecilia Malmström ist ja Fachfrau für Recht –, auch dazu sollten Sie in Kopenhagen etwas erklären.

3-021

**Michał Tomasz Kamiński, w imieniu grupy ECR.** – Panie Przewodniczący! Szkoda, że o przestrzeganiu czasu mówi Pan dopiero przed moim wystąpieniem. Będę się starał przestrzegać czasu.

Panie Premierze! Oczywiście zasługuje Pan na podziękowanie. Jak już wspomniano, przewodnictwo szwedzkie przypadło na trudny, przejściowy okres turbulencji związanych z przyjmowaniem traktatu lizbońskiego. Ten czas jest za nami, ale także przypadło ono na czas kryzysu ekonomicznego. Chciałbym zacząć moje przemówienie, które nie będzie tylko słodkie, od podziękowań za to, że szwedzka prezydencja uniknęła łatwej pokusy populizmu w tych trudnych czasach kryzysu.



Panie Premierze! Udowodnił Pan, że na trudne pytania nie ma łatwych odpowiedzi. Szwedzka prezydencja pokazała, że w czasach kryzysu Unia Europejska potrafi szukać dobrych i niepopulistycznych rozwiązań, które mogą pomóc nie tylko Europie, ale całemu światu wyjść z tej trudnej sytuacji. Chciałem Panu bardzo serdecznie podziękować za tę trudną pracę, za Pana szacunek dla krajów członkowskich, a także za okazany szacunek dla Parlamentu Europejskiego. To był trudny czas i myślę, że Pan naprawdę zdał egzamin w tym zakresie. Może Pan z pełną satysfakcją kończyć za kilkanaście dni swoją misję.

Myślę, że nie bez kozery nie wspomniął Pan w swoim przemówieniu o polityce zagranicznej. Niestety będę tutaj zmuszony powiedzieć kilka gorzkich słów. Uważam, że w zakresie polityki zagranicznej, zwłaszcza w dwóch obszarach, szwedzka prezydencja i te ostatnie pół roku nie może być zaliczane do udanych.

Po pierwsze, jak sądzę zupełnie niepotrzebny kryzys związany z tym nieszczęsnym artykułem o izraelskich żołnierzach w szwedzkiej gazecie i całe niepotrzebne zaognienie stosunków pomiędzy szwedzką prezydencją a Izraelem rzutowało na to ostatnie pół roku. Chcę powiedzieć, że źle się stało, że Państwo jednoznacznie nie potępili tego artykułu w szwedzkiej gazecie. Ja i cała moja grupa uważamy, że izraelscy żołnierze bronią nie tylko Izraela, ale całej naszej cywilizacji. Myślę, że zabrakło w tym ostatnim pół roku jednoznacznego poparcia dla naszego głównego sojusznika na Bliskim Wschodzie, czyli właśnie Izraela. Dowodem na to są ostatnie konkluzje Rady Europejskiej w sprawie Bliskiego Wschodu, które chociaż moim zdaniem są i tak lepsze niż to, co było proponowane, nie stawiają nas w roli przywódczej na Bliskim Wschodzie. Unia Europejska powinna przewodzić procesowi pokojowemu i być główną siłą zmierzającą do pokoju na Bliskim Wschodzie. Jeżeli chcemy taką rolę odgrywać, musimy być ponad podziałami. Nie możemy przyjmować jednostronnych propalestyńskich pozycji. Ostatnie pół roku w polityce zagranicznej niestety tego nie zastopowało.

Mówiliśmy o tym wczoraj przy okazji Gruzji. Uważam, że rosnący rosyjski imperializm jest jednym z poważniejszych problemów Unii Europejskiej. Jest on groźny nie tylko dla sąsiadów Rosji, ale dla całej Unii Europejskiej. Tym niemniej jednak, Panie Premierze, dziękuję za Pana przywództwo, za przewodnictwo Szwecji w Unii Europejskiej. Rolą Parlamentu jest zwracać uwagę na to, co nie zawsze naszym zdaniem jest najlepsze. Uważam, że mimo tych negatywnych uwag, które zgłosiłem, bilans szwedzkiej prezydencji jest pozytywny.

*(Mówca zgadza się odpowiedzieć na pytanie zadane zgodnie z procedurą niebieskiej kartki (art. 149 ust. 8 Regulaminu).)*

3-022

**Zoltán Balczó (NI).** – Kamiński úrtól azt kérdezem, az emberi civilizációrért való küzdelemnek tekinti-e azt, ami Gázában történt az izraeli katonák részéről. Ön az, aki egyoldalúan fogalmaz, mert aki itt békét akar, annak elsődlegesen azt kellene ENSZ-határozatokkal összhangban képviselni, hogy a palesztinoknak joguk van önálló állami létre. Pont Ön az, aki kiegyensúlyozatlanul kér számon Svédországon olyan álláspontot, amit képviselt.

3-023

**Michał Tomasz Kamiński, w imieniu grupy ECR.** – Uważam, że Izrael jest jedyną demokracją na Bliskim Wschodzie. Państwo Izrael jest latarnią dla krajów Bliskiego Wschodu w dziedzinie demokracji. Wojna jest oczywiście rzeczą trudną, która zawsze przynosi przykre konsekwencje. Dlatego powinniśmy popierać pokój. Moim zdaniem naszą rolą jest wspieranie procesu pokojowego na Bliskim Wschodzie i stanowcze oponowanie przeciw terroryzmowi.

3-024

**Lothar Bisky, im Namen der GUE/NGL-Fraktion.** – Herr Präsident! Zur schwedischen Ratspräsidentschaft wird sich meine Kollegin Eva-Britt Svensson noch äußern. Ich möchte aus den Schlussfolgerungen des ersten Gipfeltreffens nach Inkrafttreten des Vertrags von Lissabon zwei Punkte hervorheben. Zum einen bedauere ich es, dass der Europäische Rat keine klare Botschaft hinsichtlich der Zukunftsstrategie der EU vermittelt hat. Im Gegenteil! Er fügt sich der alten Kommission, die an den Grundprinzipien der gescheiterten Lissabon-Strategie festhalten will.

Auch wenn erkannt wurde, dass ein neuer Politikansatz benötigt wird: Wo aber steht der? Ich habe ihn nicht gefunden. Mit der neuen Kommission, dem neuen Parlament und dem Ratspräsidenten gäbe es doch nun die Chance, einen wirklich neuen Diskussionsprozess zu beginnen. Ja, auch mit dem neuen Vertrag und mit der noch umzusetzenden Möglichkeit der Bürgerinitiative.

Unser Ausgangspunkt ist klar: Vorrang vor allem anderen, vor allem vor Profitinteressen weniger, müssen die sozialen und ökologischen Belange der Menschen erhalten. Das muss zum neuen Grundprinzip von Strategien und Gesetzgebung der Europäischen Union werden. Nur so werden die Bürgerinnen und Bürger die EU dauerhaft als Fortschritt wahrnehmen.

Zweiter Punkt: Als Linke begrüßen wird, dass der Rat endlich die Forderung nach einer Kapitaltransfersteuer aufgreift. Uns freut, dass Kommissar Barroso in der gestrigen Debatte versprochen hat, dass die neue Kommission unter seiner Führung zeitnah entsprechende Vorschläge auf den Tisch legen soll. Wir werden da immer wieder nachhaken, und wir bleiben auch dabei, die Europäische Union kann und muss im Zweifelsfall den ersten Schritt machen. Warten, bis uns irgendjemand anderer dies auf globaler Ebene abnimmt, das kann nicht weiter hingenommen werden.

3-025

**Mario Borghezio, a nome del gruppo EFD.** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, sulla crisi finanziaria non si può certo sostenere che la Presidenza svedese abbia assunto una linea, come sarebbe stato logico, chiara e incisiva.

Perché non avete avuto il coraggio di chiamare con il loro nome e cognome i responsabili della crisi finanziaria, indicando incisivamente le misure per tagliare le ali alla speculazione e anche per dire chiaramente ai cittadini europei che le nostre banche, le nostre istituzioni finanziarie hanno ancora molti di questi prodotti finanziari oggetto della speculazione, che inquinano il nostro mercato?

Perché non avete dato un segnale chiaro di sostegno all'economia reale, quella che soprattutto è rappresentata dall'arcipelago delle piccole e medie imprese, dal mondo della produzione, dal mondo sano della nostra economia europea al quale, ripeto, è necessario e sarà sempre necessario dare segnali di incoraggiamento e di sostegno vero?

La sfida forse più importante che la Presidenza svedese si è trovata ad affrontare era in tema di libertà, sicurezza e giustizia, in relazione anche all'attuazione del programma di Stoccolma. Qual è il bilancio che si può trarre su questo? Io credo che sul tema dell'immigrazione clandestina questa Presidenza abbia agito poco e in maniera molto scarsamente efficace. Non è stata attiva nel contrasto all'immigrazione clandestina neanche nei progetti di integrazione e persino sul problema dei rifugiati.

L'Europa è persa avere una voce debole, non solo in generale sulla politica estera – e sono perfettamente d'accordo con chi lo ha denunciato – ma anche su questo tema specifico. È apparsa, su un tema centrale come questo, poco autorevole, da qualunque punto lo si voglia esaminare, sia dal punto di vista di chi, come me, è molto preoccupato per l'immigrazione clandestina, sia pure dalla parte di chi è più preoccupato della realizzazione di politiche di integrazione.

Abbiamo viva speranza che la nuova Presidenza spagnola metta positivamente in atto quanto è già stato anticipato da alcune autorevoli dichiarazioni, secondo cui l'Europa non deve pensare che l'immigrazione sia unicamente un problema dei paesi che si affacciano sul Mediterraneo.

È un problema che evidentemente riguarda tutta l'Europa, ma c'è un punto su cui, fra l'altro, vi era stata da parte del governo del mio paese un'istanza chiara che è stata disattesa: quella dell'adozione, a livello europeo, di una seria strategia di aggressione ai patrimoni della criminalità organizzata, su cui in Italia si sono ottenuti risultati di portata eccezionale. Questi patrimoni sono in tutta Europa: la mafia, le mafie organizzate hanno invaso tutta Europa, si sono infiltrate nell'economia reale e soprattutto nell'economia finanziaria.

Noi siamo ancora in attesa che si dia un chiaro segnale verso l'attuazione di un regime giuridico europeo contro una criminalità mafiosa fortemente potente in parecchi paesi – se non in tutti i paesi dell'Unione europea – che ha approfittato, agendo troppo liberamente, delle nostre libertà, muovendosi in agio completo fra piazze finanziarie, paradisi fiscali, mercati mobiliari e immobiliari. Proprio su questo punto sarebbe stata necessaria una parola molto più chiara, un'attività molto più incisiva da parte della Presidenza svedese. Noi lo denunciamo apertamente.

E poi, le dichiarazioni di certi esponenti di questa Presidenza su un'altra questione importante e simbolica, quella del referendum svizzero sui minareti. Un "no" alla costruzione dei minareti definita dal ministero degli Esteri svedese "espressione di un pregiudizio". Si è andati anche oltre, affermando che fa pensare la stessa decisione di Berna di sottoporre a voto una questione come questa. Allora qui c'è una questione che esula dal merito del referendum, è la questione dell'uso del referendum.

Come si fa, da parte dei soloni dell'Unione europea, a rimproverare un piccolo paese democratico da sempre, dal Medioevo? Dobbiamo essere noi, noi asserviti a una burocrazia non eletta da nessuno a insegnare agli svizzeri la democrazia? Noi a negare loro il diritto di sottoporre una questione importante, sulla quale si possono avere le opinioni che si vogliono avere, al referendum?

Be', dovrebbe imparare invece l'Unione europea dalla democratica Svizzera come si fa ad affrontare i problemi più delicati, dando la parola al popolo, al popolo, al popolo, non alle burocrazie, alle lobby e alle banche di questo superpotere europeo, che decide sempre sulla testa dei cittadini!

3-026

**Barry Madlener (NI).** – Herr talman! Jag är glad att det svenska slappa och fega ordförandeskapet är slut.

3-027

Dit slappe Zweedse voorzitterschap is gelukkig afgelopen, want wat er uit Zweden is gekomen, is niet veel goeds gebleken. Turkije wordt niet hard aangepakt en blijft Cyprus illegaal bezet houden. Israël wordt door Zweden in de steek gelaten. Het Zweedse voorstel om Jeruzalem te splitsen, toont de naïeve houding van Zweden ten opzichte van de verwerpelijke barbaarse ideologie die de islam werkelijk is. Zweden had zich beter sterk kunnen maken om Europese referenda te houden in alle landen zoals in Zwitserland over het minaretten-verbod. Dat is wat de Europese burgers willen.

Het verhuiscircus tussen Brussel en Straatsburg is niet eens geagendeerd, mijnheer Reinfeldt. Wij hebben u dat wel gevraagd, maar kennelijk durfde u dat niet aan. Zeker bang voor Frankrijk. Dan bent u geld aan het strooien in Kopenhagen voor dat klimaatbeleid, terwijl wetenschappelijk niet vaststaat dat dat klimaat verandert.

Voorzitter, Nederland betaalt veel geld. Nederland betaalt netto per inwoner nog steeds twee tot drie keer zo veel als andere rijke landen. Deze misstand moet zo snel mogelijk stoppen. Wij hopen dat het volgende voorzitterschap meer lef zal tonen.

3-028

**Anna Maria Corazza Bildt (PPE).** – Mr President, I have noticed that you have given almost one minute more speaking time to some of our colleagues. I would like to remind you that we from small countries, as newly elected Members, have only one strict minute for ‘catch the eye’, and this time has been taken away from our opportunity to express our views. Please respect us as well.

3-029

**Fredrik Reinfeldt, President-in-Office of the Council.** – Mr President, I have two brief remarks to make. Firstly I would like to thank Members for their kind words – also other words, but mainly kind words and kind comments. We now have a new European Union based on the Lisbon Treaty, and I could say, being involved in the rotating presidency, that, to make this Europe work for the future, it will be a combination of taking responsibility on the part of Member States, the Commission and this Parliament. It will be very difficult, without full responsibility taken by all these parties, to get this work on track.

Just a few comments on trying to coordinate 27 Member States. That takes time, but, without doing that, we get a situation where this European Union is managed by just a few or by someone else. We have taken that time. I know how much time you need to make this coordination, and I think that will be obvious also for Herman Van Rompuy and also the still ongoing rotating presidency.

My second comment concerns Copenhagen. I frequently hear this: Europe is not leading, and in my country the opposition says that Sweden is not leading: it is the will to bash on ourselves. Then show me who the leader is. I would like to know that, because it would be perfect to see that leader and to follow their initiatives. I have not seen that yet. We are committing ourselves to reductions, legally based, earlier on the table, with concrete financing that I have not seen from other parts of the developing world.

Also, when it comes to Copenhagen, I think it is very important to remember that we need to keep the 2°C target. I am not sure that we will be able to deliver that. I know that Europe has done its part and is ready to move to 30%, but we cannot solve the problem alone. We only stand for 13% of global emissions. If this is to be a global answer, it must be global response, and then we also need the other major emitters to make bigger commitments.

A few words on Sweden, since that was mentioned. I think it is very important, after making these kinds of commitments – whether it is Kyoto or now an agreement in Copenhagen – to go home and do your job. We updated just yesterday the reduction of emissions that has been done in Sweden since 1990. We are now down to -12%. We are following how this is internationally respected, the way it is presented. We could always say that that is the wrong way of dealing with it, but that is the global agreement the world has. Concerning that, we have presented these kinds of figures.

Of course it is troublesome that some other countries are going in the other direction, and they are getting criticised for that. So it is not just striking a deal: it is also about making the changes in your economy using emission trading and other means to get the change in place. That is also an area where you see a lot of European countries acting in a way that is lacking in other parts of the world.

3-030

**José Manuel Barroso, President of the Commission.** – Mr President, just two remarks: the first on Copenhagen, and the other on the successful Swedish Presidency. First of all, regarding Copenhagen, I am also very surprised when I see many European colleagues with a self-defeating rhetoric. In fact, if there is a field where we can be proud of the leadership role of the European Union, it is precisely on climate change. Show me one relevant player or a group of countries that have committed as far as we have been committing ourselves.

As I said earlier, some others have announced their intentions through press statements. The European Union has announced its intentions through legislation which is already binding: legislation which originated from the European Commission, which received the support of the European Council and of this Parliament, and – unilaterally and unconditionally – the European Union has already put the reduction of greenhouse gases at 20% by 2020. No other player has done anything comparable so far. So let us ask others to do something similar to our effort.

(Applause)

Is this enough to reach the 2°C? No, it is not enough. That is why we are telling others that we can negotiate with each other. Politicians and diplomats can negotiate, but we cannot negotiate with science; we cannot negotiate with physics. So let us have a global deal which allows us to reach an agreement compatible with what science tells us. That cannot be done only by Europe, because Europe is responsible for about 14% of global emissions, and the trend is to go down in relevant terms. So, even if Europe, tomorrow, stops completely its greenhouse gas emissions, it will not solve the problem.

So we need Americans on board, we need Chinese on board, we need Indians on board. During these six months, together with Prime Minister Reinfeldt, we spoke with Obama; we spoke with Hu and Wen; we spoke with Singh; we spoke with Medvedev; we spoke with Lula. And I can say that, in all those meetings, we were the ones asking them to come with more important offers.

This is what we are now doing at Copenhagen – not to forget – because sometimes people tend to forget – that it is not just a game between those players but also with developing countries: the poorest, most vulnerable, the African countries. We also spoke with Meles Zenawi of Ethiopia and others. That is why the European Union was the first to put some money on the table.

So let us be honest with each other. We can always have more ambition, and the European Union has been showing its ambition. But let us ask also for more ambition from others. Because only with this ambition can we have a deal which is compatible with our ambition. It is a global problem and we need a global solution.

Finally, let me say a word to Prime Minister Reinfeldt and the Swedish Presidency. This is the last time we will have a President of the European Council only for six months, so it was the end of many years of European Union work. I want to say – and I said it to President Reinfeldt during these six months – that he was the 11th President of the European Council with whom I have worked, so I really welcome the fact that now we are going to have a permanent President of the European Council.

But I would like to say to Prime Minister Reinfeldt that he was the 11th in the order of working with the Commission, but certainly he deserves a place on the podium as one of the best presidencies we have had during this period for the European Union. Thank you for everything you and the Swedish Presidency have been doing during these six months.

3-031

**Rebecca Harms (Verts/ALE).** – Mr President, transparency towards Parliament is very often highlighted now that the Lisbon Treaty is in place. Is there a new proposal of the European Council for Copenhagen with a 30% target – a greater offsetting than the 20% target – for 2025? There is a leaked document circulating in Copenhagen and I want clarification now, based on contacts with the Commission, whether this is the true strategy of the Council. Please tell us the truth.

3-032

**Gunnar Hökmark (PPE).** – Mr President, I hesitate to phrase it in this way because it does not sound very modest as a Swede, but I think it is fair to say that the European Union and Europe will not be the same after this Presidency. It is a different European Union – a stronger and a better Union – for a number of reasons, some of which I as a Swede am very proud to mention.

First of all, of course, the Treaty that is now in place is changing the institutional balance of this Union, but it is also making it more capable of achieving our political goals. I would like to point to the fact that we have opened up the process of enlargement by the agreement between Slovenia and Croatia, which is important for Croatia, but also in the perspective of the Western Balkans and their ongoing future process of enlargement. This is one of the strengths of the European Union, but it is also an opportunity for all of us.

I think it is also important to point to the fact that, during this Presidency and while we are standing here, the European Union is, for the first time, a leading global actor in one of the most important international issues mankind is facing. This is new and it gives great responsibilities for the future because it is obvious that, whatever is achieved in Copenhagen, the European Union has been playing a fundamental and crucial role in setting the agenda for the things that we should achieve. However successful we are, the job will not be finished, but it underlines the great responsibilities of the European Union.

Then we have the economic recovery, with strict rules for getting public finances in order and for hindering protectionism. I am a Swede, so I may be a little subjective on this issue, but I think we all have a reason to be proud of what we have achieved during this period. But we should, in all modesty, also remember that those achievements give us a great responsibility for the future.

3-033

**PRESIDENZA DELL'ON. GIANNI PITTELLA**  
*Vicepresidente*

3-034

**Åsa Westlund (S&D).** – Herr talman! Jag vill börja med att säga att ordförandeskapet har levt upp till de höga förväntningarna på ett effektivt och diplomatiskt maskineri. Det har uppskattats, inte minst på grund av det kaos som delvis rådde under det tjeckiska ordförandeskapet. Man har också hanterat de avslutande turerna med Lissabonfördraget på ett sätt som är mycket positivt. Till slut kunde också rådets ständiga ordförande och EU:s nya utrikesminister presenteras.

Det politiska avtrycket på frågor som har direkt betydelse i människors vardag är dessvärre mindre. Europas löntagare har inte fått något stöd i att stoppa lönedumpningen i spåren av Lavaldomen. Inte heller har de sett några nya initiativ för att bekämpa arbetslösheten och skapa fler jobb.

Miljörörelsen är besviken över att Sverige inte har stått upp för miljöfrågorna. Sverige har snarare tagit ett steg tillbaka i stället för att utnyttja tillfället att driva på för högre ambitioner på miljö- och klimatområdet.

Att Sverige inte har fått någon tyngre roll vid det just nu pågående klimatmötet i Köpenhamn beror dock snarast på att statsminister Reinfeldt själv, av partitaktiska skäl, i ett tidigt skede spelade ner förväntningarna inför mötet. Det bröt mot EU:s förhandlingsstrategi och retade upp en hel del av de andra europeiska ledarna. Men allvarigare än så är att det undergrävd möjligheterna till ett bra klimatavtal.

Slutligen vill jag nämna Stockholmsprogrammet, en av de få saker som kommer att leva vidare efter det svenska ordförandeskapet. Som stockholmare är jag orolig över att min hemstad kan komma att förknippas med ett politiskt program som mer går ut på att bygga murar runt Europa än att garantera mänskliga rättigheter.

Vi svenska socialdemokrater är i alla fall glada över att ni till sist delvis lyssnade på våra och parlamentets krav på att ta med mer av kvinnors och barns rättigheter i detta program. Vi har stora förväntningar på att Cecilia Malmström kommer att göra sitt yttersta för att förstärka de delarna ytterligare i sin nya position.

3-035

**Silvana Koch-Mehrin (ALDE).** – Herr Präsident, verehrte Herren Präsidenten! Ihre Präsidentschaft der ruhigen Hand war ein Erfolg. Sie hatten schwierige politische Fragen zu lösen, und das haben Sie alles in allem gut geschafft. Die von Ihnen ausgewählten Persönlichkeiten für die neuen wichtigen EU-Ämter können diese nun unvorbelastet prägen, sie sind den meisten EU-Bürgern bisher nicht bekannt. Wenn ich mir die Nebenbemerkung erlauben darf: Ihre beste Entscheidung sitzt rechts neben Ihnen.

Trotzdem kann Ihre Präsidentschaft, Herr Reinfeldt, nicht die Bestnote bekommen. Das vor allem aus zwei Gründen: Zum einen haben Sie die Entwicklung verstärkt, den Europäischen Rat zu einer Art EU-Superregierung auszubauen. Die Allzuständigkeit nimmt zu, von der Umwelt bis zur Finanzpolitik. Gleichzeitig machen Sie dort die Türen fester zu, transparente Debatten von Volksvertretern sehen anders aus.

Der zweite Grund: Dass Sie SWIFT wenige Stunden vor Inkrafttreten des Lissabon-Vertrags durch den Rat geboxt haben, ist eine klare Missachtung des Europäischen Parlaments und damit ein Mangel an Respekt vor den Bürgern.

Trotzdem danke für die zurückliegenden sechs Monate!

3-036

**Carl Schlyter (Verts/ALE).** – Herr talman! Det svenska ordförandeskapet har fungerat bra, praktiskt och institutionellt sett. Det har varit som en väloljad fin motor, men den har gått på tomgång. Vart har den sociala lagstiftningen tagit vägen? Antidiskrimineringsarbetet har fastnat. Förslaget om införande av en eurovinjett för att stoppa utsläppen från lastbilstrafiken har fastnat, liksom klimatpolitiken. Ledarskapet i dessa frågor har övertagits av forskarna och Europaparlamentet – rådet har misslyckats!

Rådet fungerar som ett kryphål för skogsindustrin, sjöfartsindustrin och flyget i klimatförhandlingarna. Var är pengarna till utvecklingsländerna, de konkreta 30 miljarder som parlamentet krävde? Var är utsläppsmålen? Parlamentet krävde minskningar på 32–40 procent. Nu får vi höra att de dokument rådet arbetar med försvagar våra utsläppsmål ytterligare. Rådets klimatpolitik förefaller lika grovmaskig som ett fisknät avsett för fångst av blåval, eller ännu värre!

Till sist – Vattenfall. Stoppa Vattenfalls rättsprocesser! De motverkar klimatarbetet. Ni har makten över detta företag. Se därför åtminstone till att Vattenfall sköter sig och sluta att ifrågasätta EU:s och Tysklands miljölagstiftning.

3-037

**Timothy Kirkhope (ECR).** – Mr President, first of all I would like to congratulate the Swedish Government for its Presidency of this Council. It took office with a very heavy agenda and has been able to achieve a great deal, much of which we welcome.

I have spoken in this Chamber repeatedly of the need to reinvigorate the Lisbon strategy; the European Union has for far too long pursued political and institutional reform with a degree of energy and determination which it has simply been unable to muster for economic reform. Yet our global trading position, relative economic weight and international

competitiveness are in jeopardy. I therefore welcome the Commission's EU 2020 initiative, now endorsed by the European Council, and I congratulate particularly Mr Barroso for his part in this.

The future prosperity and well-being of our citizens depend on a dynamic economy able to generate jobs and wealth by unleashing the creative energies of entrepreneurs and by stimulating the growth of successful businesses. Part of this economic regeneration will be the greening of our economies, and we all hope that an agreement in Copenhagen this week will draw up a realistic framework to tackle climate change whilst facilitating economic growth and development.

On the adoption of the Stockholm Programme, we support the principle that the Member States of the Union must cooperate more to combat problems related to immigration, cross-border crime and terrorism. But these are also areas which lie at the heart of national sovereignty; and defending the laws and ensuring security and protecting the public are amongst the most important duties of a democratic state. We must therefore balance the need for joint action with respect for the rights of our Member States. Parts of the Stockholm Programme simply fail to get the balance right. Some of the proposals will simply centralise power, create unnecessary expense and add further bureaucracy for very little added value. Our priorities must lie in the direction of fitness to compete, deregulation, innovation and job creation. The people of Europe deserve nothing less.

3-038

**Eva-Britt Svensson (GUE/NGL).** – Herr talman! Det svenska ordförandeskapet får också av mig organisatoriskt ett mycket högt betyg. Den svenska statsförvaltningen har levt upp till alla förväntningar. Tyvärr kan jag inte vara lika positiv när det handlar om den politiska utvärderingen.

Framför allt två områden måste kritiserar. För det första när det gäller öppenhet och offentlighet. Sverige brukar anses vara ett föredöme på området men nu har vi istället sett passivitet – och det är särskilt allvarligt när kommunikationsfriheten för medborgarna hotas. Jag vill nämna datalagringsdirektivet, Telekompaketet osv. och det hemliga ACTA-avtalet. Krav har ställts på att ordförandeskapet ska agera för att handlingarna ska bli tillgängliga, vilket är möjligt sedan 2001 års ändring av öppenhetsförordningen, som kräver att "Allmänheten ska ha tillgång till alla handlingar som rör pågående internationella förhandlingar". Varför har inte det svenska ordförandeskapet agerat i en sådan fråga?

Det andra området handlar om klimatet och, vill jag påstå, det svek mot fattiga länder som det innebär att använda biståndspengar till att åtgärda de värsta skadorna den rika världen har stått och står för. Trots att klimatkonventionen, Baliplanen och Kyotoprotokollet säger att pengar till klimatfinansiering ska var nya. Återigen är det de mest utsatta som får stå för notan för den rika världens agerande. Det är de som saknar rent vatten, de som hotas av malaria, de HIV-drabbade och framför allt världens fattigaste kvinnor och barn som nu får stå för notan. Det är en politik som är skamlig mot den fattiga världen.

3-039

**Andreas Mölzer (NI).** – Herr Präsident! Nun geht also die schwedische Ratspräsidentschaft zu Ende – ohne große Pannen, aber meines Erachtens auch ohne herausragende Erfolge. Das ehrgeizige Ziel, die Wirtschaftskrise in den Griff zu bekommen, konnte jedenfalls nicht erreicht werden. Wir haben Milliarden und Abermilliarden in ein System gepumpt, von dem einige wenige profitieren, während die Allgemeinheit die Risiken und Kosten tragen darf. Es geht nicht an, dass das sauer verdiente Geld der europäischen Steuerzahler im Prämientopf von Bankmanagern landet.

Wenn wir schon einen Klimagipfel abhalten, dann gehört meines Erachtens auch endlich mehr Kostenwahrheit und Ehrlichkeit in die Diskussion um Atomreaktoren. Wenn wir Lösungen für Klimaschutz suchen, dann muss auch dem Betrug mit Emissionszertifikaten ein Ende bereitet werden.

Bei den SWIFT-Verhandlungen hat sich der schwedische Vorsitz meines Erachtens von den USA mit der Herausgabe der Bankdaten etwas diktieren lassen. Der Bürger wird damit und mit dem Stockholm-Programm immer manipulierbarer und immer gläserner.

Mit Schweden verliert die Türkei auch einen Beitrittsbefürworter. Es ist meines Erachtens Zeit, diesbezüglich die Verhandlungen zu stoppen und eine privilegierte Partnerschaft anzubieten.

3-040

**Werner Langen (PPE).** – Herr Präsident! Ich möchte zuerst einmal Dank sagen. Die schwedische Ratspräsidentschaft hat trotz vielfältiger Probleme hervorragende Arbeit geleistet. Schweden ist ein mittelgroßes Land in der Europäischen Union, und das muss man in jeder Hinsicht positiv würdigen. Vielen Dank an Sie und an Ihre gesamte Regierung, Herrn Ministerpräsident! Sie haben mit Klima, Finanzmarktkrise, Lissabon-Vertrag und der neuen Kommission wirklich schwere Brocken und Themen gehabt. Ich möchte zwei Themen herausgreifen.

Einmal die Finanzmarktkrise: Dass Schweden mit der Kommission in den Fragen der Konsolidierungsanstrengungen einzelner Mitgliedstaaten hart geblieben ist, ist absolut positiv. Dass Sie nicht gesagt haben: „Wir werden Griechenland jetzt von seiner Verantwortung in der Euro-Zone entbinden“, kann ich nur ausdrücklich unterstützen.

Der zweite Bereich ist die Klimapolitik. Wir haben hier Kritik von den Kommunisten und den Grünen gehört. Sie sind nirgendwo in Europa in der tatsächlichen Verantwortung. Wir können Klimapolitik à la China und USA machen, indem wir große Proklamationen erlassen, aber keine Ergebnisse haben. Europa hat Ergebnisse. Ich wehre mich dagegen, dass Greenpeace der Maßstab für europäische Klimapolitik wird. Wir müssen realistisch bleiben! Auch dort hat die schwedische Ratspräsidentschaft in ihrer Zeit zusammen mit der Kommission erstaunlicherweise sehr gute Ergebnisse erzielt. Ich möchte auch dafür ein ausdrückliches Wort des Dankes sagen.

Zum Thema Lissabon-Vertrag: Der Kollege Schulz ist jetzt weg. Er hat gesagt, die Kommission mit den stellvertretenden Vorsitzenden der europäischen Parteien. Ich kann mich nur wundern, dass der Vorsitzende einer politischen Fraktion das politische Engagement von einzelnen Mitgliedern der Kommission thematisieren will. Was soll denn das? Ich kann das nur zurückweisen.

Ich möchte Sie zum Schluss ermuntern – wie bei Ihrem Amtsantritt –, dass Sie endlich dem Euro beitreten. Kann ich sagen: Schweden *ante portas*, Herr Ministerpräsident?

3-041

**Adrian Severin (S&D).** – Mr President, in all fairness, I believe the Swedish Presidency can be satisfied with its achievements, and I think that Sweden can be proud of the performance of the Swedish Presidency. However, as always with the short-term presidencies, when they are good, they leave us with a bitter feeling of a somehow unaccomplished job.

Therefore, I believe the most important question now is: how and what could we further build on the achievements of the Swedish Presidency? The first thing is the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty. A treaty is never enough for solving a problem. Political will is always needed in order to enhance it properly but, in this case, I think that we need even more than will. We need courage and imagination – imagination to fill the gaps or to clarify the ambiguities of the Treaty. Therefore I hope that, starting with the experience it has accumulated, the Swedish Presidency will still remain involved in supporting the building of the new institution which the Lisbon Treaty has created, namely the permanent – or long-term – President of the European Council and the office of High Representative with the External Action Service.

One of the priorities of the Swedish Presidency was, of course, the management of the economic and financial crisis. This was very important. Against this background, I think two phenomena which are quite threatening have been observed: firstly, the temptation of national protectionism and national egoism, and, secondly, the economic and social disparities between our Member States and the lack of economic, social and territorial cohesion within the European Union.

Should we call into question the wisdom of enlargement? Certainly not. These disparities were already there before, and interdependence is valid not only within the Union but globally. Therefore these disparities were able to undermine or to put in jeopardy the stability of the whole continent and the Union. Therefore, I think that enlargement made it possible for the new Member States to cope with these disparities better inside the Union, for the profit of all Members of the Union.

But the conclusion is as follows, and I will end here. I believe that the next step is to pursue bolder and more substantial policies of territorial, economic and social cohesion in Europe – and not fewer policies of this kind – together with bold reforms, financial and economic reforms which would allow us not to repeat the crisis, and, certainly, with policies for post-crisis rehabilitation. In this context, the last statement of the Commission concerning economic support for eastern countries, as well as the readiness expressed by Mr Barroso to debate the 2020 Strategy, should be commended.

3-042

**Charles Goerens (ALDE).** – Monsieur le Président, j'aimerais aussi exprimer ma gratitude à la Présidence suédoise en exercice du Conseil européen, mais il reste un problème. Le Conseil européen de jeudi dernier a arrêté le montant de 7,2 milliards d'euros pour financer l'adaptation partielle des pays en développement au changement climatique et cela est très bien.

De mon point de vue, ce montant devrait constituer un moyen supplémentaire par rapport à l'aide au développement que l'Union européenne s'est engagée à porter à 0,7 % du revenu national brut d'ici l'an 2015. Pourquoi? Admettons que les 7,2 milliards émanent de l'enveloppe d'ores et déjà allouée au titre d'aide publique au développement, cette somme manquera pour financer les objectifs du Millénaire pour le développement. Cela reviendrait à déshabiller Pierre pour habiller Paul.

Nous attendons les précisions du Conseil européen et de la Commission à ce propos. Toute ambiguïté sur le caractère additionnel du montant annoncé par le Conseil européen des 10 et 11 décembre dernier serait de nature à entamer la crédibilité de l'Union européenne dans le cadre de la conférence de Copenhague, que nous n'hésitons pas à qualifier de décisive pour l'avenir de l'humanité.

(Applaudissements)

3-043

**Ian Hudghton (Verts/ALE).** – Mr President, I represent the European Free Alliance part of my group which includes the independence parties of Wales, Flanders, Catalonia and Scotland. We seek independent status so that our nations can contribute to European Council meetings and to world events such as the Copenhagen Conference on Climate Change.

The Government and the Parliament of Scotland have adopted the world's most ambitious climate change act, with emission-reduction targets of 42% by 2020 and 80% by 2050. These are targets which we mean to achieve, and yet the UK Government refused a reasonable request for a Scottish minister to be part of the official proceedings in Copenhagen. Such behaviour only underlines the fact that it is only with independence – the normal status of independence – that Scotland can properly contribute to the international community, and I hope that the European Council will very soon be discussing internal enlargement of the European Union, with Scotland leading the way.

3-044

**Hans-Peter Martin (NI).** – Herr Präsident! Wir brauchen eine Revolution der Demokratie. Gerade als Bewunderer von so vielen schwedischen Traditionen war ich umso enttäuscht von der Bilanz ihrer Tätigkeit. Es war leider keine Volksheim-Präsidentschaft, sondern eine Ratsfürsten-Präsidentschaft und auch eine Großinvestoren-Präsidentschaft à la Wallström, es war nicht Malmström.

Ich kenne Sie, Frau Europaabgeordnete noch genau aus dieser Zeit, als Sie das noch waren. Jetzt waren Sie etwas anderes. Und ich hoffe sehr, wenn Sie wieder zurückkommen, dass Sie dort anknüpfen, wo Sie schon einmal waren, nämlich inspiriert vom Parlamentarismus. Warum haben Sie SWIFT so spät verabschiedet? Warum haben wir es jetzt quasi mit einem Direktorium auf EU-Ebene zu tun, und das unter den Zielen der Schweden mit ihrer Transparenz? Bitte nützen Sie Ihre Zukunft, wieder dorthin zurückzukehren, wo Sie schon einmal waren.

3-045

**János Áder (PPE).** – Elnök úr! Tisztelt hölgyeim és uraim! Az elmúlt két és fél órában a vita során meglehetősen sok szó esett Koppenhágáról, a koppenhágai tárgyalásokról. Azt kell, hogy mondjam, hogy a svéd elnökség e tekintetben nem volt teljesen sikeres, hiszen Koppenhágában nincs európai uniós közös álláspont. Ez nem feltétlenül a svéd elnökség hibája, sokkal inkább az Európa Bizottság hibája. Miről is van szó, és miért nincs közös álláspont? Legalább két kérdésben nincs közös álláspont. Ezek közül az egyik kérdés az, hogy át lehet-e vinni a széndioxid-kvótákat 2012 utánra, és azokat lehet-e értékesíteni akkor is.

Az Európa Bizottság támadja ezt az álláspontot, érthetetlen, rövidlátó, szűklátókörű módon. Magyarország, Lengyelország, Románia és a többi volt szocialista ország betartotta a kiotói vállalását. Nem csak hogy betartotta, túlteljesítette azt. Nekünk a kvótatöbblet értékesítési joga jár. Ezt mégis el akarják venni tőlünk, azaz egy szerződészerű magatartást, mint amit Magyarország is tanúsított, büntetni akarnak. Mások nem tartották be azt, amit vállaltak, sőt növelték a károsanyag-kibocsátásukat, őket azonban senki nem akarja megbüntetni. Hogyan várható el ezután, ha lesz egyáltalán Kiotónak folytatása Koppenhágában, hogy egy új megállapodást az aláírók majd betartsanak.

Felszólítom az Európai Bizottságot, és felszólítanám ha itt lenne és felkérném, nyomatékosan felkérném Barroso elnök urat, hogy változtasson az eddigi szűklátókörű magatartásán, és olyan álláspontot képviseljen, ami megfelel a jelenleg hatályos Kiotói Szerződésnek. És szeretném felhívni az Önök figyelmét, ne feledjék el, hogy az új tagországok nélkül az EU 15-ök nem tudták volna teljesíteni a 8%-os kibocsátáscsökkentési vállalásukat. Márpedig ha ez így lett volna, akkor az Európai Uniónak sokkal rosszabb, sokkal gyengébb tárgyalási pozíciója lenne Koppenhágában.

3-046

**Catherine Trautmann (S&D).** – Messieurs les Présidents, Madame la Ministre, la Présidence suédoise a connu des moments que l'on peut qualifier d'historiques: l'entrée en vigueur du traité de Lisbonne, les nominations du premier président du Conseil européen, de la haute représentante, mais aussi la conférence sur le climat ou la désignation d'une nouvelle Commission et encore – permettez cette petite référence – le paquet télécom.

Ces événements ont créé un espoir. Pourtant, dans le bilan, il reste quelques demi-teintes. Premièrement, notre Parlement, attaché à l'organisation de la supervision européenne des marchés financiers, a accueilli les propositions avancées par le groupe de sages de Jacques de Larosière comme une étape indispensable. Or, les conclusions du Conseil ECOFIN du 2 décembre dernier sont bien en deçà de ce niveau réaliste d'ambition.

Je tiens à rappeler ici que le Parlement veillera à rééquilibrer les propositions dont il est saisi, afin de rendre les marchés financiers plus solides. Il en va de même en ce qui concerne les engagements financiers pour les pays du Sud en matière de lutte contre le changement climatique. Alors qu'à Copenhague, les pays pauvres exigent de véritables engagements sur le financement à long terme, le Conseil ne parvient qu'à engager 7,2 milliards d'euros sur trois ans. C'est une première avancée, il faut en convenir, mais elle est largement sous-proportionnée, d'autant qu'elle provient, pour partie, d'un redéploiement.

Enfin, dans le domaine financier, nous nous félicitons de la volonté d'imposer des règles et d'agir avec vigueur en matière aussi bien de surveillance que de fiscalité. Je remarque en particulier, dans les conclusions du Conseil, la mention d'un



prélèvement mondial sur les transactions financières que nous, socialistes, appelons de nos vœux depuis plus de dix ans. Il reste encore du chemin à faire. L'exploration de nouvelles ressources financières au service de l'emploi, de la solidarité intra et extraeuropéenne, ainsi que du financement de la lutte contre le changement climatique, est un enjeu majeur. J'invite – c'est bientôt Noël – le Conseil à nous préparer une décision sur les ressources propres dans les années qui viennent.

3-047

**Olle Schmidt (ALDE).** – Herr talman! Det är märkligt att höra en del gnällspikar, bland annat svenska kollegor, kritisera det svenska ordförandeskapet. Vad jämför Carl Schlyter med? Är det med Tjeckien eller något annat storvulet ordförandeskap?

Att få ett högt betyg av Mario Borghezio är heller ingenting ni ska förvänta er. Att få ett dåligt betyg av Borghezio är faktiskt ett gott betyg.

Mycket har gjorts. Lissabonfördraget har kommit på plats. De två högsta posterna inom EU är besatta. En rad viktiga förslag har manglats fram: Stockholmsprogrammet, den framtida finanstillsynen och inte minst telekompaketet. Också klimattoppmötet i Köpenhamn kan gå åt rätt håll om också vi i Europaparlamentet vill det.

På minussidan vill jag sätta misslyckandet om patientrörligheten. Det betyder fortsatt rättsosäkerhet och onödigt lidande i vårdköer.

Men sammantaget, heder åt statsminister Fredrik Reinfeldt, EU-minister Cecilia Malmström och alla andra i ordförandeteamet. Ni har alla förtjänat ett Gott nytt år!

3-048

**Judith Sargentini (Verts/ALE).** – Voorzitter, mijnheer Reinfeldt, er is één serieuze smet op uw voorzitterschap en dat is de besluitvorming rondom SWIFT. Op 1 december trad het Verdrag van Lissabon in werking en op 30 november jaste u met uw collega-premiers er een regeling doorheen die onze bankgegevens aan de VS geeft. Als dat het voorteken is voor de manier waarop het Stockholm-programma verder uitgewerkt gaat worden - een programma dat moet instaan voor onze burgerrechten, onze veiligheid, onze vrijheid - dan krijg ik het idee dat de uitlegging daarvan de balans wel heel erg laat doorslaan en dat de vrijheid en de burgerrechten hier onder druk komen te staan.

Het is een smet op uw voorzitterschap. Ik vind het ook een smet op het begin van het Verdrag van Lissabon wat het Europees Parlement meer rechten zou geven en ik zou graag van u horen dat u in de toekomst meer respect toont voor burgerrechten, voor burgers en voor het Parlement.

3-049

**Zoltán Balczó (NI).** – Elnök úr! A svéd elnökség eredményeit tíz-húsz év távlatából szeretnénk visszatekintve értékelni. A legfontosabb esemény, amit említeni fognak, a Lisszaboni Szerződés hatálybalépése. Ez a Szerződés megteremti egy szuperállam jogi kereteit: 500 millió ember életének irányítása egy központból és a nemzetállamok elszorvasztása. Az idevezető út antidemokratikus volt. Három népszavazás utasította el ezt a koncepciót, míg a svéd elnökség alatt a kierőszakolt második ír népszavazás és Václav Klaus aláírásának megvétele szerezte meg a lehetőséget erre. Európa lakosságának többsége elutasítja ezt, és a nemzetállami létet meg akarja tartani. Ezért bízom benne, hogy a történelem majd úgy jelzi ezt az időszakot, mint meghiúsult kísérlet egy birodalom létrehozására.

3-050

**Othmar Karas (PPE).** – Herr Präsident, Herr Ratspräsident, meine Damen und Herren! Wir tun bei den Debatten über die Ratspräsidentenschaften oft so, als wäre die Ratspräsidentenschaft die Europäische Union. Die Ratspräsidentenschaft ist nicht die EU, sondern sie ist ein wichtiger Manager einer europäischen Institution. Daher bitte ich um mehr Fairness und Gelassenheit.

Die Ratspräsidentenschaft im letzten halben Jahr hat einen guten Job gemacht. Sie hat ihren Beitrag dazu geleistet, dass ein neues Kapitel in der Geschichte des Erfolgs der Europäischen Union aufgeschlagen werden kann. Wir wollen doch alle selbst kein Europa der Regierungen. Wir arbeiten an einem Europa der Bürger, an einer verstärkten Zusammenarbeit der Institutionen und der Teile der Europäischen Union. Jeder von uns ist ein Teil.

Die Institutionenendebatte wurde abgeschlossen, die Personalfragen wurden beantwortet, und in einigen wichtigen Punkten kam es zu einer Positionierung des Rates, damit wir weiterarbeiten können. Richten wir den Blick in die Zukunft! Es ist angesprochen worden, wir haben ein großes Problem: In der Arbeitsmethodik des Rates hat der Vertrag von Lissabon noch keinen Einzug gehalten. Der Rat hat mehr Mitgestaltungsmöglichkeiten im Europäischen Parlament und in den Ausschüssen des Europäischen Parlaments als das Europäische Parlament in den Arbeitsgruppen und in den Ratssitzungen. Wir verlangen auch hier gleiche Behandlung beider Institutionen, denn wir sind Gesetzgeber auf Augenhöhe.

Ja, es war ein Fehler, man kann über den Inhalt streiten, SWIFT vorher durchzuboxen, obwohl die Mitentscheidung des Parlaments einen Tag später anders ausgesehen hat. Es ist mit dem Beschluss zur Finanzmarktaufsicht noch nicht das

letzte Wort gesprochen. Wir müssen nachbessern, wir brauchen eine Exekutivpower, wir brauchen mehr europäische Aufsicht, dort wo es um grenzüberschreitende Institutionen geht, und wir müssen im Basel-Ausschuss zu einer verstärkten Koordinierung der Mitgliedstaaten mit der Kommission und der EZB kommen, weil ansonsten eine Parallelstruktur entsteht.

3-051

**Juan Fernando López Aguilar (S&D).** – Señor Presidente, quiero felicitar a la Presidencia sueca por el trabajo realizado, especialmente, en el ámbito del espacio de libertad, justicia y seguridad.

La entrada en vigor del Tratado de Lisboa significa un paso cualitativo y determina a las presidencias siguientes, la española, la belga y la húngara, a continuar esta diferencia que ha marcado la Presidencia sueca con el Programa de Estocolmo en la elaboración del plan de acción.

Y a mí me gustaría, en el marco de la cooperación obligada por el Tratado de Lisboa entre la Comisión, el Consejo y el Parlamento Europeo, además de los Parlamentos nacionales de los Estados miembros (artículo 17 del Tratado de la Unión Europea y artículo 295 del Tratado de Funcionamiento de la Unión Europea), llamar la atención sobre la importancia que tienen tres puntos que han sido subrayados por la Presidencia sueca.

El primero de ellos, precisamente el relativo a la ambigüedad en torno a la figura del coordinador antiterrorista y de tráfico ilícito de personas, en su dependencia de la Comisión y, por el contrario, en su sujeción al control del Parlamento Europeo.

El segundo, la dimensión exterior de los derechos fundamentales, que va a ser ahora una dimensión transversal de la política europea. Hay una comisaría dedicada a los derechos fundamentales y justicia, pero hay también una acción exterior de la Unión Europea que deberá comprometerse también con los derechos humanos y con una fuerte implicación en la defensa de los derechos fundamentales.

Y el tercero tiene que ver con el espacio Schengen de libre circulación de personas; precisamente porque se ha dado importancia a la evaluación y al seguimiento del pacto por el asilo, a la política de control de fronteras exteriores (asilo, inmigración y prevención de la delincuencia organizada), creemos que esta va a ser una dimensión que va a realizar este espacio de libre circulación de personas y derechos de personas que completará el mercado interior como realización del proyecto europeo que tenemos por delante.

3-052

**Lena Ek (ALDE).** – Herr talman! Det är aldrig lätt att bygga broar. Särskilt svårt är det att bygga broar som 27 medlemsländer och 500 miljoner människor ska kliva över, från det gamla EU till – med det nya Lissabonfördraget – ett öppnare, mer transparent och mera demokratiskt EU, eftersom Europaparlamentet nu får ett mycket större inflytande.

Under hösten har vi haft både en klimatkris och en jobbkris att hantera. Trots det har det svenska ordförandeskapet lyckats få en del oerhört viktig eko-effektiv lagstiftning på plats. Särskilt tycker jag att det är roligt att EU:s energimärkning av hushållsprodukter nu är införd. Andra exempel på lagstiftning som nu är införd är energieffektivitetskrav för byggnader och miljömärkning av bildäck.

Jag skulle slutligen vilja tacka regeringen för ett effektivt och sammanhållet ordförandeskap. Jag vill särskilt betyga min respekt för ambassadör Ulrika Barklund Larsson som så hastigt togs ifrån oss under hösten. Hon gjorde ett fantastiskt arbete och vi saknar henne mycket.

Nu återstår slutförandet av klimatmötet i Köpenhamn – den sista, största och långsiktigaste uppgiften. Lycka till!

3-053

**Mario Mauro (PPE).** – Signor Presidente, signor Presidente del Consiglio, onorevoli colleghi, sono svariati i punti delle conclusioni derivate dall'ultimo Consiglio europeo che dovrebbero trovarci concordi e che potremmo definire incoraggianti per il prossimo futuro.

Innanzitutto, l'immigrazione: si è messa in evidenza l'esigenza di rendere più efficiente l'accesso al territorio dell'Unione europea nella garanzia della sicurezza dei propri cittadini. Per fare questo occorre una politica di integrazione, cioè trovare il giusto equilibrio tra le esigenze degli Stati membri e il dramma umano, il potenziale produttivo dei migranti.

Si è poi richiamato a un'Europa della responsabilità e della solidarietà in materia di immigrazione e di asilo. In questo senso mi incoraggia l'accento posto dal Consiglio sull'urgenza di combattere l'immigrazione clandestina partendo dagli Stati membri di frontiera, soprattutto quelli meridionali. Questo significa condividere risorse e problemi, spiace che troppo spesso questo aspetto venga sovrastato dagli egoismi e dalla mancanza di coraggio.

Il secondo aspetto che ritengo prioritario, in questo periodo in cui non intravediamo ancora la luce in fondo al tunnel della crisi economica, è il rilancio della strategia di Lisbona: dobbiamo tornare il più in fretta possibile a competere sul piano

economico e commerciale con le potenze emergenti e solo un sistema di ricerca e di conoscenze all'avanguardia permetterà questo passo, vitale per noi ma soprattutto per le nuove generazioni.

Mi compiaccio del fatto che nel metodo nuovo invocato dal Consiglio si punti a rinsaldare il legame tra misure nazionali e misure dell'Unione europea e a rafforzare la titolarità nazionale attraverso un coinvolgimento più attivo delle parti sociali, delle autorità regionali e locali, detto in una parola: sussidiarietà.

Ritengo tuttavia che si debba fare di più in questo senso: devono essere la famiglia, le persone, i gruppi intermedi, al centro della ripresa economica dell'Europa. Solo nella persona, infatti, solo negli uomini è presente quel dinamismo originario che può riattivare i tanti settori della vita sociale ormai piegati al pessimismo che tante volte arriva anche dalle istituzioni.

3-054

**Ivari Padar (S&D).** – President! Esmalt tahaksin kiita eesistujat Läänemere strateegia vastuvõtmise eest, mis on kindlasti minu koduriigi jaoks väga oluline. Sooviksin aga pikemalt peatuda kolmel finantsteemaga seotud punktil.

Esiteks kiidan pingutusi üleeuroopalise finantsjärelevalve korraldamisel ning kutsun Euroopa Parlamenti seda omalt poolt maksimaalselt toetama.

Teiseks, kriisihjeldamiseks on Euroopa Liit ja selle liikmesriigid rakendanud suure hulga erakordseid meetmeid, mis on väga positiivne. Majanduses on juba näha stabiliseerumist. Samas nõustun ülemkoguga, et olukord pole veel piisavalt kindel, et toetusmeetmetest loobuda. Kriisi järelalus minu jaoks on kindlasti see, et panku on vaja ja nende pakutav teenus vajalik. Seega pole vaja nende karistamisega liiale minna, aga tegevuse aluseks peaks olema reaalses majanduses toimuv, mitte pankadevaheline virtuaalne turg, mis oli viimase kriisi peamine põhjus. Samas peaks kaaluma pangaboonuste maksustamist, see on just Eestis teemaks saanud.

Kolmandaks toetan samas sellega seoses ka üleskutset Rahvusvahelisele Valuutafondile kaalumaks ülemaailmse finantstehingute maksu ehk nn Tobini maksu kehtestamist, et buumiaegade raha ühiskonnale tagasi anda. Toetan vajadust uuendada majanduslikku ühiskondlikku lepingut finantsinstitutsioonide ning ühiskonna vahel, mida nad teenivad, ning kindlustada üldsuse kasusaamine headel aegadel ja kaitse ohtude eest.

3-055

**Paulo Rangel (PPE).** – Senhor Presidente, queria começar por cumprimentar a Presidência sueca e, em particular, o Primeiro-Ministro Reinfeldt, quer em nome do PPE, quer em nome da delegação portuguesa do PPE.

O nosso balanço da Presidência sueca é de um sucesso praticamente absoluto, essencialmente em quatro áreas fundamentais. Primeiro, na área institucional, o contributo da Presidência sueca para a entrada em vigor do Tratado de Lisboa, para a eleição, muito bem sucedida, do Presidente da Comissão, e para todas as questões associadas à ratificação, foi extremamente profissional e esteve ao nível daquilo que se espera das melhores práticas da União Europeia. Naturalmente, para um país como Portugal, que teve um papel decisivo na aprovação do Tratado de Lisboa, este contributo da Presidência sueca é inestimável.

Um segundo ponto é a agenda climática, onde naturalmente o trabalho da Comissão foi também importantíssimo. Devo dizer que, do meu ponto de vista e do ponto de vista de muitos deputados do PPE, é na área das alterações climáticas que a União Europeia tem tido mais sucesso, encontra-se na verdadeira frente de combate a nível global, e isso deve-se ao esforço quer da Presidência sueca, quer em especial, também, da Presidência da Comissão. Consideramos esse balanço também muito positivo.

Um terceiro ponto é a regulação financeira que, especialmente com este último Conselho, deu um passo que consideramos decisivo e que pode ter um impacto muito grande na saída da crise. Gostaria, portanto, de dar também os parabéns por esse feito de se ter conseguido um acordo nessa área. Finalmente, queria mencionar uma área que a mim, pessoalmente, me diz muito, que é a do Programa de Estocolmo e, portanto, a área de segurança, de justiça e de liberdade. Eu, que acompanhei quer o processo de Tempere, quer em especial, depois, o processo de Haia, considero absolutamente essencial o programa de Estocolmo e gostaria de dar os parabéns à Presidência sueca e ao Primeiro-Ministro Fredrik Reinfeldt por isso.

3-056

**Μαριέττα Γιαννάκου (PPE).** – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, ο απολογισμός της σουηδικής Προεδρίας είναι πραγματικά θετικός. Συμπίπτει με την έναρξη ισχύος της Συνθήκης της Λισαβόνας, η οποία σηματοδοτεί την εγκατάλειψη του διακυβερνητισμού, που μας ταλαιπώρησε επί πολλά χρόνια, και την άσκηση μιας πιο ολοκληρωμένης και πιο συνεκτικής πολιτικής.

Η σουηδική Προεδρία χαρακτηρίζεται επίσης από τη δημιουργία του προγράμματος της Στοκχόλμης καθώς και τις αποφάσεις για τη χρηματοπιστωτική κρίση, που πραγματικά αποτελούν σημαντικά, κομβικά σημεία στην περαιτέρω εξέλιξη αυτής της προσπάθειας.

Ταυτόχρονα, η εκλογή του Προέδρου της Ευρωπαϊκής Επιτροπής και η τοποθέτηση των προσώπων, πράγματα που έχουν τεράστια σημασία για την εξέλιξη της προσπάθειας που θα κάνουμε μέσω της Συνθήκης της Λισαβόνας, έχουν δε ιδιαίτερη σημασία και ενδιαφέρον και για το Ευρωπαϊκό Κοινοβούλιο, είναι θετικά και ουσιαστικά στοιχεία.

Το Ευρωπαϊκό Κοινοβούλιο αναλαμβάνει ένα νέο ρόλο ως νομοθετικό σώμα παράλληλα με το Ευρωπαϊκό Συμβούλιο. Και αυτό σηματοδοτεί νέες εξελίξεις για τις οποίες πρέπει να καταβάλουμε όλοι μας πολύ μεγαλύτερες και πολύ πιο συνεκτικές προσπάθειες.

3-057

**Agustín Díaz de Mera García Consuegra (PPE).** – Señor Presidente, felicito a la Presidencia sueca por su correcto liderazgo durante estos seis meses.

En cuanto al Programa de Estocolmo, destaco el impulso que se pretende dar a una deseada política común de inmigración. Sin embargo, hay cuestiones esenciales que han quedado relegadas a un segundo plano.

Quiero recordar que durante el año 2008 la Unión Europea registró 515 ataques terroristas en once Estados miembros. Por ello, la lucha contra el terrorismo y la protección de sus víctimas deben ser incluidas entre las prioridades de nuestra agenda política, por lo que deben constituir una categoría individual y específica del Programa de Estocolmo.

En segundo lugar, en el espacio de libertad, seguridad y justicia viven ocho millones de inmigrantes irregulares. En este ámbito debemos fortalecer las políticas de desarrollo y de cooperación con los países de origen y tránsito. La Unión Europea debe impulsar la celebración de acuerdos de repatriación y admisión con países como Marruecos, Argelia y Libia. El futuro plan de acción del Programa de Estocolmo que se presentará a mediados del mes de julio del próximo año deberá contemplar estos aspectos.

3-058

**Andrzej Grzyb (PPE).** – Chciałem również przyłączyć się do tych podziękowań, które są kierowane dla prezydencji szwedzkiej – osobiście premierowi Reinfeldtowi za jego sprawność i równocześnie za doskonale wypełnione priorytety tejże prezydencji.

Oczywiście to, co jest ważne dla obywateli Unii Europejskiej, to w szczególności działanie zmierzające do osłabienia efektów kryzysu gospodarczego i finansowego. Jest to związane ze wsparciem dla sektora przedsiębiorstw, aby zarówno odtwarzać miejsca pracy, tworzyć warunki dla rozwoju małych i średnich przedsiębiorstw, jak i likwidować przyczyny kryzysu w szczególności na rynkach finansowych, aby one się nie powtórzyły w przyszłości. Wydaje mi się, że nadzór europejski w tym zakresie nie jest wystarczający i że tu równocześnie musimy wpływać, również jako instytucja demokratycznie wybrana, na sposób funkcjonowania zarządzających bankami i instytucjami finansowymi w zakresie etyki.

I sprawa szczytu w Kopenhadze. W pełni popieram stanowisko wygłoszone przez pana przewodniczącego Barroso. Tutaj jest rzeczywiście potrzebne partnerstwo ze strony innych ważnych graczy gospodarczych, aby efekty tego szczytu były rzeczywiście osiągalne.

3-059

**Silvia-Adriana Țicău (S&D).** – Am fost raportor pentru eficiența energetică a clădirilor, document pe care l-am negociat în a doua lectură cu președinția suedeză a Consiliului Uniunii Europene, un raport extrem de important pentru viitorul Uniunii Europene și pentru lupta împotriva schimbărilor climatice. Important și pentru Conferința de la Copenhaga, dar mai ales pentru cele 2,7 milioane de locuri de muncă care pot fi create până în 2020 în acest sector.

În ceea ce privește partea de comitologie, conform Tratatului de la Lisabona, s-au început negocierile pentru un acord instituțional vis-à-vis de puterile delegate și actele delegate către Comisie. Având în vedere că Tratatul de la Lisabona creează o nouă bază atât pentru schimbările climatice, cât și pentru o politică energetică comună, sper - și așteptăm și din partea Comisiei Europene, domnule Președinte Barroso - să ne prezentați un program de lucru pe următorii 5 ani, astfel încât și comisarii pe care îi audiem să poată răspunde la aceste provocări.

O ultimă precizare: aș dori să mă refer la ridicarea barierelor privind libera circulație a forței de muncă pentru lucrătorii din noile state membre care ar trebui să fie o concluzie a Președinției europene suedeze.

3-060

**Presidente.** – Io devo chiedere scusa ai colleghi Balčytis e Luhan, perché non posso accogliere la loro richiesta, in quanto abbiamo già numerosissimi interventi e non abbiamo il tempo sufficiente per dare la parola a tutti, sarà per una prossima occasione, chiedo scusa ancora.

3-061

**Ivo Vajgl (ALDE).** – Hvala švedskemu predsedstvu za korektno in odgovorno vodenje, kot ste sami rekli, v času institucionalnih sprememb in gospodarske in finančne krize. Mogoče ste v tem času zamudili priložnost, da bi spodbudili

širši evropski diskurs o drugačnem socio-ekonomskem modelu od tega, ki nas je pripeljal v krizo. Na Švedskem o tem veste več, kot nekateri drugi.

Trčili ste tudi na grenko spoznanje o tem, kje so meje skupnega v Evropski uniji, zlasti ko smo izbirali vodstvo Evropske unije. Postavili ste nekaj novih standardov na področju zunanje politike, na primer na Bližnjem vzhodu, in hvala vam za to. Hvala vam tudi za pozornost, ki ste jo posvetili širitvi Evropske unije in reševanju, skupaj s Komisijo, nekaterih odprtih vprašanj, ki so stala na poti tega procesa. The job well done!

3-062

**Jean-Pierre Audy (PPE).** – Monsieur le Président, Monsieur le Président de la Commission européenne, Monsieur le Premier ministre, je voudrais connaître, Monsieur le Premier ministre, votre sentiment sur les conclusions de la tróika, puisque les chefs d'État ou de gouvernement avaient décidé de créer ce concept de tróika afin de donner un caractère de continuité à la présidence. Et, étant donné que vous clôturez la tróika entre la République française, la République tchèque et le Royaume de Suède, quel est votre sentiment sur cet instrument et quelle est la conclusion que vous en tirez?

3-063

**Mirosław Piotrowski (ECR).** – Panie Przewodniczący! Spotykamy się tutaj w Parlamencie co sześć miesięcy, aby podsumować dokonania kolejnego państwa kończącego sprawowanie przewodnictwa w Unii Europejskiej.

Szwedzka prezydencja przejdzie do historii ze względu na to, że w trakcie jej kadencji zdołano przepchnąć lansowaną od blisko 10 lat eurokonstytucję, nazywaną w obecnym kształcie traktatem lizbońskim. Dokonano tego wbrew woli wielu narodów. Ostentacyjnie zlekceważono wyniki referendum we Francji, w Holandii i w Irlandii. Wprowadzono zasadę deficytu demokracji, która ma być odgórnie reglamentowana na rzecz rzekomego usprawnienia mechanizmów administracyjnych Unii. Pierwsze zmiany związane z wyborem osób na nowe stanowiska w Unii na razie wprowadziły organizacyjne zamieszanie oraz ogólne rozbawienie w Europie i na świecie. Prezydencja szwedzka tak naprawdę pozostawia Unię Europejską w stanie niepewności i chaosu.

3-064

**Anna Maria Corazza Bildt (PPE).** – Mr President, I would like to congratulate the Swedish Presidency for the vision of a citizen-centred Europe laid down in the Stockholm Programme. We can never underline enough the historic importance of finally having a vision that meets our citizens' concerns for security and at the same time for respecting individual rights. Finally we can move forward to a Europe for the citizen, by the citizen.

I also would like to welcome the Asylum Support Office, which is an important and concrete step towards meeting the concerns of countries that want to fight illegal immigration while at the same time providing for a more humane migration policy. The Stockholm Programme will remain with us for five years, and I hope we can move forward to implementation. I thank the Swedish Presidency. Your footprint will remain with us for five years.

3-065

**Csaba Sándor Tabajdi (S&D).** – A svéd elnökség kiváló munkát végzett, és gratulálnék miniszterelnök úrnak. Azzal, hogy a Lisszaboni Szerződés ratifikációját végre befejezte, megoldotta Klaus cseh elnök sajnálatos és szégyenteljes miniválságát. Ehhez a bővítés során elkövetett azon politikai hiba vezetett, hogy a 13 diszkriminatív Beneš-dekrétum morális tarthatatlanságát az Unió nem mondta ki korábban. A második nagy eredmény hogy, a klímátárgyalásokra sikerült egységes uniós álláspontot kialakítani. Az USA, Kína még nem értette meg, de az Unió világosan látja, hogy aki most a zöld gazdasági fejlesztések élére áll, azé a jövő. Ne felejtjük, hogy az Unió a céljait csak azért tudta teljesíteni, mert az új tagállamok jelentős mértékben csökkentették a kibocsátást. Végezetül a harmadik nagy eredmény, hogy Szerbiával elkezdődtek a felvételi tárgyalások és Szerbia, Macedónia, Montenegró vízummentességet kapott. Köszönet a svéd elnökségnek, mert kiváló lehetőséget teremt a spanyol-belga-magyar hármas elnökséghez.

3-066

**Rachida Dati (PPE).** – Monsieur le Président, Monsieur le Président de la Commission, Monsieur le Premier ministre, tout d'abord, je souhaiterais féliciter la Présidence suédoise pour les six mois de travail acharné et très ambitieux qu'elle a accomplis, notamment en faisant émerger, aux côtés des chefs d'État et de gouvernement, dans le cadre du G20, une position commune et ambitieuse sur les sujets de régulation financière.

Dans le cadre de la conférence de Copenhague également, on voit que l'Union européenne a une position ambitieuse, très haute, très volontaire et commune. Je souhaiterais donc saluer ses positions et ses décisions. L'Europe a été un moteur dans la proposition, les négociations et la conclusion d'accords majeurs dans le cadre de cette crise financière qui frappe toute l'Europe.

Le Conseil européen s'est également prononcé, la semaine dernière, sur la nouvelle architecture de surveillance financière, et des négociations avec le Parlement européen ont été engagées puisque, désormais, ce sera aussi au Parlement européen d'être vigilant sur la mise en œuvre des décisions prises à Pittsburgh.

La crise financière a révélé les faiblesses de notre système de surveillance financière. Il s'agissait d'assurer une meilleure coordination, mais également de renouveler et de renforcer les pouvoirs des autorités européennes, qui sont des impératifs urgents.

Je souhaite – et là je m'adresse à la Commission – que nous restions vigilants pour maintenir ce niveau d'ambition dans le cadre de la mise en œuvre de nos décisions.

3-067

**Diane Dodds (NI).** – Mr President, this morning I want to express my extreme disappointment, on behalf of the Northern Ireland fishing industry, that yet another cut has been imposed upon the industry. Last night's announcement from the Council that there will be a 9% cut in nephrops in Area 7A is a bitter blow to the fishing industry in Northern Ireland.

It is a fragile industry because of the cod recovery programme and because of the cuts in the days at sea. It is an industry that has had to rely on nephrops. This 9% cut will be devastating, and it is particularly galling since the science this year should have allowed the Commission to have a roll-over.

I think that the priority for the Spanish in the next term must be the reform of the common fisheries policy and for decisions like this to be taken at regional level by local, accountable people, and not Brussels bureaucrats.

3-068

**Czesław Adam Siekierski (PPE).** – Dużo dobrego w czasie prezydencji szwedzkiej wydarzyło się w Unii. W trudnym przecież okresie kryzysu i oczekiwań na akceptację traktatu lizbońskiego. Nie podzielam jednak opinii, że mamy inną Unię czy nową Unię. Uważam, że co najwyżej mamy odnowioną Unię. Tak naprawdę ogólne zapisy traktatu musimy wypełnić nie tylko szczegółową treścią, ale konkretnymi rozwiązaniami praktycznymi. Ważny jest podział kompetencji dla kluczowych stanowisk czy wreszcie, jak ustalimy relacje pomiędzy instytucjami unijnymi, w tym nową rolę Parlamentu Europejskiego.

Moje obawy wzbudza możliwe ograniczenie funkcji prezydencji rotacyjnej państw członkowskich, które z taką determinacją przygotowywały się i pełniły funkcję przewodniczenia. Jeśli obok stałego przewodniczącego Rady Europejskiej nie będzie także sprawozdawał tu i był z nami na sali przywódca kraju pełniącego przewodnictwo, to Unia będzie niepełna i straci na swojej różnorodności. Kraje, które przewodniczą dalej muszą twórczo inspirować nowe działania, a stały przewodniczący Rady Europejskiej zapewnić koordynację, ciągłość i spójność działań Unii.

3-069

### **PRZEWODNICZY: JERZY BUZEK** *Przewodniczący*

3-070

**Fredrik Reinfeldt, President-in-Office of the Council.** – Mr President, coming to the end of this debate, we are also coming to the end of the last presidency on the rotating principle, as has been mentioned. Soon José Manuel Barroso and I will leave for Copenhagen, so just a comment on financial resources, because I think that will be at the heart of the discussions we will now have with the developing countries.

We were able to put a figure on the table – EUR 2.4 billion annually – between 2010 and 2012. The importance for us was to say that this is directed to these years, earmarked for 2010 to 2012, and it will also be available for support when it comes to climate protection.

The discussion on how to meet the Millennium Development Goals is an important discussion. I want to point out that the Member States have agreed that we should commit ourselves to disbursing collectively 0.56% of EU GNI by 2010, that is already next year, and coming up to the UN percentage level of 0.7 in 2015 when it comes to official development assistance.

This is very much in the hands of the Member States. To point out the obvious, very many of the Member States are below these figures today. Sweden is in a very exclusive club, almost alone at 1% of GNI when it comes to development assistance. This should also be remembered when we discuss these levels: that there are differences between the countries.

We made it voluntary for the Member States to give the resources that they were able to give. I am very happy to report back that all 27 Member States made contributions to these fast-start resources. In some cases they were very small contributions, but the European voice is heard in the sense that everyone actually contributed.

Thank you again also for the cooperation we have had with Parliament. It is the fourth time during the Swedish Presidency that I, as Prime Minister, have addressed this Parliament. That does not even come close to Cecilia Malmström's number of engagements with Parliament, because she has been here 25 times to speak to you. In all, the Presidency has addressed Parliament in plenary on 43 occasions during our term in office and we have been in committee on 44 different occasions.

That is also important when it comes to the discussions on transparency and good cooperation between the institutions. We knew of the importance of having a good link with the European Parliament. We prepared ourselves to be present, to be here, to be able to answer questions, and we thank you for that very good cooperation.

3-071

**President.** – Prime Minister, in two weeks' time your presidency of the European Union will come to an end. Thank you for your activity and for your energy. It has not been an easy presidency; we know that. As we heard from our Members, and the many points of view expressed, it has been a successful presidency. I wish to thank you personally and, indeed, the entire Swedish Government. For the first time in history we experienced, over the last few weeks, new relations as a result of the Lisbon Treaty.

Thank you very much. We will remember your presidency.

3-072

**José Manuel Barroso, President of the Commission.** – Mr President, I would just like to answer some of the concrete questions from the Members of Parliament who are still here.

For instance, Mr Severin spoke about economic, social and territorial cohesion, and I want to underline the point he made. In fact, in the first exchange of views which we had in the European Council on the future European Union 2020 Strategy, it was agreed – see point 18 of the conclusions – that every effort should be made to ensure economic, social and territorial cohesion as well as gender equality. I think it is important to have this from the beginning of the discussion of the European Union 2020 Strategy. Of course the emphasis is on competitiveness and the need to respond to the global challenges which we are now facing, but we should do that in conjunction with promoting economic, social and territorial cohesion in the European Union. This is going to be very important not only for the definition of this strategy but also for the next financial perspectives.

Another concrete point regarding the European supervisory authorities was raised, namely by Mr Karas and also by Ms Dati. Let me be clear on this matter. We very much welcome the fact that the European Council was able to reach a unanimous agreement. Frankly, some time ago it would have been inconceivable to have all the Member States agreeing on a text on financial supervision at European level. Having said this, while I respect the delicate nature of some of the issues addressed by our proposals, I believe the Commission's text has been diluted a bit too much. The Commission, in its proposal, had foreseen a simple and workable fiscal safeguard clause, precisely because this is a very sensitive matter. Anyway, I regret the removal of the proposed powers of the authorities to address decisions directly to individual financial institutions in two out of the three situations where the Commission had proposed it.

I regret the fact that the issue of emergency situations has been politicised by giving the Council the responsibility of declaring that an emergency exists, and I also regret that the potential scope of direct supervision by the European supervisory authorities has been limited to credit-rating agencies only. I hope the European Parliament will reinforce and rebalance the regulations in these areas in the next negotiating phase.

Coming to the issue of Copenhagen, and let me be clear about this: it was very important that the European Council confirmed the previous commitments saying that we are ready to move to a 30% reduction by 2020, compared to 1990 levels, provided that other developed countries commit themselves to comparable emission reductions and that developing countries contribute adequately according to their responsibilities and respected capabilities.

We will continue to assess mitigation plans from other countries and take this decision at the appropriate time in Copenhagen. In fact, during the European Council, I had mentioned the possibility of having some modulation in our offer, namely the possibility of constructing some pathways beyond 2020. This discussion is not just about 2020; it is for after 2020. So we should have some flexibility on the pathways that we can define after 2020. It is in this spirit that we go to Copenhagen not only to achieve the most ambitious agreement but also to have a real global agreement.

3-073

**President.** – President Barroso, thank you once again. I would like to thank Prime Minister Reinfeldt, Minister Malmström, a former Member of the European Parliament, and the whole of the Swedish Government for their very active cooperation with the European Parliament.

That concludes the debate.

#### *Written statements (Rule 149)*

3-074

**Vilija Blinkevičiūtė (S&D), raštu.** – Norėčiau pasveikinti pirmininkaujančią Švediją už konstruktyvius bei rezultatyvius įgyvendintus savo programos tikslus. Švedija įdėjo daug pastangų, kad šių metų gruodžio 1 d. įsigalioję Lisabonos sutartis, o tai reiškia, kad Europos Sąjunga taps demokratiškesnė, veiksmingesnė ir skaidresnė. Esu tikra, kad sutartis pagerins teštinumą bei sustiprins Sąjungos vaidmenį tarptautinėje arenoje.

Pirmininkaujant Švedijai buvo patvirtinta Baltijos jūros regiono strategija. Džiaugiuosi, kad Baltijos jūros regiono strategijos įgyvendinimui yra skiriama finansinė parama. Kadangi esu iš Lietuvos, puikiai žinau, kad šiandieną Baltijos jūros regionas susiduria su dideliais iššūkiais. Vienas iš jų – kaip geriausia išspręsti neatidėliotinas rimtas Baltijos jūros aplinkosaugos problemas? Kitas – kaip Baltijos jūros regioną paversti aktyvesniu ekonomikos augimo ir vystymosi varikliu?

Preliminarius atsakymus į klausimus jau šiandieną galime rasti Švedijos pirmininkavimo laikotarpiu priimtoje Baltijos regiono strategijoje. Tai pirmasis iš keleto Europos makroregionų plėtros planų, kuriuo tikimasi pagerinti regiono aplinką bei sustiprinti jo konkurencingumą. Stokholmo programos strategija – tai vienas iš svarbiausių Švedijos pasiektų prioritetų. Ši penkerių metų programa sudarys sąlygas toliau plėtoti laisvės, saugumo ir teisingumo erdvę.

3-074-500

**José Manuel Fernandes (PPE)**, *por escrito*. – Os seis meses da Presidência Sueca, sob a Presidência do Primeiro-Ministro Reinholdt, foram de grande sucesso e excelência.

A Presidência sueca teve um papel crucial para a entrada em vigor do tratado de Lisboa. Terminou assim quase uma década de debate e impasse institucional abrindo-se as portas a novas oportunidades para União Europeia.

O combate às alterações climáticas foi um tema que esteve sempre no topo da sua agenda. A UE tem uma posição de liderança nesta matéria, para tanto demonstrou a sua ambição ao propor nomeadamente reduções de emissões de 80%, 95% em 2050. Chegou também a acordo para o financiamento dos países em desenvolvimento no valor 7,2 mil milhões de euros para os próximos três anos.

A presidência sueca enfrentou a crise económica e a turbulência financeira com medidas sólidas e realistas. Ao ser confrontada com a mais grave crise financeira desde a década de 1930 a UE adoptou rapidamente medidas de apoio extraordinário. O trabalho de "prevenção" de novas crises também foi realizado através de uma nova arquitectura para supervisão financeira.

A Presidência Sueca ajudou a enfrentar a crise e tornou a Europa mais forte permitindo-lhe continuar a trilhar um caminho de paz, sucesso e modernidade.

3-075

**Ilda Figueiredo (GUE/NGL)**, *por escrito*. – É certo que foi durante a Presidência sueca que se deram significativas alterações institucionais, com destaque para a entrada em vigor do Tratado de Lisboa, depois de todo o processo de pressão e de chantagem sobre o povo irlandês para a mudança de voto no segundo referendo que tiveram de realizar.

Mas, mesmo para quem tanto quer uma integração europeia cada vez mais neoliberal, militarista e federalista, não é admissível que não tenha tido uma frase para a gravidade da situação social que se vive na União Europeia, bem visível no aumento de mais de cinco milhões de desempregados no espaço de apenas um ano, atingindo agora mais de 23 milhões de pessoas.

No entanto, não deixa de ser sintomático o destaque que se dá ao lançamento do debate sobre a estratégia da União Europeia para 2020, esquecendo a avaliação da chamada Estratégia de Lisboa, aprovada há dez anos, e que prometia o oásis na União Europeia, para, certamente, não ter que se referir às causas da maior crise económica e social das últimas décadas, para o que contribuíram as liberalizações e a flexibilidade laboral, que criou trabalho precário e mal pago e multiplicou o desemprego.

3-076

**Lidia Joanna Geringer de Oedenberg (S&D)**, *na piśmie*. – Panie Przewodniczący! Bilans szwedzkiej prezydencji wypada bardzo pozytywnie. Oczywiście jej sukcesem jest przede wszystkim doprowadzenie do zakończenia procesu ratyfikacji traktatu lizbońskiego. Jako poseł w Komisji Prawnej uważam za sukces także doprowadzenie do kompromisu w Radzie w sprawie unijnego patentu oraz jednolitego systemu sądownictwa patentowego.

Debata nad wspólnym dla całej Unii patentem toczy się już od dawna. Nadszedł czas najwyższy, aby podjąć w tej sprawie konkretne ustalenia, gdyż brak jednolitych regulacji stanowi barierę w rozwoju dla przedsiębiorstw europejskich oraz utrudnia im konkurowanie np. z firmami amerykańskimi. W przeszłości wielokrotnie mieliśmy okazję przekonać się, jak trudno jest pogodzić interesy wszystkich państw członkowskich w sprawie unijnego patentu, dlatego tym bardziej jestem wdzięczna szwedzkiej prezydencji za osiągnięty, na razie na poziomie politycznym, kompromis.

Traktat lizboński daje Unii podstawę prawną do stanowienia prawa w dziedzinie własności intelektualnej oraz przewiduje, że odpowiednie normy będą przyjmowane w ramach procedury współdecydowania. Dlatego w czasie następnej, hiszpańskiej prezydencji czeka nas w Parlamencie bardzo ciekawa debata, której podstawą będzie wypracowany w grudniu tego roku kompromis.

3-077



**Zita Gurmai (S&D), in writing.** – The green light has been given to the Lisbon Treaty, which has created all necessary circumstances for institutional reforms. The Swedish Presidency's role was to pave the way for the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty's provisions. It coped with this challenge. The next Presidency's task is to ensure that the new structures function effectively. In this context, every effort should be made to ensure economic, social and territorial cohesion and gender equality. I find it important to emphasise that with the Treaty, the Charter of Fundamental Rights will be binding, so human rights (including gender equality) and anti-discrimination issues will have a better chance to be upheld via the law.

Another success was the drawing-up and approval of the Stockholm Programme, targeting core issues, which can be regarded as a pragmatic action plan for a more secure and more open Europe, based on common values, principles and actions.

I would like to underline that although gender equality was not a priority, the Swedish Presidency also played a role in increasing the number of women Commissioners and in the appointment of a female High Representative.

3-078

**Petru Constantin Luhan (PPE), în scris.** – Tratatul de la Lisabona a consolidat rolul Parlamentului în procesul decizional european și, implicit, legitimitatea acestei instituții în ochii cetățenilor. Felicit, așadar, Președinția Suedeză pentru eforturile remarcabile depuse pentru intrarea în vigoare a noului Tratat. Apreciez în egală măsură și evoluțiile din domeniul Justiției și afacerilor interne. Programul Stockholm elaborat în ultimele luni și votat la Consiliul European din 10-11 decembrie trasează noul cadru de referință în acest domeniu pentru perioada 2010-2014. Mă bucur să constat că, la nivelul Consiliului, s-a ținut cont de recomandările Parlamentului. Mă refer în mod special la extinderea spațiului Schengen la toate țările UE, care devine acum o prioritate pentru politica internă a Uniunii Europene în urma amendamentelor depuse de noi.

3-078-500

**Marian-Jean Marinescu (PPE), în scris.** – Doresc să felicit Președinția Suedeză pentru cele 6 luni de muncă ambicioasă, în contextul dificil al crizei economico-financiare, al pregătirii Summit-ului de la Copenhaga și al adoptării Tratatului de la Lisabona. Avem, în sfârșit, prin Tratatul de la Lisabona, cadrul instituțional clar pentru abordarea tuturor provocărilor cu care se confruntă lumea contemporană. Noul Tratat permite UE să-și asume ferm atât mandatul de pionier în lupta împotriva schimbărilor climatice cât și statutul de actor global, atât în relația cu Statele Unite și cu Federația Rusă, cât și în relația cu țările emergente. De altfel, noul Președinte permanent al Consiliului, precum și Înalțul Reprezentant vor asigura continuitatea în acțiunea politică externă a Uniunii, ceea ce reprezintă un pas înainte în întărirea rolului UE pe scena mondială. Ca urmare a tuturor acestor schimbări de natură instituțională, UE va fi mai eficientă și va avea la dispoziție o paletă mai amplă de modalități pentru a rezolva problemele majore cu care se confruntă comunitatea internațională, respectiv combaterea terorismului, adaptarea la schimbările climatice, asigurarea securității energetice și combaterea efectelor crizei economico-financiare. Sunt convins că Președinția Spaniolă va ști să se ridice la înălțimea așteptărilor și să continue cu succes acțiunile și activitățile demarate de Președinția Suedeză.

3-078-750

**Véronique Mathieu (PPE), par écrit.** – Je tiens à féliciter la Présidence suédoise pour son action et ce particulièrement dans les domaines qui relèvent de la Commission des libertés civiles. Les défis étaient de taille: il s'agissait d'opérer la transition entre le régime juridique du Traité de Nice et celui prévu par le Traité de Lisbonne et de rédiger en outre le prochain programme pluriannuel qui définirait les priorités à donner à l'Espace de Justice, de Sécurité, et de Liberté pour les cinq prochaines années. Je tiens à saluer ce programme dit de "Stockholm" qui donnera une impulsion politique ambitieuse visant à renforcer cet espace d'ici à 2014. Mais de nombreuses avancées restent à réaliser et ce essentiellement dans le domaine de l'asile. Je salue la mise en place du Bureau Européen d'Asile Commun car il est essentiel de rapprocher non seulement les législations mais également les pratiques des États membres. Mais les autres propositions du "paquet asile" devront être adoptées au plus vite pour éviter qu'on ait à développer une troisième phase du système européen d'asile commun. Avec les changements institutionnels majeurs introduits par le Traité de Lisbonne, nous pouvons à présent espérer l'adoption prochaine d'instruments législatifs plus ambitieux et de meilleure qualité sous les présidences à venir.

3-079

**Rovana Plumb (S&D), în scris.** – Președinția suedeză a însemnat un pas înainte prin 3 acțiuni majore: - alegerea președintelui UE și a Înalțului reprezentant pentru politica externă a UE, odată cu intrarea în vigoare a Tratatului de la Lisabona; - adoptarea „Programului multianual pe perioada 2010-2014, de la Stockholm” - pregătirea și coordonarea negocierilor COP 15 de la Copenhaga privind schimbările climatice. Salut decizia Consiliului privind disponibilitatea UE și a statelor sale membre de a contribui cu o finanțare inițială rapidă de 2,4 miliarde EUR anual pentru perioada 2010-2012 în vederea sprijinirii statelor în curs de dezvoltare să se adapteze la efectele schimbărilor climatice. Solicit, însă, Comisiei elaborarea unui mecanism adecvat de împărțire a efortului financiar între statele membre în funcție de puterea economică a fiecăruia.

3-080

**Joanna Senyszyn (S&D), na piśmie.** – Strategia 2020 wyznaczy kierunek funkcjonowania i główne priorytety Unii na kolejnych 10 lat. W kontekście wygasającej strategii lizbońskiej istotne jest, aby kontynuując dotychczasowe priorytety społeczno-ekonomiczne, znaleźć skuteczne środki niwelujące skutki kryzysu ekonomicznego.

W związku z trwającymi właśnie konsultacjami w sprawie przyszłej strategii, chciałam zwrócić uwagę na dwa aspekty: poprawę systemu kształcenia w Europie oraz równość płci na rynku pracy. System kształcenia w Europie musi ulec zmianie. Budowanie nowoczesnej gospodarki opartej na wiedzy nie jest możliwe bez młodych, dobrze wykształconych pracowników. Trzeba zapewnić większe wsparcie finansowe obecnym programom unijnym (Erasmus, Erasmus Mundus, Leonardo da Vinci) oraz stworzyć nowe inicjatywy, które pomogą młodzieży w nauce, zdobywaniu doświadczenia za granicą oraz dadzą finansowo-administracyjne możliwości jego wykorzystania w pracy we własnym kraju.

Unia, stawiająca na pierwszym planie potrzeby obywateli, powinna przyjąć program, który w każdym z wymienionych celów promuje zasadę równości płci, a w szczególności w walce z bezrobociem. Planując nową strategię trzeba położyć nacisk na wzrost udziału kobiet w zatrudnieniu. Z badań przeprowadzonych przez Eurostat wynika bowiem, że kryzys w większym stopniu dotyka pracujące kobiety niż mężczyźni, m.in. dlatego, że pracują na stanowiskach bardziej zagrożonych. Dyskryminacja na rynku pracy stanowi w dalszym ciągu poważny problem, z którym nowa strategia musi się zmierzyć.

3-081

**Nuno Teixeira (PPE), por escrito.** – Apesar das dificuldades resultantes do atraso na entrada em vigor do Tratado de Lisboa, a Presidência sueca conseguiu vitórias notórias. Entre elas encontra-se o pacote da eficiência energética e o pacote das telecomunicações, a criação de uma entidade de supervisão financeira prudencial, o acordo relativamente ao orçamento de 2010, nomeadamente no que diz respeito ao financiamento do plano de relançamento económico, a estratégia para a o Mar Báltico e o alinhamento para a conferência climática de Copenhaga desta semana. A Presidência espanhola, que terá início em 2010, assegurará a transição entre Nice e Lisboa e continuará a estratégia da promoção do emprego através do estímulo e dinamização das economias, para além de ter em mãos outros desafios capitais como a regulação financeira e as alterações climáticas. Pela sua proximidade geográfica e histórica, Portugal e, em particular, as regiões ultraperiféricas como a Madeira, que aguardam com expectativa o desempenho da Presidência espanhola, devem procurar tirar o máximo partido das oportunidades que seguramente serão geradas. A cimeira pioneira UE-Marrocos, por exemplo, será um fórum privilegiado para a dinamização do Espaço de Cooperação Atlântico Euro-Africano que envolverá a Madeira, os Açores, as Canárias e países vizinhos, nomeadamente Marrocos, no qual colocarei todo o meu empenho e o qual acompanharei de perto.

3-082

**Γεώργιος Τούσσας (GUE/NGL), γραπτώς.** – Οι αποφάσεις της Συνόδου Κορυφής συνιστούν ένταση της αντιλαϊκής πολιτικής της ΕΕ και των αστικών κυβερνήσεων, σκληρά μέτρα ενάντια στην εργατική τάξη και τα λαϊκά στρώματα για την ενίσχυση της κερδοφορίας και της θέσης των ευρωπαϊκών μονοπωλίων, τόσο στα πλαίσια της ενιαίας Εσωτερικής Αγοράς όσο και στο διεθνές ιμπεριαλιστικό ανταγωνισμό. Η "Στρατηγική της ΕΕ για το 2020", συνέχεια και εμβάθυνση της "Στρατηγικής της Λισσαβόνας", θέτει ως προτεραιότητα την επιτάχυνση των καπιταλιστικών αναδιαρθρώσεων, την κατεδάφιση των μισθολογικών, εργασιακών και κοινωνικών δικαιωμάτων των εργαζομένων που έχουν απομείνει. Ακρογωνιαίος λίθος της στρατηγικής εξόδου της Ε.Ε. από την καπιταλιστική κρίση είναι η επιβολή σαρωτικών αλλαγών στα συστήματα κοινωνικής ασφάλισης, η αύξηση των ορίων ηλικίας συνταξιοδότησης, η δραστική μείωση μισθών, συντάξεων και γενικότερα των κοινωνικών παροχών. Τα ελλείμματα και το δημόσιο χρέος, οι διαδικασίες επιτήρησης των οικονομιών διαφόρων κρατών μελών, ανάμεσά τους και της ελληνικής, επιστρατεύονται για να τρομοκρατήσουν ιδεολογικά τους εργαζόμενους. Η αντιλαϊκή αυτή πολιτική της ΕΕ φέρει τη σφραγίδα και του ΠΑΣΟΚ και της ΝΔ., που στήριξαν και στηρίζουν τις επιλογές του κεφαλαίου, ενώ φορτώνουν τις συνέπειες της κρίσης στις πλάτες των εργαζομένων. Το ΚΚΕ καλεί την εργατική τάξη να οργανώσει την απερίθρητη αντεπίθεση της, να καταδικάσει τα κόμματα του ευρωμονόδρομου. Να συμμετάσχει μαζικά στην απεργιακή κινητοποίηση της 17 Δεκέμβρη που οργανώνουν οι ταξικές δυνάμεις του ΠΑΜΕ.

3-083

**ΠΡΟΕΔΡΙΑ: ΣΤΑΥΡΟΣ ΛΑΜΠΡΙΝΙΔΗΣ**  
*Αντιπρόεδρος*

3-084

#### **4 - Ώρα των Ψηφοφοριών**

3-085

**Πρόεδρος.** – Η ημερήσια διάταξη προβλέπει την Ώρα των Ψηφοφοριών.

*(Για τα αποτελέσματα και λοιπές πληροφορίες επί της ψηφοφορίας: βλ. Συνοπτικά Πρακτικά)*

3-086

#### **4.1 - Κινητοποίηση του Ευρωπαϊκού Ταμείου Προσαρμογής στην Παγκοσμιοποίηση: Σουηδία-Volvo· Αυστρία-Steiermark· Κάτω Χώρες-Heijmans (A7-0079/2009, Reimer Böge) (ψηφοφορία)**

3-087

– μετά την ψηφοφορία επί της τροπολογίας 2

3-088

**Hans-Peter Martin (NI).** – Herr Präsident! Als wir über Änderungsantrag 8 abgestimmt haben, lief auf dem kleinen Bildschirm – bei uns jedenfalls – und auf dem linken Bildschirm immer noch 7d. Ich möchte nur, dass Sie sicherstellen, dass die Abstimmungen auch richtig verzeichnet werden.

3-089

#### **4.2 - Σχέδιο διορθωτικού προϋπολογισμού αριθ. 10/2009 της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης για το οικονομικό έτος 2009, τμήμα III - Επιτροπή (A7-0081/2009, Jutta Haug) (ψηφοφορία)**

3-090

#### **4.3 - Έλεγχος της εντολής (A7-0073/2009, Klaus-Heiner Lehne) (ψηφοφορία)**

3-091

#### **4.4 - Προοπτικές της Αναπτυξιακής Ατζέντας της Ντόχα μετά την έβδομη Υπουργική Διάσκεψη του ΠΟΕ (ψηφοφορία)**

3-092

– επί της τροπολογίας 2

3-093

**Harlem Désir (S&D).** – Monsieur le Président, je voulais juste dire que, si je comprends bien l'amendement de notre collègue, M. Papastamkos, il s'agit de rappeler l'engagement pris à Hong Kong par tous les membres de l'OMC de supprimer les subventions à l'exportation. Donc, contrairement à une erreur mentionnée sur nos feuilles de vote, le groupe socialiste soutient bien cet amendement.

3-094

#### **4.5 - Περιοριστικά μέτρα με αντίκτυπο στα ατομικά δικαιώματα, κατόπιν της θέσεως σε ισχύ της Συνθήκης της Λισαβόνας (ψηφοφορία)**

3-095

### **5 - Αιτιολογήσεις ψήφου**

3-096

#### **Προφορικές αιτιολογήσεις ψήφου**

3-097

- Έκθεση: Reimer Böge (A7-0079/2009)

3-098

**Jan Březina (PPE).** – Hlasoval jsem proti zprávě Böge týkající se uvolnění prostředků z Evropského fondu pro přizpůsobení se globalizaci, protože zejména v případě rakouské žádosti se jedná o značně nesystematický přístup odrážející se v bezprecedentní výši poskytované podpory na hlavu. Má-li se jednat o časově omezenou individuální podporu zaměřenou na pomoc pracovníkům zasaženým propouštěním v důsledku globalizace, je třeba tuto podporu odvíjet od reálných individuálních potřeb a reálného ekonomického kontextu. To se však neděje, naopak při určování této podpory se postupuje nahodile a svévolně. Proto je, podle mého názoru, třeba stanovit pevná kritéria. Takto použité peníze nejsou řešením problému, ale jsou ve skutečnosti plýtváním penězi daňových poplatníků.

3-099

- Προτάσεις ψηφίσματος: Προοπτικές της Αναπτυξιακής Ατζέντας της Ντόχα μετά την έβδομη Υπουργική Διάσκεψη του ΠΟΕ (RC-B7-0188/2009)

3-100

**Syed Kamall (ECR).** – Mr President, the reason that I think many of us are interested in trade is really the idea of how we help those in the very poorest countries to get out of poverty. We know that one of the best ways to help them out of poverty is to help the entrepreneurs in poorer countries. Entrepreneurs in many poorer countries are crying out for help and open markets and it is important that we support them.

But we also have to look within our own borders to see how we are setting up barriers to facilitating trade with poorer countries. In many cases, poorer countries see the trade rules as skewed against them and they look at things like the common agricultural policy, cotton subsidies, sanitary and phytosanitary standards, and the tariffs on higher value imports to the EU. It is important that we show that the trading system is truly open and that we help the poorest countries as much as possible to eradicate poverty.

3-101

**Nirj Deva (ECR).** – Mr President, if we are to alleviate poverty in the world we have to increase global trade. If we go down the path of protectionism because of the world's current financial crisis, the only thing we will do is delay bringing millions of people out of poverty, and millions of people will die. If we do not grasp this challenge right now and look forward beyond this crisis we will leave behind a legacy of such awful proportions that a billion people will find themselves unable to live.

We have a food crisis, we have climate change, we have global warming, we have floods, earthquakes and all sorts of catastrophes which call for our help, and the only way we can uplift everyone is to actually increase global trade, and I am very grateful that the new Trade Commissioner-designate is listening to me.

3-102

**Marc Tarabella (S&D).** – Monsieur le Président, concernant cette résolution sur l'Organisation mondiale du commerce, et contrairement à l'avis de l'orateur précédent, je considère que ce n'est pas le commerce international qui va faire en sorte qu'il y ait moins d'un milliard d'êtres humains qui meurent de malnutrition ou qui en souffrent, mais plutôt l'agriculture de subsistance, bien avant le commerce international.

J'ai déjà eu l'occasion de m'exprimer en ce sens lors du débat, et puisque, notamment, l'amendement qui concerne les services publics et la nécessité pour les gouvernements de pouvoir avoir la maîtrise des services publics sur des problèmes fondamentaux tels que l'eau, l'énergie, a été rejeté, rien que pour cela, j'ai voté contre cette résolution.

3-103

**Γραπτές αιτιολογήσεις ψήφου**

3-104

**- Έκθεση: Reimer Böge (A7-0079/2009)**

3-105

**Andrew Henry William Brons (NI), in writing.** – We are not laissez-faire capitalists and we do believe in state help for workers who have lost their jobs through no fault of their own. We would want that help to be provided by sovereign states to their own workers. We are not, of course, even in favour of EU membership. However, the European Globalisation Adjustment Fund exists and has had money allocated to it.

This fund is an unwelcome substitute for help by Member States. If it were to be proposed that British workers should be helped from this fund, I would obviously support it. Therefore, I must reluctantly support Swedish, Dutch and Austrian workers being supported from it. If there should be a No vote, the money would not be handed back to the taxpayer. It would be retained by the EU and then perhaps spent on a much less deserving cause.

: see Minutes

3-106

**Diogo Feio (PPE), por escrito.** – O Fundo Europeu de Ajustamento à Globalização foi criado para prestar assistência adicional aos trabalhadores afectados pelas consequências de mudanças importantes na estrutura do comércio internacional. A ele recorreram já Portugal, a Alemanha, a Espanha, os Países Baixos, a Suécia, a Irlanda e a Áustria, assim se demonstrando que este problema afecta Estados-Membros de diferentes situações geográficas e de diversos modelos e percursos económicos.

Estas situações, que vêm sucedendo a ritmo preocupante, convocam os decisores políticos para uma reflexão profunda acerca do modelo económico e social europeu, a sua sustentabilidade e o seu futuro. E tornam gritante a necessidade de promover a criação de novos empregos de qualidade, que só terão condições para vingar se soubermos apoiar e libertar de encargos e de burocracias injustificadas aqueles que, apesar das adversidades, ainda são capazes de arriscar criar novas empresas e aderir a projectos inovadores.

Por muitos auxílios que sejam concedidos aos trabalhadores, estes de nada servirão se as empresas forem encerrando uma após outra e se não se inverter o ciclo de fuga do investimento no espaço europeu.

Os casos em apreço, que apoio, respeitam à Suécia, à Áustria e aos Países Baixos e reúnem um amplo consenso das comissões parlamentares competentes, quer para apresentar a proposta de resolução, quer para emitir parecer.

3-107

**Ilda Figueiredo (GUE/NGL), por escrito.** – Embora mantenhamos a nossa posição crítica relativamente ao Fundo Europeu de Ajustamento à Globalização, por considerarmos que seria mais importante ter tomado medidas de prevenção do desemprego visando evitá-lo, votámos favoravelmente a mobilização do referido Fundo para prestar assistência adicional aos trabalhadores afectados pelas consequências de reestruturação de empresas ou da liberalização do comércio internacional.

Neste caso, trata-se da mobilização de cerca de 16 milhões de euros a favor da Suécia, da Áustria e dos Países Baixos, a fim de prestar assistência a trabalhadores despedidos, respectivamente, nos sectores automóvel e da construção civil.

Trata-se da quinta mobilização do Fundo em 2009, o que perfaz um valor global de 53 milhões de euros de verbas utilizadas dos 500 milhões previstos. Não deixa de ser sintomático que, num período de grave crise social, apenas se tenham utilizado pouco mais de dez por cento das verbas previstas, o que, só por si, demonstra a necessidade de, no mínimo, rever a regulamentação do referido Fundo.

3-108

**Françoise Grossetête (PPE), par écrit.** – J'ai voté en faveur du rapport Böge concernant la mobilisation du Fonds européen d'ajustement à la mondialisation. Son objectif est de préserver l'emploi ou de faciliter le retour sur le marché du travail des travailleurs licenciés à la suite de modifications de la structure du commerce international et de la crise financière et économique mondiale.

Trois ans après sa création en 2006, et dans le contexte actuel de la crise économique et financière mondiale, il était essentiel d'assouplir les conditions d'intervention de ce fonds européen. La Suède, l'Autriche et les Pays-Bas sont aujourd'hui concernés par ces mesures plus efficaces et rapides, et j'attends avec impatience que l'ensemble des États membres de l'UE disposent au mieux de ces financements. Lié au cadre financier 2007-2013, son montant annuel maximum ne peut excéder 500 millions d'euros, mais il est primordial que ces fonds soient exécutés en totalité, ce qui n'est pas le cas aujourd'hui.

L'Union européenne doit utiliser tous les moyens dont elle dispose pour faire face aux conséquences de la crise économique.

3-109

**Jörg Leichtfried (S&D), schriftlich.** – Ich stimme für den Bericht über die Bereitstellung von 15,9 Millionen Euro an Hilfe für Österreich, Schweden und die Niederlande. Insgesamt mussten in Folge der Weltwirtschaftskrise allein in der Steiermark insgesamt 744 Beschäftigte aus dem Bereich der Automobilzulieferindustrie entlassen werden. Dem zu Recht von Österreich gestellten Antrag auf Hilfen aus dem EU-Globalisierungsfond wurde nun von der EU in Höhe von 5 705 365 Euro stattgegeben.

Dies ist durchaus gerechtfertigt, da Österreich vom Exportrückgang besonders betroffen ist. So haben zum Beispiel die Ausfuhren von Straßenfahrzeugen und PKW um 51,3 % bzw. 59,4 % abgenommen. Durch die enge Verflechtung zwischen den Unternehmen der Kfz-Branche und der geringen Diversifizierung vieler Zulieferer ist die Krise in der gesamten Automobilbranche spürbar.

3-110

**Jean-Luc Mélenchon (GUE/NGL), par écrit.** – Les employés suédois, autrichiens et néerlandais sont sacrifiés par la globalisation. Nous rappelons notre ferme opposition à la logique intrinsèque à ce Fonds, qui fait des travailleurs européens de simples "variables d'ajustement" permettant la bonne marche d'une mondialisation néolibérale jamais remise en cause. Les intérêts de géants comme l'américain Ford, actuel propriétaire de Volvo Cars, qui vient de dégager pour ce troisième trimestre 2009 près d'un milliard de dollars de profits, ou encore Aviva, Axa et BlackRock, principaux actionnaires de Heijmans N.V., supplantent aujourd'hui l'intérêt général des citoyens européens. Le Fonds accompagne cette spoliation.

3-111

**Nuno Melo (PPE), por escrito.** – A UE é um espaço de solidariedade. É nesse espírito que se enquadra o Fundo Europeu de Ajustamento à globalização. Tratam-se de apoios fundamentais para o auxílio aos desempregados e às vítimas das deslocalizações que se verificam num contexto globalizado. Mais ainda, quando se sabe que é cada vez maior o número de empresas que se deslocalizam, aproveitando os reduzidos preços do factor trabalho que são praticados em vários países, nomeadamente na China e na Índia, muitas vezes a custo do chamado "Dumping" social, laboral e ambiental.

3-112

**Andreas Mölzer (NI), schriftlich.** – Wieder einmal müssen die Folgen der durch die Inanspruchnahme des Europäischen Fonds für die Anpassung an die Globalisierung (EGF) abgedeckt werden. Dieses Mal ist leider auch die Steiermark schwer betroffen. Insgesamt 744 Personen wurden in den vergangenen Monaten in neun verschiedenen Unternehmen entlassen, weshalb das Land Steiermark die EU um Unterstützung gebeten hat. Wie schon bei den vorangegangenen Anträgen wurde alles sehr genau geprüft und es freut mich, dass die Steirer alle Auflagen erfüllen. Gerade in der aktuellen

Finanz- und Wirtschaftskrise werden uns die negativen Auswirkungen der Globalisierung wieder einmal mehr als deutlich vor Augen geführt.

Umso unverständlicher ist es in diesem Zusammenhang, dass das Parlament heute eine Entschließung für mehr Liberalisierung und den Abbau von Handelshemmnissen und damit aber auch für mehr Globalisierung angenommen hat. Bis es zu einem Umdenken in der EU kommt, können wir daher nur den durch die Globalisierung entstandenen Schaden in den betreffenden Ländern mindern. Ich habe daher ohne Vorbehalte für die Freigabe der Hilfsmittel aus dem Fonds gestimmt.

3-112-500

**Wojciech Michał Olejniczak (S&D), na piśmie.** – Opowiedziałem się za uruchomieniem Europejskiego Funduszu Dostosowania do Globalizacji, ponieważ dzisiejsza sytuacja na rynkach pracy wymaga od nas działania na rzecz pracowników. Poprzednie kryzysy charakteryzowały się tym, że dotyczyły konkretnych regionów i były skupione w jednym miejscu. Wtedy wszyscy ci, którzy stracili pracę lub borykali się z problemami finansowymi, mogli emigrować w celach zarobkowych lub pracować na kilka etatów. Dzisiaj, w związku z globalnym charakterem kryzysu finansowego, takiej możliwości nie ma.

Aktualna sytuacja na rynkach finansowych wymaga wsparcia dla wielu milionów ludzi, którzy przez ostatni rok stracili pracę. Nie chodzi tu oczywiście tylko o pomoc w poszukiwaniu pracy, ale także o wykorzystanie elastyczności rynku pracy i przekwalifikowywanie pracowników, organizowanie odpowiednich szkoleń, np. w zakresie obsługi komputera czy doradztwa zawodowego. Gros środków z EGF powinno być przeznaczone na promowanie przedsiębiorczości i pomoc w samozatrudnieniu, ponieważ w sytuacji utraty pracy szansą na utrzymanie stabilności finansowej i rozwoju jest założenie własnej firmy i wypracowywanie dochodu we własnym zakresie.

Uważam, że programy takie, jak Europejski Fundusz Dostosowywania do Globalizacji, są bardzo potrzebne, ponieważ stanowią odpowiedź na konkretną sytuację i bezpośrednio wspomagają tych, którzy najbardziej ucierpieli na skutek kryzysu.

3-113

**Aldo Patriciello (PPE), per iscritto.** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, mi congratulo per l'eccellente lavoro svolto dal relatore. Il Fondo di adeguamento alla globalizzazione è divenuto ormai uno strumento sempre più utilizzato dal Parlamento europeo a causa della difficile fase di convergenza economica che sta attraversando il nostro continente.

Ciò dimostra che di fronte alla crisi il Parlamento europeo mediante una sinergia di intenti trasversale dal punto di vista politico ha saputo adottare degli strumenti politici messi al servizio dei cittadini che noi rappresentiamo. Per tale ragione ho inteso esprimere il mio voto favorevole a questo Fondo, certo che questo costituisca uno strumento fondamentale di integrazione professionale e quindi sociale per i lavoratori che hanno perso il proprio impiego.

3-113-500

**Marit Paulsen, Olle Schmidt och Cecilia Wikström (ALDE), skriftlig.** – Sverige har ansökt om stöd från Europeiska fonden för justering för globaliseringseffekter med anledning av uppsägningarna inom bilsektorn i Sverige.

Vi är övertygande om att frihandel och marknadsekonomi gynnar ekonomisk utveckling och är därför i princip emot ekonomiska stöd till länder eller regioner. Den här ekonomiska krisen är dock djupare än någon annan kris Europa upplevt sedan 1930-talet och har drabbat biltillverkare i Sverige särskilt hårt, och i synnerhet Volvo Cars.

De uppsägningar som Volvo Cars genomfört anses, enligt kommissionen, ha "betydande negativa konsekvenser för den lokala och den regionala ekonomin" i Västsverige. Volvo Cars har stor betydelse för sysselsättningen i Västsverige. Om Europaparlamentet inte agerar skulle arbetstagarna vid Volvo Cars och dess underleverantörer drabbas mycket hårt. Risker är stora för social utslagning och ett permanent utanförskap, vilket vi som liberaler inte kan acceptera. Vi känner starkt med alla som drabbats av arbetslöshet och ser gärna utbildningsinsatser för dem.

Sverige är en nettobetalare till EU och därför är det viktigt att även anställda vid företag verksamma i Sverige får stöd från EU när den ekonomiska krisen drabbar dessa personer.

3-114

**Marie-Christine Vergiat (GUE/NGL), par écrit.** – Je me suis abstenue lors du vote sur une nouvelle mobilisation du Fonds d'ajustement à la mondialisation.

Il s'agit ici, notamment, de deux versements de près de 24 millions d'euros au total à l'industrie automobile en Suède et en Autriche. Une autre demande concerne une entreprise de construction aux Pays-Bas.

L'industrie automobile est la principale bénéficiaire de ce fonds, alors qu'elle ne cesse de fermer des usines, de délocaliser ses productions, de licencier nombre de salariés et de fragiliser ses sous-traitants. Elle a bénéficié, par ailleurs, d'autres

aides financières des États membres dans le cadre des plans de relance économique ou d'autres soutiens, notamment dans le cadre des politiques de lutte contre le changement climatique.

Ces financements, qui visent la formation des personnes licenciées, mesure nécessaire pour retrouver un emploi, ne se font pas en contrepartie de l'engagement de l'industrie automobile européenne de ne plus licencier ses salariés.

Il n'est pas question pour moi de cautionner une telle politique qui, de fait, soutient les délocalisations.

3-115

- Έκθεση: Jutta Haug (A7-0081/2009)

3-116

**Ilda Figueiredo (GUE/NGL), por escrito.** – Este orçamento rectificativo espelha bem as contradições dos orçamentos da União Europeia. Por um lado, tem valores globais baixos face às necessidades das políticas de coesão económica e social. Mas, por outro lado, as verbas não são gastas porque os países que mais precisavam desse dinheiro tiveram dificuldades orçamentais para o co-financiamento exigido.

No entanto, rejeitaram as propostas que apresentámos para diminuir as exigências de co-financiamento, designadamente numa época de crise. São as contradições e irracionalidades da política comunitária que apenas favorecem os países mais ricos e desenvolvidos, acabando por agravar as desigualdades sociais e assimetrias regionais. Daí, o nosso voto contra.

O próprio relatório justifica a nossa posição quando sublinha que "existem diferentes motivos para o aparente abrandamento nos pagamentos, comparativamente ao ritmo previsto, consoante o Estado-Membro. Em primeiro lugar, a situação económica actual provocou, em alguns casos, dificuldades na disponibilização de co-financiamento nacional. Em segundo lugar, o facto de a execução do desenvolvimento rural em 2009 demonstrar um perfil menos dinâmico do que no ano relevante do período de programação anterior explica-se pela aprovação tardia de determinados programas, bem como, no caso da Roménia e da Bulgária, por uma falta de experiência anterior suficiente na execução de programas de desenvolvimento rural."

3-117

- Προτάσεις ψηφίσματος: Προοπτικές της Αναπτυξιακής Ατζέντας της Ντόχα μετά την έβδομη Υπουργική Διάσκεψη του ΠΟΕ (RC-B7-0188/2009)

3-118

**Νικόλαος Χουντής (GUE/NGL), γραπτώς.** – Καταψήφισα το ψήφισμα, διότι στο σύνολο του προάγει την απελευθέρωση των αγορών, τη διαμόρφωση ενός συστήματος στο εμπόριο, που μόνο σε βάρος των φτωχών και αναπτυσσόμενων χωρών είναι και δεν θα δείχνει καμία πραγματική έγνοια για τις περιβαλλοντικές ανάγκες του πλανήτη. Θεωρώ ότι πρέπει να απορριφθεί η απελευθέρωση των εμπορικών ανταλλαγών και τα καταστροφικά της αποτελέσματα, τα οποία έχουν συμβάλει στην τρέχουσα χρηματοπιστωτική, οικονομική, κλιματική και επισιτιστική κρίση, σε απώλειες θέσεων εργασίας, σε φτώχεια και αποβιομηχάνιση. Επίσης καταψήφισα, διότι το ψήφισμα δεν εξασφαλίζει τον πλήρη σεβασμό του δικαιώματος των κυβερνήσεων να προστατεύουν την ικανότητά τους για ρύθμιση και παροχή θεμελιωδών υπηρεσιών, ιδίως στον τομέα των δημόσιων αγαθών και υπηρεσιών όπως η υγεία, η παιδεία, ο πολιτισμός, οι επικοινωνίες, οι μεταφορές, η ύδρευση και ο εφοδιασμός με ενέργεια.

Δυστυχώς σχετικές τροπολογίες που κατέθεσε η GUE/NGL καταψηφίστηκαν. Θα αγωνιστούμε για μια γνήσια μεταρρύθμιση του διεθνούς συστήματος εμπορίου, προσανατολισμένη στη θέσπιση κανόνων για δίκαιες εμπορικές ανταλλαγές, που να συμμορφώνονται με τους διεθνείς κανόνες στον τομέα της κοινωνικής δικαιοσύνης, του σεβασμού του περιβάλλοντος, της επισιτιστικής κυριαρχίας και ασφάλειας, της αειφόρου γεωργίας, της βιώσιμης ανάπτυξης και της πολιτισμικής πολυμορφίας.

3-119

**Anne Delvaux (PPE), par écrit.** – J'ai voté contre la résolution commune sur les perspectives du plan d'action de Doha pour le développement au lendemain de la septième Conférence ministérielle de l'OMC. Globalement parce qu'elle manque clairement de vision en faveur du développement et du respect des pays en développement. Plus spécifiquement parce que, s'il est capital de parvenir à la conclusion du cycle de Doha, cela ne peut se faire à n'importe quel prix. Le commerce mondial doit prendre en considération la spécificité européenne de la coopération historique avec les pays les plus pauvres. Par ailleurs, en ce qui concerne l'agriculture ou encore la libéralisation des services, je ne partage pas les orientations prônées par cette résolution, d'autant plus que les amendements qui tentaient d'équilibrer le texte n'ont pas tous été acceptés. Par exemple, il n'est pas question d'accepter une intensification des négociations dans le secteur des services (pour parvenir à une plus grande libéralisation).

Enfin, je déplore que la résolution ait accepté un renforcement des accords de libre-échange bilatéraux. Ce type d'accord est souvent beaucoup plus défavorable aux pays en développement qui, seuls face à l'UE, ont une capacité de négociation beaucoup plus limitée et ont tendance à se retrouver acculés.

3-120

**Diogo Feio (PPE)**, *por escrito*. – Considero que a ronda de Doha tem uma importância fundamental para o comércio internacional e poderá ajudar em muito à redução da pobreza nos países em desenvolvimento e a uma repartição mais equitativa dos benefícios da globalização. Assim, é importante que a agenda de Doha para o desenvolvimento tome em consideração aquele efeito e que contribua de facto para que se realizem os objectivos do milénio.

É fundamental que os membros da OMC continuem a evitar a adopção de medidas proteccionistas, o que poderá ter um impacto extremamente gravoso na economia mundial. Estou convencido de que a não adopção de medidas proteccionistas permitiu uma melhor, ainda que lenta, recuperação da crise económica que actualmente vivemos.

Assim, é crucial que os membros da OMC combatam o proteccionismo nas suas relações bilaterais e multilaterais em acordos futuros.

3-121

**José Manuel Fernandes (PPE)**, *por escrito*. – Defendo um papel de liderança da UE nas negociações em curso da OMC, a fim de concluir a ronda de Doha, tendo presente os novos desafios globais, como sejam as alterações climáticas, a segurança e a soberania alimentar. Espero que o resultado se traduza na criação de novas oportunidades de mercado e no reforço das regras sobre comércio multilateral, de forma a colocar o comércio ao serviço do desenvolvimento sustentável. A OMC pode fazer uma melhor gestão da globalização. No entanto, reconheço que, no contexto da actual crise económica, as regras e os compromissos assumidos no âmbito da OMC impediram, em larga medida, que os seus membros recorressem a medidas restritivas do comércio e permitiram a adopção de medidas de recuperação económica.

É importante que os membros da OMC se mantenham empenhados no combate activo ao proteccionismo. Espero que se alcance uma maior cooperação entre a OMC e outras organizações e organismos internacionais, como a Organização da ONU para a Alimentação e a Agricultura (FAO), a OIT, o Programa das Nações Unidas para o Meio Ambiente (UNEP), o Programa das Nações Unidas para o Desenvolvimento (PNUD) e a Conferência das Nações Unidas sobre Comércio e Desenvolvimento (UNCTAD). Por isso, votei favoravelmente.

3-122

**Ilda Figueiredo (GUE/NGL)**, *por escrito*. – Esta resolução insiste nas posições neoliberais do Parlamento Europeu relativamente à ronda de Doha, lançada em 2001, embora com uma ou outra referência às questões sociais e aos objectivos do desenvolvimento do milénio.

Mas, a linha central é a aposta na liberalização completa do mercado mundial, tendo recusado reconhecer que é tempo de alterar as prioridades no comércio internacional e de recusar o livre comércio pelo contributo negativo que deu para a crise financeira, económica, alimentar e social que se vive, com aumento do desemprego e da pobreza, servindo apenas os interesses dos países mais ricos e dos grupos económicos e financeiros.

Ao recusarem as nossas propostas de alteração, disseram não a uma profunda alteração das negociações no sentido de dar prioridade ao desenvolvimento e progresso social, à criação de emprego com direitos, ao combate à fome e à miséria. É lamentável que não tenham considerado prioritário acabar com os paraísos fiscais, apostar na soberania e segurança alimentares, apoiar serviços públicos de qualidade e respeitar o direito dos governos de preservar a sua economia e os serviços públicos, designadamente nas áreas da saúde, educação, água, cultura, comunicação e energia.

3-123

**Bruno Gollnisch (NI)**, *par écrit*. – Non, le libre-échange mondial n'est pas une solution à la crise actuelle. Il en est, bien au contraire, une des causes profondes. Si les négociations du cycle de Doha piétinent depuis le début et sont au point mort depuis un an, c'est qu'il y a un problème profond: le système a atteint ses limites supportables pour tous, pays développés, émergents, ou moins avancés, comme le jargon international appelle ces États qui plongent dans la misère, forcés de s'intégrer dans un marché mondial ultra-concurrentiel qui les lamine. En Europe, nous vivons dans le constant paradoxe des pseudo-élites qui nous gouvernent et qui veulent que nous soyons tous à la fois pauvres et riches: pauvres, parce que sous-payés pour être compétitifs dans la guerre commerciale qui nous oppose aux pays à bas salaires, riches, pour pouvoir consommer les importations à bas prix et souvent de médiocre qualité, qui inondent nos marchés.

Cela fait des décennies qu'un prix Nobel français d'économie a avancé la solution d'évidence: le libre-échange n'est possible et souhaitable, au bénéfice mutuel des partenaires, qu'entre pays ou entités ayant le même niveau de développement. Pour tout le reste, n'en déplaie aux prophètes de l'ultralibéralisme, le commerce doit être régulé.

3-124

**Sylvie Guillaume (S&D)**, *par écrit*. – Je souhaite que le cycle de Doha pour le développement nous permette de déboucher sur des relations commerciales justes et équitables. C'est pourquoi j'ai soutenu les amendements de mon groupe politique qui visent à améliorer cette résolution pour renforcer les exigences de développement, demander à ce que les services publics ne soient pas mis en cause dans les négociations sur les services, demander, pour ce qui est des tarifs industriels, qu'on reconnaisse la nécessité de prendre en compte le niveau de développement de chaque pays et ne pas ouvrir brutalement ces secteurs à la concurrence, et enfin, que dans le domaine agricole le traitement spécial et différencié pour certaines productions soit préservé.



3-125

**Nuno Melo (PPE)**, *por escrito*. – Os vários desequilíbrios existentes no sistema comercial internacional contribuem de forma perversa para acentuar as assimetrias verificadas entre os vários continentes. Nesse sentido, tudo o que contribua para a rectificação dos actuais desequilíbrios é benéfico para todos e contribui, com certeza, para um sistema multilateral, baseado em normas mais justas e equitativas, e para encontrarmos um comércio justo ao serviço de todos. É esse o espírito do Programa de Doha para o desenvolvimento.

3-126

**Willy Meyer (GUE/NGL)**, *por escrito*. – Tras treinta años de fundamentalismo del libre mercado, la economía global se enfrenta a la mayor crisis desde la Gran Depresión de los años 30. La agenda neoliberal de la OMC, con desregulaciones, liberalización y privatización de servicios, ha llevado al mundo a más pobreza para la mayoría de la población, tanto en los países en desarrollo como en los países industrializados. Desde mi grupo siempre hemos rechazado la liberalización del comercio y sus efectos devastadores que contribuyen a la actual crisis financiera, económica, climática y alimentaria.

Por estos motivos, he votado en contra de la Resolución del Parlamento sobre la conferencia ministerial de la OMC y, desde mi grupo, hemos propuesto que se insistiera en un nuevo mandato para negociar en la OMC, adaptado a la situación actual del mundo, con el objetivo de conseguir una verdadera reforma del sistema de comercio internacional orientado a la adopción de reglas de comercio justo, que respeten los acuerdos internacionales y las reglas nacionales en los campos de la justicia social, del medio ambiente, de la soberanía alimentaria y de la agricultura sostenible.

3-127

**Andreas Mölzer (NI)**, *schriftlich*. – Der gemeinsame Entschließungsantrag der Konservativen und Liberalen zur Doha-Entwicklungsagenda und zur WTO schreibt die weltweite Liberalisierung in allen Wirtschaftsbereichen fort. Zweifellos gibt es durch den Abbau der Handelsschranken und die Zunahme des Handels in einigen Bereichen mehr Wohlstand und Prosperität. Dabei hat es sich aber gezeigt, dass der Freihandel insbesondere zwischen ähnlich entwickelten Ländern Sinn hat.

Sind die Handelspartner von ihrer Entwicklung her zu unterschiedlich, hat dies in vielen Fällen für beide Teile negative Auswirkungen. Die vollständige Öffnung der Märkte der Entwicklungsländer für Exporte aus Industriestaaten hatte mitunter die Zerstörung der örtlichen Wirtschaftsstruktur, die weitere Verarmung der Bevölkerung und in der Folge einen stärkeren Migrationsdruck auf die westlichen Staaten zur Folge. Umgekehrt wurde Europa von Billigwaren aus Fernost, die in vielen Fällen unter Ausbeutung der Arbeiter hergestellt wurde, überschwemmt. Die heimische Produktion wurde verlagert oder geschlossen, was zu Arbeitslosigkeit in Europa führte. Unter diesen Gesichtspunkten haben bestimmte Handelshemmnisse, z.B. zur Erhaltung der Ernährungssouveränität in Europa, also durchaus Sinn. Nicht zu vergessen ist, dass die Liberalisierung von Dienstleistungen auf den Finanzmärkten zur gegenwärtigen Finanz- und Wirtschaftskrise massiv beigetragen hat. Trotzdem spricht man sich im Entschließungsantrag dafür aus, die Liberalisierung weiter voran zu treiben und die WTO als Teil einer neuen Weltordnungspolitik aufzuwerten, weshalb ich dagegen gestimmt habe.

3-128

**Evelyn Regner (S&D)**, *schriftlich*. – Ich habe heute gegen die Resolution für die Doha-Entwicklungsagenda gestimmt, weil ich gegen jede Art von Liberalisierung der öffentlichen Dienstleistungen bin. Ich denke da vor allem an die Liberalisierung der Wasserversorgung, der Gesundheitsdienstleistungen und im Energiebereich. Für den Zusammenhalt der Gesellschaft ist es unerlässlich allen Bürgerinnen und Bürgern den Zugang zu den öffentlichen Dienstleistungen zu ermöglichen. Dies muss in hoher Qualität und unter Wahrung der Universalität und vor allem auf einem erschwinglichen Niveau geschehen. Die nationalen Behörden sollten dabei einen großen Ermessensspielraum und weite Gestaltungsmöglichkeit haben.

3-129

**Frédérique Ries (ALDE)**, *par écrit*. – À l'heure de la mondialisation, un système de régulation efficace des échanges commerciaux est plus que jamais d'actualité. C'est le rôle de l'Organisation mondiale du commerce, créée en 1995 en remplacement du GATT. Comme le souligne la résolution commune déposée par la droite de l'hémicycle, que j'ai soutenue ce midi, l'OMC a un rôle essentiel à jouer pour assurer une meilleure gestion de la mondialisation et une distribution plus équitable de ses bénéfices. À l'évidence, les tenants du protectionnisme, du repli sur soi, se trompent de cible lorsqu'ils font de l'OMC l'arme fatale d'une libéralisation effrénée. C'est l'actuel président de cet organe des Nations unies, Pascal Lamy, qui a indiqué la marche à suivre en 1999, celle, au contraire, d'une mondialisation maîtrisée.

Pour ce faire, le Parlement européen propose des solutions concrètes: accès au marché totalement hors taxe et hors quotas pour les pays les moins avancés, aboutissement du cycle de Doha pour les pays en développement, exigences en matière de normes environnementales et sociales, mandat encadré de la Commission pour les questions agricoles. Ceci pour rappeler aussi que l'Union européenne doit placer ses objectifs politiques au premier plan et pas seulement miser sur des objectifs commerciaux.

3-129-500

**Czesław Adam Sikiński (PPE)**, *na piśmie*. – Z radością przyjąłem rezolucję dotyczącą WTO, bo jest to wyjątkowo ważny problem w obecnych czasach. W interesie nas wszystkich leży jak najszybsze wyjście z kryzysu, który ma charakter globalny. Wydaje się, że jedną z form skutecznego ograniczania kryzysu jest rozszerzanie handlu światowego.

Ograniczanie reformowania gospodarek do ujęcia regionalnego czy narodowego jest łatwiejsze, ale na dłuższą metę nie jest to dobra forma walki z kryzysem, który ma wymiar globalny i walka z którym, wymaga wspólnych instrumentów o charakterze światowym. Dlatego trzeba zrobić wszystko, aby przyspieszyć negocjacje w ramach Światowej Organizacji Handlu, które liberalizują wymianę. Jednocześnie musimy przyjąć rozsądne zasady konkurencyjności. W tych zasadach szczególnie ważne są standardy jakościowe produktów i warunki produkcji, w tym także w kontekście przeciwdziałania zmianom klimatycznym i zmniejszania emisji CO<sub>2</sub>. Wyjątkowo rozsądnego podejścia wymagają towary dużej wrażliwości, jak artykuły rolno-spożywcze. Trzeba się w przyszłości zastanowić, czy równoległe z liberalizacją handlową w ramach WTO na szczeblu światowym w obszarze towarów rolnych nie trzeba wprowadzać także ujednoliceń niektórych elementów polityki rolnej w ujęciu światowym. Należy wziąć pod uwagę specyfikę sektora rolnego, jego uzależnienie od warunków klimatycznych i kwestie jakościowe związane z bezpieczeństwem żywnościowym, jak również warunki produkcji oraz problem zabezpieczenia żywnościowego świata. W negocjacjach WTO trzeba nam więcej zrozumienia wobec innych i dobrej woli!

3-130

**- Πρόταση ψηφίσματος: Περιοριστικά μέτρα με αντίκτυπο στα ατομικά δικαιώματα, κατόπιν της θέσεως σε ισχύ της Συνθήκης της Λισαβόνας (B7-0242/2009)**

3-131

**Νικόλαος Χουντής (GUE/NGL), γραπτώς.** – Καταψήφισα το ψήφισμα, διότι διαπνέεται από το δόγμα και την πολιτική του "πολέμου ενάντια στην τρομοκρατία" μέσω του οποίου έχουν δικαιολογηθεί και συνεχίζουν να δικαιολογούνται περιορισμοί των δικαιωμάτων και των ελευθεριών, νομιμοποιούνται στρατιωτικές επεμβάσεις και ενέργειες τις οποίες θεσμοθέτησε και η Συνθήκη της Λισαβόνας. Επίσης, το Ευρωπαϊκό Κοινοβούλιο εξαιρείται τελικά από τη συν-νομοθεσία, την εξέταση και τον έλεγχο μέτρων που αφορούν τα ατομικά δικαιώματα και τις αντιτρομοκρατικές πολιτικές, πράγμα που αποδυναμώνει τον ρόλο του σε πολύ κρίσιμα ζητήματα. Τέλος, υπογραμμίζω ότι, εκτός των άλλων, δυστυχώς υπερψηφίστηκε τροπολογία με την οποία διαστρεβλώνεται ο ρόλος των ΜΚΟ, μετατρέποντάς τις σε πληροφοριοδότες και όχημα των διάφορων υπηρεσιών ασφαλείας "καταπολέμησης της τρομοκρατίας" αντί για αρωγούς των κοινωνιών στις οποίες δραστηριοποιούνται.

3-132

**Carlos Coelho (PPE), por escrito.** – O acesso do público aos documentos é um elemento essencial de garantia do controlo democrático das instituições e do seu funcionamento eficaz, reforçando a confiança dos cidadãos. No âmbito do Programa de Estocolmo o Conselho lembrou a importância da transparência e convidou a Comissão a examinar a melhor maneira para assegurar a transparência no processo de tomada de decisões, acesso aos documentos e boa administração, face às novas oportunidades abertas pelo Tratado de Lisboa. Não tenho dúvidas de que é necessário proceder à alteração da base jurídica do Regulamento aplicável ao acesso aos documentos e alterar também o contexto legal em que deverá operar, em particular no que diz respeito à relação entre as instituições da União e os cidadãos.

É igualmente necessário introduzir melhorias em termos de substância, por exemplo em algo que me parece fundamental: a possibilidade do PE exercer o seu direito de controlo democrático, através do acesso a documentos sensíveis. A transparência, quer em relação ao público, quer em termos interinstitucionais é um princípio fundamental da UE. A actuação e as decisões tomadas por todas as instituições, organismos, serviços e agências da UE devem pautar-se por um respeito tão pleno quanto possível do princípio da abertura.

3-133

**Diogo Feio (PPE), por escrito.** – A questão em apreço respeita à interpretação do Tratado de Lisboa, em particular à compatibilização dos seus artigos 75.º e 215.º no tocante à competência do Parlamento no processo de adopção de medidas restritivas contra pessoas singulares e colectivas.

Se o artigo 215.º parece arredar o Parlamento do processo decisório, o artigo 75.º estabelece o processo legislativo ordinário e a consequente participação desta câmara na definição e adopção de medidas tendentes à prevenção do terrorismo e actividades conexas.

Sabendo que as medidas restritivas previstas no artigo 215.º têm muitas vezes por ratio precisamente o combate ao terrorismo, torna-se importante apurar se estamos diante de uma derrogação do artigo 75.º e se, nesse caso, é aceitável, do ponto de vista sistemático, que o Parlamento Europeu se veja totalmente arredado do processo tendente à sua adopção.

Julgo ser evidente que o legislador pretendeu confiar exclusivamente ao Conselho a adopção daquelas medidas e que tal confiança se poderá dever a critérios de celeridade e de unidade na decisão. Não obstante, sempre que a urgência o não impeça, acredito haver vantagem na audição do Parlamento aquando da adopção deste tipo de medidas.

3-134

**Ilda Figueiredo (GUE/NGL), por escrito.** – Mais uma vez, com o pretexto da luta contra o terrorismo, prevêm-se medidas restritivas e sanções contra governos de países terceiros, pessoas singulares ou colectivas, grupos ou autoridades não estatais, o que não é aceitável, dado que, apesar de algumas tentativas de distinção, o próprio relatório reconhece que é difícil distinguir na prática a questão das ameaças.

Sabemos que é necessário um outro quadro de respeito pelo direito internacional. Não aceitamos a política de "dois pesos e duas medidas" relativamente a governos de países terceiros, pessoas singulares ou colectivas, grupos ou autoridades não estatais, determinadas conforme os interesses dos EUA ou das principais potências europeias, de que não faltam exemplos. Para só citar alguns, são os casos da ocupação ilegal do Sara Ocidental, de Aminatu Haidar e de outros presos saraus que Marrocos mantém, da intervenção da Turquia contra os curdos e contra Chipre.

Por isso, votámos contra este relatório, mesmo sendo certo que concordamos com alguns parágrafos, designadamente no que se refere a pedidos de esclarecimento à Comissão Europeia.

3-135

**Bruno Gollnisch (NI), par écrit.** – La résolution de ce Parlement oscille en permanence entre la nécessité de prendre certaines mesures à l'encontre des organisations terroristes ou des États qui les soutiennent, comme le gel de leurs avoirs, ou des sanctions diplomatiques et économiques, etc. et le respect des droits des individus et organisations à se défendre contre de telles accusations et sanctions.

À l'évidence, ce Parlement a choisi de privilégier les droits des suspects face à la défense des nations. Mais si les démocraties ne peuvent effectivement combattre le terrorisme en niant leurs propres valeurs, elles ne peuvent pas non plus se permettre de donner l'impression du laxisme et de la faiblesse. Je crains que ce ne soit exactement ce que cette résolution soit en train de faire. C'est pourquoi, au-delà des aspects institutionnels, nous avons voté contre.

3-136

**Sylvie Guillaume (S&D), par écrit.** – J'ai voté en faveur de cette résolution car il est important pour nous, parlementaires européens, d'exercer notre contrôle parlementaire sur les décisions de sanctions contre les personnes associées à Al-Qaïda et aux talibans, ainsi que les personnes menaçant l'État de droit au Zimbabwe et en Somalie. La base juridique choisie est inacceptable, nous réclamons d'être consultés en procédure de codécision et d'être tenus informés de l'évolution des travaux à la commission des sanctions de l'ONU. Sur ce dossier, je regrette enfin l'approche très administrative que le Conseil maintient alors même qu'il s'agit ici de mesures portant sur des droits individuels.

3-137

**Timothy Kirkhope (ECR), in writing.** – The ECR Group are the strongest supporters of measures against terrorists in the EU and especially believe that national governments within the European Union must work together to tackle the constant threat from terrorism. The ECR Group have nevertheless decided to abstain on this resolution for two specific reasons: First, we oppose any legislation moving us towards a common European foreign and security policy but secondly, we instead want to see improved and strengthened coordination and cooperation between the EU and national governments, and are very disappointed that this resolution did not sufficiently reflect that.

3-138

**Nuno Melo (PPE), por escrito.** – A sensatez das questões colocadas vai para além da mera avaliação doutrinária e da coerência entre a vontade declarada e a vontade interpretada. Há também uma consequência prática que decorre da velha máxima "quem pode o mais, pode o menos" e tem que ver com o seguinte: que sentido faz que quem tenha competência em matéria penal e de prevenção e combate de ataques terroristas, sendo associado num processo de co-decisão, seja depois excluído liminarmente se estiverem em causa outras medidas que, afectando direitos dos cidadãos, possam até vir a ser importantes também neste âmbito?

É preciso dizer que importa fundamentalmente que a interpretação normativa do Tratado de Lisboa tenha correspondência real com o reforço declarado dos poderes e das competências do Parlamento Europeu. E, no mínimo, nalguns casos, como suscitado na questão, prevendo-se a possibilidade de uma base jurídica dupla, quando estejam em causa direitos dos cidadãos e as políticas de combate ao terrorismo se encontrem ameaçadas. E noutros, exemplos do Zimbabué e da Somália, então, a possibilidade da consulta facultativa, de resto como consagra a Declaração de Estugarda sobre a União Europeia e que foi também perguntado.

3-139

**Andreas Mölzer (NI), schriftlich.** – Im Namen der Terrorbekämpfung wurden in den letzten Jahren immer mehr Freiheitsrechte beschnitten. Gerade mit dem SWIFT-Abkommen und dem Stockholmer Programm wird der „gläserne Mensch“ immer mehr Realität. Natürlich ist es in Zeiten der modernen Technik, der Globalisierung und der grenzenlosen EU wichtig, dass die Behörden zusammenarbeiten und auch entsprechend aufrüsten. Der Staat darf sich jedoch nicht auf das Niveau der Terroristen herablassen. Man denke nur an die fragwürdige Rolle der EU bzw. einzelner Mitgliedstaaten im Zusammenhang mit CIA-Überflügen und geheimen US-Gefängnissen.

Die Kontrolle der Rechtmäßigkeit ist ein wichtiges Gegengewicht, um den Beschuldigten entsprechend den Vorgaben einer modernen Demokratie Mindestrechte einzuräumen. Der vorliegende Bericht ist bezüglich der Vorgehensweise nicht klar genug und geht auch auf vergangene Versäumnisse und Datenschutzfragen zu wenig ein, sodass ich mich der Stimme enthalten habe.

3-140

## 6 - Διαρθρώσεις και προθέσεις ψήφου: βλ. Συνοπτικά Πρακτικά

3-141

**PRZEWODNICZY: JERZY BUZEK**  
*Przewodniczący*

3-142

## 7 - Wręczenie Nagrody im. Sacharowa (uroczyste posiedzenie)

3-143

**President.** – Dear honoured guests, dear colleagues, dear friends, there are days when I am particularly proud to sit in the chair of the European Parliament as President. Today is such a day. Today we are honouring the winners of the 2009 Sakharov Prize, the prize for freedom of thought.

It is an enormous honour to recall that the Conference of Presidents decided to award the prize to Oleg Orlov, Sergei Kovalev and Lyudmila Alexeyeva, on behalf of Memorial and all other human rights defenders in Russia. I am proud that this decision was taken unanimously.

*(Loud and sustained applause)*

With this prize we, Members of the European Parliament, honour those still among us who fight for human rights, but we also honour those who lost their lives in this very struggle. Natalia Estemirova should have been among us today, as should Anna Politkovskaya. Their killers have yet to be brought to justice.

*(Applause)*

We in Europe know what the price of freedom is; what the price of freedom of thought is. On 16 December, exactly 28 years ago, strikers were killed in the Wujek coal mine by the Polish communist police, because they fought for solidarity; that is for basic human rights, for dignity. Twenty years ago, on 16 December in Romania, a revolution started which claimed the lives of over 1 000 people because they fought for their freedom.

This happened in countries which are now members of the European Union; countries which today are together with us. We in the European Parliament will never forget the past. It is our duty to safeguard those values which are so dear to all of us. In Europe we enjoy our daily human right of freedom of thought because of their highest sacrifice.

3-144

To dla mnie ogromny zaszczyt, że dzisiaj wręczam tę nagrodę stowarzyszeniu Memoriał. Czuję jednak również gorycz, że nadal jest potrzeba wręczania takiej właśnie nagrody w Europie – tym razem naszym rosyjskim przyjaciółom, obrońcom praw człowieka. W tym roku obchodzimy 20-stą rocznicę śmierci Andrieja Sacharowa, jednego z twórców tej organizacji. Nie wiem, czy czułby dzisiaj więcej dumy czy żalu, że dzisiejszej Rosji ciągle potrzebne są organizacje takie jak Memoriał.

Sacharow zdołał zobaczyć początek przemian w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej, widział upadający mur berliński, doczekał początku wolności, o którą walczył. Wierzimy, że dzisiejsi działacze praw człowieka w Rosji doczekają prawdziwej i trwałej wolności. Takiej, jaką my możemy się cieszyć w Unii Europejskiej. Tego życzymy dzisiaj wszystkim rosyjskim obywatelom.

*(oklaski)*

My, eurodeputowani, przyznajemy co roku nagrodę Sacharowa, bo chcemy wciąż przypominać, że ludzie na całym świecie muszą mieć zagwarantowane podstawowe prawa. Muszą mieć prawo do wolności przekonań i wolności myśli. Bo jak mówił Andriej Sacharow, tutaj cytuję, „wolność myśli jest jedyną gwarancją obrony przed zakażeniem ludzi masowymi mitami, które za sprawą nieuczciwych hipokrytów i demagogów mogą doprowadzić do krwawej dyktatury”, koniec cytatu. Dlatego Parlament Europejski stoi i będzie stał na straży wolności myśli, także poza Europą.

Dzisiaj eurodeputowani bezpośrednio wybrani przez obywateli 27 państw Unii Europejskiej przyznają nagrodę Sacharowa. Chcemy wesprzeć tych wszystkich, którzy na całym świecie walczą o podstawowe wartości. Unia Europejska ma wielką misję. Występujemy w obronie wolności słowa i myśli na całym świecie. Oczekujemy z nadzieją, że Rosja będzie na tym polu partnerem, na którym można polegać.

3-145

**Sergei Kovalev, on behalf of Memorial, winner of the 2009 Sakharov Prize.** – *(translated from the original Russian)* Ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the Memorial organisation, let me thank the European Parliament for this high accolade – the Sakharov Prize.

Memorial views this award as being not only for our organisation: the prize is being awarded to the entire human rights community in Russia and, more broadly, to an appreciable section of Russian society. For 40 years now, first in the Soviet Union and then in Russia, human rights defenders have been standing up for 'European' – that is to say, universal – values. This struggle has always been tragic, and has in recent years claimed the lives of the best and the most fearless. I am sure that, in awarding the Sakharov Prize to Memorial, the European Parliament had them in mind, first and foremost – our dead friends and comrades-in-arms. This prize belongs by right to them. And the first name I should cite is that of Natalya Estemirova, a fellow member of Memorial, murdered this summer in Chechnya. I cannot go on without mentioning other names, too: the lawyer Stanislav Markelov and journalists Anna Politkovskaya and Anastasia Baburova, murdered in Moscow; ethnologist Nikolai Girenko, shot in St Petersburg; Farid Babayev, murdered in Dagestan; and many others – sadly, this list that could go on for a long time. I would ask you to rise to honour the memory of these people.

*(The House rose and observed a moment's silence.)*

These people died so that Russia could become a genuinely European country, where public and political life is based on the primacy of the life and freedom of each single individual. That means they also died for Europe, since a Europe without Russia is incomplete.

I hope everyone understands that, when I speak of 'European values' and 'European political culture', I do not ascribe to such terms any geographical content or any 'Eurocentrism', because a political culture based on freedom and the rights of the individual embodies a universal system of values that is equally fitting for Europe and for Africa, for Russia and for China.

Today's event is symbolic and interconnected: the award itself, the day on which it is being presented, those making the award and those receiving it.

Andrei Sakharov, who died 20 years ago, was a distinguished champion of human rights as well as a distinguished thinker. He advanced two major propositions. The first was that only by overcoming political disunity and enmity does humanity have the chance to survive and develop, and the opportunity to cope with the global challenges of the age and to secure world peace and progress on our planet. The second proposition was that the only reliable support for our efforts to overcome the political disunity of the modern world is human rights, and, first and foremost, intellectual freedom.

The European Union, whose Parliament instituted this prize while Sakharov was still alive, is, perhaps, today the closest model to that future united humanity dreamt of by Andrei Dmitrievich Sakharov.

In recent times Russia and Europe have been increasingly set in opposition to one other. In Russia, it has become fashionable to talk about 'Russia's special path', about 'Russia's special spirituality' and even about 'special national values'. And in the Euro-Atlantic world one often hears opinions of Russia as an 'odd man out' among countries, one whose political development is determined by its history and specific characteristics, and similar speculative constructs. What is there to say in this regard? Russia, just like any other country, has its own path towards ordering life on the basis of universal human foundations. No nation in the world organises its life according to ideas and designs entirely borrowed from outside, but Russia's connection with Europe is far from being determined only by who borrows and from whom. The question can be put another way: has Russia brought something to the pan-European and universal civilisation taking shape before our eyes? And here I would like to recall Russia's unique contribution to the spiritual and political progress of Europe and humanity: the key role played by the Soviet human rights movement in forming modern political culture.

Sakharov rethought the role of human rights and intellectual freedom in the modern world as far back as 1968. His ideas were transferred to the practical level by the human rights organisations created by Soviet dissidents – first and foremost, the Moscow Helsinki Group, represented here today by Lyudmila Alexeyeva. These organisations were the first to declare publicly that fine-sounding declarations about international protection of human rights could not just remain declarations. We succeeded in mobilising world public opinion and the Western political elite was forced to move away from its traditional pragmatism. Naturally, this development also gave rise to a multitude of new problems that are still not fully resolved – an example being the doctrine of humanitarian intervention. Nevertheless, over the last 30 years a considerable amount has been achieved, although much more still lies ahead to be done. Russian human rights defenders of the 1970s were at the origins of this process and, if only for that reason, Russia cannot be struck from the list of European countries.

In Russia, in the last third of the 20th century, as nowhere else, the human rights movement became synonymous with citizenship and Russian human rights thinking was able to develop as far as Sakharov's global generalisations and take on the quality of a new political philosophy. This is linked to the unique nature of Russia's tragic history in the 20th century, to the need to comprehend and overcome the bloody and dirty past. If the Second World War was the impetus for the post-war political modernisation of Western Europe, having become the logical conclusion of the relatively short period of domination by the Nazi regime in Germany, then for the USSR and Russia the need for reconstruction was dictated by the experience of 70 years of domination by the Communist regime, the culmination of which was Stalin's terrorist dictatorship. The two key components of resurgent Russian citizenship were legal consciousness and historical memory.

The human rights movement positioned itself, from the outset, first and foremost as a movement for overcoming Stalinism in the public, political and cultural life of the country. In one of this movement's first public texts – a leaflet distributed by the organisers of the historic meeting of 5 December 1965 in defence of the law – it was said in this regard, with the utmost simplicity and brevity: 'The bloody past calls us to vigilance in the present'.

In essence, this special connection between two components of civil consciousness – legal thinking and historical memory – is inherited in its entirety by Russia's modern human rights community, and perhaps also by Russian civil society as a whole.

I believe that the paramount importance that Sakharov attached to Memorial in the last years and months of his life is linked to the fact that he understood clearly this specific aspect. In the activity of Memorial, these two basic components of Russian public awareness have merged into one whole.

It is my view that now also, on the 20th anniversary of Sakharov's death, the Members of the European Parliament, in choosing the recipient of the Prize, also felt and understood this specific aspect. We all remember the resolution on European conscience and totalitarianism, adopted by the European Parliament in April. This resolution, like the OSCE resolution that followed in July, on divided Europe reunited, demonstrates that a united Europe understands the sense and thrust of our work. Memorial thanks you for this understanding. The absurdity of the present-day political situation in Russia is illustrated clearly by the fact that our own Parliament – the Parliament of the country that suffered most and longest of all from Stalinism and Communist dictatorship – instead of warmly supporting these resolutions, immediately declared them 'anti-Russian'!

This shows that, even today, Stalinism is not, for Russia, simply a historical episode of the 20th century. We let slip a few years of confused and incomplete political freedom. The main feature of Communist totalitarianism – the attitude to people as an expendable resource – was not eliminated.

The aims of state policy are determined, as before, regardless of the opinion and interests of the country's citizens.

The establishment of a regime of 'imitation democracy' in today's Russia is connected precisely with this. All of the institutions of modern democracy are resolutely imitated: a multi-party system, parliamentary elections, separation of powers, an independent judicial system, independent television broadcasting, and so on. But such an imitation, going by the name of 'socialist democracy', also existed under Stalin.

Today, mass terror is not needed for imitation: there are enough stereotypes of public consciousness and behaviour preserved from the Stalinist era.

On the other hand, terror is also used when necessary. Over the last 10 years more than 3 000 people in the Chechen Republic have 'disappeared' – that is to say, been abducted, tortured, summarily executed and buried no one knows where. At first these crimes were perpetrated by representatives of the federal authorities, but they then handed this 'work', so to speak, over to local security structures.

How many Russian security officials are punished for these crimes? A mere handful. Who ensured they were called to account and judged? First and foremost, the human rights defender Natalya Estemirova, the journalist Anna Politkovskaya, the lawyer Stanislav Markelov. Where are they all? Murdered.

We see that the violence routinely taking place in Chechnya is extending beyond its borders and threatening to spread to the whole country. Yet we see that, even in such circumstances, people are found who are prepared to oppose a return to the past. And this is a basis for hope. We all understand that nobody can return Russia to the path of freedom and democracy but Russia itself, its people and its civil society.

What is more, the situation in our country is not as straightforward as it might appear to the superficial observer. We have many allies in society – both in the struggle for human rights and in the struggle with Stalinism.

What can we expect here from European politicians and from European public opinion? Andrei Dmitrievich Sakharov formulated these expectations more than 20 years ago: 'My country needs support and pressure'.

A united Europe has opportunities for such a firm and, at the same time, friendly policy based on support and pressure but is far from making full use of them. I would like to mention just two examples.

The first is the work of the European Court of Human Rights with respect to complaints by Russian citizens. The very possibility that victims may appeal to Strasbourg compels Russian courts to work in a qualitative and independent way. The main thing is that enforcement of the judgments of the European Court should remove the causes leading to violation of human rights.

In recent years more than 100 judgments have been delivered in Strasbourg in ‘Chechen’ cases, concerning serious crimes by representatives of the state against citizens. Yet what happens? Nothing. Russia duly pays the victims the compensation ordered by the European Court, as some sort of ‘impunity tax’, refusing to investigate the crimes and punish those guilty. Moreover, not only are all the generals mentioned by name in the Strasbourg judgments not brought before the courts, but they are put forward for promotion.

So what if the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe is called upon to monitor enforcement of the Court’s judgments? In Strasbourg they shrug: ‘What can we do?’ – and remain silent.

The second, more general, example concerns relations between Russia and the European Union in the area of human rights. Today they virtually boil down to the fact that the European Union holds consultations with Russia on this subject once every six months. How is this opportunity used? Officials, not of the highest rank, talk for a few hours behind closed doors – Europe asks about Chechnya, Russia answers with a question about Estonia or Latvia, and they go their separate ways for another six months. Both Russian and international non-governmental organisations hold fringe events and hearings, and present reports. In meetings with human rights defenders, the representatives of Brussels sigh sadly: ‘What can we do?’ – and remain silent.

So what should Europe do in relation to Russia? From our point of view, the answer is simple: it should act towards Russia just as it does towards any other European country that has taken on certain obligations and has a responsibility to meet them. Alas, today, Europe increasingly rarely formulates its recommendations to Russia in the area of democracy and human rights, sometimes even preferring not to mention them at all. It is not important why this is the case – whether it is a sense of the futility of efforts or pragmatic considerations linked to oil and gas.

It is Europe’s duty not to remain silent but, again and again, to repeat and remind, and insist respectfully and firmly that Russia meet its obligations.

*(Applause)*

Of course, not only are there no guarantees, but there are also no particular hopes that these calls will achieve their objectives. However, failure to remind will certainly be understood by the Russian authorities as indulgence. Taking sensitive issues off the agenda unequivocally harms Russia. But it also harms Europe just as much, since it places in doubt the commitment of the European institutions to European values.

The prize you are awarding today is awarded ‘For Freedom of Thought’.

One would think, how can thought not be free, who can limit its freedom and how? There is a means – it is the fear that becomes part of a person’s personality and makes that person think and even feel as required. People are not only afraid, they find an outlet in ‘loving Big Brother’, as described by George Orwell. So it was when Russia had Stalin, and so it was when Germany had Hitler. This is now being repeated in Chechnya, under Ramzan Kadyrov. Such fear can spread throughout Russia.

Yet what can stand up to fear? However paradoxical it may be, purely and solely freedom of thought. This quality, possessed by Sakharov to an unusual degree, made him impervious to fear. And watching him also freed others from fear.

Freedom of thought is the basis of all other freedoms.

That is why it is so appropriate for the Sakharov Prize to be awarded ‘For Freedom of Thought’. We are proud to receive it today.

*(The House accorded the speaker a standing ovation.)*

3-146

*(The sitting was suspended at 12.30 and resumed at 15.00.)*

3-147

**ΠΡΟΕΔΡΙΑ: ΡΟΔΗ ΚΡΑΤΣΑ-ΤΣΑΓΚΑΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ**

*Αντιπρόεδρος*

3-148

**8 - Έγκριση των συνοπτικών πρακτικών της προηγούμενης συνεδρίασης: βλ. Συνοπτικά Πρακτικά**

3-149

**9 - Νέο πρόγραμμα δράσης της ΕΕ για το Αφγανιστάν και το Πακιστάν (συζήτηση)**

3-150

**Πρόεδρος.** – Το επόμενο σημείο είναι οι δηλώσεις του Συμβουλίου και της Επιτροπής σχετικά με το νέο πρόγραμμα δράσης της ΕΕ για το Αφγανιστάν και το Πακιστάν.

3-151

**Cecilia Malmström, rådets tjänstgörande ordförande.** – Fru talman! De problem som Afghanistan och Pakistan står inför angår naturligtvis hela världen. Våldsam extremism sprider sig utanför regionen. Narkotika som odlas och produceras i Afghanistan finner sin väg till Europas gator. Bakom vårt engagemang ligger i första hand det nödvändiga i att förhindra att Afghanistan och Pakistan blir säkra tillflyktsorter för terroristverksamhet och brottslig verksamhet. Samtidigt vill vi förstås bidra till att skapa ett bättre land att leva i för de människor som bor i Afghanistan och Pakistan.

Mycket uppmärksamhet ägnas åt Afghanistan. Många av våra länder har trupper och ett betydande civilt engagemang i landet. Att vända utvecklingen i Afghanistan är en mycket stor utmaning. Även Pakistan står inför svåra utmaningar. Det kommer inte att bli någon lösning på konflikten i Afghanistan om vi inte också griper oss an situationen i Pakistan, och vice versa.

Det krävs ett helhetsgrepp. Vi måste alla göra mer och bättre. Rådet uppmanade i juni rådssekretariatet och kommissionen att ta fram konkreta rekommendationer och politiska prioriteringar för att stärka och förbättra vårt engagemang i regionen. Resultatet blev EU:s handlingsplan för ett stärkt EU-agerande i Afghanistan och Pakistan. Den antogs i oktober. Jag tror att denna handlingsplan är ett bra verktyg. Den grundläggande strategin finns redan på plats. Genom handlingsplanen anpassas de instrument som vi använder oss av till våra politiska prioriteringar.

Planen bygger på vårt nuvarande engagemang och anger en rad prioriteringar. Det är områden där vi tror att EU-åtgärder kan bli mest effektiva. Vi stärker därmed vårt engagemang och ger en enhetlig reaktion på de utmaningar som Afghanistan och Pakistan står inför. Vi sänder också ett budskap till regionen om att vi är uthålliga. Det finns ett regionalt perspektiv som är viktigt, och det är därför handlingsplanen lägger stor tyngd vid just regionalt samarbete.

Afghanistan går in i en avgörande period nu. Vi behöver inte prata mer om valprocessen. Den ligger bakom oss. Den var bristfällig och vi hoppas att den inte upprepas. Jag tror att det också är det afghanska folkets uppfattning. EU är berett att stödja det arbete som nu återstår, bland annat med rekommendationerna från EU:s valövervakningsgrupp som grund. En ny regering finns förhoppningsvis snart på plats. Det utgör ett tillfälle att enas om en ny dagordning och en ny överenskommelse mellan den afghanska regeringen och det internationella samfundet. President Karzais installationstal var ett välkommet löfte om en sådan nystart. Den konferens som snart äger rum i London kommer förhoppningsvis att innebära att det skapas ett momentum.

EU förväntar sig ett kraftfullt engagemang och ett ledarskap från president Karzai och hans regering. Fem år utan förändringar är inget alternativ. Nu måste fokus läggas på att se till att den afghanska staten gradvis tar över ansvaret och att det internationella samfundet intar en stödjande roll. Med detta menar jag inte ett tillbakadragande. Nästa år kommer det att finnas betydligt fler internationella styrkor i Afghanistan. USA skickar ytterligare en styrka på 30 000 personer, utöver den på 68 000 som redan finns i landet. Andra Natoländer och allierade har utlovat en extra styrka på minst 7 000 personer utöver de 38 000 som redan finns på plats.

Detta militära engagemang måste matchas av civila insatser. Det blir inget hållbart militärt tillbakadragande från Afghanistan om det inte finns en civil ram för stabilitet. Effektiva statliga institutioner, bättre styrelseformer, tillgång till grundläggande välfärd, rättvisa och en fungerande rättsstat är minst lika viktigt som den mer hårda säkerheten. Ingen ifrågasätter detta. Säkerhet, goda styrelseformer och utveckling måste gå hand i hand. Vi engagerar oss långsiktigt för Afghanistan. Men det afghanska folket måste se till att det är deras egen regering, inte internationella organisationer, som åstadkommer en förbättring av levnadsförhållandena. Det är det enda sättet för befolkningen att återfå förtroendet för sina ledare. Det internationella samfundet finns där. Vi kommer att behöva göra mer och bättre. Vi måste stödja den process som pågår, den afghaniseringsprocess som är så nödvändig för landet.

Det här är kärnan i vår handlingsplan. Vi förstärker våra insatser från EU för att förbättra den afghanska kapaciteten och samarbetar med regeringen för att främja effektiva statliga institutioner, som kan ställas till ansvar. Det gäller på lokal och regional nivå. Vi lägger stor vikt vid rättsstatsprincipen, goda styrelseformer, kamp mot korruption och förbättrad situation för de mänskliga rättigheterna. Dessutom är jordbruk och landsbygdsutveckling en viktig europeisk prioritering. Att levnadsstandarden förbättras för den stora majoriteten av afghaner som lever på landsbygden är mycket viktigt. Vi är också beredda att stödja en afghanskledad återanpassningsprocess av upprorsmakare. De som tidigare deltagit i strider måste erbjudas alternativ. Givetvis kommer också stöd till valsystemet att stå högt på dagordningen.

Jag vill också säga några ord Pakistan. Landet har genomgått viktiga förändringar de senaste åren. I och med de valen 2008 återinfördes demokrati och civilt styre. Övergången till demokrati har varit imponerande. Men den är skör och instabil. Samtidigt har de pakistanska talibanerna blivit ett verkligt hot mot fred och stabilitet i landet. Knappt en vecka passerar utan att media rapporterar om ytterligare självmordsattacker. Under den senaste veckan har mer än 400 personer dödats vid attacker som genomförts av militanta grupper.



EU vill hjälpa till att stödja de civila institutionerna i Pakistan. Särskilt viktigt är det att följa upp de rekommendationer som lämnades av Michael Gahler, vår valobservatör 2008. Det ger den grundläggande ramen för framtida demokrati, valreformer och institutionsuppbyggnad. Den pakistanska regeringen vet att detta måste göras. De måste meddela oss på vilka områden de vill samarbeta. EU kommer att utveckla det strategiska partnerskap med Pakistan som är ett resultat av ett framgångsrikt särskilt toppmöte i juni 2009. Vi vill stärka demokratin och uppnå stabilitet. Därför arbetar vi med rättsstaten, kampen mot terrorism och handel. Ett centralt inslag är förstås en fungerande regering som tar ansvar för sitt folk och visar det ledarskap som krävs för att föra landet framåt.

I partnerskap med Pakistans regering kommer EU att stödja förstärkningen av de demokratiska institutionerna och strukturerna. Det sker även genom ekonomisk utveckling och handel. Vi välkomnar att Pakistan tar ett större ansvar för sin egen säkerhet. Vi förväntar oss också att landet tillämpar samma inställning gentemot alla former av terrorism, inklusive de upprorsmakare som använder sig av pakistanskt territorium för attacker inne i Afghanistan. Regeringens arbete mot Pakistans talibaner är positivt. Samtidigt måste civila skyddas och folkrätten följas. Regeringen bör också vara uppmärksam på behovet av humanitärt stöd och återuppbyggnad i berörda områden.

Vi måste ta ytterligare steg i våra insatser i Afghanistan och Pakistan. Redan idag tar EU ett kraftfullt engagemang i utmaningarna i regionen, och detta kommer att fortsätta. Mycket har uppnåtts i båda länderna. Både genom Afghanistans och Pakistans ansträngningar och genom det internationella samfundet. Strategier och dokument i sig kommer inte att förbättra situationen utan nu är det dags att omsätta det här till verklig handling tillsammans med våra partners i Afghanistan och Pakistan.

3-152

**Catherine Ashton, Vice-President designate of the Commission.** – Let me start with Afghanistan. We are at an important point in our relations here. Our future support must help build a government that is responsive to the needs and the concerns of the Afghan people. As the situation is volatile, we need to both work with, and to influence, the situation on the ground. That is what the international conferences, which begin with a conference in London next month, are all about.

We are ready to put in more resources. The Commission is raising its development assistance by one third to EUR 200 million. We need these extra resources to repeat the successes, like the extension of the primary healthcare system to 80% of Afghans – including far better treatment for women and girls – and recent success in turning provinces poppy free. Our Member States have also committed to help get our police training programme up to strength.

But that is all just the start. We need to deliver this as part of a coherent EU contribution within a coordinated international response. This response must have the Afghans working with the UN at the centre of it.

The action plan agreed by the Council in October gives us the opportunity to do this. Together with the US efforts and NATO security operations, it sends a strong message to the region and international community about our commitment. It also, of course, dovetails the priorities set out by President Karzai, particularly in the fields of improved governance and anti-corruption.

The plan confirms that we will continue to place key sectors such as the rule of law and agriculture at the centre of our engagement.

We are already assisting the Government to improve the skills of administrators in Kabul. We will now start to roll these skills out across the provinces to help the Afghan people manage their own affairs and ensure the Government provides – and is seen to provide – services to them.

The plan sends a message that we will support the integration of insurgents who are ready to respond to President Karzai's call to work with his government.

The European Electoral Observation Mission also presents its report in Kabul today and I would like to pay tribute to Mr Berman and his team for a job well done in extremely difficult circumstances. We will ensure follow up, since it is clear the credibility of the Government and the political system rests upon a major overhaul of the electoral system.

Finally on Afghanistan, but perhaps most importantly, we are streamlining our structures on the ground. Member States will align policies with the resources to back them, and I hope to merge the EU Special Representative and the Head of the EU Delegation into a single post as soon as possible. That will help us to build a coherent approach that can serve as a model for elsewhere.

Turning to Pakistan, our overriding concern and interest is that Pakistan should be a stable democracy free from terror and able to join with its neighbours in defence against common threats.

The action plan underlines this and builds on existing commitments made at the June EU-Pakistan Summit, including humanitarian aid, reconstruction support, assistance to the police and judiciary and strengthening democratic institutions and civil society to improve human rights, as well as agreements on trade and socio-economic development. We will continue to support the implementation of the recommendations of the 2008 election observation mission.

The action plan is backed up by a substantial financial resource of just under EUR 500 million from the Commission until 2013, plus a EUR 100 million renewable energy loan from the European Investment Bank, as well as commitments to deepen our trade and political relations. The action plan also specifies intensified dialogue on all these issues and there should be a second summit next year within the Spanish Presidency.

The action plan also makes clear that the European Union will use its expertise in regional integration to help Afghanistan, Pakistan and their neighbours to kick-start economic relations, particularly with India. There will be no overnight solution to current tensions but we must make a start to overcoming distrust. The potential gains from this kind of regional cooperation in terms of trade and investment would dwarf anything we can do as the European Union.

In conclusion, implementation of the plan for Afghanistan and Pakistan is central to our future engagement in these countries. It is a joint endeavour between Member States and the EU institutions and it is the first of its kind, which, if successful, can help shape the international civilian response to crises that have so far largely been defined in military terms.

The action plan amounts to a major commitment not only to Afghanistan and Pakistan, but to south and central Asia as a whole. But we need more than ideas to deliver: we need the right people and the right skills, and they need security in order to work. There must be stronger political engagement by the host governments, and stronger coherence among donors including internally among Member States.

South Asia faces extremism every day, whether on the battlefield in Helmand or on the streets of Peshawar, Lahore and Rawalpindi. We will not tackle this through military action alone but by helping build a secure and safe environment free from the tensions and inequalities that feed extremism.

Europe has much to offer from our own experience. The action plan provides us with the opportunity to use this experience to help others, and I hope Parliament will support it.

3-153

**Ioannis Kasoulides, on behalf of the PPE Group.** – Madam President, the goal in Afghanistan was to fight the Taliban, who offered a safe haven to Al-Qa'ida. Afghanistan is no longer a safe haven but the Taliban insurgency has not been defeated because it was proven that victory cannot be achieved by military means alone and that over-reliance on military power by killing insurgents was counterproductive.

The shift in strategy is for the protection of the population, building the Afghan security capacity, facilitating good governance at central, and particularly local, level, and promoting development. In this context, encouragement is needed for an Afghan-led reconciliation process for those layers of Taliban who got on the wrong side due to special circumstances.

The EU Action Plan addresses all these challenges, and the EU can play an important role in non-military areas. However, I would have expected much more emphasis on the issue of narcotics – you mentioned it, Minister – and tougher words of warning on corruption and bad governance.

As for Pakistan: 'yes' to the action plan. Both cases are interconnected, and success on either depends on success on both. Pakistan should be in a position to adequately fight the influx of insurgents from Afghanistan. Finally, diplomacy is needed to avoid the eternal mistrust between India and Pakistan becoming an impediment to overall success.

3-154

**Roberto Gualtieri, a nome del gruppo S&D.** – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, signor Ministro, Alto Rappresentante, con questo dibattito il Parlamento europeo intende contribuire alla discussione sul ruolo dell'Europa in una regione che è cruciale per la sicurezza e la stabilità dell'intero pianeta.

La nuova strategia militare annunciata dal presidente Obama e, in modo ancor più netto, la successiva dichiarazione dei ministri degli Esteri dei paesi ISAF hanno collegato l'invio di nuove truppe all'obiettivo primario di proteggere la popolazione e di rafforzare le capacità delle forze di sicurezza e delle istituzioni afgane. Si tratta di una giusta correzione di rotta che prende atto dell'inutilità e anzi del carattere controproducente di uno sforzo militare di tipo tradizionale, tutto incentrato sulla repressione della guerriglia talebana.

Ma perché questo nuovo corso sia produttivo e inneschi una transizione verso un Afghanistan sicuro, prospero e stabile e quindi autosufficiente, è del tutto evidente che la dimensione militare dell'intervento della comunità internazionale deve

essere accompagnata da un crescente impegno sul fronte civile e su quello politico. Occorre da un lato favorire lo sviluppo economico e rafforzare le istituzioni, la *governance*, lo Stato di diritto e dall'altro facilitare il processo di riconciliazione interna e contribuire alla stabilizzazione della situazione in Pakistan.

È qui che si colloca lo spazio e il ruolo dell'Unione europea. L'Europa è da tempo impegnata in misura considerevole nella regione: 1 miliardo di euro l'anno complessivi in Afghanistan, 300 milioni in Pakistan, la missione EUPOL, che sta svolgendo un lavoro prezioso al di là dei suoi problemi di personale, la missione di osservazione internazionale, poi naturalmente l'impegno dei singoli Stati nella missione ISAF.

Tuttavia, la capacità europea di incidere concretamente nella regione è apparsa finora decisamente inferiore all'entità delle risorse umane ed economiche impegnate. Per questo occorre rafforzare e rendere più coerente ed efficace l'impegno, vorrei dire la leadership dell'Europa, sul versante della strategia civile e dell'impegno politico. Da questo punto di vista il piano d'azione costituisce un importante passo avanti e il gruppo dei Socialisti e dei Democratici lo appoggia e sollecita la sua concreta implementazione.

Allo stesso tempo, ci chiediamo se gli obiettivi enunciati dal piano richiedano anche l'individuazione di strumenti ad hoc e non sollecitino una riflessione su un ampliamento degli obiettivi e su un rafforzamento degli strumenti della missione ESDP EUPOL. Su tutti questi fronti, il Parlamento europeo è pronto a dare il suo sostegno all'azione dell'Unione europea.

3-155

**Pino Arlacchi**, *on behalf of the ALDE Group*. – Madam President, we are here to deal with the EU plan of action for Afghanistan and Pakistan. The Committee on Foreign Affairs of this Parliament has given me the opportunity to be the rapporteur on a new strategy for Afghanistan.

We need a new strategy – or maybe we just need any strategy at all – on the civilian side because until now the EU intervention in that country has not had enough coherence and seems to have had a very limited impact. I am afraid, Mrs Ashton, that I cannot share your initial statement on Afghanistan because it is too generic, too bureaucratic, too unfocused – like the current action plan. I believe Parliament must contribute to making this strategy stronger and more coherent.

I am putting together all the necessary bits of information. First of all, I have to say that it is turning out to be very difficult to get even the most basic data on how much was spent by the EU in Afghanistan after the 2001 occupation, where the EU aid arrived and how much of it can be accounted for. We know that almost EUR 1 billion is spent every year there, which is a big sum. The Afghan GDP is just EUR 6.9 billion. Our civilian aid therefore amounts to more than 20 percent of the yearly Afghan GDP, a figure that has the potential to reverse the destiny of the country if properly used.

Secondly, my attempt to draw a new strategy for Afghanistan will start with an effort to identify what has been, and what should be, the EU interest in the area. I will focus part of my report on the elimination of the opium poppy through the alternative development strategy.

3-156

**Jean Lambert**, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group*. – Madam President, I think there are certain things to be welcomed in the action plan but, as colleagues have correctly pointed out, there are a number of questions there that have not been answered.

I think that, when we are looking at this, we are always looking at it from the point of view of the problem that we have and sometimes tend to underestimate the daily reality for people in both Afghanistan and Pakistan of the many deaths, the targeted killings of the Hazara population, for example, in parts of Pakistan, the attacks on girls' schools, on the police and so many others.

The Afghan police were described to us recently as basically cannon fodder for the Taliban. I think many of us are still wondering, really, what it was that we ever thought we would achieve by going in. In terms of the international response, I welcome hearing the Commissioner talking about kick-starting cooperation and particularly mentioning India. The regional approach is important, and I look forward to hearing how we are going to deal with other areas of real tension, such as Kashmir, which the Afghan Ambassador told us the other day really provides a problem for everything that people try to do in the region.

We also need, in Pakistan particularly, to be looking at what effective support we are offering in terms of the many thousands of displaced people, and learn from our lack of engagement with those who were displaced to the borders of Pakistan and Afghanistan in the past that a vacuum will be filled. Therefore we really need to be paying attention to education and meeting the needs of the population who are also looking after those displaced people.

3-157

**Charles Tannock**, *on behalf of the ECR Group*. – Madam President, we cannot afford to let the NATO-ISAF military mission in Afghanistan fail. With sufficient political will, the right military equipment and more troop numbers on the

ground from all the Member States, NATO can defeat the Taliban, and of course this must be coupled to a hearts-and-minds campaign as well. But next-door Pakistan is potentially a catastrophe in the making – a nuclear arms state plagued by Islamist radicalisation, corruption and feeble leadership, which, nevertheless, we have to help for strategic reasons.

But, for instance, elements of the Pakistani ISA have long been suspected of granting tacit support to the Afghan Taliban and are only now reluctantly realising the domestic dangers of such an approach. The threat posed by Pakistan, particularly by harbouring terrorists, to India over Kashmir, also poses a grave threat to the whole region.

If Pakistan is to continue to receive military aid from EU countries for counter-insurgency operations against terrorist jihadis, and also EU economic assistance, it must give cast-iron guarantees that such aid will not be diverted to strengthening its conventional forces on the Indian border.

Finally, the instability of Pakistan and Afghanistan contrasts greatly with the stability and moderation of our democratic ally and partner, India, which deserves the EU's full backing.

3-158

**Willy Meyer**, *en nombre del Grupo GUE/NGL*. – Señora Presidenta, señora Vicepresidenta, mi grupo nunca ha compartido la estrategia del anterior Presidente de los Estados Unidos, señor Bush, en relación con Afganistán, nunca lo compartimos y el tiempo nos ha dado la razón.

En estos momentos, tenemos en Afganistán un gobierno corrupto, ilegítimo, víctimas inocentes y la situación de la mujer no ha sufrido ninguna variación. Por lo tanto, lo lógico hubiese sido cambiar de estrategia, y lamentamos que el Presidente Obama apueste por una solución militar incrementando la presencia con 30 000 soldados más. Creo que la Unión Europea no debe seguir esa línea de actuación, porque hay un riesgo cierto de crear un nuevo Vietnam en el siglo XXI en Afganistán.

En Afganistán, la Historia ha demostrado que no puede haber una solución militar. Tiene que incrementarse la cooperación, tiene que incrementarse todo lo que significa la solución diplomática y justo en el conflicto, en la zona geoestratégica, hay que apostar por el respeto del Derecho internacional desde soluciones internas en Afganistán.

3-159

**Nicole Sinclair**, *on behalf of the EFD Group*. – Madam President, I had the pleasure a few weeks ago of meeting some of the UK returning forces from Afghanistan and I heard the same story over and over again that they were ill-equipped. Yet the UK pays GBP 45 million a day into this corrupt institution. Some of that money could be better spent in arming our forces in Afghanistan, forces that actually train the Afghan police force, etc.

It is quite right, as some of you have said; this is an important area in the world and an important area that we may need to make progress in.

My problem is with the lack of experience of our High Representative for Foreign Affairs, Cathy pass-the-bucket Ashton, with more than a few roubles in it, no doubt. We need someone more experienced. She has not had any Foreign Office experience; she has not been a foreign secretary and I do not think she even had a part-time job in a travel agents'. Come on! This is a delicate job; a job that needs to change things for the better and she is simply not experienced enough.

3-160

**Andrew Henry William Brons (NI)**. – Madam President, at first sight the Council's conclusions about Afghanistan appear to be a welcome contrast to the belligerent attitude of the United States and the United Kingdom. When looked at more closely, it is actually a mixture of naivety and complicity in their methods. The Council is thoroughly naive in trying to plant the delicate flower of Western democracy in the inhospitable soil of Afghan tribalism. The vertical divisions in society and the domination of tribal loyalties over personal judgement would make that impossible. It wants to remove corruption but simply does not understand that the bureaucratic model of objective judgement and financial and resource decisions would not stand a chance of being respected. This is not because Afghans are endemically dishonest but because Afghan tribal society sees looking after one's own family and tribe as a self-evident virtue.

The Council would like to counter the production of opium poppies. However, removing the Taliban from government was not the best way of reducing that production. The Taliban government reduced it by 90% but, since the invasion of Afghanistan, Afghanistan is again the world's leading opium producer. The report says 'Insecurity in Afghanistan cannot be addressed by military means alone'. That can only mean that military action has a legitimate part to play. In my view it does not. We have had three failed wars against Afghanistan in the 19th and early 20th centuries; we really ought to have learnt our lesson.

The Taliban oppresses women, has contempt for democracy and is killing British soldiers: it is a thoroughly unpleasant organisation. But we could stop it from killing British and allied soldiers tomorrow, by removing our troops. It is a murderous, pointless war that simply cannot be won.

3-161

**José Ignacio Salafranca Sánchez-Neyra (PPE).** – Señora Presidenta, la comunidad internacional, y no solo los Estados Unidos, tiene un problema en Afganistán. El Presidente Obama se ha tomado tres meses, antes de establecer una estrategia global, para dar una respuesta al preocupante informe del General McChrystal.

Es conocido que esa nueva estrategia pasa por un reforzamiento de la presencia militar a corto plazo, por un redespiegue en el horizonte del año 2011, por una transferencia progresiva de los aspectos de seguridad a las fuerzas afganas, por una mejor coordinación entre los aspectos civiles y militares y por una concentración en las grandes ciudades.

Ahora, señora Ashton, el gran reto es articular y definir una respuesta europea, fundamentalmente, a través de la Conferencia de Londres. Usted, en su intervención, se ha referido a dos palabras claves: una respuesta que tiene que ser coordinada con otras instancias internacionales –y apoyamos su coordinación con las Naciones Unidas– y una respuesta coherente.

En este sentido, señora Ashton, dos comentarios: en el año 2005, tuve el privilegio de encabezar una misión de observación electoral de este Parlamento y tuve la oportunidad de entrevistarme con el General Jefe de la ISAF, el General Graciano, que acaba de abandonar sus funciones en la FPNUL, en el Líbano. Y los cuarenta y cuatro países que integran hoy la fuerza internacional (veintiocho de ellos de la OTAN), conforman una fuerza heterogénea que no está dando una respuesta eficaz en estos momentos a la lucha contra los insurgentes.

Y el segundo aspecto que es vital, señora Ashton, es que no se puede ganar una guerra –y en este momento, en Afganistán hay una guerra– sin tener de nuestro lado, me refiero al lado de la coalición internacional, a la población civil. Y yo entiendo, señora Ashton, que uno de los principales objetivos de la Unión Europea sería, precisamente, concentrar esos esfuerzos que hacemos –mil millones de euros de la Unión Europea– en poner a la población civil de nuestro lado.

3-162

**Richard Howitt (S&D).** – Madam President, let me start today by remembering Lance Corporal Adam Drane, 23, of the Royal Anglian Regiment, from Bury St Edmunds in my constituency, who died in Helmand province on 7 December, the 100th member of the British armed forces to be killed this year.

Our thoughts should be with Adam's family and all those families, European, Afghan and Pakistani, who have suffered such loss.

In the face of such sacrifice, we in this House have our own duty to ensure that we do all we can to promote peace and prosperity for Afghanistan. If we are to take seriously the new Lisbon changes and a proper common EU foreign policy, there is no more urgent place to prove ourselves than in the sands of Afghanistan, first to ensure proper alignment of individual Member States' activities behind this new strategy and, second, to welcome High Representative Ashton's commitment today to have a formidable new double-hatted representative in place in Afghanistan very early in the New Year. This is both a litmus test of more efficient EU working under the Treaty and a marker of our future resolve for Afghanistan.

Finally, allied to this, Member States must ensure that EUPOL recruits the 400 officers promised; this is absolutely necessary to ensure Afghanistan's own law-enforcement services can do their job properly.

3-163

**Charles Goerens (ALDE).** – Madame la Présidente, je tiens à souligner d'emblée que je désapprouve totalement les remarques que vient de formuler Mme Sinclaire à l'encontre de Mme Ashton.

Madame la Présidente, un enfant sur quatre n'atteint pas l'âge de cinq ans en Afghanistan, marqué par des déficits sociaux, sanitaires, auxquels s'ajoutent des déficits démocratiques et avant tout sécuritaires. La probabilité d'un affrontement avec le Pakistan favorise la mobilité des talibans et rend évidente la nécessité d'aborder les problèmes de l'Afghanistan dans sa dimension régionale. Ajoutons que l'incapacité d'en venir à bout par les seuls moyens militaires prédestine l'Union européenne, avec sa boîte à outils multiples, à jouer un rôle privilégié.

L'OTAN, responsable en premier lieu pour le volet militaire, découvre ses limites face au défi afghan. L'action humanitaire de l'Union européenne, ses instruments de coopération au développement, sa diplomatie plus performante ne sont, certes, pas une garantie de succès, mais privée de cet apport, l'action de l'OTAN est condamnée à l'échec.

D'un nouveau dosage de tous ces éléments va se dégager – il faut l'espérer – une perspective plus prometteuse pour les citoyens afghans. Si la responsabilité de l'Union européenne dans la situation actuelle est lourde, celle de l'Afghanistan, encore trop corrompu, divisé et désorganisé, est écrasante.

N'oublions pas que le partenariat offert à l'Afghanistan ne peut réussir que s'il se trouve un nombre suffisant de citoyens appuyant la reconstruction de leur pays. Même si la tâche est himalayenne, ce n'est pas une raison pour croiser les bras et laisser les pays en proie aux intégristes de tous poils.

3-164

**Nicole Kiil-Nielsen (Verts/ALE).** – Madame la Présidente, oui, il nous faudra sortir du piège afghan dans lequel nous a enfermés la politique de Georges Bush. Cependant la question n'est pas de décider quand, mais comment quitter l'Afghanistan.

Si les nombreuses erreurs de la communauté internationale ne sont pas remises en cause, nous risquons de perdre totalement la confiance et le soutien de la population afghane au bénéfice des talibans. La militarisation de l'aide humanitaire et de l'aide au développement doit cesser car elle entretient une confusion dans les esprits et discrédite les ONG.

Nous devons nous appuyer davantage sur la société civile émergente et sur les réformistes afghans. Pourquoi l'Europe est-elle en Afghanistan? Parce que les Américains l'ont décidé ou pour sortir ce pays de l'obscurantisme et de la violence? Il nous faut renforcer les structures afghanes les plus performantes, privilégier l'investissement dans les services à la population – éducation, santé, transports –, soutenir la bonne gouvernance des pouvoirs locaux, car la culture de ces pays nous invite à réfléchir à la pertinence de l'État nation. L'Europe devrait, par exemple, soutenir Mme Habiba Sorabi, gouverneure de la province de Bamiyan, une première dans l'histoire de ce pays où, souvenez-vous, nous sommes allés en 2001 pour aider les femmes.

3-165

**Geoffrey Van Orden (ECR).** – Madam President, to read the EU action plan for Afghanistan and Pakistan, you would imagine that the whole situation depended on what the EU does.

I believe the European Union could make a useful, practical contribution, but this needs to be set in the context of the wider, international effort and it should be focused on some specific activities where EU involvement might add real value. It is too serious for EU posturing. In a document of over a dozen pages I found only four brief references to the United States and, more significantly perhaps, only one to NATO, and it is after all the NATO ISAF mission which is central to the success of all endeavours.

Without security and stability, it is not possible to ensure good governance or any meaningful programme of reconstruction and development.

On the civil side, European countries and the EU itself have pumped EUR 8 billion into Afghanistan since 2001, but this huge sum seems to have made little difference; do we have any idea how much of it has gone astray?

There needs to be a comprehensive international plan for Afghanistan and Pakistan, but I have yet to see where the EU contribution fits into this wider, international commitment.

3-166

**Cornelia Ernst (GUE/NGL).** – Frau Präsidentin! Heute nach acht Jahren wissen wir es im Grunde alle: Die bisherige auf das Militär setzende Afghanistan-Strategie ist gescheitert. Das Missverhältnis zwischen Militäroperationen auf der einen Seite und den nicht ausreichenden Mitteln für zivile Zwecke andererseits verhindert regelrecht eine Verbesserung der Lebensverhältnisse in Afghanistan.

Deshalb ist unsere wichtigste Botschaft als GUE/NGL, dass ein radikaler Strategiewechsel herbeimuss. Wir brauchen einen radikalen Strategiewechsel, weg vom Militär und vor allem hin zu den Menschen. Es heißt, dass 40 % der Afghanen arbeitslos sind, mehr als die Hälfte von ihnen lebt in wirklich bitterster Armut, kennt weder ein Gesundheitswesen noch eine hinreichende Bildung. Die soziale Frage muss in den Vordergrund gestellt werden, und das erwarten wir vom Rat, von der Kommission, von allen Beteiligten.

Dazu gehört natürlich, verantwortliches Regierungshandeln zu stärken, die Landwirtschaft zu stärken, ehemalige Taliban-Kämpfer zu integrieren. Aber ich sage Ihnen ganz ehrlich, wer diesen Weg nur bis zur Hälfte geht und wieder auf militärische Abenteuer setzt, der vergibt jede Chance. Es ist fünf Minuten vor zwölf!

3-167

**Philippe Juvin (PPE).** – Madame la Présidente, dans ces affaires très compliquées, je pense qu'il faut tenter d'avoir des idées simples.

Première question, simple "Pourquoi sommes-nous allés en Afghanistan?". Nous sommes allés en Afghanistan avec un but. Ce but, c'était de défaire les camps d'entraînement d'Al-Qaida, base arrière du terrorisme international, qui nous menaçaient et qui menaçaient la stabilité de la région. Aujourd'hui, ces camps n'existent plus.

Deuxième observation: malheureusement, qu'on le veuille ou non, les soldats occidentaux déployés en Afghanistan sont de plus en plus considérés comme des forces d'occupation et non plus comme des forces amies. Il s'agit là d'une difficulté majeure de tous les jours qu'il faut garder à l'esprit. Ceux qui vous diront le contraire, je les invite à aller voir là-bas comment cela se passe.

Troisième point: la situation de sécurité est très dégradée. En 2004, on pouvait, à Kaboul, se promener à pied. Aujourd'hui, Kaboul est un vaste camp retranché. Donc, ne pas tirer les conséquences d'un échec opérationnel sur le terrain et, finalement, n'appliquer que les vieilles méthodes, c'est se heurter à la répétition de ces échecs.

Quelles sont les conséquences de tout cela? Je crois qu'effectivement, il faut reconnaître que nous avons démantelé Al-Qaida – c'est une observation réelle – et que nous devons partir. Pouvons-nous partir aujourd'hui, tout de suite? Non, puisque si nous partions, ce serait assurément le chaos, et peut-être le retour de ces camps contre lesquels nous luttons. Il faut donc partir avec des conditions.

La première, tout le monde le dit, c'est qu'il faut donner les clés aux Afghans eux-mêmes, permettre l'afghanisation du conflit. La deuxième, c'est qu'il faut discuter avec tous les insurgés – notez que je ne dis pas les "talibans", parce que le mot "talibans" est très restrictif. Et, troisième condition, il faut accepter un niveau social qui ne soit pas parfait. Ne pensons pas que nos critères européens sont les critères qu'il faut adapter à l'Afghanistan. Il faut accepter cela.

Madame la Présidente, il est toujours plus compliqué d'achever une opération militaire que de la commencer, et pour savoir l'achever, il faut se souvenir de l'objectif initial, qui était de faire en sorte que les camps d'Al-Qaida soient démantelés. C'est fait aujourd'hui.

3-168

**Ana Gomes (S&D).** – O Conselho diz que a situação no Afeganistão e no Paquistão tem um impacto directo na Europa. Esta é, de facto, a mensagem principal que temos de saber comunicar aos cidadãos europeus com honestidade e coragem. Neste sentido, saúdo o novo plano de acção da União Europeia para o Afeganistão e para o Paquistão que prevê investir num vasto programa de *capacity building* a todos os níveis da administração afegã.

Só a implementação eficaz deste plano de acção como agregador dos esforços europeus no Afeganistão pode contribuir para o *state building* que é preciso para acabar com a guerra e o subdesenvolvimento. A Europa não pode abandonar os afegãos e não está lá porque os americanos decidiram. A presença internacional militar e civil continuará a ser necessária ali por muitos mais anos.

Termino, exprimindo vivo repúdio pelo regresso forçado, indignamente imposto pelo Governo francês a afegãos que fogem à guerra no seu país.

3-169

**Reinhard Bütikofer (Verts/ALE).** – Frau Präsidentin! Wenn wir eines nicht brauchen können in der bitteren Realität Afghanistans, dann ist es beschönigendes Gerede. Ich sage das in Ihre Richtung, Lady Ashton. Sie haben davon gesprochen, die Mitgliedstaaten seien *committed*, ehrlich engagiert für die Polizeiausbildungsmission EUPOL. Ach wirklich, sind sie das? Und trotzdem bekommen wir noch nicht einmal die 400 Polizisten zusammen? Das ist doch eine Mischung aus Doppelzüngigkeit und Lächerlichkeit. Meinen wir es ernst mit dem, was wir sagen?

Schon vor zwei Jahren wurde im Europäischen *Security Review* festgestellt, dass die geringe Zahl der Polizeiausbilder das Engagement Europas in Wirklichkeit in Frage stellt. Warum finanzieren wir nicht die ausgebildeten Polizisten, um sie davon abzuhalten, zu *Warlords* oder zu den Taliban überzulaufen? Es würde wenig Geld kosten und sehr effizient sein. Ich habe den Eindruck, Lady Ashton, Europa macht sehr große Worte, aber es ist beschämend, wie klein und unangemessen die Taten Europas sind!

3-170

**Michael Gahler (PPE).** – Frau Präsidentin! Die hier gewählte Überschrift ist richtig: Neuer Aktionsplan für Afghanistan und Pakistan. Was dann aber hier vorgetragen wurde, erschien mir eher wie zwei einzelne Aktionspläne, die man nacheinander vorgetragen hat.

Was zu beiden Ländern gesagt wurde, unterstütze ich grundsätzlich. In Afghanistan haben wir hoffentlich aus den Fehlern der Vergangenheit gelernt und passen Politiken und Strukturen an. Was Pakistan betrifft, so freue ich mich, dass man die neue Politik als ein Follow-up meines Wahlbeobachtungsberichts begreift. Ich halte es überhaupt für richtig, dass man in den Ländern, wo man Wahlbeobachtungsmissionen durchgeführt hat, die Empfehlungen in die konkreten Politiken gegenüber den Ländern einbaut.

Ich würde mir wünschen, dass in der anschließenden Erwiderung von Rat und Kommission noch einmal deutlicher gemacht würde, was die gemeinsame Strategie für beide Länder ist. Denn wir haben doch festzustellen, dass wir z. B. dort eine Tausende Kilometer lange Grenze haben, die von beiden Seiten nicht wirklich kontrolliert werden kann, aber dass die Politiken, die wir auf der einen oder auf der anderen Seite dieser Grenze betreiben, unmittelbar Auswirkungen über die Grenze hinweg haben. Also: Welche Strukturen wollen wir denn tatsächlich aufbauen? Wie wollen wir den Dialog zwischen der afghanischen und der pakistanischen Regierung herstellen? Wie wollen wir die Menschen vor Ort so einstellen, dass sie die Politiken, die wir dort betreiben, auch akzeptieren? Das sind Fragen, auf die wir noch Antworten brauchen, und ich hoffe, dass wir sie auch bekommen.

3-171

**Ioan Mircea Pașcu (S&D).** – Madam President, the plan of action on Afghanistan and Pakistan adopted last October is in itself a good document. Its aim is to create the conditions for returning responsibility from the international community, including the EU, to the Afghan state, with the former in a support role. The same is envisaged by the US in the security sector. It is hoped that the additional 30 000 US troops will create a situation in which responsibility could be handed over to the Afghan forces by 2011 when the US withdrawal will commence.

Even if both the EU and the US have similar aims, namely creating the conditions for the Afghan state to take responsibility for its own affairs, the time-frame for achieving those aims is inevitably different. Adequate security will have to be achieved by 2011, while state building will inevitably take longer.

The question, then, is: supposing adequate security is either not achieved by 2011 or deteriorates again after the US pull-out, will the EU, already involved in state building, be ready to take over the task of providing security too? I think not – and then we have a problem.

3-172

**Francisco José Millán Mon (PPE).** – Señora Presidenta, celebro que la Presidencia sueca haya reforzado el compromiso de la Unión con la estabilidad y el desarrollo de Afganistán a través del plan de acción. Por cierto, me gustaría saber algo más en lo que a Afganistán se refiere sobre la financiación de ese plan.

Para este país, otro momento muy importante será la próxima conferencia de Londres de enero. Veremos entonces los compromisos concretos que asumen la Unión Europea y los Estados miembros y también los del nuevo Gobierno afgano, que deben ser muchos, por ejemplo, en materia de lucha contra la corrupción y contra el tráfico de drogas. Estoy un poco preocupado por los ecos en la prensa de hoy de la conferencia que pronunció ayer el Presidente Karzai sobre la cuestión de la corrupción.

Por otra parte, Señorías, es muy reciente la decisión del Presidente Obama de aumentar su contingente militar en 30 000 soldados. En resumen, Afganistán vive una etapa crucial y los Estados Unidos y los europeos tenemos que trabajar muy coordinadamente.

En Afganistán están en juego no solo la prosperidad y libertad de los afganos, sino también la estabilidad de la región, incluido un país tan importante como Pakistán. También está en juego nuestra seguridad, debido a la amenaza que continúa siendo Al Qaeda, como ya se ha dicho.

La credibilidad de la OTAN y de lo que llamamos Occidente depende también, en buena medida, de los resultados en Afganistán. No podemos fracasar. Pero para eso, como ya se ha dicho también, necesitamos el apoyo de nuestros propios ciudadanos. Ese apoyo requiere una labor de transparencia y claridad. Hace falta explicar los graves peligros que corren nuestros compatriotas destinados en Afganistán, pero también tenemos que insistir en la transcendencia de la misión allí y en que el fracaso no puede ser una opción. Como he dicho, están en juego muchas cosas muy importantes.

3-173

**Elmar Brok (PPE).** – Herr Präsident! Ein afghanischer Freund hat mir einmal gesagt: Es ist gut, dass der Westen nach Afghanistan einmarschiert ist, aber erinnert euch daran, dass in der afghanischen Geschichte jeder, der länger als ein Jahr geblieben ist, zum Besetzer wurde, auch wenn er vorher als Befreier gekommen ist. Das war 2001. Jetzt haben wir 2009, und es ist genau das eingetreten.

Die Taliban beherrschen de facto 80 % des Landes, und die militärische Führung der USA sowie auch die europäischen Verteidigungsminister sagen, dass das militärisch nicht zu gewinnen ist. Was ist dann das Ziel? Ein Land, das man nicht in den Griff bekommt, kann man auch nicht zentral auf Demokratie und anderes ausrichten, wenn ein solches Land nie zentral regiert wurde. Das heißt, ist es nicht sinnvoll, sich auf Al Quaida und den Terrorismus zu konzentrieren und dann raus? Diese Fragen müssen beantwortet werden.

Auch müssen die Fragen beantwortet werden, die richtigerweise der Kollege Van Orden gestellt hat, im Zusammenhang mit der Vernetzung dieses Aktionsplans mit dem allgemeinen strategischen Ziel, Londoner Konferenz, Obama-Plan usw.



Ist das ineinander stimmig? So notwendig es ist und so richtig es ist, die Kombination Afghanistan/Pakistan hier herzustellen, und auch das, was letztlich in Verbindung mit Indien da gesagt wurde.

Vor allen Dingen müssen wir sehen, wie die interne Entwicklung vorangeht. Ich habe noch nie gesehen, dass, wenn ausländischer militärischer Druck herausgeht und man Soldaten und Polizisten ausgebildet hat, die aber kein eigenes Ziel haben, der ideologische Teil des Bürgerkriegs, der ein Ziel hat, dann verlieren würde. Der gewinnt immer! Auch dies zeigt die historische Erfahrung, und deswegen bin ich in großer Sorge, ob das, was wir hier machen, nicht Stückwerk ist. Wir sollten wirklich einmal überlegen, was der Plan sein kann, um die Soldaten vernünftig herauszubringen und gleichzeitig Terrorismus zu beenden.

3-174

**Lara Comi (PPE).** – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, la sicurezza in Afghanistan ha recentemente subito un sostanziale peggioramento dovuto alla mancanza del pieno controllo territoriale. Vaste aree del paese sono governate da regole tribali e non più quindi da regole nazionali, il senso di insicurezza è diffuso anche nelle grandi città, nonostante il continuo impegno e monitoraggio delle forze ISAF.

Considerato che la lotta al terrorismo è strettamente connessa alle attività sviluppate sul territorio, risulta evidente come Stati Uniti, paesi alleati e NATO non possano ritirarsi. La permanenza e il conseguimento di successi in Afghanistan dipende fortemente da un approccio politico e militare, condiviso a livello internazionale e orientato a un approccio regionale rivolto al territorio, sia afgano, sia pakistano.

Il nuovo piano d'azione dell'Unione europea rappresenta in tal senso un passo importante nel rafforzamento della sicurezza e nel delicato processo di *capacity building* delle istituzioni democratiche, dei diritti umani e dello sviluppo socioeconomico della regione.

3-175

**Janusz Władysław Zemke (S&D).** – Pani Przewodnicząca! Uważam, że plan Unii Europejskiej jest kierunkowo słuszny, bowiem nasza pomoc musi dotyczyć dwóch obszarów. Pierwszy obszar to poprawa bezpieczeństwa. Drugi obszar to poprawa warunków życia ludności. Można powiedzieć, że postęp w pierwszym obszarze – dotyczącym bezpieczeństwa – wpłynie na poprawę warunków życia ludności, zaś postęp w drugim obszarze – dotyczącym poprawy warunków życia – sprzyja poprawie bezpieczeństwa.

Myślę jednak, że powinniśmy ciągle pytać o efektywność tej pomocy. Moim zadaniem mogłaby być ona znacznie skuteczniejsza, gdybyśmy mogli liczyć na wsparcie państw dookoła Azji Środkowej. Zachęcałbym zwłaszcza Unię Europejską, panią Ashton i panią minister Malmström do nawiązania kontaktów z Rosją i z Tadżykistanem, bo są to kraje, które mogą być bardzo pomocne, zwłaszcza jeżeli chodzi o logistykę i transport dóbr dla ludności.

3-176

**Sajjad Karim (ECR).** – Madam President, today terrorist bombings are a daily occurrence in both Afghanistan and Pakistan. Schools, shopping centres, town centres and even military headquarters are under attack.

The Pakistani military is successfully pushing back infiltrators into Pakistan from Afghanistan, but I have to ask myself, from where are these terrorists continuing to get their weapons? It is far too simplistic to argue that it is a Pakistani internal issue in itself. It is much more complex than that.

Minister Malmström, quite rightly, raised the issue of regional cooperation. Through our new foreign affairs role, High Representative, will we be speaking to Pakistan's neighbours to encourage them to do all that they can to help Pakistan through this difficult time?

It is also quite right that, whilst mutual mistrust exists between Pakistan and India – and I am a great proponent of bringing these two countries together – there is very little progress that we will make. As long as the core issue of Kashmir is not dealt with, I am afraid that we will not make a huge amount of progress.

3-177

**Ivo Vajgl (ALDE).** – Mislim, da je akcijski program za Afganistan smiselni samo, če bo podčrtal neko našo evropsko politiko, evropski pristop do Afganistana. Mi smo tam do vratu že zabredli in ne moremo se več ravnati samo po tem, kako se odločajo naši veliki zavezniki in nas presenečajo z nekaterimi svojimi strateškimi odločitvami.

Mislim, da je pomembno to, da je v tem akcijskem planu dano jasno prvenstvo civilnim iniciativam. Mislim, da je treba enkrat pokopati ideje o vojaških zmagah. Zmagat se ne da na teritoriju, kjer prebivalstvo smatra vse nas, ki smo tam, da bi pomagali, za okupatorje, talibane pa za tako imenovano oboroženo ljudstvo.

Rad bi se pridružil vsem tistim, ki so poudarjali potrebo po regionalni rešitvi, po involviranju regionalnih držav, ki mejijo na Afganistan, v večji meri. Oni zaupajo ... imajo večje zaupanje pri ljudeh.

3-178

**Arnaud Danjean (PPE).** – Madame la Présidente, beaucoup a été dit sur le plan d'action sur l'Afghanistan. Je regrette pour ma part que, dans les présentations qui nous ont été faites aujourd'hui, on n'ait pas insisté un peu plus sur l'articulation de la mission EUPOL avec la mission de l'OTAN en Afghanistan. Cette mission, nous devons l'accomplir. Les problèmes quantitatifs et qualitatifs qu'elle rencontre procèdent en grande partie de l'articulation avec l'OTAN, et, pour être efficaces, il nous faut les régler au plus vite. J'aurais aimé qu'on en parle un peu plus.

Ma question concerne le Pakistan, dont nous savons tous que l'instabilité chronique est un facteur de crise pour l'ensemble de la région et pour l'Afghanistan également. Je vois, dans le plan d'action, qu'une coopération est envisagée en matière de contre-terrorisme et de secteurs de sécurité avec le Pakistan. Il y a dans ce pays, nous le savons, une grande proximité idéologique et parfois structurelle, organisationnelle, entre des mouvements islamistes radicaux qui opèrent au Cachemire et à la frontière de l'Afghanistan. Je voulais m'assurer que les modalités, la nature et le calendrier de l'assistance que nous envisageons soient bien calibrés afin de ne pas permettre à cette proximité d'avoir des effets extrêmement pervers et néfastes.

3-179

**Corina Crețu (S&D).** – De mai bine de opt ani, țările noastre irosesc vieți omenești, energie și fonduri imense într-o țară măcinată de război, în care s-au mai împotmolit două imperii: cel britanic și cel sovietic. Din păcate, întărirea politică și militară a influenței talibanilor, sărăcia care macină această țară, statutul femeii, comerțul cu opiu, corupția generalizată, toate acestea atestă eșecul operațiunilor de până acum în Afghanistan.

Cred că strategia Uniunii Europene trebuie să contrapună perspectivei haosului și violenței în expansiune o întărire și o eficientizare a prezenței militare, cât și o intensificare a eforturilor pentru reconstrucția, dezvoltarea și democratizarea Afghanistanului. Un ajutor sporit pentru dezvoltarea Afghanistanului înseamnă, în fond, o investiție în propria noastră securitate și, de aceea, trebuie să facem toate eforturile pentru a aduce acest stat eșuat pe linia de plutire și pentru a asigura cetățenilor săi o minimă siguranță fizică și materială.

3-180

**IN THE CHAIR: Edward McMILLAN-SCOTT**  
*Vice-President*

3-181

**Piotr Borys (PPE).** – Panie Przewodniczący! Sytuacja w Afganistanie jest współcześnie najważniejszym problemem, który stoi przed instytucjami międzynarodowymi, szczególnie także przed Unią Europejską po wejściu w życie traktatu lizbońskiego. To wyzwanie nie może być zrealizowane bez trzech elementów: po pierwsze, bez powodzenia bardzo ambitnej, dwuletniej misji wojskowej, po której musi dojść do przełamania walki z Al-Kaidą i przejścia części komendantów talibskich na stronę rządową; po drugie, to stabilny Pakistan i cały region w powiązaniu także z Indiami – to jest także wyzwanie drugie, które jest kluczowe – i po trzecie, to jest kwestia budowy społeczeństwa obywatelskiego. Przypomnę, że 30 lat permanentnej wojny to ogromny problem. To jest społeczeństwo niewyedukowane – ponad 90% to analfabeci. W związku z tym potrzebna jest ogromna pomoc społeczna celem budowania państwa prawa, dobrych rządów, opieki społecznej.

Chcę powiedzieć, że już dzisiaj liczba dzieci, które się uczą w tych szkołach wzrosła z 700 000 do 7 000 000, w związku z tym jedną z kluczowych spraw, które stoją przed panią Ashton jest przede wszystkim skuteczna pomoc finansowa w budowaniu społeczeństwa obywatelskiego w Afganistanie.

3-182

**Martin Ehrenhauser (NI).** – Herr Präsident! Vielleicht lassen Sie mich als Mitglied der Iran-Delegation noch eine kurze Anmerkung machen. Es gab vor einiger Zeit im Europäischen Parlament in Brüssel eine Aussprache mit dem iranischen Botschafter in Brüssel. Auf die Frage, weshalb sich die Zahl der Todesurteile im Iran seit dem Amtsantritt des iranischen Präsidenten vervierfacht hätte, argumentierte er mit dem zunehmenden Drogenhandel im Grenzgebiet zwischen dem Iran und Afghanistan. Ich möchte Ihnen gerne diese Aussage mitgeben, dass vielleicht auch dieses Problem neben der Korruption ausreichend Berücksichtigung im Aktionsplan findet.

3-183

**Cecilia Malmström, Rådets tjänstgörande ordförande.** – Herr talman! Rådet är verkligen tacksamt för det enorma engagemang som Europaparlamentet känner i denna fråga. Jag ska svara på några frågor.

Kasoulides: Handlingsplanen tar avstamp i det regionala perspektivet. Det är helt centralt. Den lägger – och det är det arbete som styr EU – väldigt stor tyngd på gott styrelseskick, arbete mot korruption och rättsstatens principer. Här kommer Afghanistan och Pakistan att behöva stöd under mycket, mycket lång tid. Kasoulides har rätt i att vi inte har ägnat tillräckligt stor uppmärksamhet åt narkotikafrågan. Vi stöder de ansträngningar som finns, till exempel Unidoc-samarbetet och tekniskt bistånd. Detta måste fortsätta. Viktigast av allt är förstås att stödja den afghanska regeringens arbete för att skapa bättre välstånd och gott samhällsstyre.

Till Arlacchi vill jag säga att vi håller med om att de ansträngningar som har gjorts hittills inte varit tillräckligt koordinerade. Det är ett problem för EU och därför är det så viktigt att vi har denna plan nu. Också det svenska ordförandeskapet har kämpat hårt under hösten med att få fram den typ av uppgifter som ni efterfrågar – vem som gör vad och hur mycket – och få en sammanhållen idé om detta. Nu har vi ett bättre grepp, och vi ser verkligen fram emot ert betänkande, som kan hjälpa oss i detta arbete när vi går framåt, och också emot ett samarbete med er och utrikesutskottet.

Till Danjean skulle jag vilja säga att EUPOL är en mycket viktig del av samarbetet och den viktigaste delen för den afghanska regeringen när det gäller civilt polisarbete. Det har visat sig att det finns ett mycket starkt ledarskap på plats. EUPOL:s kvaliteter erkänns av alla parter – afghanerna, USA och andra parter. Här har vi ökat styrkan med 280 internationella medarbetare. Tyvärr har inte medlemsstaterna kunnat ställa upp med de 400 personer som vi behöver, och en uppmaning till bidrag pågår för närvarande eftersom vi vill att medlemsstaterna ska bidra här.

Som det ser ut idag konsoliderar EUPOL sin verksamhet på sex strategiska områden där vi tror att det kan ge ett mervärde: polisunderrättelser, brottsutredningar, befälstrukturen i polisen, kopplingar mellan polis och åklagare, kampen mot korruption samt mänskliga rättigheter och jämställdhet. Detta är de afghanska prioriteringarna. NATO kommer nu att engagera sig i polisutbildningen genom sitt utbildningsuppdrag och här måste vi naturligtvis intensifiera samarbetet.

Slutligen vill jag säga att handlingsplanen är oerhört viktig för att tillgodose att EU använder sina resurser på ett bättre och mer koordinerat sätt. Nu måste vi fokusera på att genomföra alla dessa goda idéer. Detta genom det regionala perspektivet, genom det egna ansvaret från Afghanistans och Pakistans regeringar och genom att fokusera på våra politiska prioriteringar, rättsstaten, demokrati och mänskliga rättigheter.

EU är en partner. En mycket viktig partner, men det finns även andra i regionen. Här måste vi naturligtvis samarbeta. Vi ser fram emot Londonkonferensen, där Karzai förhoppningsvis kommer att lägga fram sina planer, och att vi kan utöka stödet efter det.

EU:s stöd är långsiktigt och uthålligt och det ska vara hållbart. Det är denna signal som vi måste ge. Detta kommer att ta tid. Vi måste vara realistiska. Det är ett mycket, mycket omfattande arbete som ligger framför oss. Därför behöver EU:s engagemang finnas där. Vi måste ge signalen att vi kommer att finnas under lång tid, inte minst för kvinnornas och barnens skull, så som många ledamöter har tagit upp.

3-184

**Catherine Ashton**, *Vice-President designate of the Commission*. – Mr President, I will just pick up, if I may, a few key points which were raised by honourable Members.

Agreeing with the Presidency on the issues of narcotics, what we have sought to do is develop a comprehensive response which really brings together the rural development aspects of it with social issues and, of course, the rule of law. It is very important to tackle it from all of the different perspectives.

I agree with what honourable Members were saying about the importance of civilian issues. We have actually made significant progress; a number of Members were concerned about that. Just one example: in 2002 we had health-care take-up support of around 7% of the population; it is now at 85% in 2009. I can give other examples; that is just one where I think we can absolutely show what we are doing and how effective it has been on the ground. I agree too with what was said by Members such as Mrs Lambert about education being absolutely core to what we do in terms of support for children and also of course in terms of training for employment with adults.

The funds: I am pleased to say that actually these are very well-run funds. They are managed through the UN or through the World Bank and I think honourable Members receive a state of play report. The last one I have here is dated July 2009. For those who have not seen it we can make sure you receive copies. It demonstrates in very clear terms exactly where the money is going, exactly what it is being spent on and what we hope to achieve by that. But I do agree that we need to be more efficient. There is always room for that. One of the challenges of my role is to bring together what is happening on the ground, to make it more coherent and make it work more effectively. A number of colleagues have mentioned the need to make sure we fulfil the commitments on EUPOL.

It was mentioned that we have to work collaboratively with NATO; I have already had one meeting with the Secretary-General of NATO and I was at the meeting with General McChrystal and Richard Holbrook and with Secretary of State Clinton, to talk about Afghanistan. We are already building up to the London Conference in our dialogue with those important and key partners on the ground.

Of course what has been said about the regional aspects is extremely important. We do want as part of the action plan to pull together that regional cooperation. There is work going on: very practical work to develop that, particularly rail links and trade cooperation and so on. But I agree absolutely: there is more that we should be doing on that.

The London Conference on 28 January is the next significant milestone and will raise issues of security, governance, and social, economic and regional development – very important issues. Issues that I have identified are education, health, economic development, trade, justice and human rights, all of them issues on which I can say that I have a great deal of experience.

3-185

**President.** – The debate is closed.

### *Written statements (Rule 149)*

3-186

**Χαράλαμπος Αγγουράκης (GUE/NGL), γραπτώς.** – Το "νέο Πρόγραμμα Δράσης" της ΕΕ για το Αφγανιστάν και το Πακιστάν έρχεται να υλοποιήσει τη στρατηγική επιδίωξη της Ε.Ε να παίζει ακόμη πιο ενεργό ιμπεριαλιστικό ρόλο στο Αφγανιστάν και το Πακιστάν, καθώς και στην ευρύτερη περιοχή. Στο Πακιστάν προωθεί συμφωνία ελεύθερων συναλλαγών, που θα επιτρέψει τη μεγαλύτερη διείσδυση των ευρώενωσιακών μονοπωλίων στην περιοχή της Νότιας Ασίας. Στο Αφγανιστάν επιδιώκει να σταθεροποιήσει ακόμη περισσότερο την παρουσία της, τόσο αυτοτελώς με την αστυνομική αποστολή της EUPOL Afghanistan, όσο και στα πλαίσια του NATO, με την ανάπτυξη Ευρωπαϊκής Δύναμης Χωροφυλακής. Οι ενδοϊμπεριαλιστικές αντιθέσεις για το μοίρασμα της λείας παρά τη στρατηγική της συνεργασίας με ΗΠΑ και NATO οξύνονται. Η ΕΕ με πακτωλό χρημάτων που φτάνει το 1 δισεκατομμύριο ευρώ το χρόνο και διάφορα "αναπτυξιακά προγράμματα" επιχειρεί να ισχυροποιήσει τη θέση του ευρωπαϊκού κεφαλαίου στην καταλήστευση της κατεχόμενης χώρας και να αποκτήσει ορμητήριο για την εκμετάλλευση των λαών και του πλούτου της ευρύτερης περιοχής. Ταυτόχρονα, με την πολιτική "εξαγωγής της δημοκρατίας" επιχειρεί να διευρύνει τα ερείσματά της στην ιμπεριαλιστική κατοχική δομή. Οι λαοί δεν μπορούν διαλέγουν τον "καλύτερο ιμπεριαλιστή". Πρέπει να δυναμώσουν την πάλη τους ενάντια στα σχέδια όλων των ιμπεριαλιστών, για την αποτίναξη του ιμπεριαλιστικού κατοχικού ζυγού από το Αφγανιστάν και την ευρύτερη περιοχή.

3-187

**Elena Băsescu (PPE), în scris.** – Problemele din Afganistan și Pakistan nu se limitează doar la aceste țări. Ele ne afectează pe toți. Misiunea începută în Afganistan trebuie dusă până la capăt. În acest sens, România analizează cu deschidere posibilitatea creșterii participării în această țară, inclusiv prin suplimentarea forțelor de instruire a armatei, de sprijin medical și instituțional. În prezent, România are 1020 de militari în Afganistan a căror activitate vizând asigurarea păcii și stabilității este unanim apreciată de aliații noștri. Trebuie să ne implicăm atât pe plan militar, cât și în ceea ce privește asigurarea întăririi instituțiilor statului afgan, a guvernării la nivel local și regional, combaterea corupției și a comerțului cu narcotice, instruirea forțelor polițienești și asistența tehnică pentru dezvoltarea agriculturii. Remarc în acest sens anunțul doamnei Catherine Ashton privind creșterea sumelor pe care Comisia Europeană le acordă pentru dezvoltare în Afganistan. Acțiunile Uniunii Europene din Afganistan și Pakistan trebuie coordonate. Situațiile din cele două țări sunt strâns legate și succesul dintr-una depinde de cealaltă. Uniunea Europeană trebuie să continue parteneriatul cu Pakistanul și să ajute această țară în lupta împotriva extremismului și terorismului, dar și în privința relațiilor comerciale și a promovării drepturilor omului.

3-188

**Ricardo Cortés Lastra (S&D), por escrito.** – Es necesario asegurar una presencia internacional que ayude a establecer las condiciones básicas de paz y seguridad para permitir la mejora de la capacidad de gobierno del país, el refuerzo del Estado de Derecho, la lucha contra la corrupción y el respeto de los derechos humanos.

Cuando hablo de gobierno, me refiero también al nivel subnacional, el más cercano a los ciudadanos, y a la gobernanza en sentido amplio, incluyendo a todos los actores de Afganistán. El desarrollo del país, el desarrollo de la agricultura, las infraestructuras y el tejido comercial necesitan urgentemente un clima de paz y estabilidad y, sobre todo, proteger a los ciudadanos y atacar la impunidad y la inseguridad jurídica que les afecta directamente.

Todo ello sin olvidar los problemas diarios y urgentes de los ciudadanos, que no se limitan a la seguridad, y que tienen que ver con la alimentación, la salud y la educación. Afganistán va a salir adelante, y lo va a conseguir gracias a la fuerza y al trabajo de los propios afganos. Pero debemos tenderles la mano y, sobre todo, no desatenderles antes de tiempo, en el momento en que más lo necesitan.

3-189

**Jaromír Kohlíček (GUE/NGL), v písemné formě.** – Je-li někde na světě výrazný příklad neschopnosti EU zaujmout samostatné stanovisko k problému, který vytvořily Spojené státy, pak jde o současnou neradostnou situaci v Afghánistánu. Zničená infrastruktura, několik generací s minimálními možnostmi získání vzdělání, středověké poměry z hlediska rovnoprávnosti žen a světový etalon absolutní korupce. To je situace, která spolu s produkcí více než 70 % světové výroby opia a zvýšenou aktivitou teroristických skupin ukazuje na absolutní neschopnost okupační mocnosti. Známé příklady bezpráví, i na zvolených poslancích, spolu s nezákonnými praktikami americké administrativy vytvořily nestabilní prostředí. Stálé poukazování na nedostatek respektu k lidské důstojnosti za sovětské okupace se marně snaží zakrýt současný chaos a bezvládní. Více než dva miliony uprchlíků na území Pákistánu a propustná hranice mezi státy jsou vynikajícími předpoklady pro pronikání ozbrojených skupin do jižní a východní části země. Paštunské kmeny žijí

dlohodobě na obou stranách hranice a jen obtížně lze v současném chaosu zjistit, kdo odkud je. Usnesení EP z roku 2008 tuto situaci správně popisuje, ale nutno konstatovat, že optimistická tvrzení nejsou na místě. Za současného stavu je posílení vojenské přítomnosti, další přísun finančních prostředků a expertních týmů zcela nesmyslný. Situace se v posledním roce výrazně zhoršila a optimistická tvrzení Evropské komise nejsou založena na současné realitě v Afghánistánu.

3-190

**Krzysztof Lisek (PPE), na piśmie.** – Konieczne jest podjęcie kroków mających na celu poprawę sytuacji w Afganistanie. W szczególności istotne są: przeprowadzenie szkoleń dla policjantów, wojska, pracowników systemu sądownictwa i nauczycieli oraz walka z produkcją i handlem narkotykami. Umożliwi to stabilizację systemu społecznego w Afganistanie. Niewątpliwie trzeba także zwiększyć kontyngent wojskowy i policyjny oraz wzmoczyć wysiłki w części graniczącej z Pakistanem, w celu uniemożliwienia przepływu broni i narkotyków pomiędzy tymi państwami. Warto już dziś pomyśleć, w jakim kierunku powinna rozwijać się w przyszłości gospodarka Afganistanu tak, aby mieszkańcy tego kraju mogli porzucić uprawę maku i handel opium. Jednym słowem, działaniom wojskowym czy policyjnym powinny towarzyszyć działania cywilne: wsparcie w tworzeniu struktur afgańskiego państwa i pomoc rozwojowa.

3-191

## 10 - Belarus (debate)

3-192

**President.** – The next item is the Council and Commission statements on Belarus.

3-193

**Cecilia Malmström, Rådets tjänstgörande ordförande.** – Herr talman! Ärade ledamöter! Vitryssland är en inte helt okomplicerad partner för EU. Jag vill börja denna debatt med att förklara varför rådet fattade sitt beslut i november om EU:s förbindelser med Vitryssland. Jag vet att denna fråga är av stort intresse för många ledamöter.

När vi diskuterade detta fokuserade vi på två viktiga aspekter. Å ena sidan ville EU ge den tydliga signalen att vi är missnöjda med bristen på positiv utveckling de senaste månaderna. Å andra sidan vill vi slå fast de följande stegen inom ramen för dialogen med Vitryssland, med målet att uppmuntra Minsk att vidta åtgärder på en rad områden.

Resultatet blev, tycker jag, ett väl avvägt beslut som tar hänsyn till dessa aspekter. Det innehåller tre huvudmoment.

För det första förlänger vi sanktionerna samtidigt som vi suspenderar reserestriktionerna för nästan alla de individer som berörs. Undantag görs för fyra personer som har direkt koppling till politiska försvinnanden och för ordföranden för Vitrysslands centrala valkommission.

För det andra är vi öppna för möjligheten till viseringslättnader och återtaganden mellan EU och Vitryssland.

För det tredje finns det utsikter till ett partnerskaps- och samarbetsavtal mellan EU och Vitryssland. Detta förutsätter naturligtvis en utveckling mot demokrati, mänskliga rättigheter och rättsstatens principer. Kommissionen har ombetts att göra en del förberedande arbete baserat på dessa handlingsplaner, som utvecklats inom ramen för grannskapspolitiken.

I diskussionerna tog vi hänsyn till att situationen i Vitryssland är bättre än för ett och ett halvt år sedan, trots att det har tagits en del steg bakåt. Att en student till exempel avstängdes från universitetet efter att ha deltagit i ett frivilligmöte inom ramen för det östliga partnerskapet är ett mycket allvarligt exempel på detta.

Övergången från ett auktoritärt samhälle till demokrati – och detta kan många ledamöter i denna kammare mycket om – sker gradvis. Det kommer att ta tid för Vitryssland och det kommer att finnas många hinder på vägen. Därför behövs vårt fulla stöd.

Den globala finanskrisen skapar faktiskt möjligheter till inflytande. Vitrysslands ekonomi går helt på knäna och Ryssland är inte längre redo att stå för notan. Inom energisektorn är de låga gaspriserna ett minne blott.

Kan vi då utnyttja denna situation till att uppmuntra till en annan utveckling i Vitryssland? Ja, det finns inte något annat sätt än dialog. Vi måste bidra till att stärka den försiktiga utvecklingen i riktning mot större öppenhet. Vi måste överväga effektiviteten i sanktionspolitiken. Förra årets beslut om att suspendera viseringsrestriktionerna efter att Minsk hade släppt de sista fångarna i augusti 2008 bidrog till vissa framsteg i dialogen.

Användningen av sanktioner är ett viktigt påtryckningsmedel för Europeiska unionen. Samtidigt har kommissionen tagit flera steg som syftar till samarbete med Vitryssland, och landet ingår i det östliga partnerskapet. Vårt stöd för Vitryssland inom Internationella valutafonden har också varit ett steg i en positiv utveckling.

Detta är förutsättningarna och nu måste vi gå vidare på ett klokt och förnuftigt sätt. Beslutet att förlänga suspensionen av viseringsförbudslistan var en signal om att vi menar allvar med att belöna de positiva steg som tas. Om utvecklingen fortsätter att gå i denna riktning kan vi gå ännu ett steg framåt.

Just nu fokuserar diskussionerna på två möjliga alternativ. Det ena är utvecklingen av ett formellt avtalsförhållande och det andra möjligheten till viseringslättnader och återtagandeavtal. Den ståndpunkt som rådet antog har lagt grunden för mer konkreta funderingar kring dessa frågor.

Ett partnerskaps- och samarbetsavtal skulle kunna innebära att vi formaliserar förhållandet mellan EU och Vitryssland på ett nytt sätt. Detta är ett sätt att förena konditionalitet med våra olika påtryckningsmedel inom ramen för en juridiskt bindande överenskommelse. Genom ett partnerskaps- och samarbetsavtal skulle det också vara möjligt för Vitryssland att fullt ut delta i den bilaterala delen av det östliga partnerskapet.

När det gäller viseringslättnaden så är tanken att den ska rikta sig till vanliga människor, allmänheten, snarare än till ledarskiktet. Det skulle innebära en viktig möjlighet att främja kontakter mellan civilsamhället och medborgarna i Vitryssland och i EU. Detta kan bli en avgörande faktor när det gäller att öppna upp och påverka det vitryska samhället. Det ligger helt i linje med målet för det östliga partnerskapet.

Det finns en koppling mellan viseringslättnader och återtagande. Detta bör inte vara något större problem, för här har det visat sig att Vitryssland kan samarbeta i frågor som rör gränskontroll.

Vitryssland har ett viktigt läge vid EU:s östra gräns. Därför har vi ett intresse av ett Vitryssland som moderniseras, utvecklas och som tar steg mot ett demokratiskt och fritt land. Vikten av att ha demokratiska grannländer är en hörnsten i vår säkerhetsstrategi.

Vi ska arbeta för att våra värderingar som demokrati, marknadsekonomi och respekt för mänskliga rättigheter präglar Vitryssland. Här finns en tydlig parallell med hur vi utvecklar partnerskap med olika länder både i öster och i söder.

Jag vill avsluta med att understryka att vi naturligtvis måste fortsätta att sätta upp tydliga villkor i våra förbindelser med Vitryssland. Landet måste fortsätta att ta steg framåt. President Lukasjenkos repressiva politik måste ersättas av mer demokrati och mer tolerans. Rättsstatens principer måste respekteras. Detta budskap sänds i alla bilaterala kontakter som vi har mellan medlemsstaterna och Vitryssland.

Att vi har en dialog är en förutsättning för att våra krav ska ge resultat. Det är därför vi från rådets sida också har välkomnat de ökade kontakterna för att stärka en demokratisk förändring. Vi kommer att fortsätta att utveckla vårt stöd till demokratiörelsen och det civila samhället, som arbetar för reformer och europeisk integration i Vitryssland. Vi är mycket tacksamma för det stora stöd och engagemang som Europaparlamentet visar detta arbete.

3-194

**Benita Ferrero-Waldner, Member of the Commission.** – Mr President, dear colleagues, Council President, honourable Members, it is a pleasure to discuss with you today our very important but also our very challenging relationship with Belarus. I think it is important because Belarus lies at a crossroads on our continent; and it is challenging because Belarus' own choices for its own future, and for its relationship with the EU, remain unclear. It still remains to be seen what they will be, so we will have to go on working with them.

Over the last two years, the European Union has sought gradually to engage with Belarus and to encourage further reforms, to build on the, I have to say, modest measures taken so far. I am convinced that the most productive approach to Belarus will be one based on pragmatism. Our engagement with that country needs to reflect positive steps by Belarus itself, but we also have to show at least some flexibility.

We have signalled clearly that we would like to see Belarus take its place as a fully fledged participant in the European neighbourhood policy, and that the bilateral track of the Eastern Partnership can be opened to Belarus if it shows through sustained action its wish to make irreversible steps towards democratic reform.

In the mean time we have shown our goodwill in a number of important ways. A number of EU high-level visits to Belarus this year helped strengthen political exchanges. We launched a dialogue on human rights issues in June 2009. The Commission is engaged in a growing number of technical dialogues with Belarus on issues of mutual interest.

Last month, for instance, the External Relations Council decided to extend existing restrictive measures, notably the visa ban and the assets freeze, till October 2010, given the lack of significant progress on human rights and fundamental freedoms.

However, to encourage democratic progress, the Council also extended the suspension of the restrictive measures. And the Council also took two further decisions to encourage Belarus to stay on the path of reforms. I very much welcome that the Commission can now start working on the visa facilitation issue, and on a shadow ENP action plan, the 'joint interim plan'. These steps provide an incentive for moves towards democracy in Belarus, which I am confident will be well understood on the one hand by the Government, but on the other hand particularly by the people.

The joint interim plan will be developed with both the authorities and civil society in Belarus, and I hope it will open the door to deeper dialogue with Belarus, including on delicate political issues.

My services are preparing recommendations with a view to negotiating directives on visa facilitation and readmission agreements. Visa facilitation is a priority for the Belarusian people, and I would like to see more Belarusians visiting the European Union, travelling freely, studying and doing business. But naturally the final decision on the negotiation directives will lie with the Council.

In addition, the Commission is prepared to increase the allocations of financial assistance to Belarus for the period of 2010-2013. We have proposed a package of macro-financial assistance worth EUR 200 million, for which we are seeking the approval of Parliament. The Commission is supporting the idea of an EIB including Belarus in the Bank's new mandate. I really hope this will go further.

However, if Belarus wishes to come closer to the EU, it is clear it must show this through its actions. There must be an end to political prisoners and politically motivated prosecutions. Reform of the electoral legislation in line with OSCE/ODIHR recommendations is sorely needed. The liberty of the press, freedom of speech and of assembly should be permitted and become the norm. The European Union also encourages Belarus to abolish or declare a moratorium on the death penalty. We call for improved conditions for NGOs, civil society and human rights activists. All these steps could play their part in accelerating the development of a closer partnership between Belarus and the European Union.

In conclusion, therefore, our offer to Belarus is clear. The European Union is ready to work closely with Minsk and support its political and economic development. But we would welcome significant positive steps from the Belarus leadership which would allow us to develop our relationship in the same way as we do with other eastern partners if they play their part.

3-195

**Jacek Protasiewicz**, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Mr President, why has my political group insisted on having the resolution after the debate? Not only to express our support for the decision taken by the Council – because this is a wise decision and a proper decision and I agree with both your arguments – but the main reason is the increase in repression that has happened in Belarus quite recently. The resolution will refer to all those cases and, if any are abandoned during the drafting of the resolution, you may be sure they will be proposed as an amendment, either by the EPP in written form or by me in oral form tomorrow.

There is another issue which has been revealed by the media only today, namely a new draft law prepared by Alexander designed to totally control the internet, as in China or even in North Korea. I think that we should also refer to that.

Why are these issues happening in Belarus? My private opinion is that it is partly due to the unconsidered – let me say, unwise – visits by Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, who met Alexander Lukashenko and praised him as a democratically elected leader but did not find time to meet with the opposition, and also, a little earlier, by the President of Lithuania, who has invited Lukashenko to Lithuania, in an ill-considered way, I would say.

Finally, let me refer to this morning's speech by Sergei Kovalev who said, citing Sakharov, that the Western world should offer and demand. This is the issue. We should offer deep cooperation with Belarus, but we should also demand from the Belarus authorities real progress in the area of human rights, democracy and freedom.

3-196

**Кристиан Вигенин**, *от името на групата S&D*. – Г-жо министър, г-жо комисар, не мога да не са съглася с оценката, че Беларус е един труден партньор за Европейския съюз.

Няма как да не се присъединим обаче и към начина, по който Комисията и Съветът подхождат към тази страна в последната година. На нас ни се струва, че този подход - да се отваря стъпка по стъпка вратата към Беларус, обвързано със съответните решения от страна на властите в Беларус - е най-добрият начин постепенно тази страна да се превърне или поне да се доближи максимално до нашата представа за една демократична страна.

Бихме искали да видим малко повече в мерките, които предприемат Европейската комисия и Съветът, малко повече отношение към самите граждани на Беларус, защото това е начинът те самите да бъдат спечелени за каузата, която ние се опитваме в диалог с беларуските власти да наложим там, а именно демократизацията,

отварянето, провеждането на свободни и демократични избори. Нещо, което е немислимо в днешна Европа да не може да се случи в една европейска страна.

В този смисъл и са нашите проблеми по отношение на Източното партньорство. Вие знаете, че Европейският парламент не поддържа официални отношения с парламента в Беларус, тъй като ние считаме, че депутатите на Беларус не са избрани в честни и демократични избори и този парламент не може да бъде наш официален партньор.

В тази връзка е и предстоящото учредяване на Парламентарна асамблея на Източното партньорство, което се сблъсква с определени трудности, но нашият подход ще бъде такъв, че ще се опитаме заедно с Комисията и Съвета да следваме една обща стратегия, така че и на парламентарно равнище ние да сме готови да направим съответните стъпки към Беларус, ако от своя страна те направят своите стъпки и изпълнят исканията, които имаме към тях.

В този смисъл аз призовавам, така както Европейският парламент, Европейската комисия и Съветът работят в единодействие, да бъдат избягвани самостоятелни действия като тези на премиера Берлускони, които вредят на общата кауза и дават допълнителен стимул на Лукашенко. Това трябва да бъде избегнато.

3-197

**Ivars Godmanis**, *on behalf of the ALDE Group*. – Mr President, I would like to put forward one more proposal, because relations are really frozen between the Parliament and the authorities, but we do have relations with the opposition. My proposal is that I will propose to organise a conference, in Latvia or somewhere else, at which there would be participants from the authorities and from the opposition. The themes of the conference would be, firstly: energy, security, economy, transit problems, which in Belarus are very significant, as also for the EU; secondly: visa questions, neighbourhood questions regarding citizens; thirdly: the problems with the democratic situation, party problems and human rights; and fourthly: the real view from the Belarus side – how they see the Eastern Partnership in the near future. At the end of the day, I believe that this is one of the ways in which we could bring about a thaw in the frozen situation that we really do have. It has to be a two-way street, because with a one-way street we will not succeed.

3-198

**Werner Schulz**, *im Namen der Verts/ALE-Fraktion*. – Herr Präsident, meine lieben Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Vor etwa zwei Wochen hat der italienische Ministerpräsident als erster westlicher Regierungschef seit Jahren wieder Weißrussland besucht. Er hat die Arbeit und die Politik von Präsident Lukaschenka gelobt und die hohe Wahlbeteiligung als Ausdruck der hohen Bewunderung und der Liebe des Volkes gegenüber seinem Präsidenten gewürdigt. Er hat leider vergessen, die Opposition zu besuchen, wie das sonst üblich ist. Und die Reaktion war nicht etwa, dass Schritte der Liberalisierung in Belarus festgestellt wurden, sondern der Kurs gegenüber der Opposition ist eher verschärft worden. Es kam zu Repressionen, es gab Rempelen und Prügeleien und dergleichen mehr.

Auch deswegen haben wir heute diese EntschlieÙung eingebracht, um deutlich zu machen, hinter welchen Kräften wir stehen, welche Ansätze von Zivilgesellschaft wir unterstützen und dass man von einer Partnerschaft, die ja bisher auf Eis liegt, erst dann reden kann, wenn auch der Menschenrechtsdialog mit Weißrussland wieder in vollem Umfang geführt wird. Das heißt Redefreiheit, Meinungsfreiheit, eine freie Arbeit der Opposition, die Zulassung von oppositionellen Parteien und dergleichen mehr. Das ist uns wichtig, das muss künftig die Partnerschaft bestimmen. Wir hoffen, dass die Europäische Union hier eine einheitliche Linie findet und die künftige Außenministerin diese auch mit voller Kraft vertritt.

3-199

**Valdemar Tomaševski**, *ECR frakcijos vardu*. – Gerbiamas Pirmininke, Baltarusija, Vidurio Europos šalis, tai istoriškas Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės lopšys. Kunigaikštystės, kuri gynė Vakarų civilizacijos vertybes, jos Šiaurės rytų paribyje. Taigi gerai, kad šių metų lapkričio 17 d. Tarybos išvadose numatyta naujų dialogų galimybių, taip pat numatytas didesnis Europos Sąjungos ir Baltarusijos bendradarbiavimas.

Bet nuo kalbų ir gestų turime prieiti ir prie konkretumo. Pradėkime nuo žmonių tarpusavio ryšių. Juos būtina stiprinti įtraukiant Baltarusiją į Europos ir regionų lygmens procesus. Kreipiuosi į Komisiją su prašymu skubiai parengti rekomendacijas dėl direktyvų dėl vizų režimų supaprastinimo. Ir jo visiško panaikinimo 50 km pasienio juostos zonoje. Europos viduryje žmonės privalo turėti teises ir galimybes laisvai judėti į abi puses.

3-200

**Jiří Maštálka**, *za skupinu GUE/NGL*. – Pozorně jsem si přečetl návrhy usnesení k dané problematice a vyslechl jsem si se zájmem diskuzi. Mám za to, že v předložených usneseních převládají návrhy, které se snaží pozitivně změnit doposud chladný vztah Evropské unie k Bělorusku. Projekt Východního partnerství považuji za dobrou možnost výrazného zlepšení našich vztahů. Chtěl bych zdůraznit následující body: zaprvé v ekonomické oblasti převládá pragmatický přístup, ale nemůže jít jen o jednostranný proces. I Unie se musí otevřít běloruskému zboží a službám. Zadruhé za nezbytné považuji urychlené uvolnění finančních zdrojů pro Bělorusko v rámci Východního partnerství. Zatřetí příspěvkem k dialogu by mohlo být i uvolnění vízové politiky Evropské unie. Začtvrté bychom měli více podpořit environmentální zaměření naší spolupráce. Všichni víme, že Bělorusko utrpělo černobylskou havárii a naše pomoc bude více než vítaná. Přestože chápou



historická a politická specifika Běloruska, jsem přesvědčen, že došel čas, aby se Bělorusko připojilo k zemím, které zakázaly trest smrti.

3-201

**Fiorello Provera, a nome del gruppo EFD.** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, intanto, rispondendo al collega che è intervenuto volevo rivendicare il diritto di qualsiasi capo di Stato di poter fare visita a governi nell'ambito dell'Europa e fuori dell'Europa, purché con coerenza con il Consiglio, quindi questa censura preventiva del presidente del Consiglio italiano mi dà molto fastidio.

Comunque per venire al tema, aderendo al partenariato orientale la Bielorussia ha dimostrato di voler condividere con l'Europa un percorso di sviluppo economico e di riforme. La Commissione ha riconosciuto alcuni progressi fatti dalla Bielorussia, come il rilascio di prigionieri politici, la riforma del codice elettorale e la possibilità per alcuni giornali dell'opposizione di circolare, pur se sotto il controllo del governo. Questo non significa la piena democrazia, ma certamente un cambiamento rispetto al passato.

L'Unione europea ha quindi davanti a sé la scelta di incoraggiare le riforme attraverso il dialogo nell'ambito del partenariato orientale e in Euronest e contemporaneamente mantenere una politica di vigilanza sui risultati ottenuti e sui passi compiuti. Ritengo quindi opportuno il mandato conferito al collega Vigenin per concordare con Minsk una rappresentanza adeguata nell'Assemblea Euronest, non limitata unicamente alla società civile e che includa rappresentanti parlamentari bielorussi.

Questo consentirebbe di dialogare con i decisori politici anche sul tema dei diritti umani e di costituire un canale di comunicazione con il governo per sostenere il processo delle riforme, togliendo ogni alibi per risposte mancate o deludenti.

3-202

**Peter Šťastný (PPE).** – Bielorusko si zaslúži zvýšenú pozornosť Európskej únie aj Európskeho parlamentu. Rozhodne schvaľujem našu podanú pomocnú ruku, pokiaľ reakcia druhej strany bude konkrétne zmerateľná a adekvátne. Musíme však byť principiálni v našich požiadavkách. Vtedy benefaktorom bude demokracia, dobré vzťahy EÚ a Bieloruska, a rozhodne občania tejto krajiny.

Preto vítam pozvanie Bieloruska do spoločného parlamentného zasadnutia Euronest s jasnou podmienkou zloženia zástupcov 5 + 5, ktoré má silnú podporu Európskeho parlamentu. Na druhej strane je poľutovaniahodné hrubé porušovanie princípov zo strany oficiálnych návštev členských predstaviteľov Európskej únie. Jeden takýto princíp, ktorý sa vyžaduje pri oficiálnej návšteve Bieloruska, je aj stretnutie sa s opozíciou. Práve tento bol fragrantne porušený absenciou takéhoto stretnutia, pri nedávnej návšteve premiéra vplyvného členského štátu Európskej únie. Takéto konanie je úderom pod pás našim snahám, poškodzuje dobré meno Európskej únie a jeho inštitúcií a rozhodne nepomáha posilňovaniu demokracie v Bielorusku.

3-203

**Justas Vincas Paleckis (S&D).** – Šešerius metus Europos Parlamente tvirtinau ir tvirtinu, kad Europos Sajunga geriausia paslauga Baltarusijos ir ES piliečiams, ypač gyvenantiems kaimynystėje su šia šalimi, padarys ne sankcijomis ar atribojimais, o atverdama kuo plačiausiai vartus žmonių, ypač jaunimo, bendravimui ir kuo glaudžiausiems kontaktams verslo, kultūros, mokslo ir kitose srityse.

Labai gerai, kad jau antrus metus Briuselis pragmatiškai siekia pokyčių suartėdamas su Baltarusija ir jos žmonėmis. Taip, ta politika dar neatnešė visų laukiamų vaisių, tačiau grįžti į praeitį būtų tikrai neteisinga. Todėl palaikau Tarybos ir Komisijos veiksmus, ypač veiksmų plano Baltarusijai perspektyvą.

Naujosioms ES šalims prieš dvejus metus prisijungus prie Šengeno sutarties Berlyno sienos likučiai, vaizdžiai tariant, pasislinko į Rytus. Jeigu anksčiau Lietuvos, Latvijos, Lenkijos ir Baltarusijos gyventojai, dažnai siejami giminystės ryšių, galėjo važinėti vienas pas kitą be jokių mokesčių, tai dabar baltarusiai už Šengeno vizą moka beveik pusę mėnesinio atlyginimo. Reikia kuo greičiau griauti tokias biurokratinės ir finansinės sienas. Antra vertus, Minsko veiksmai vilkinant sutartis dėl palengvinto pravažiavimo pasienio gyventojams su Lietuva ir kitomis valstybėmis sėja abejones gerais valdžios norais.

Baltarusijoje apie 30 proc. gyventojų pagal apklausas pasisako už geresnius santykius su Europos Sajunga. 28 proc. gyventojų norėtų geresnių santykių su Rusija. Bet tame prieštaravimo nėra. Europos Sajunga tikrai nesiekia atplėšti Baltarusijos nuo Rusijos ar jas supriešinti. Reformų reikia ne Vakarams, o patiems baltarusiams.

Na, ir aktyvus ekonomikos modernizavimas, dalyvavimas Rytų partnerystės politikoje gali padėti atlikti tą uždavinį.

3-204

**Paweł Robert Kowal (ECR).** – Panie Przewodniczący! Przysłuchuję się naszej debacie i mam wrażenie, że za mało mówimy o głównym celu, jaki nam przyświeca. Są nim wolne wybory na Białorusi. Powinniśmy zawsze zwracać na nie

uwagę. Jako posłowie wybrani w demokratycznych wyborach w swoich krajach nie możemy ignorować tego głównego celu.

Jestem przekonany, że i w obozie opozycji i w obozie władzy wiele osób czeka na to, aż będziemy mówili o wolnych wyborach. Oni także czekają na ten sygnał. Wiem to z własnego doświadczenia. Należy im się jasna i klarowna odpowiedź. Walczymy o to, żeby na Białorusi mogły być wolne wybory, a Białoruś wolnym partnerem w Europie. Wczoraj udało się uzyskać od pani komisarz deklarację w sprawie planu Sarkozy'ego, za co bardzo dziękuję.

Mam dzisiaj jeszcze jeden pomysł, aby Pani Komisarz wyraźnie zadeklarowała, że dopóki nie będzie wolnych wyborów na Białorusi, nie będzie żadnych kontaktów politycznych z tym krajem w dziedzinach, na które ma Pani wpływ, z wyjątkiem opozycji, która nie będzie pomijana. Proszę to powiedzieć publicznie. Będziemy Pani za to bardzo zobowiązani. Będzie to dla nas prezent na święta.

3-205

**Bastiaan Belder (EFD).** – Mijnheer de Voorzitter, begin dit jaar, om precies te zijn op woensdag 14 januari, had ik eveneens het voorrecht deel te nemen aan een debat in dit Huis - en mevrouw Ferrero-Waldner, de commissaris, was daar ook bij - over Wit-Rusland en logisch dat je dan aan het eind van dit parlementaire jaar kijkt of er zich wezenlijke veranderingen hebben voorgedaan in de relatie Europese Unie/Wit-Rusland. Welnu, mijns inziens kenmerkt het jaar 2009 zich door de status quo tussen Minsk en Brussel. Welke conclusies dienen de Europese instellingen hieruit te trekken? Allereerst houdt het gevaar aan dat het Wit-Russische regime van president Loekasjenko simpel blijft balanceren tussen Moskou en Brussel ofwel tussen gesimuleerde integratie met Rusland en gesimuleerde toenadering tot de Europese Unie. Tegenover de economische affectiviteit van Europa staat de wens en wil tot machtsconsolidering van de Wit-Russische politieke elite. De jongste positiewisselingen binnen de politieke top in Minsk duiden op een hardere koers.

Mijnheer de Voorzitter, met een uitgebalanceerde strategie dient de Europese Unie de kans van een geleidelijke mentaliteitsverandering op bevolkings- en eliteniveau aan te grijpen. Een kans die voortvloeit uit de inmiddels opgebouwde dialoog en samenwerkingsstructuren in combinatie met de wereldwijde economische crisis die het Loekasjenko-bewind evenzeer tot handelen noopt.

Kortom, alle Europese instellingen zullen daarbij alle Wit-Russische doelgroepen moeten aanspreken. De staatsinstanties, de oppositiekrachten, de burgermaatschappij, ja evenzeer de passieve burgerbevolking. Het ligt daarbij voor de hand dat het Europees Parlement inhoudelijk contacten nastreeft met het Wit-Russische parlement.

3-206

**Konrad Szymański (ECR).** –Eksperyment z odmrożeniem stosunków między Unią a Białorusią przynosi wciąż niejasne rezultaty. Presja polityczna Unii Europejskiej jest więc niezbędnym warunkiem utrzymania bardzo słabo zarysowanego kursu na zmiany w Mińsku. Otworzenie kanałów komunikacji z władzą musi iść w parze z odrzuceniem niedemokratycznego parlamentu w Mińsku. Musimy też skrupulatnie dbać o to, by wolni Białorusini nie poczuli się porzuceni, dlatego lekkomyślne pomijanie spotkań z przedstawicielami opozycji jest skrajną nieodpowiedzialnością.

Mińsk musi wiedzieć, że nasza polityka ma jeden cel – demokrację na Białorusi. Przemiany polityczne będą możliwe tylko wtedy, gdy zapewnimy Białorusinom dostęp do wolnej informacji. Projektem, który dzisiaj wymaga wsparcia jest przede wszystkim telewizja Belsat, która od dwóch lat z rosnącym zainteresowaniem Białorusinów nadaje jedyny program po białorusku, zapewniając dostęp do nieocenzurowanej informacji o sytuacji w tym kraju

3-207

**Paul Rübig (PPE).** – Herr Präsident, sehr geehrte Ratspräsidentin, sehr geehrte Benita Ferrero-Waldner! Mich freut es ganz besonders, dass sich Benita Ferrero-Waldner als unsere Kommissarin immer für Demokratie und für Marktwirtschaft eingesetzt hat und auch hier in Belarus neue Maßstäbe gesetzt hat. In diesem Zusammenhang möchte ich ihr sehr herzlich für ihre Tätigkeiten als Außenkommissarin danken, und ihr auch für die Zukunft alles Gute wünschen.

3-208

**Marek Siwiec (S&D).** – Panie Przewodniczący! Znaleźliśmy się w sytuacji, która wskazuje na pewną schizofrenię, jeśli chodzi o kontakty z Białorusią. Otóż liderzy europejscy rozmawiają z prezydentem i rządem białoruskim, który jest emanacją tego parlamentu i tego systemu. I to jest dobrze. Natomiast my nie chcemy rozmawiać z parlamentem, który jest wybrany w złych wyborach, niewolnych, nietransparentnych, bo mamy swoje zasady. Ta schizofrenia musi kiedyś się skończyć i to trzeba jasno powiedzieć.

Ostatecznym momentem na powiedzenie, jaka jest polityka wobec Białorusi są przyszłoroczne wybory samorządowe. Albo odbędą się one według zasad, które akceptujemy i to jest sygnał do poważnego otwarcia, albo się nie odbędą w ten sposób i trzeba po prostu przestać zwracać sobie głowę otwieraniem na Białoruś, bo widać, że pan Łukaszenko wie, czego chce, a my tak do końca nie wiemy, czego chcemy.

Natomiast, co do pana Berlusconi, to on sam sobie wystawia świadectwa, ponieważ jeśli dla niego ideałem przywództwa jest to, co robi Łukaszenko, to znaczy, że to jest ten model, który mu imponuje i można tylko załamać ręce i wyrazić żal, że taki akurat przywódca zasiada pośród 27 przywódców krajów Unii Europejskiej.

3-209

**Charles Tannock (ECR).** – Mr President, as a long-term Belarus watcher, it is important that the EU remains engaged with Belarus, which is a medium-sized European country and which is becoming increasingly self-isolated and turning itself into a kind of Cuba of Europe. President Lukashenko, who is a quintessentially *Homo sovieticus* type, nevertheless understands fully what power politics are all about and therefore we need to have a reasonable EU-Belarus trade and political contact and relationship. I therefore do agree that the targeted sanctions need to be eventually lifted and a PCA eventually ratified.

So, after years of the EU isolating Belarus, I now agree that a pragmatic stick-and-carrot approach is the correct one. We must facilitate contacts with Belarus civil society and cheaper visa arrangements, and grant Belarus observer status in the Euronest Assembly, as well as access to the programmes of the Eastern Partnership.

We have made a generous start, and I now call upon Minsk to meet us halfway by improving its human rights and democracy record.

3-210

**Andreas Mölzer (NI).** – Herr Präsident! Die Politik der Europäischen Union gegenüber Weißrussland ist gewiss ein Beispiel für vernünftige Nachbarschaftspolitik. Man sollte der scheidenden Kommissarin Ferrero-Waldner diesbezüglich danken, dass sie hier erfolgreich tätig war.

Weißrussland sollte sehr wohl durch die Europäische Union im Reformprozess und auch bei der Demokratisierung unterstützt werden. Allerdings sollte man seitens der Europäischen Union oder der Mitglieder der Europäischen Union nicht so arrogant sein und glauben, dass die eigenen demokratiepolitischen Standards für alle Welt Vorbild sein müssen.

Eines ist im Verhältnis zu Weißrussland gewiss zu beachten: Wir haben, wenn wir ein gedeihliches Verhältnis zu Russland haben wollen, die Verpflichtung, irgendwo auch die historischen und geopolitischen Interessen des Kremls zu respektieren. Im Zusammenhang mit der europäischen Politik gegenüber Weißrussland ist das wahrscheinlich der sensibelste Punkt.

3-211

**Filip Kaczmarek (PPE).** – Była tutaj mowa o potrzebie wymiany młodzieżowej, kulturalnej między Unią a Białorusią. Obawiam się, że to będzie bardzo trudne. 3 grudnia rzeczniczka organizacji opozycyjnej Młody Front, Tatiana Szapućko, została skreślona z listy studentów Wydziału Prawa Białoruskiego Uniwersytetu Państwowego. I za co została skreślona? Za udział w forum na temat Partnerstwa Wschodniego w Brukseli. Władze uczelni uznały, że wyjechała bez ich zgody i za to została wyrzucona z uczelni.

Być może dla kobiety w tym kraju to nie jest tak niebezpieczne, ale dla mężczyzn wyrzuconych z uczelni na Białorusi skutki mogą być bardziej bolesne, dlatego, że służba wojskowa na Białorusi jest traktowana jako kara, jako zastępstwo uwięzienia. Są młodzi żołnierze, jak Franek Wieczorka, szef młodzieżówki Białoruskiego Frontu Młodzieżowego, Iwan Szyła, też z organizacji Młody Front, którzy są prześladowani podczas służby wojskowej, gdzie odcina się im dostęp do informacji i jest to traktowane jako kara. Powinniśmy z tym walczyć i powinniśmy wspierać tych, którzy są karani w ten sposób.

3-212

**Cecilia Malmström, President-in-Office of the Council.** – Mr President, Commissioner, honourable Members, I think it is extremely valuable that we have such strong support among all the European institutions for the approach towards Belarus.

It is, indeed, a very difficult partner, but it is our neighbour, a country with which we share borders. Some countries here have close and historic relations with the people there, so we must do our utmost to support the development towards democracy, human rights, the rule of law and market economy.

We are concerned about certain backlashes lately, for instance the young student who was expelled. The Swedish Presidency has reacted very firmly in Minsk and also issued lots of statements: it is, of course, something that we deplore and it should not happen.

We have had lots of contact with civil society during this year. There was a conference just a few weeks ago in Brussels with civil society. I personally met representatives from all the opposition in Stockholm a few weeks ago, and they are continuous efforts to liaise with civil society and the opposition. They are weak but they are there and they need our support, and that support will continue.

I think Mr Godmanis' idea on the conference theme is a very interesting one. It certainly merits being explored to see if we can move forward.

This dual approach towards Belarus – the 'stick and carrot', as I think Mr Tannock called it – is hopefully the one that will succeed. It shows that we are truly committed, we stuck out our hands. We can show Mr Lukashenko and the Belarus regime that, if you move towards democracy, if you move towards respecting international values, there is another way for you. There is a way towards European integration; there is a way towards engagement with the European Union, towards visa facilitation and deepening of the Eastern Partnership.

Now it is up to them to respond. We have given them our hand and, with the full support of all the European institutions, please, Minsk, take it, because you and the Belarus people have a lot to win.

3-213

**Karel De Gucht**, *Member of the Commission*. – Mr President, in conclusion I would like to stress that I found – and I am also speaking on behalf of Benita Ferrero-Waldner, of course – our exchanges today to be very frank and extremely useful. I wish to thank you for a constructive and forward-looking debate.

The EU is, in principle, ready to work closely with Minsk and support urgently needed political and economic reforms. Should there be significant steps from the Belarusian leadership in terms of democratisation, the EU would be prepared to see Belarus as a full member of the Eastern Partnership. In the mean time, the EU is, and will be, urging Belarus to take further irreversible steps towards democratic standards, without which our relationship cannot develop to its full potential. I sincerely hope that in 2010 we will be in a position to engage gradually and intelligently with Belarus and offer the Belarusian people a vision and tangible benefits of a close relationship with the EU.

The EU expects Belarus to take a series of accompanying measures in the area of democratic reforms, with a view to coming closer to the EU and together help expand the area of peace, stability and prosperity involving all six Eastern Partnership countries, as well as Russia, the EU's strategic partner.

There are five measures we expect Belarus to take resolutely and irreversibly.

Firstly, to ensure there is no backtracking on political prisoners and politically motivated criminal prosecution. Secondly, carry out a thorough reform of the electoral legislation in line with OSCE/ODIHR recommendations. Thirdly, embark upon the liberalisation of the media environment, uphold freedom of speech and of assembly. Fourthly, improve through regulatory and legislative measures working conditions for NGOs. Fifthly, abolish or declare a moratorium on the death penalty.

A significant move in showing Belarus' commitment to shared values would be the immediate introduction of a moratorium on the death penalty and its subsequent abolition as a crucial step forward on its path to Council of Europe membership. In its November conclusions the Council of the EU urged Belarus to introduce a moratorium on the death penalty. Moreover, the Commission has carried out communication actions in the wake of the 10th International Day against the Death Penalty.

What could the EU do for Belarus? What is on offer? The Commission believes that the most productive approach to Belarus will be one based on pragmatism. Progressive EU engagement with Belarus needs to reflect positive steps by Belarus itself, but we also need to show flexibility. The November 2009 conclusions of the General Affairs and External Relations Council (GAERC) allow the EU to offer incentives to Belarus for steps we want to see, while remaining true to our principles. This is what I mean by pragmatism.

Our message to Belarus is clear. First, the EU is ready to work closely with Minsk and support its political and economic development and, should there be significant positive steps from the Belarusian leadership, we would be prepared to see Belarus as a full member of the Eastern Partnership. This would entail the development of our relationship through the bilateral track of the EAP, the launching of a thorough political and economic dialogue, as well as enhanced sectoral cooperation.

In the mean time, Belarus was invited in May 2009 to join the multilateral dimension of the EAP. It is participating constructively at deputy minister level in the four multilateral forums – democracy and governance, economic integration, energy security and people-to-people contacts.

Secondly, we expect Belarus to take further irreversible steps towards democratic standards, without which our relationship cannot develop to its full potential.

Thirdly, the absence of a PCA is not only a loss to Belarus; it deprives us of a legal basis for structures like a formal human rights dialogue and addressing trade or energy transit issues. In the Commission we continue to believe that the

ratification of the PCA will be a useful step forward, but clearly we will continue to use this as an incentive lever to encourage further moves on the Belarusian side.

Fourthly, and lastly, the Commission has started working on the implementation of the November 2009 GAERC conclusions, and will come back to the Council of EU Ministers with proposals as soon as possible.

3-214

**President.** – The debate is closed.

I have received seven motions for resolution<sup>1</sup> tabled in accordance with Rule 110(2) of the Rules of Procedure.

The vote will take place tomorrow (Thursday 17 December 2009).

### **Written statements (Rule 149)**

3-214-500

**Cristian Silviu Bușoi (ALDE), în scris.** – Valorile democratice și respectarea drepturilor omului, precum și a libertăților individuale constituie temelia pe care a fost construită UE. Întrucât obiectivul nostru fundamental este de a ajuta statele vecine să se democratizeze, iar Belarus este printre ultimele țări având un regim autoritar în Europa, consider că ar trebui să punem condiții politice foarte clare și stricte Belarusului înainte de orice contact politic. Belarusul a făcut câteva reforme, însă acestea sunt infime față de problemele care persista în special privind respectarea drepturilor omului, a libertății presei și libertății de exprimare. E nevoie de o susținere a activiștilor care militează pentru respectarea drepturilor omului și a libertăților individuale. Susțin ideea contactelor cu opoziția și mai ales favorizarea contactelor individuale între cetățenii UE și cei ai Belarusului, pentru ca aceștia din urmă să poată comunica liber cu oameni care împartășesc valorile democratice. Asta ar contribui la dezvoltarea societății civile și ar permite un proces de democratizare care să se bucure de susținere populară și care să pornească de la popor chiar. Doar astfel se poate construi o democrație sanatoasă, în care drepturile tuturor sunt respectate. Sancțiunile ca mijloc de presiune trebuie asadar combinate cu facilitarea contactelor între cetățenii UE și ai Belarusului.

3-215

**Kinga Göncz (S&D), írásban.** – Szeretném üdvözlölni Belorusz konstruktív részvételét a keleti partnerségi folyamatban, valamint azt, hogy elindult az EU és Belorusz között az emberi jogi párbeszéd. Az elmúlt év során pozitív folyamatok indultak el az országban a politikai foglyok elengedésével, de azt látjuk, hogy ez a folyamat azóta megtorpant: nehézségek vannak a politikai pártok bejegyzésével, a független média és a civil szervezetek engedélyezésével kapcsolatban. Emiatt az EU kénytelen volt meghosszabbítani az utazási korlátozó intézkedéseket, ennek felfüggesztésével. Összintén remélem, hogy Belorusz továbbmegy a tavaly elindult pozitív változások útján, megadva ezzel a lehetőséget arra, hogy az EU is pozitívan reagálhasson. Addig is fontosnak tartom annak megvizsgálását, hogy előre tudunk-e lépni a vízumkönnyítés területén, hiszen az emberek közötti kapcsolatok nagymértékben hozzá tudnak járulni a politikai nyitáshoz, demokratizációhoz is.

3-216

**Bogusław Sonik (PPE), na piśmie.** – Debatując o przestrzeganiu praw człowieka na Białorusi oraz o decyzji państw członkowskich o przedłużeniu do października 2010 r. sankcji przeciw niektórym przedstawicielom białoruskiego reżimu, trzeba stwierdzić, że sytuacja na Białorusi ulega stopniowym zmianom.

W konkluzjach Rady z dnia 17 listopada 2009 r. czytamy, że pojawiły się nowe możliwości dialogu i pogłębienia współpracy między Unią Europejską a Białorusią. Mając na względzie zachęcenie białoruskich władz do przeprowadzenia reform, państwa członkowskie zgodziły się na tymczasowe zniesienie sankcji dotyczących swobody podróżowania, które stosowano wobec wysokich rangą przedstawicieli białoruskich władz. Komisja Europejska przygotowuje dyrektywy mające ułatwić uzyskiwanie wiz UE przez Białorusinów i umowę o readmisji.

Niemniej jednak nie można zapominać, że prawa człowieka na Białorusi nadal są łamane, a budzące nadzieję pozytywne kroki podjęte od października 2008 r., takie jak uwolnienie większości więźniów politycznych czy zezwolenie na dystrybucję dwóch niezależnych gazet, pozostają niewystarczające. Rażącem przykładem łamania praw człowieka pozostaje stosowanie kary śmierci: Białoruś jest jedynym krajem europejskim, który nadal stosuje się karę śmierci, a w ostatnich miesiącach wydano kolejne wyroki śmierci.

Dlatego kierujemy pod adresem białoruskich decydentów nasze żądania dotyczące przynajmniej przestrzegania praw człowieka, w tym wprowadzenia moratorium na wykonywanie kary śmierci, znalezienia ordynacji wyborczej oraz zagwarantowania wolności wypowiedzi i mediów.

3-217

**Elnökváltás: PÁL SCHMITT**  
*Alelnök*

<sup>1</sup> See Minutes.

3-218

## 11 - Erőszak a Kongói Demokratikus Köztársaságban (vita)

3-219

**Elnök.** – A következő pont a Tanács és a Bizottság nyilatkozata: Erőszak a Kongói Demokratikus Köztársaságban.

3-220

**Cecilia Malmström, rådets tjänstgörande ordförande.** – Herr talman! Ordförandeskapet sätter stort värde på att tillsammans med Europaparlamentet få diskutera det mycket problematiska läget i Demokratiska republiken Kongo. Kränkningar av mänskliga rättigheter, och inte minst det ökade sexuella och könsrelaterade våldet är oerhört problematiskt. Det är hög tid att diskutera läget i landet, inte minst mot bakgrund av den nyligen framtagna FN-rapporten. I rapporten från FN:s expertgrupp betonas att flera väpnade grupper som verkar i landet stöds av ett välorganiserat nätverk, som delvis är baserat inom Europeiska unionen.

Jag behöver inte påminna er om EU:s mycket långvariga engagemang i Demokratiska republiken Kongo och hela regionen vid de stora sjöarna. EU har under lång tid försökt skapa fred och stabilitet i landet. Det är viktigt att det här engagemanget fortsätter, både politiskt och i utvecklingssammanhang. Jag är säker på att kommissionen kommer att tala mer om detta.

Vårt stöd kommer till uttryck på bland annat på att EU:s första särskilda representant utnämndes redan 1994 för att verka i regionen. Såväl militära som civila ESFP-instrument har satts in. Vi har haft Operation Artemis i Ituriprovinserna, den överbryggande styrkan genom Euforoperationen inför valen 2006 och Eusec RD Congo för reform av försvaret och Eupol RD Congo för reform av polisen. Med allt detta i bakgrunden finns det dåliga men också några goda tecken på utveckling. De diplomatiska förbindelserna mellan Demokratiska republiken Kongo och Rwanda har återupptagits. Det är välkommet. Med de flesta väpnade grupper i den östra delen av landet undertecknades 2008 och 2009 fredsavtal som ska genomföras.

Läget är på många sätt instabilt. Många väpnade grupper i öst håller på att integreras i armén, och integrationsarbetet präglas av osäkerhet. Militära operationer fortsätter mot andra väpnade grupper, bland annat FDLR och Herrens befrielsearmé. De är direkt ansvariga för civila offer och ett enormt mänskligt lidande. Samtidigt så återuppstår väpnade grupper i andra delar av landet. Den östra delen av landet förblir ett område med kränkningar av internationell rätt och mänskliga rättigheter. Där sker omfattande mord, våldtäkter och sexuellt våld. Dessa brott sprids i en alarmerande skala i hela landet, trots att president Kabila har slagit fast en s.k. "nolltoleranspolicy".

Den olagliga exploateringen av naturresurser är ett annat stort problem. Det är viktigt att landets rika mineralförekomster inordnas under nationell legitim kontroll, både som en källa till välbehövliga intäkter för staten och för att strypa det ekonomiska stödet till olagliga väpnade grupper. Rådet är också oroat över arbetet med att förbereda och anordna de planerade lokalvalen. Ledningsproblem, bristande insyn och kränkningar av medborgerliga och politiska rättigheter utgör allvarliga hinder mot demokratiseringsprocessen.

I och med att det finns många stora problem som fortfarande ger anledning till djup oro har rådet intagit en tuff hållning, i fråga om de allvarliga brotten mot internationell rätt och mänskliga rättigheter i Nordkivu och Sydkivu. Rådet har i sina slutsatser den senaste tiden fördömt dessa handlingar och betonat att Demokratiska republiken Kongos regering utan undantag måste se till att de ansvariga ställs inför rätta.

EU är fast beslutet att fortsätta att bidra till att skapa fred, stabilitet och utveckling för landets befolkning. I det här sammanhanget är en reform av säkerhetssektorn avgörande för landets stabilisering. Alla aktörer inom denna sektor, även de kongolesiska myndigheterna, måste sträva efter att gemensamma intressen för en reform av säkerhetssektorn verkligen hålls samman. Vi måste också främja fortsatta och konkreta förbättringar av de regionala förbindelserna genom fastare politiska och ekonomiska partnerskap mellan länderna i regionen.

Jag kan försäkra er om att rådet och Europeiska unionen står fast vid sitt åtagande gentemot Demokratiska republiken Kongo och hyser oro för landets framtid. Vi kommer att fortsätta med vårt breda engagemang i landet och fortsätta att tala klarspråk om fallen av kränkningar av internationell rätt och mänskliga rättigheter. Här är vi mycket tacksamma för den konstruktiva och ihärdiga roll som Europaparlamentet spelar, och jag ser fram emot att höra era synpunkter i den här debatten.

3-221

**Karel De Gucht, membre de la Commission.** – Monsieur le Président, Mesdames et Messieurs les députés, il y a environ un an, la situation de Goma, assiégée par les troupes du CNDP menées par Laurent Nkunda, était la préoccupation principale des autorités congolaises et de la communauté internationale.

Tout a été mis en œuvre pour éviter le pire. Promouvoir un accord politique, d'abord entre la RDC et le Rwanda, et ensuite entre le gouvernement congolais, le CNDP et les autres groupes armés a permis, à court terme, de désamorcer le détonateur d'une explosion de violences dont le potentiel déstabilisateur reste aujourd'hui néanmoins intact. Intact parce que les causes sous-jacentes ont été abordées de façon superficielle et dans une pure logique politique de court terme.

N'ayant devant soi que de mauvaises solutions, la communauté internationale a opté pour la moins grave; ce n'est pas une critique, juste une évidence, une constatation.

La communauté internationale et l'Union européenne n'ont pas pu se décider à envoyer une force de protection. Les renforcements de la MONUC demandés depuis plus d'un an commencent à peine à arriver. Le récent rapport du groupe d'experts indépendants des Nations unies ainsi que celui de l'organisation *Human Rights Watch* font un constat accablant de la situation actuelle qu'il n'est pas possible d'ignorer ou de passer sous silence.

Il est maintenant temps que ces causes profondes soient abordées, traitées, et que des solutions durables soient envisagées. Pour ce faire, il faut néanmoins la coopération de tout le monde, des gouvernements congolais et rwandais, en premier lieu, de la MONUC et des Nations unies, du reste de la communauté internationale et de l'Union européenne, ensuite.

Nul ne doute que le rapprochement politique et diplomatique entre le Rwanda et la RDC puisse être bénéfique pour la stabilité de la région et permettre, si la volonté existe de deux cotés, de conduire à une coexistence pacifique et à une coopération profitable aux deux pays au sein d'une CEPGL redynamisée.

Toutefois ceci n'est que le début d'un chemin qui est encore long et pavé de difficultés. La question des FDLR est au cœur du problème ainsi que toutes les problématiques annexes qu'elle entraîne et qui compliquent la donne: l'exploitation illégale des ressources naturelles; le manque de protection des minorités; l'impunité dans une vaste zone de non-État, où la puissance publique non seulement est incapable d'assurer le contrôle du territoire mais dont les représentants font souvent partie du problème.

L'accord Rwanda-RDC a permis de neutraliser temporairement le CNDP et les revendications inacceptables de Laurent Nkunda. L'accord s'est tout simplement soldé par le remplacement de Nkunda par Bosco Ntaganda, plus malléable et prêt à n'importe quel compromis, en échange d'une immunité en violation de toutes les dispositions internationales en matière de crimes contre l'humanité que ni le Rwanda ni la RDC ne sont en droit ni en position de lui accorder.

À ce jour, l'intégration hâtive du CNDP dans une armée inefficace et en proie à la gabegie, comme le sont FARDC; l'obtention, par Bosco Ntaganda, d'un pouvoir autonome accru résultant de la mise en place d'une chaîne de commandement parallèle au sein des FARDC, auquel le paiement irrégulier des militaires et l'absence de toute forme de discipline et de toute hiérarchie fournissent un terrain fertile; l'appui de la MONUC aux opérations militaires contre les FDLR qui n'est pas suffisamment encadré et calibré, et le manque de réponse face aux revendications des minorités rwandophones, sont des facteurs qui risquent de créer des problèmes encore plus graves que celui auquel nous étions confrontés il y a un an – des problèmes que ni le Rwanda ni la RDC ne seront plus à même de gérer.

Sur cette toile de fond, la situation ne s'est guère améliorée: la crise humanitaire se poursuit sans signaux évidents d'amélioration, tout comme les violations des droits de l'homme, le phénomène exécrable des violences, voire des atrocités sexuelles, l'impunité pour toutes sortes de crimes, le pillage des ressources naturelles. Il suffit de lire les rapports des Nations unies et de l'organisation *Human Right Watch* que j'ai mentionnés pour prendre la mesure de l'ampleur de cette tragédie sans fin. Il est clair que les actions qui visent à mettre hors d'état de nuire les FDLR doivent se poursuivre, mais pas à n'importe quel prix, pas sans avoir d'abord mis tout en place pour minimiser les risques que la pression militaire entraîne pour les civils innocents.

Cela requiert une meilleure planification, le recentrage des priorités et une capacité accrue de la MONUC d'assurer la protection des populations, la première tâche prévue par son mandat. Il faut aussi que les conditions dans lesquelles la MONUC peut opérer soient claires et sans ambiguïté. Il n'est pas question ici de demander un retrait ou un désengagement de la MONUC. Un départ hâtif de la MONUC serait catastrophique car il rendrait le vide encore plus vide: les événements récents de l'Équateur, qui sont avant tout un symptôme supplémentaire du mal congolais, le démontrent.

Il est clair qu'il faut aussi mettre fin aux connivences politiques et économiques dont les FDLR continuent à bénéficier dans la région et ailleurs dans le monde, dans nos États membres entre autres. Le combat des FDLR n'est pas un combat politique, mais une action criminelle dont la population congolaise est la première victime, et c'est ainsi qu'il doit être traité comme tous ceux qui s'y associent directement ou indirectement. C'est pourquoi il faut plus de fermeté face à toutes sortes de trafics. En même temps, au delà du processus de démobilisation, désarmement, réinsertion, réintégration et rapatriement (DDR), une plus grande clairvoyance des autorités rwandaises et congolaises vis-à-vis de ceux qui ne sont pas nécessairement des criminels est de mise.

Cela étant, une bonne partie du problème doit également trouver une solution en RDC. Je pense bien entendu aux racines locales du conflit. À ce propos, les accords du 23 mars doivent être intégralement appliqués sous peine de voir, tôt ou tard, les frustrations des populations locales prendre le dessus. C'est une condition *sine qua non* pour que les efforts de stabilisation et la volonté de relancer l'activité économique dans les Kivus puissent réussir. Le rôle de la communauté internationale pourra alors être vraiment.

Cependant, au-delà des Kivus, je pense aussi à l'énorme gâchis qu'est devenue depuis une vingtaine d'années, la RDC – un pays où presque tout est à refaire, à commencer par la reconstruction de l'État dont l'absence est au cœur de tous les problèmes.

Pour ce faire, quelques éléments sont cruciaux. En premier lieu, il faut une consolidation de la démocratie. Je pense bien entendu aux élections, locales, législatives et présidentielles qui s'annoncent pour 2011. Les élections sont un élément de la démocratie mais il ne faut pas oublier la nécessité de continuer à soutenir les institutions et les forces politiques dans une dimension dialectique avec l'opposition, sans laquelle nous ne serions pas dans un système politique véritablement ouvert.

Le deuxième élément, c'est assurément la nécessité d'approfondir la bonne gouvernance. Or, s'il est vrai que, devant l'ampleur des problèmes, la RDC ne peut pas tout faire à la fois, il est clair qu'il faut une volonté politique sans faille pour avoir une chance de réussir. Le Parlement a mentionné la question de l'impunité. C'est un bon exemple, car il s'agit d'une question de volonté politique qui sous-tend par ailleurs toute la question de l'affirmation de l'État de droit. Le problème est que les choses ne peuvent pas se faire isolément. L'État de droit requiert aussi une réforme du secteur de la sécurité et des progrès réels dans la gouvernance économique.

L'ampleur des défis implique des politiques sur le long terme. Toutefois, cela ne doit pas constituer une excuse pour que des actions plus immédiates ne voient pas le jour. Je pense notamment à la question des violences sexuelles et des droits de l'homme que le Parlement a mise en exergue. La volonté politique peut y jouer un rôle déterminant et il faut saluer à ce titre l'engagement de faire preuve d'une tolérance zéro pris par le part du Président Kabila. Il faut maintenant l'appliquer.

La Commission, qui fait d'ailleurs déjà beaucoup dans ce domaine (appui à la justice, aide aux victimes), est prête à poursuivre son appui à la RDC. À ce titre j'ai également souhaité qu'une coopération plus étroite dans le domaine de la lutte contre les violences sexuelles se mette en place sur le terrain entre la CPI et la Commission.

Consolidation du système démocratique, bonne gouvernance, volonté politique: voici les éléments clés sur lesquels nous voudrions bâtir notre partenariat d'égal à égal avec la RDC.

3-222

**Filip Kaczmarek**, *w imieniu grupy PPE*. – Panie Przewodniczący! Prawie każdy dziennikarz, który pisze o Afryce chciałby zostać następcą Josepha Conrada. Dlatego dziennikarze najczęściej koncentrują się na negatywnych aspektach, ponieważ szukają jądra ciemności.

Niemniej Kongo nie musi być jądrem ciemności. Może być normalnym krajem. W Afryce są normalne kraje, w których bogactwo naturalne służy dobru mieszkańców, władze publiczne troszczą się o wspólne dobro, dzieci chodzą do szkoły, a seks kojarzy się z miłością, a nie gwałtem i przemocą. Jestem przekonany, że kluczem do sukcesu w Kiwu czy w całym Kongo jest jakość rządzenia. Bez demokratycznej, sprawiedliwej, uczciwej i skutecznej władzy nie osiągnie się pokoju i sprawiedliwości. Bez odpowiedzialnej władzy bogactwa służą nielicznym, liderzy troszczą się o samych siebie, szkoły są puste, a gwałt staje się codziennością.

Pamiętam optymizm z 2006 roku. Sam byłem obserwatorem podczas wyborów i wszyscy cieszyliśmy się, że po 40 latach w tym wielkim i ważnym kraju odbywają się demokratyczne wybory, ale nasz optymizm okazał się przedczesny. Trudno nie zadać sobie pytania, dlaczego tak się stało, dlaczego te wybory nie doprowadziły Konga do lepszego życia. Moim zdaniem jest to kwestia pieniędzy, o czym mówili pani minister i pan komisarz. O nielegalnym wykorzystywaniu zasobów i finansowaniu dzięki temu broni, co służy kontynuowaniu i napędzaniu konfliktu. Jeżeli uda się nam to przerwać, będziemy bliżej celu.

3-223

**Michael Cashman**, *on behalf of the S&D Group*. – Mr President, I thank the Commissioner for his statement, which certainly reassures me.

Can I say, Commissioner, that I agree with you absolutely: we cannot pull out; we cannot create a vacuum, because a vacuum exists there already and that is a vacuum of political will, and we need political leadership to resolve this according to international obligations as well as according to the rule of law.

Let me just deal with the reality of this. In the conflict since 1998, over 5 000 400 people have lost their lives and, indirectly or directly, as many as 45 000 deaths occur every month.

It is reported that there are 1 460 000 internally displaced people, most of them facing violence, and let me give a voice to those who do not have a voice, those who suffer such violence. The armed actors in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) have perpetrated gender-based violence through various forms, including sexual slavery, kidnapping, forced recruitment, forced prostitution and rape. The Congolese victims of sexual violence include women, men and boys who have also suffered rape, sexual humiliation and genital mutilation.



Resolution after resolution has been passed. The time has come for us internationally to demand an end to these atrocities.

3-224

**Louis Michel**, *au nom du groupe ALDE*. – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Commissaire, chers collègues, j'ai toujours été, comme vous le savez, très attentif à ce qui se passe à l'est de la RDC. Malgré l'avancée prometteuse réalisée grâce au récent rapprochement entre le Rwanda et la RDC – rapprochement sans lequel il n'y aura pas de solution à l'est et qu'il faut donc consolider –, malgré les accords du 23 mars, M. le commissaire en a parlé, entre Kinshasa et le groupe rebelle congolais, la situation à l'est reste douloureusement préoccupante.

Je voudrais évoquer sept considérations. La première, c'est que tant que les FDLR n'auront pas été mis hors d'état de nuire, il sera sans doute impossible de pacifier l'est du Congo. Malheureusement, les premières victimes de la pression militaire que la RDC exerce actuellement et qui vise à couper ces extrémistes de leurs bases et de leurs sources de financements sont les populations civiles, victimes des dommages collatéraux, mais aussi de la vindicte des uns et des exactions des autres.

Ce risque-là était prévisible et, le commissaire l'a dit, il fallait, dès le départ, renforcer les capacités de la MONUC qui, aujourd'hui encore, manque cruellement de ressources adaptées pour faire face à toutes les sollicitations et dont l'organisation sur le terrain n'est d'ailleurs pas toujours idéale.

Même si l'on doit exiger une meilleure coordination et une présence plus effective et plus large sur le terrain, il serait cependant risqué de tenir des jugements ou des propos sur la MONUC qui pourraient donner des arguments à certaines forces négatives pour la diaboliser. Et ça, évidemment, ce serait encore beaucoup plus grave.

Un autre élément touche aux exactions des FARDC. Le contexte de la guerre ne peut évidemment justifier ces comportements en aucune manière, et je salue à ce titre la décision prise par les Nations unies de ne plus appuyer, au niveau de la logistique, les unités congolaises qui ne respectent pas les droits de l'homme. La politique de la tolérance zéro récemment instaurée par le président Kabila doit être évidemment saluée. Encore faut-il qu'elle soit respectée et mise en œuvre.

Les carences du système judiciaire congolais créent un sentiment généralisé d'impunité. C'est pour cela que j'encourage les efforts consentis par la Commission en étroite collaboration avec certains des États membres de l'Union européenne pour travailler à la restauration d'un système judiciaire, y compris à l'est.

Enfin, dernier élément: ce qui reste à reconstruire au Congo, c'est un État de droit avec de véritables fonctions régaliennes qui, aujourd'hui, sont totalement inexistantes et donc créent un vide extrêmement grave.

3-225

**Isabelle Durant**, *au nom du groupe Verts/ALE*. – Monsieur le Président, Monsieur le Commissaire, Madame la Présidente, la situation dans le Kivu – vous l'avez dit tous les deux – est extrêmement préoccupante et ce, malgré la présence de près de 20 000 soldats de la MONUC.

Les populations civiles, et en particulier les femmes, sont les premières victimes des stratégies de guerre des groupes armés et même de certaines unités, comme on l'a dit, de l'armée congolaise, qui ont fait du viol systématique une arme de guerre. D'ailleurs ici, le mois dernier, un groupe de femmes congolaises sont venues nous le rappeler, à juste titre, pour nous mobiliser contre cette stratégie scandaleuse.

Le pillage des ressources, vous l'avez, dit Monsieur le Commissaire, est aussi un élément qui exacerbe ce conflit. Je suis d'accord avec ce qui vient d'être dit: il est totalement dangereux de discréditer la MONUC, de la discréditer inutilement, de la rendre responsable, à elle seule, de la situation aux yeux des populations déjà épuisées par tant d'années de guerre et de massacres.

Ce n'est pas son mandat qu'il faut revoir et il ne faut évidemment pas exiger son retrait, je suis parfaitement d'accord. Ce qu'il faut revoir, ce sont ses règles d'engagement, ses directives opérationnelles, de façon à ce qu'en aucune manière, la MONUC ne puisse être associée ou soutenir une unité congolaise qui aurait, dans ses rangs, des hommes qui pratiquent des violations des droits de l'homme ou des exactions.

Les autorités congolaises ont, elles aussi, une grande responsabilité dans cette lutte contre l'impunité en matière de violences sexuelles, des crimes d'ailleurs qui devraient être portés devant la Cour pénale internationale. Ces mêmes autorités doivent aussi veiller au casernement urgent des militaires. S'ils étaient casernés, les choses se passeraient sans doute différemment.

Enfin, je pense qu'il faut revenir sur le programme AMANI qui offre la possibilité de construire partout un dialogue et une pacification, seuls gages d'une reconstruction durable. En tout cas, je salue votre intervention, que je partage largement, et j'espère que l'Union européenne restera active. C'est indispensable, même si elle n'a pas voulu, et je le regrette, constituer

une force. Cela aurait été une possibilité il y a un peu moins d'un an d'ici. Néanmoins, je pense que l'action de l'Union européenne est indispensable.

3-226

**Sabine Lösing, im Namen der GUE/NGL-Fraktion.** – Herr Präsident! In keinem anderen Land der Welt als in der Demokratischen Republik Kongo gab es bislang mehr Einsätze im Rahmen der europäischen Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik. Wie immer stellt sich die Frage, wessen Sicherheit verteidigt wird. Die der kongolesischen Zivilbevölkerung, die der Frauen und Kinder? Auch die UN-Mission MONUC verhinderte nicht, dass Tausende Menschen getötet, gequält, vergewaltigt und Hunderttausende vertrieben wurden – Gräueltaten, an denen die von der EU unterstützten Regierungstruppen beteiligt sind.

Doch was wird im Kongo verteidigt? Die Humanität? Oder wird ein Regime abgesichert, das in den Jahren 2003 bis 2006 z. B. 61 Verträge mit internationalen Bergbauunternehmen abgeschlossen hat, von denen von internationalen NGO kein einziger als akzeptabel im Sinne der kongolesischen Bevölkerung beurteilt wurde? Präsident Kabila nahm zeitweilig einen Kurswechsel vor, weniger Verträge zugunsten westlicher Unternehmen abzuschließen. Dieser Wechsel ist mit der erneuten Zunahme des Krieges auf Eis gelegt worden. Ich frage, warum wohl die Strippenzieher für die größte mörderische Gruppe im Ostkongo – die FDLR – in Deutschland vermutet werden? Ich verweise hier auf die Entschließung, die ich im Namen der GUE/NGL-Fraktion eingereicht habe.

3-227

**Andreas Mölzer (NI).** – Herr Präsident! Die Vertreibung von Millionen von Menschen, Tausende Vergewaltigungen und Hunderte Morde, das darf nicht die traurige Bilanz des weltweit größten UNO-Friedenseinsatzes sein. Vor zehn Jahren wurde der Kongo-Einsatz beschlossen, und es wurde nicht viel erreicht. Milizen plündern weiterhin die rohstoffreiche Region, terrorisieren die Einwohner, üben Verbrechen an der Menschlichkeit aus.

Embargos blieben bislang wirkungslos. Rebellen wechseln einfach die Fronten und üben ihre Verbrechen in der sicheren Uniform der kongolesischen Soldaten aus. Zwei Kriegsverbrecher wurden kürzlich vor das Kriegsverbrecher-Tribunal von Den Haag gestellt, Entwicklungsprojekte und Wahlen konnten stattfinden. Ein Teilerfolg immerhin!

Auch ein kleiner Schlag gegen die weltweite Vernetzung der Demokratischen Kräfte zur Befreiung Ruandas, der FDLR, gelang. Aber dem grausamen Bürgerkrieg konnte kein Einhalt geboten werden. Es verlagern sich nur ständig die Fronten.

Bedenklich wird es vor allem dann, wenn sich gegen die UNO-Mission erhobene Vorwürfe als wahr erweisen. Blauhelme dürfen nicht tatenlos danebenstehen, wenn Gräueltaten verübt werden, und noch viel weniger darf die logistische Unterstützung der Armee mit einer Unterstützung von Menschenrechtsverletzungen einhergehen. Die Kongo-Mission darf einfach nicht zu einer Art Vietnam für Europa werden.

Grundsätzlich brauchen wir eine abgestimmte europäische Sicherheitspolitik und Friedenseinsätze, aber doch wohl vor allem im Umfeld Europas und nicht im fernen Afrika, wo die ethnischen Fronten ungeklärt sind. Die EU muss meines Erachtens ihre Friedenseinsätze auf die Krisenregionen vor der eigenen Haustür konzentrieren, etwa den Balkan oder den Kaukasus. Daher sollte man unter Umständen die EU-Beteiligung am afrikanischen UN-Mandat beenden.

3-228

**Gay Mitchell (PPE).** – Mr President, that the situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is deplorable and that the effect of the conflict upon the people there is tragic goes without saying.

However, there are a number of important points that must be reiterated here and in our joint motion for a resolution. We must remember that the violence in the DRC, like so many conflicts of its type, is often driven by greed but also stems from and is fuelled by poverty. Fighting over territory, ethnicity, resources or politics are but branches of the same rotten tree of want.

Increase a man's prosperity and give him purpose and you will reduce his desire to kill or be killed. That is our development challenge as a Parliament.

Secondly, we must ensure that any military presence in a foreign country is designed and implemented to reduce suffering and violence, not exacerbate it. We must stand as pillars against impunity rather than agents of it.

If there is evidence that Western missions are not living up to this standard, then their presence and practices must be urgently reassessed.

Finally, history has shown us that, in internecine conflicts such as in the DRC, a political solution is the only hope for peace. Dialogue and engagement are the only roads toward such a solution.

With the post-Lisbon creation of our External Action Service, the European Union must take its place on the international stage as a more proactive facilitator of dialogue and a sponsor of peace.

3-229

**Corina Crețu (S&D).** – Așa cum s-a subliniat până acum, milioane de civili au fost uciși deliberat în cursul operațiunilor militare din estul Republicii Congo, iar vești de acest fel riscă să dobândească un caracter banal datorită frecvenței nemaiîntâlnite cu care au loc violențele în această țară, violențe cărora cad victime copii, fete, femei, ca să nu mai vorbim de civilii angajați în apărarea drepturilor omului și de jurnaliști.

Criza umanitară se adâncește pe zi ce trece, iar insecuritatea din zonă nu mai permite organizațiilor umanitare să intervină. Numai în primele 9 luni ale acestui an s-au înregistrat peste 7500 de cazuri de violuri și violențe sexuale, mai mult decât întregul an precedent, toate acestea având loc pe fondul foametei și sărăciei extreme ce afectează milioane de oameni. De toate aceste tragedii se fac vinovați atât armata congoleză, cât și rebelii rwandezi, dar, din păcate, sunt semnale că o mare parte din responsabilitate revine trupelor ONU din Congo, care tolerează cazuri grave de încălcări ale drepturilor omului. De aceea, cred că Uniunea Europeană trebuie să pună urgent în discuție modul în care forțele ONU din Congo servesc cu adevărat obiectivele misiunii încredințate.

De asemenea, se impun măsuri pentru stoparea activităților de spălare de bani, trafic de arme și de aur, care scot ilegal din Congo peste 37 de tone de aur anual, ce valorează peste 1 miliard de euro, bani folosiți pentru achiziția de arme și încurajarea crimelor din această țară.

3-230

**Sophia in 't Veld (ALDE).** – Voorzitter, ik luisterde net naar de bijdrage van collega Mölzer die inmiddels weer weg is, die eigenlijk zegt: het is zo hopeloos, laten we het maar opgeven en ons op onze eigen bureaus concentreren. Ik moet zeggen dat, als je inderdaad naar de situatie kijkt, je er bijna het bijltje bij zou neergooien. Maar dan denk ik aan de groep van vrouwen die hier vorige maand op bezoek was, waar mevrouw Durant ook aan refereerde en dan denk ik, kunnen wij die mensen in de ogen kijken en zeggen, we geven het maar op, of we maken er geen prioriteit van, of, ach, we nemen maar weer eens een resolutie aan en daarmee hebben we eigenlijk onze plicht wel gedaan. Ik denk aan die vrouwen en ik denk aan hun wanhoop en hun bitterheid en het gevoel dat ze in de steek gelaten waren en dan vind ik het heel erg moeilijk om op die manier te debatteren.

Er staan heel veel goede dingen in de resolutie en ik hoop dat we die ook echt met daden kracht gaan bijzetten, maar ik wou één aspect toch even onderstrepen. We hebben het heel vaak over verkrachting, seksueel geweld, en dat zijn eigenlijk termen die bijna de lading niet meer dekken als je kijkt naar wat de werkelijkheid is; de vrouwen met wie wij gesproken hebben, zeggen dat het veel verder gaat dan een aanval op een individueel persoon. Het is geen individueel geweld, het is een aanval op de gemeenschap, doelgericht om het weefsel van de gemeenschap kapot te maken. Dus ik denk dat we nu echt heel dringend niet alleen actie moeten ondernemen, niet alleen maar de straffeloosheid moeten eindigen en niet alleen maar boter bij de vis moeten doen en de middelen moeten leveren bij de acties die we hebben aangekondigd, maar dat we ook moeten laten zien dat we een hand uitsteken en dat we solidair zijn met de mensen daar en dat we ze niet in de steek laten, dat we onze morele verantwoordelijkheid nemen.

3-231

**Cristian Dan Preda (PPE).** – În momentul actual, care coincide, de altfel, cu cel în care Organizația Națiunilor Unite se pregătește să se pronunțe asupra prelungirii mandatului MONUC, trebuie, cred eu, să reflectăm asupra acțiunilor comunității internaționale, în lumina situației de pe teren din RDC, o situație care continuă, din păcate, să se deterioreze. După cum o dovedește și experiența operațiunii condusă de forțele armate congoleze cu sprijinul MONUC, așa-numita operațiune Kimia II, succesul militar nu este suficient atunci când costul în termeni umanitari este ridicat și dacă el se traduce prin suferința populației civile congoleze.

Cred că recente operațiuni militare împotriva FDLR au avut consecințe catastrofale care au antrenat, trebuie să fim conștienți de acest lucru, încălcări masive ale drepturilor omului și care au agravat criza umanitară. Pe de altă parte, impunitatea constituie invitație pentru repetarea crimelor. În opinia mea, protecția populației civile trebuie să fie o prioritate absolută, iar Parlamentul European trebuie să afirme cu putere că actele de violență, în special violența sexuală, ca și încălcările drepturilor omului în general, abuzurile comise în Kivu, trebuie să înceteze imediat, așa cum trebuie să înceteze climatul de impunitate.

3-232

**Luis Yáñez-Barnuevo García (S&D).** – Señor Presidente, ya otros diputados han hablado de la situación trágica que vive la República Democrática del Congo. Han hablado de los millones de muertos, violaciones, abusos de la población civil. Han hablado de la misión de Naciones Unidas, la MONUC, y de la colaboración de la Comisión Europea sobre el terreno, pero, quizá, se haya hablado menos de la necesidad de controlar el flujo ilegal de materias primas –diamantes, oro y otros productos– hacia el mundo, productos que se «lavan» a través de cuentas o de empresas, esas sí, legalizadas en nuestros propios países o en los Estados Unidos.

Esa es una labor importante para la señora Ashton. Ahora, con la autoridad que le confiere el Tratado de Lisboa y el apoyo de los Veintisiete y de este Parlamento, podía coordinar todo un programa, toda una acción, para impedir que ese enriquecimiento vaya a los señores de la guerra, a los que provocan las matanzas y las violaciones.

3-233

**Anne Delvaux (PPE).** – Monsieur le Président, au regard des récents rapports alarmistes établis dans le Nord et dans le Sud-Kivu, au regard de l'extrême violence des attaques perpétrées contre des civils et, plus spécifiquement, contre femmes, enfants et vieillards, l'urgence, si souvent évoquée par l'Union européenne et par toute la communauté internationale à l'égard du Congo, me paraît revêtir un caractère nécessairement immédiat. Tout doit être mis en œuvre pour assurer la protection des populations civiles. Le mandat de la MONUC, sur place, va sans doute être prolongé, mais il doit aussi absolument être réévalué, renforcé, afin d'endiguer ces montées de violence.

Depuis de nombreuses années, communautés internationales, ONG et femmes congolaises n'ont cessé de déployer des efforts pour lutter contre l'utilisation de cette arme de guerre à caractère sexuel, utilisation aujourd'hui systématique et généralisée dans les zones pacifiées, toujours dans un contexte d'impunité totale. Je me réjouis de la récente détermination affichée par les autorités congolaises pour mettre un terme à cette impunité, mais cette politique de tolérance zéro doit être ambitieuse – tous les auteurs d'exaction, sans exception, devront rendre des comptes – et réellement effective.

L'ouverture, à la Cour pénale internationale, des premiers procès des responsables présumés des crimes sexuels perpétrés dans le cadre d'un conflit armé doit déboucher sur la possibilité pour la Cour d'identifier tous les responsables afin qu'ils soient jugés dans les meilleurs délais.

Enfin, tout cela, évidemment, va de pair avec le renforcement des structures étatiques, le maintien de l'ordre, la promotion de l'égalité des genres et la protection des droits de l'homme, donc des femmes et des enfants, dont la dignité, l'enfance ou l'innocence sont souvent sacrifiées sur l'autel d'une autre humiliation: l'indifférence.

3-234

**Michèle Striffler (PPE).** – Monsieur le Président, la situation humanitaire à l'est de la République du Congo, et plus particulièrement dans la province orientale et dans le Kivu, serait catastrophique, on le sait maintenant. La situation sécuritaire des populations civiles s'est dégradée suite, notamment, aux opérations militaires conjointes menées par les forces armées congolaises et les troupes ougandaises et rwandaises contre l'ensemble des groupes armés rebelles, entraînant dans leur sillage de nombreux massacres et violations des droits de l'homme.

La violence sexuelle est un phénomène très inquiétant et très répandu, qui fait désormais partie du quotidien des Congolais. De plus, de nombreux actes de violence sont commis à l'encontre des travailleurs humanitaires.

Les chiffres officiels indiquent que l'est de la République du Congo compte quelque 2 113 000 personnes déplacées. Depuis le 1er janvier 2009, plus de 775 000 nouveaux déplacés ont été recensés dans le Kivu et 165 000 dans les districts de l'est de la province orientale.

À l'heure actuelle, on estime qu'une aide humanitaire doit être apportée à près de 350 000 personnes vulnérables: enfants, veuves et victimes de violences sexuelles. Une réaction rapide de la Communauté est donc indispensable.

3-235

**Marc Tarabella (S&D).** – Monsieur le Président, Monsieur le Commissaire, chers collègues, tous les orateurs ont insisté, à juste titre, sur la situation horrible que vivent les Congolais, et surtout les Congolaises, dans l'est de ce pays. Ils ont parlé des viols, des actes de barbarie qu'elles subissent et des meurtres dont elles sont victimes. Mais plutôt que d'en parler, je vous invite à visiter les sites de l'UNICEF et de V-Day, qui sont évidemment éloquentes à cet égard.

Aujourd'hui, je vais vous parler des conséquences pratiques que ces actes de barbarie ont sur le Congo, des femmes blessées physiquement et mentalement, qu'il faut soigner, des femmes assassinées, qui ne pourront plus participer au développement économique du Congo, de même que leurs enfants qui ne naîtront jamais. J'aimerais aussi parler de la propagation du sida, un traumatisme subi par l'ensemble de la population congolaise, qui renvoie une image négative sur la scène internationale, bref, d'un Congo qui n'arrête pas de s'enfoncer.

Favoriser une paix stable et promouvoir le développement économique du Congo n'est réalisable que si le gouvernement congolais et l'ONU luttent efficacement contre les violences sexuelles à l'encontre des Congolaises et, plus largement, veillent à instaurer un réel État de droit dans ce pays.

3-236

**Frédérique Ries (ALDE).** – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Ministre, Monsieur le Commissaire, je voudrais évoquer à mon tour la tragédie des violences sexuelles dont sont victimes les femmes en RDC, plus particulièrement dans l'est du pays. Le phénomène n'est pas nouveau. Il est extrêmement complexe. Il est multidimensionnel. Les souffrances physiques, les souffrances psychologiques des victimes sont aggravées encore par cette exclusion sociale, qui est tragique pour elles.

Aujourd'hui, la politique de tolérance zéro du président Kabila porte timidement ses premiers fruits, mais chacun est conscient que seule une stratégie globale peut durablement combattre ce fléau.

Je sais, Monsieur le Commissaire, que la Commission intervient déjà, via une multitude de projets et de budgets également. Mais face aux chiffres, face aux témoignages terribles, atroces, que nous entendons, ne trouvez-vous pas que nous sommes en droit, ici, de nous poser des questions sur les résultats de cette stratégie? Les femmes, Monsieur le Commissaire, sont le principal vecteur de paix et de reconstruction dans un pays. Elles sont l'avenir du Congo. Quelles sont vos intentions pour faire mieux et pour faire plus vite?

3-237

**Raül Romeva i Rueda (Verts/ALE).** – Monsieur le Président, je voulais moi aussi intervenir dans ce débat car il traite d'un sujet que je suis depuis longtemps. Malheureusement, vu les actes de violence constants et les atteintes aux droits de l'homme dans l'est de la RDC, nous devons une fois de plus déplorer vivement les massacres, les crimes contre l'humanité et les actes de violence sexuelle commis contre les femmes et les jeunes filles, qui perdurent dans la province de l'est.

C'est pour cela que je m'associe à mes collègues pour demander à toutes les autorités compétentes d'intervenir sans délai pour traduire en justice les auteurs de ces crimes et inviter à nouveau le Conseil de sécurité des Nations unies à prendre d'urgence toute mesure susceptible d'empêcher réellement quiconque de s'attaquer encore aux populations civiles dans la province orientale de la RDC.

De même, j'appelle l'ensemble des acteurs à renforcer la lutte contre l'impunité et à faire respecter l'État de droit, en s'attaquant notamment au viol des femmes et des jeunes filles et à l'enrôlement des enfants soldats.

3-238

**Franz Obermayr (NI).** – Herr Präsident! Im November 2009 kam es zum Austausch der Botschafter zwischen Ruanda und der Demokratischen Republik Kongo – ein kleiner Lichtblick für das geschundene Land und seine geschundene Bevölkerung! Des Weiteren wurde der Anführer der Demokratischen Kräfte zur Befreiung Ruandas verhaftet. Beides sind Zeichen der Besserung der Situation im Ostkongo. Meine Frage an die Kommission: Welche Maßnahmen gedenkt man zu ergreifen, um eine weitere Annäherung zwischen Kongo und Ruanda einzuleiten?

Und nun zum UN-Mandat: Hier drinnen wird viel davon gesprochen, alle Maßnahmen zu ergreifen. Seien wir doch ehrlich: Wenn ein UN-Mandat, dann klar zum Schutz der Unterdrückten, der Gequälten, der Geschändeten, der Misshandelten, vor allem der Frauen und der Kinder in diesem Land. Dabei muss eines ganz klar sein: Wenn ein UN-Mandat ausgesprochen wird – und wir Österreicher sind ein bisschen restriktiv auf diesem Gebiet –, dann auch konsequent und notfalls – auch zum Schutz der Unterdrückten – mit der Waffe in der Hand.

3-239

**Seán Kelly (PPE).** – Mr President, I think it is unfortunate that in this Christmas season we have spent the last two days discussing violence around the world, be it in Chechnya or in Afghanistan and now in the Congo. But, nevertheless, that is the reality.

At the same time, taking the message of the festive season of peace and goodwill, we must, as my colleague Mr Mitchell put it so well, become sponsors of peace. And this is a great opportunity for the High Representative, Lady Ashton, to use the power and support of the European Union in a way that could not have been done before, to bring these countries to order and to try and alleviate the terrible suffering in these places.

The long-term solution, though, will come not from economic improvement but from education, and we have to try and ensure free access to proper education in these countries, because that is really the way to peace in the long term.

3-240

**Jim Higgins (PPE).** – Mr President, in 1960 the Swedish Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dag Hammarskjöld, asked the Irish troops to go as peacemakers into what was then the Belgian Congo, which became the Congo. They did a tremendous job.

I am extremely worried about the role of the United Nations troops in the Congo at present: the Moroccans, the Pakistanis and the Indians. We are talking about rape, violence, trading and so on, but the United Nations troops there are not covering themselves in glory and are actually doing a disservice.

I agree completely with Mr Mitchell, that the European Union needs to take a firmer hand. We are a European Union, totally united. We did excellent work in Chad. We need our own peacekeepers in there and we cannot rely on the United Nations. The situation is that we have a beautiful people, victims of European colonisation, victims of tribal conflict, victims of international blindness, and we cannot be blind any longer. We simply have to go in and save those people.

3-241

**Alf Svensson (PPE).** – Herr talman! Det är nästan omöjligt att ta till sig den hemska statistik som nämns här, och likväl vet vi att den är korrekt. Det finns ändå en känsla, som kanske delas av många, att när det handlar om de fattigaste av fattiga länder söder om Sahara blir engagemanget inte så starkt och så konkret som det borde vara. Det har nämnts här om militär makt. Jag tror vi alla är klara över att det gäller att bekämpa fattigdomen och korruptionen om man ska komma någon väg med att höja och förbättra situationen för ett lands invånare som hittills har lidit så fasansfullt.

Vi talar gärna om Afghanistan och mycket om terrorn där och, med all rätt, om vad talibanerna ställer till med. Men här har vi också ett folk som har lidit och lider under de mest fasansfulla förhållanden. Jag vill gärna stryka under att det finns ideella organisationer som kan göra en insats om de kopplas ihop med statligt stöd och med EU-stöd, men det kan ofta te sig väldigt svårt.

3-242

**Cecilia Malmström, rådets tjänstgörande ordförande.** – Herr talman! Som framgått av denna debatt finns det oerhört goda skäl till att fortsätta vårt engagemang i Demokratiska republiken Kongo. EU är redan djupt engagerat för att åstadkomma långsiktig stabilitet, säkerhet och utveckling av landet. Kommissionär Karel De Gucht gjorde en lång redogörelse för EU:s insatser.

Det samlade EU, både medlemsländerna och kommissionen, är en av de största biståndsgivarna i regionen, och därför har vi möjlighet att påverka. Men om stabiliteten i Demokratiska republiken Kongo och i regionen ska kunna upprätthållas är det helt avgörande att den kongolesiska befolkningens levnadsstandard förbättras, att de mänskliga rättigheterna skyddas och krafttag tas mot korruptionen för att upprätta ett samhälle baserat på rättsstatens principer.

Det fasansfulla sexuella våld som många ledamöter har vittnat om här och som vi tyvärr matas med i allt för många rapporter är naturligtvis helt oacceptabelt. Förövarna får inte gå fria. De måste ställas inför rätta. Här har den kongolesiska regeringen ett stort ansvar att se till att så sker och att president Kabilas nolltoleranspolitik inte bara blir ord utan verkligen leder till handling.

När det gäller rådet har de båda ESFP-uppdragens mandat efter undersökningsuppdraget i Demokratiska republiken Kongo i början av 2009 setts över för att bidra till just kampen mot det sexuella våldet. Som en följd av det kommer EUPOL i Kongo att skicka två multidisciplinära lag som med olika typer av sakkunskap, t.ex. brottsutredning och bekämpning av sexuellt våld kommer att åka till provinserna Nord-Kivu och Syd-Kivu med ett mandat som ska täcka hela landet. Rekrytering till dessa tjänster pågår just nu.

Det är förstås ett litet bidrag. Det är blygsamt i ett mycket vidsträckt land. Men det är viktigt och denna nya specialiserade personal kommer att kunna stöda genomförandet av korrekta utredningar av sexuellt våld, inte minst när förövaren bär uniform.

Alldeles strax går vi in på frågestunden, men det här är min sista debatt som representant för det svenska ordförandeskapet i kammaren. Jag vill tacka för många goda debatter, många glada stunder och ett mycket gott samarbete med Europaparlamentets ledamöter och med er, herr talman!

3-243

**Elnök.** – Mi is nagyon köszönjük a képviselőtársaim nevében az Ön hatékony és olyan munkáját, amiben mindannyiunknak öröme telt.

3-244

**Karel De Gucht, Member of the Commission.** – Mr President, first of all I would like to thank all the Members who have contributed to this debate. I am not going to revert back to my initial statement. Let me just focus on three things.

First, the European Commission is doing a lot with respect to humanitarian aid and programmes for re-establishing the rule of law. We are speaking about tens of millions and even more than EUR 100 million initially. But the problem is, of course, how effective is all this in the end, if you do not have a proper counterpart in the political arena?

Secondly, I would like to comment on the mandate of MONUC because, although MONUC may be criticised and has to be criticised for what recently happened, I think it would be the ultimate mistake to ask that they leave the DRC. This would be the worst thing one could imagine.

Let me just read to you some sections of the mandate adopted by the UN Security Council at the beginning of last year. It states that 'the Council also decided that MONUC shall, from the adoption of this resolution, have the mandate, in this order of priority, working in close cooperation with the Government of the DRC in order to ensure, firstly, the protection of civilians, humanitarian personnel and United Nations personnel and facilities; to ensure the protection of civilians, including humanitarian personnel, under imminent threat of physical violence, in particular violence emanating from any of the parties engaged in the conflict'.

Another very relevant paragraph is paragraph G regarding the coordinated operations. It states ‘coordinate operations with the FARDC – the army – integrated brigades deployed in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of Congo and support operations led by and jointly planned with these brigades in accordance with international humanitarian, human rights and refugee law with a view to’, etc.

So the mandate is, in fact, very clear and what should be discussed are the rules of engagement. In fact, what MONUC should do is look at its own rules of engagement, because it is up to them to decide how they will proceed.

Lastly, there is a lot of criticism also of international criminal justice. People are questioning whether this is compatible with politics. Can you have international criminal justice, on the one hand, and proper political management of a crisis, on the other? That is a very interesting question.

In the Congo you see one of the answers. We have allowed Bosco Ntaganda to take over the leadership of the CNDP from Laurent NKunda, although there is a warrant against Bosco Ntaganda, and you see what happens. There is no such thing as a free lunch. You cannot choose between, on the one hand, management of a political crisis and, on the other hand, putting international criminal justice into practice. I think that, as the European Parliament and as the European Commission, the pre-eminence should go to the due application of international criminal justice.

3-245

**Elnök.** – Hat állásfoglalási indítványt<sup>2</sup> kaptam, amelyeket az eljárási szabályzat 103. cikkének (2) pontja szerint nyújtottak be.

A vitát lezárom.

A szavazásra 2009. december 17-én, csütörtökön kerül sor.

3-246

**IN THE CHAIR: Diana WALLIS**  
*Vice-President*

3-247

## 12 - Question Time (Council)

3-248

**President.** – The next item is Question Time (B7-0236/2009)

The following questions are addressed to the Council.

3-249

Question 1 by Bernd Posselt (H-0425/09)

Subject: Ethnic minorities in Serbia

How would the Council assess the situation of the ethnic minorities in Serbia, especially the Albanian community in the Preševo Valley, where civilians have again come under attack?

3-250

**Cecilia Malmström, rådets tjänstgörande ordförande.** – Tack Bernd Posselt för frågan. Vid mötet den med det allmänna rådet den 7–8 december i år antog vi slutsatser om utvidgningen och stabiliserings- och associeringsprocessen. I slutsatserna välkomnade rådet Serbiens engagemang för integration med EU och arbetet med att genomföra viktiga reformer i linje med europeisk standard. Rådet betonade också att reformagendan måste upprätthållas.

Vi noterade kommissionens meddelande av den 14 oktober, där man slår fast att den övergripande rättsliga och institutionella ramen när det gäller respekt för de mänskliga rättigheterna är på plats i Serbien och att det har gjorts framsteg med att förbättra efterlevnaden av internationell lagstiftning om mänskliga rättigheter. Det nya ministeriet för mänskliga rättigheter och minoriteters rättigheter i Serbien spelar en viktig roll i detta arbete. Det krävs dock ytterligare insatser för att öka förståelsen för internationell standard. Rådet noterade också att Serbien har ratificerat alla viktigare instrument om mänskliga rättigheter.

När det gäller den särskilda situationen i södra Serbien, som parlamentsledamoten hänvisar till, inträffade det mycket riktigt några våldsamma händelser i juli. Bland annat angreps gendarmeriet som var på plats. Flera gripanden gjordes och efter det har inga ytterligare händelser inträffat. Stämningen inom den s.k. ”coordination body for southern Serbia” har

<sup>2</sup> Lásd a jegyzőkönyvet

under tiden förbättrats. Den är skör, men de viktigaste etniskt albanska politiska partierna från regionen deltar i verksamheten. En hoppningsfull utveckling pågår också när det gäller den känsliga frågan om utbildning. Här vill jag särskilt nämna öppnandet av en universitetsavdelning i Medvedja, där undervisning kommer att ske på serbiska och albanska.

Ett nationellt minoritetsråd för den albanska befolkningen i Serbien kommer att bildas inom en snar framtid. Detta ger befolkningen större inflytande i fråga om utbildning, kultur och andra frågor. Regionens svaga ekonomiska och sociala utveckling är ett hinder för de etniska minoriteterna i södra Serbien. Internationella samfundet, särskilt OSSE, fortsätter att övervaka läget i södra Serbien och spelar en aktiv roll för att främja fred och stabilitet i regionen i nära samarbete med den serbiska regeringen och lokala ledare.

3-251

**Bernd Posselt (PPE).** – Frau Ratspräsidentin! Vielen Dank für die sehr gute Antwort. Es handelt sich ja um drei Regionen: zwei Grenzregionen – die Wojwodina und die südserbische Region Preschevo, also Dreiländereck. Da bitte ich auch, dass Sie in Ihrer künftigen Aufgabe als Kommissarin darauf achten, dass diese Länder im Rahmen der grenzüberschreitenden Förderprogramme weiter entwickelt werden. Innerserbien, vor allem der Sandschak um Nowy Pazar, ist natürlich vollkommen abgeschnitten. Auch hier muss gefördert werden, um zur Lösung der Minderheitenprobleme auch die ökonomischen Voraussetzungen zu verbessern. Aber vor allem in Südserbien gibt es sehr viel Gewalt. Ich bitte den Rat, sich weiterhin dieser explosiven Situation anzunehmen.

3-252

**Cecilia Malmström, President-in-Office of the Council.** – Mr Posselt, you may be assured that we will continue to survey the situation very closely, and that is also part of the Commission's constant work. They will do that, of course. We are aware of the improvements, and the situation is fragile. But there are improvements, and these institutional arrangements that I refer to, that have been done, are a good step in the right direction. We can only hope that, with our support as well as the support from OSCE, this development will continue in that direction.

3-253

**Franz Obermayr (NI).** – Gewalt gibt es übrigens – zu meinem Vorredner – leider auch im Kosovo und nicht nur in Serbien. Auf der einen Seite gibt es eine albanische Minderheit in Serbien, auf der anderen Seite gibt es eine serbische Minderheit im Kosovo.

Meine Frage: Wie stellt die EU angesichts der Visa-Erleichterung für Serbien sicher, dass es hier keine Grauzonen und keine Missstände geben wird? Widerspricht diese Vorgangsweise, einer Bevölkerungsgruppe im Kosovo eine Erleichterung zu geben, nicht ohnedies der umstrittenen Anerkennung des Kosovo als souveränes Staatsgebilde?

3-254

**Cecilia Malmström, President-in-Office of the Council.** – I was not exactly sure about the question. When it comes to Kosovo, there is further work, independent of the fact that not all Member States have recognised Kosovo. There is work being conducted by the Commission in order to see how we can facilitate the situation for Kosovo, and that will take some time. There are still difficulties there. They are also subject to visa facilitation in the future but not all the conditions have been met yet.

3-255

**President.** – It is clear that it did wander off the subject a little, but it was very much related.

3-256

Question 2 by Marian Harkin (H-0427/09)

Subject: Unemployment levels

What initiatives has the Council put in place to deal with rising levels of unemployment across the EU-27, other than measures to retrain and upskill workers?

3-257

**Cecilia Malmström, rådets tjänstgörande ordförande.** – Tack Marian Harkin för frågan. Den nuvarande krisen drabbar miljontals människor oerhört hårt. Därför är en av EU:s viktigaste utmaningar att hantera konsekvenserna av den ekonomiska krisen. Med tanke på den åldrande befolkningen måste EU-länderna få ned den nuvarande arbetslösheten och undvika att den blir permanent.

Det är först och främst medlemsstaterna som ansvarar för sysselsättningspolitiken. Rådet för sysselsättningsfrågor har dock antagit riktlinjer sedan flera år tillbaka. Vi har betonat att eftersom situationen på arbetsmarknaden ser så olika ut måste också åtgärderna skilja sig åt mellan olika länder. Vi har en årlig gemensam rapport om sysselsättning och där övervakar rådet och kommissionen situationen i de olika medlemsstaterna. Under den nuvarande krisen har Europeiska rådet ägnat särskild uppmärksamhet åt just arbetslösheten. I december 2008 enades man om en ekonomisk



återhämtningsplan för Europa som ger enhetliga ramar för de åtgärder som ska vidtas. Som en del av denna plan antog rådet och Europaparlamentet i juni 2009 en förordning om ändring av globaliseringsfonden. Denna ändring gör det möjligt att använda medel från fonden för att bekämpa krisen .

Man kan använda flera åtgärder beroende på de nationella omständigheterna: justera arbetstiden tillfälligt, sänka social- och försäkringsavgifterna, minska företagens administrativa börda, förbättra arbetsmarknadsmyndigheternas rutiner, inrikta stödåtgärderna på arbetslösa ungdomar och underlätta rörligheten. De här lyftes fram i ordförandeskapets rapport efter det informella sysselsättningsmötet.

I slutsatserna från toppmötet i juni anger rådet en rad åtgärder som skulle kunna hjälpa medlemsländerna, och arbetsmarknadens parter när så behövs, att hantera effekterna av den globala krisen genom att tillämpa principerna om flexicurity. Det kan innebära att företag får alternativ till friställning, möjlighet till flexibla arbetsformer och tillfällig anpassning av arbetstiden, bättre villkor för företagande genom en arbetsmarknad som är flexibel och säker, förmånssystem som ger arbetsincitament, lämpliga nivåer på social- och försäkringsavgifterna, utvidgade och förbättrade aktiveringsåtgärder, inkomststöd och fri rörlighet.

Vid debatten i november hade ministrarna en generell samsyn om att en aktiv sysselsättningspolitik med kortsiktiga åtgärder måste bibehållas. Det här gäller åtgärder som korttidsanställningar, förbättrad anställningsbarhet, utbildning som syftar till att människor integreras på arbetsmarknaden. Vid samma rådsmöte enades ministrarna om att sysselsättning är en faktor för att undvika utslagning. Kopplingen mellan jämställdhet, ekonomisk tillväxt och sysselsättning är mycket viktig, och därför uppmanades medlemsländerna att bygga ut barnomsorgen och minska löneklyftorna och andra genusrelaterade skillnader.

Man måste framför allt inrikta sig på personer som drabbas särskilt hårt av krisen: äldre, ungdomar, personer med funktionshinder och arbetstagare utan fast anställning. Att skapa fler och likvärdiga möjligheter för ungdomar i utbildning och på arbetsmarknaden är övergripande mål i de förnyade ramarna för det europeiska samarbetet på ungdomsområdet för perioden 2010–2018 som antogs av rådet den 27 november 2009.

3-258

**Marian Harkin (ALDE).** – Thank you for your answer. I must say I am delighted to see you, Minister, and hopefully will be seeing more of you next year; you will be well used to answering our questions.

Two points which I feel are important but which you did not raise in your answer were: first of all, the encouraging of entrepreneurship: and, secondly, increased spending in R&D. But the real question which I want to ask you related to the fact that up to now we have relied on the open method of coordination, which was really quite a weak instrument and did not work well in trying to achieve the objectives of the Lisbon Agenda. Have you any suggestions at all for strengthening that mechanism?

3-259

**Cecilia Malmström, President-in-Office of the Council.** – This is, indeed, a very important question and as you know the Council has already received the Commission proposal and has started to discuss the future of the Lisbon strategy or Europe 2020. That will be decided by the Spanish Presidency later next spring.

One issue is how do we, on a long-term basis, come out of the current situation? How can we create a Europe that is more competitive, with more entrepreneurship, and avoid social exclusion and unemployment? How do we invest in research and development in order for Europe to be the strong global player that we want it to be in the economic field? All that will possibly fit into the new strategy.

One very important aspect of the strategy is the governance method. I think the open method of coordination has advantages but it needs to be improved. We need to involve much more local and regional authorities because they are the ones who do the real implementation. We need to have national ownership of the process and we need to look at governance. That is also explained in the paper from the Commission, which is now out for consultation among the Member States. I think very good proposals will come up for that as it is indeed one of the weak points of the strategy.

3-260

**Andreas Mölzer (NI).** – Das von der EU geplante so genannte Mikrofinanzierungsinstrument wird ja nicht neu finanziert, sondern die Gelder sollen aus dem PROGRESS-Programm kommen. Wie soll in diesem Zusammenhang verhindert werden, dass das neue Instrument zu Lasten bereits früher beschlossener Beschäftigungs- und Sozialprogramme geht?

3-261

**Paul Rübig (PPE).** – Meine Frage geht in die Richtung: Ist es nicht sinnvoll, Arbeitslosigkeit überhaupt zu verhindern? Sehen Sie öffentliche Aufgaben, die man den Arbeitslosen übertragen könnte? Und vor allem, wie könnten wir die kleinen und mittleren Betriebe stärken, damit neue gegründet werden? Gibt es hier Möglichkeiten, länderübergreifend Methoden anzuwenden und *best practices*, mit denen man mehr und neue Unternehmungen schafft?

3-262

**Cecilia Malmström, President-in-Office of the Council.** – As I said, the ultimate responsibility to create jobs of course lies with the Member States. But there is a lot to do and – as I referred to in my introductory remarks to Mrs Harkin – the Council has made a lot of recommendations regarding how you could work in increasing the flexibility, work with the different support systems and activate people in order to avoid the exclusion mechanism. It is very important that we continue with these meetings at a high level with the social partners and the Member States in order to exchange best practices. They do vary between the countries, but we need to give each other examples and to monitor the best ways that could be used thereafter. So it is a combination of the Council giving recommendations and the Member States needing to take their share of responsibility and adjust a little, depending on the circumstances in the countries.

Referring to your question, sir, I am not really sure that I understood it. Maybe there was a translation problem. I did not refer to any micro-authority. I referred to the Globalisation Fund which we have now, with the help of the European Parliament, made more flexible in order to obtain support for Member States and for companies who run into difficulties to help with people who are unemployed or who are dismissed.

3-263

**President.** – Question 3 by Nikolaos Chountis (H-0431/09)

Subject: Negotiations for Turkey to take part in joint Frontex operations

On 21 October 2009 Ms Malmström, President-in-Office of the Council, told the European Parliament meeting in plenary sitting that negotiations were being held 'with a view to a possible agreement which would also cover exchanges of information and the possibility for the Turkish authorities to take part in joint Frontex operations. Article 8e, paragraph 2, of Regulation (EC) No 863/2007<sup>3</sup> establishing a mechanism for the creation of Rapid Border Intervention Teams and amending Council Regulation (EC) No 2007/2004<sup>4</sup> provides that 'any amendments to or adaptations of the operational plan shall require the agreement of both the Executive Director and the requesting Member State.'

In view of the above, will the Council say what stage discussions for Turkish participation in joint Frontex operations have reached? What demands is Turkey making as a condition for its participation? Is Greece, a Member State which hosts the Frontex mission, aware of these discussions?

3-264

**Malmström, Cecilia, rådets tjänstgörande ordförande.** – En viktig del av EU:s strategi för bättre hantering av migration är att upprätta partnerskap med tredje länder i fråga om gränskontroll. Det är en central del av konceptet med integrerad gränsförvaltning, som antogs av rådet i december 2006. Jag vill också nämna att det operativa samarbetet med tredjeländer är en viktig del av det arbete som bedrivs av Frontex.

I enlighet med Frontexförordningen kan Frontex underlätta det operativa samarbetet mellan medlemsstater och tredjeländer inom ramen för Europeiska unionens politik för yttre förbindelser och samarbeta med tredjeländer inom ramen för bilaterala samarbeten. Flera sådana arrangemang har redan ingåtts och andra diskuteras för närvarande.

Mandatet för förhandlingarna ges av styrelsen, där samtliga medlemsstater är företrädade. De diskussioner som förs mellan Frontex och de behöriga turkiska myndigheterna om operativt samarbete är nu ganska långt framskridna.

Eftersom förhandlingarna inte har slutförts är det svårt för rådet att närmare kommentera diskussionernas innehåll och utveckling.

3-265

**Νικόλαος Χουντής (GUE/NGL).** – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, κυρία Υπουργέ, από τη σημερινή σας απάντηση καταλαβαίνω ότι υπάρχουν τρία σημεία: το πρώτο, ότι οι διαπραγματεύσεις μεταξύ της Frontex και της Τουρκίας βρίσκονται σε προχωρημένο στάδιο· το δεύτερο, ότι οι διαπραγματεύσεις είναι σε γνώση, φαντάζομαι, όλων των μελών της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης και επομένως και της Ελλάδας· τέλος, ότι σύμφωνα με τα συμπεράσματα της πρόσφατης Συνόδου των Υπουργών Εξωτερικών, η συμφωνία επανεισδοχής συνδέεται με τον έλεγχο των συνόρων.

Η Τουρκία δηλαδή ζήτησε για να συνεργαστεί, για τη συμφωνία επανεισδοχής με την Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση, κοινή επιχειρησιακή έρευνα με τον έλεγχο των εξωτερικών συνόρων; Αν είναι έτσι τα πράγματα, τότε πώς ξεπερνιέται το σοβαρό θέμα της προστασίας των ανθρωπίνων δικαιωμάτων και της αξιοπρέπειας των μεταναστών και το ιδιαίτερα ευαίσθητο θέμα όχι τόσο του ελέγχου των συνόρων όσο του ορισμού των συνόρων;

Δέχεται δηλαδή η Τουρκία τα εξωτερικά σύνορα της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης; Δέχεται ότι η Frontex ενεργεί επί των εξωτερικών συνόρων της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης;

3-266

<sup>3</sup> OJ L 199, 31.7.2007, p.30.

<sup>4</sup> OJ L 349, 25.11.2004, p.1.

**Cecilia Malmström, President-in-Office of the Council.** – This is of course a very vast question. Negotiations with Turkey have just started. The representative from the Commission, Commissioner Barrot, and Mr Billström, the Swedish Minister for Migration and Asylum Policy, were in Turkey just a few weeks ago in order to start those discussions. The first discussions were fruitful but they have not yet reached an end so it is very difficult to give you an update. All Member States, including Greece, are of course kept informed of the discussions.

In general, the respect for fundamental rights and European values are always mentioned in this regard so there is no exclusion for Turkey in that respect. But, as I said to the honourable Member, discussions have just started; they are making good progress but they have not been finalised yet. They have been carried out openly in the way that all Member States are involved via the board of Frontex, where Greece is also represented.

3-267

**Γεώργιος Παπανικολάου (PPE).** – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, κυρία Υπουργέ, απ' ότι καταλαβαίνω λοιπόν, η συνεννόηση που κάνουμε με την Τουρκία για την τελική κατάληξη σε συμφωνία επανεισδοχής για τα θέματα της μετανάστευσης θα περιλαμβάνει και ζητήματα σε σχέση με τη συνεργασία για τη Frontex.

Και το δεύτερο που θέλω να πω: Εμείς έχουμε διαπιστώσει στην Ελλάδα το τελευταίο διάστημα παρενοχλήσεις στα αεροσκάφη της Frontex από τις τουρκικές αρχές. Από τις απαντήσεις της Επιτροπής δεν προκύπτει τίποτε συγκεκριμένο σε ό,τι αφορά την επικοινωνία που γίνεται και ως προς το αν αυτό τελικά συνιστά παρενόχληση.

Έχετε κάποιο σχόλιο επ' αυτού;

3-268

**Andreas Mölzer (NI).** – Um dem Herr zu werden, ist es sicher sinnvoll, international zusammenzuarbeiten, wenn – und das sage ich deutlich – diese Zusammenarbeit nicht mit EU-Hilfen finanziell erkaufte werden muss. Mit welchen anderen Staaten laufen denn derzeit Verhandlungen oder sind solche geplant, und wurden dem türkischen Staat finanzielle Anreize für eine Beteiligung an dieser FRONTEX-Aktion geboten?

3-269

**Cecilia Malmström, President-in-Office of the Council.** – Vessels have been the subject of questions during Question Time on numerous occasions. The Council has informed the Turkish authorities and the Turkish Government and its representatives that good cooperation in the region is a prerequisite for further discussions on this. It has also asked the Turkish authorities to refrain from different provocative actions. It has been very clear, and you can find those answers, some of which have been given by myself very recently.

Discussions are ongoing. They have been mandated. As I said, I cannot tell you exactly at what stage they are because they are ongoing but they follow the usual procedure and, to answer your question, we are also having discussions with Senegal and Cape Verde. We have started, but have made very little progress, with Morocco, Egypt and Mauritania.

This is the usual procedure. They are being followed. The Frontex board has been mandated to start those negotiations. Some are more successful than others. We have, for instance, cooperation with Russia, Moldova, Ukraine, Georgia, etc., but less progress has been made in other areas.

3-270

**President.** – Question 4 by Seán Kelly (H-0434/09)

Subject: Climate negotiations in Copenhagen

Can the Council give an update on the negotiations nearing conclusion in Copenhagen? Can it specify, in the absence of a legally binding agreement in Copenhagen, when it expects a legally binding successor to Kyoto to be in place?

3-271

**Cecilia Malmström, President-in-Office of the Council.** – Developments are ongoing as we speak in Copenhagen, but I will try to give you the latest.

They are two major issues as you are well aware: mitigation and financing. As the Prime Minister said this morning, we are still confident that we can have a successful outcome in Copenhagen which allows us to keep the global temperature increase below 2°C above the pre-industrial level.

The EU is playing a key role – a bridge-building role – in a process with a view to ultimately reaching a legally binding agreement: hopefully a politically binding agreement now, with a clear timetable to reach a legally binding agreement for the period starting 1 January 2013.

But reaching an agreement requires convergence on the following essential building blocks.

Firstly, deep and ambitious emission reduction commitments by the developed countries by 2020. Some countries, Japan and Norway, have upped their pledges but it is clear that what is currently on the table is not enough to reach the 2°C target.

In this context the EU will reiterate its demands to other developed countries to take on an ambitious agenda, and to continue to seek measurable, reportable and verifiable mitigation actions by developing countries.

The larger developing countries have put their bids to limit their growth of emissions on the table – China, India, Indonesia, Brazil, South Africa and South Korea – and this accounts for significant contributions.

However, the Council believes that there is a larger potential for actions to come from these countries, especially China and India. It is also clear that more is needed if we want to stay within the 2°C warming.

The EU will therefore ask them to increase their efforts further in the context of an ambitious agreement.

We also need a framework for adapting to climate changes as well as for technology transfer and capacity building. We need financing in the framework of a fair and equitable governance system for mitigation, adaptation, capacity building and technology transfer to developing countries.

In this context, the last European Council concerning the figure for fast-start financing for the first three years gives an important impetus to the ongoing negotiations; that also strengthens the credibility of the European Union.

Heads of state and government are now approaching Copenhagen. We hope that they will provide the necessary political impetus on the crucial issues of mitigation and financing. So hopefully, an ambitious deal can be struck.

The EU has put forward proposals that the negotiation for a legally binding treaty for the period starting 1 January 2013 should be finalised as soon as possible after the Copenhagen Conference.

When this can be achieved is too early to say, but we should aim for a deal within six months after the finalisation of the conference.

3-272

**Seán Kelly (PPE).** – I would like to thank you, Mrs Malmström, for your concise, precise and logical response, not just to my question but to all questions since I came here to this Parliament last June. You have been a star performer.

I am also proud to say that I am part of a European Union that is leading the climate change debate and influencing others to do the same. I suppose the best example of that is the arrival today in Copenhagen of the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of China, something unthinkable a few years ago.

However, in the absence of a binding agreement, what would our *modus operandi* be going forward?

3-273

**Cecilia Malmström, President-in-Office of the Council.** – I think as the real political negotiations will start tomorrow with, as you say, Prime Ministers and Presidents coming from all over the world, we should not talk about a Plan ‘B’ already. I think they can assert the input, strength and dynamics to create an ambitious, political commitment.

Should it not be possible to reach it – well, we will just have to continue to talk. There is no way we will give up. The world is expecting results from us. This is the most important question of our generation; we cannot fail. If we do not reach a deal tomorrow or the day after tomorrow we will keep on talking until we reach a deal.

3-274

**President.** – Question 5 by Gay Mitchell (H-0436/09)

Subject: Climate change funding for the developing world

The upcoming climate change talks in Copenhagen are set to define global attitudes to climate change in the short to medium term. It is crucial that agreement is reached and that rich countries front up the money to pay for the effects of climate change in the developing world. We cannot reasonably expect developing countries to pay for the effects of a problem that the Western World has caused.

The agreement reached in October at the European Council Summit estimated that developing countries would need EUR 100 billion in order to adapt to climate change, whereas developing countries argue that the cost would be three to four times as much.

How does the Council intend to reach a compromise between such disparate figures?

3-275

**Cecilia Malmström, President-in-Office of the Council.** – As the honourable Member rightly points out, climate financing for developing countries is an essential element of the negotiations in Copenhagen and it will be key to reaching an agreement.

To start with, I would like to point out again that at the October European Council we stressed the importance of fast-start financing in order to initiate immediate actions and to prepare for collective and efficient action in the medium and longer term with a special emphasis on these developed countries. At the December Council a few days ago, the EU and its Member States expressed their readiness to allocate EUR 2.4 billion a year for the years 2010-2012 to help developing countries in their fight against climate change. With this commitment I think we did send a very strong message to the negotiators at their ongoing conference and strengthened our credibility.

The European Council furthermore recognised the need for a significant increase in public and private financial flows up to 2020. The current financial architecture needs to be revised and, where necessary, reformed in order to ensure its capacity to meet the challenge. As you have pointed out in your question, the October European Council has endorsed the Commission estimate that a total net incremented cost of adaptation and mitigation in developing countries could amount to around EUR 100 billion per year by 2020, to be met through a combination of developing countries' own efforts, the international carbon market and international public finance; and this is what the Commission has estimated the need to be. It is not an offer or a bid from the EU.

There is also a wide range of other estimates from other sources, but it is the Commission estimate that the Council has endorsed and believes to be the best assessment. The overall level of international public support required is estimated to lie in the range of EUR 22 billion to EUR 50 billion per year to 2020. The EU and its Member States are ready to take a fair share of that amount, but all countries except the poorest ones should contribute to international public financing through a comprehensive distribution key based on emission levels and GDP. And as the European Council stressed in October, the Copenhagen agreement needs to include provisions on the objective that global warming should not exceed 2°C, ambitious emission reduction commitments by developed countries, adaptation technology and a deal on financing.

3-276

**Gay Mitchell (PPE).** – I join with Mr Kelly in expressing my appreciation for the Minister's replies in the House and for the conduct of the Swedish Presidency in general, which has been exemplary.

Minister, we have noted in recent days that the President of the United States has been in discussions with certain leaders in the developing world. Has the European Union joined in those discussions in trying to bridge the gap with the United States and others to try to bring the remaining issues to a resolution? Can the Minister assure the House that, if there is to be funding for this, for the developing world, that it will be new money, that it will not be money that comes out of existing commitments to the developing world in terms of the hunger and development agenda?

3-277

**Cecilia Malmström, President-in-Office of the Council.** – Regarding the first question, there have been numerous bilateral meetings during the autumn in order to try to facilitate and prepare for the negotiations. The EU is in constant contact with the United States of America trying to push and to call for a more ambitious statement from them. They, in their turn, have their own bilateral contacts; on some of these occasions we have been involved and in some not, because we are trying to push from different corners. We have also had six bilateral meetings during the Swedish presidency with important stakeholders such as China, India, Ukraine, South Africa, Russia and the United States. Climate issues have been top of the agenda on all these occasions, so there has been a wide variety of meetings.

Regarding financing, it is a combination of old and new money, I must say. Some countries have made a mixture. Some have already allocated parts of their development budget. As the least-developed countries are the ones who will suffer mostly from climate change, therefore it is logical that certain parts of the development budget are pinpointed to different kinds of climate actions.

Now, as a consequence of the economic crisis, many Member States have lowered their ambitions on their total development budgets, and that is deplorable.

It is a combination, and that is also very much due to the fact of the economic crisis.

3-278

**President.** – Question 6 by Ádám Kósa (H-0440/09)

Subject: Proposal for a Council directive on implementing the principle of equal treatment for persons irrespective of religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation

It is absolutely vital to underline the importance of the general principle of access for all. This will bring benefits not only for people with disabilities, but for the majority of people in Europe's society within 10 years. Will the Council consider establishing a uniform basis for an anti-

discrimination policy, without exemptions (e.g. for the design and manufacture of goods), in order to create a sustainable society and eliminate the hierarchy of legal provisions on combating discrimination?

Given that access to infrastructure and services is a very real challenge for many people in many countries, I regard it as totally unacceptable to postpone for 10 or 20 years the imposition on Member States of a requirement to adopt new rules providing for genuine, better accessibility of (new) infrastructure and (new) services. Is the Council in any way considering a further extension of the deadline for transposition of the accessibility requirement for existing and/or new infrastructure? If so, why?

3-279

**Cecilia Malmström, rådets tjänstgörande ordförande.** – Åtgärder för att förbättra tillgängligheten är av avgörande betydelse i kampen mot diskriminering, precis som ledamoten framhåller i sin fråga. Under det svenska ordförandeskapet har vi fortsatt att på teknisk nivå granska det föreslagna direktivet om genomförande av principen om likabehandling. Det omfattar fyra diskrimineringsgrunder som ännu inte har täckts in på området anställning: religion eller övertygelse, funktionshinder, ålder och sexuell läggning.

Den 30 november 2009 tog rådet del av en lägesrapport från ordförandeskapet som framhåller behovet av att arbeta mer med frågan, särskilt när det gäller omfattningen, bestämmelserna om funktionshinder och tidsplanen för genomförandet. Ordförandeskapet har också rapporterat att även den specifika frågan om "formgivningen" eller "tillverkningen av varor" skulle omfattas av förslaget. Detta behöver diskuteras vidare.

Enligt lägesrapporten framgår det att det finns ytterligare frågor att lösa angående de finansiella konsekvenserna av direktivet. För att kunna nå politisk enighet måste vi få fram en text som alla medlemsstater kan acceptera. Alla medlemsstater måste vara överens innan vi kan gå vidare i rådet.

Jag kan dock inte föregripa resultatet av förhandlingarna. Diskussioner om genomförande, datum och omfattning pågår fortfarande och kommer att pågå ett tag till.

3-280

**Ádám Kósa (PPE).** – Köszönöm szépen a miniszter asszony választát. Nagyon biztató lépések kezdődtek el, de szeretnék három dolgot kiemelni. Az Európai Unión belül 50 millió fogyatékosággal élő ember van. Ez a kérdés nem csak rájuk vonatkozik, hiszen az Európai Unió társadalma súlyosan elöregedő társadalom. Ez a probléma nem csak a fogyatékosokat érinti, hanem valamennyi idős ember jövőjét is, mindazokat akik kerekesszékel élnek, mondjuk rámpára van szükségük, tehát összességében ez hamarosan egy össztársadalmi kérdéssé válik, és ezért kell kiemelten foglalkozni ezzel, hiszen ez a jövő. A szolgáltatások elérése kapcsán tízéves határidőt toltak ki. Fontos, hogy ez megmaradjon, éppen azért, mert ez valamennyiünk érdeke.

3-281

**Cecilia Malmström, President-in-Office of the Council.** – I definitely agree with the honourable Member about the need for such a directive. There are still millions of people in the European Union who do not have access to the most ordinary things in life. This hinders their freedom and the possibility of their living a normal life and I deplore that very much.

The Council discussions are taking a lot of time. It is a ground-breaking proposal and it has a broad scope with enormous practical and financial implications. Unanimity will be needed between the Member States and after that the consent of the European Parliament before the directive can be adopted. We have had negotiations. We had lots of working groups within the Council. We have made progress but, unfortunately – I have to be very honest with you – we have not reached the consensus that is required yet. But we will continue until the end of our Presidency, and I am quite optimistic that the Spanish Presidency will do their utmost to reach a solution.

3-282

**President.** – Question 7 by Vilija Blinkeviciute (H-0445/09)

Subject: Safeguarding the rights of disabled people

When economic conditions are complicated, it is very important to ensure adequate social protection for the most socially disadvantaged. Disabled people constitute one of the most vulnerable groups in society. It is highly regrettable that attempts are being made to balance national budgets by reducing social benefits and programmes for disabled people. This not only runs counter to the principles of solidarity and social justice but weakens the processes and mechanisms integrating disabled people into society and increases their social exclusion.

Has the Council made provision for additional measures to help disabled people during an economic recession? Will not the unfavourable economic situation slow down consideration in Council of a proposal for a Council directive putting into practice the principles of equal treatment for disabled people?

3-283

**Cecilia Malmström, rådets tjänstgörande ordförande.** – Vi är alla medvetna om de sociala svårigheter som följer i spåret av den ekonomiska krisen. Det är helt nödvändigt att särskilt skydda grupper eller personer som befinner sig i utsatta situationer och att bekämpa utanförskap. Vi vet att potentialen hos människor med funktionshinder och andra utsatta

grupper ofta inte utnyttjas på grund av diskriminering. Mot bakgrund av detta har rådet konsekvent betonat hur viktigt det är att främja tillträde till arbetsmarknaden för personer med funktionshinder.

Detta har gjorts inom ramen för Lissabonstrategin, inbegripet de nuvarande riktlinjerna för sysselsättning. Rådet antog också i mars 2008, tillsammans med medlemsstaternas regeringar, en resolution om situationen för personer med funktionshinder inom EU. Vikten av att grupper eller personer i utsatta situationer ska integreras på arbetsmarknaden bekräftas även av rådet i slutsatserna av den 13 november 2009, som jag refererade till rörande den förra frågan. Att underlätta för dessa grupper att komma in på arbetsmarknaden är också en förutsättning för långvarig tillväxt.

Jag skulle vilja påminna om Europaparlamentets och rådets gemensamma överenskommelse om att utse år 2010 till Europaåret för bekämpning av fattigdom och social uteslötning. Jag tycker att detta beslut också ska omfatta tillgång till utbildning för alla. Dessutom innebär beslutet att verka för lika tillgång för alla till informations- och kommunikationsteknik, särskilt med tanke på funktionshindrade personers behov. En annan prioritering som tas upp är behoven bland funktionshindrade och deras familjer samt bland andra grupper i utsatta situationer. Vi ser fram emot många initiativ som jag är säker på kommer att tas under det kommande året.

När det gäller förslaget till rådets direktiv till genomförandet av principen om likabehandling av personer oavsett religion eller övertygelse, funktionshinder, ålder eller sexuell läggning inser vi att livet för personer med funktionshinder skulle påverkas mycket positivt om kommissionens förslag blir verklighet. Rådets arbetsgrupp för sociala frågor behandlar fortfarande texten. Som jag sa så hade vi en diskussion den 30 november och utarbetade en lägesrapport, men lyckades inte komma fram till ett beslut.

Vi kan inte föregripa resultatet av de förhandlingar som fortfarande pågår, men det är väsentligt att vi får fram en korrekt text eftersom det gäller rättsäkerhet och avgränsning av tillämpningsområdet. Och medlemsländerna måste som sagt var enas om förslaget. Det är deras sak att bedöma eventuella följder av den ekonomiska recessionen i detta sammanhang. Så fort enhällighet har uppnåtts kommer också Europaparlamentet naturligtvis att uppmanas att ge sitt godkännande i enlighet med artikel 19 i det nya Lissabonfördraget.

3-284

**Vilija Blinkevičiūtė (S&D).** – Ačiū, pone Pirmininke, ir ačiū, ministre Wallström, už jūsų atsakymą ir kartu aş norėčiau padėkoti Švedijai, kad būtent Švedijos pirmininkavimo metu Europos Sąjungos Ministrų taryba prisijungė prie Jungtinių Tautų konvencijos dėl neįgalųjų. Tai yra geras žingsnis, tačiau čia yra tik tai vienas žingsnis.

Iš tikrųjų atskirose šalyse narėse mūsų neįgalieji gyvena labai nevienodai. Kai kurie kurtieji negali naudotis gestų kalba, aklieji – asistento paslaugomis. Judėjimo negalią turintys žmonės neturi jiems pritaikytos aplinkos. Ir didelė dalis neįgalųjų yra tiesiog neužimti. O juk neįgalieji iš tikrųjų Europos Sąjungoje sudaro apie 10 proc. mūsų gyventojų.

Gerbiama ministre, aş žinau, kad yra tam tikrų problemų ir sunkumų dėl antidiskriminacijos direktyvos (taip ją pavadinčiau apibendrintai), tačiau galbūt būtų galima greičiau turėti atskirą direktyvą dėl neįgalųjų teisių. Mūsų direktyvą, kuri būtų privaloma visoms Europos Sąjungos šalims, taigi neįgalūs žmonės nebūtų diskriminuojami.

3-285

**Cecilia Malmström, President-in-Office of the Council.** – Let me underline that it is not a lack of political will. We do understand the importance of this directive and we have been working really really hard to get it into place.

But, as I have said, I cannot change the fact that we need unanimity, and the unanimity is not there. The Swedish Presidency and presidencies before us have worked to try to propose different compromises, different ways forward. There are lots of working groups meeting and working all the time; and they still are meeting. We will work on the issue until the end of our presidency. But, unfortunately, we do not have the unanimity yet.

It would be unfortunate to separate the different parts of the directive because the whole purpose – and this was very much also encouraged by Parliament – was to have a comprehensive directive on discrimination. If we start to pick up pieces, I think that thought would be lost and I think it would be deplorable. So let us try a little bit more to get the whole directive into place because that would be very valuable in the fight against discrimination, for disabled people but also for other discriminated people all around Europe.

3-286

**Christa Klauß (PPE).** – Wir müssen Diskriminierungen verhindern, das ist ein gesellschaftliches Problem. Wir alle sind aufgefordert, Diskriminierungen jeder Art zu verhindern.

Teilen Sie meine Auffassung, dass es keine klaren Maßstäbe gibt, an denen man solche Diskriminierungen festmachen kann, wenn z.B. ein Vermieter eine Wohnung vermietet und ein Bewerber klagt, er wäre diskriminiert worden, weil er diese Wohnung nicht bekommen hat.

Teilen Sie meine Meinung, dass eine europäische Richtlinie nur Aufforderungen an die Mitgliedstaaten richten kann, die diese dann in ihre nationalen Gesetze umsetzen müssen? Europa hat es hier schwer, ein europäisches Gesetz auf den Weg zu bringen.

3-287

**Mairead McGuinness (PPE).** – Could I just acknowledge, since we are talking about the rights of disabled people, that our colleague, Mr Kósa, has just been elected president of the Disability Intergroup of the European Parliament. We wish him well in that.

Specifically regarding the economic crisis, on which we had a debate yesterday and you were nodding in agreement: we have huge concerns about institutional care of children and young adults, and I worry that the economic crisis – and perhaps you share this – will slow the process of de-institutionalisation, and that this is an issue we need to be very careful of, both within and outside the EU.

3-288

**Cecilia Malmström, President-in-Office of the Council.** – In times of economic crisis it is always the most vulnerable who suffer the most – children, young people, old people, people with disabilities – and that is why we as responsible politicians have to be very aware of this. It has been added to the conclusions of various Council formations and recommendations that Member States should be encouraged to take particular consideration of the fact that the most vulnerable groups are always those who suffer most, so I do agree with that.

In response to your question, without first having the general overall far-reaching directive, it is very difficult to set standards of a European character in the area of discrimination against disabled people. We need to have the overall directive first and then work from there.

I realise that a great deal of work has to be done, and I am well aware of the massive discrimination and the difficulties that disabled people face in ordinary life, which hinder them in fulfilling their life's possibilities and potential. I think we need to work on the overall directive first.

The decision to have next year as the year for combating social exclusion presents the possibility to come up with new concrete proposals and organise common events to reinforce this issue and awareness in all Member States.

3-289

**President.** – I am sure that in the context of this discussion the House would wish me also to congratulate Mr Kósa on his election to the Intergroup chair.

Questions 8 and 9 have been withdrawn.

Question 10 will not be taken as the subject to which it refers already appears in the agenda for this part-session.

As the author is not present, Question 11 lapses.

3-290

Question 12 by Charalampos Angourakis (H-0455/09)

Subject: Appalling murders of poor Peruvian farmers for profit

Articles in the international press report that, in recent years in Peru, dozens of peasants in the Huánuco and Pasco regions have been murdered by a gang known as 'Los Pishtacos' in order to sell their body fat - reportedly amounting to 17 kilos - to European cosmetics manufacturers for 15 000 dollars per kilo. The Peruvian authorities consider that the disappearance of numerous people, including children, is attributable to this appalling practice. We condemn the practices of European multinational companies which have been killing people and plundering the wealth of Latin America for profit for many decades.

What is the Council's overall view of this criminal act by European multinational companies and what is the level of EU funding for these companies operating in Latin America?

3-291

**Cecilia Malmström, rådets tjänstgörande ordförande.** – Som ledamoten vet är respekt för de mänskliga rättigheterna ett av de värden som Europeiska unionen bygger på. Rådet fäster alltid särskild uppmärksamhet vid att i alla förbindelser med tredje länder säkerställa respekt för de grundläggande rättigheterna och rättsstatliga principer.

När det gäller de särskilda händelser som parlamentsledamoten redovisar till har de inte kommit till rådets kännedom och de har heller inte diskuterats i rådet. Ordförandeskapet har också läst tidningarna och tagit del av mediarapporteringen, men noterar också att det i de senaste uppgifterna talas om att den ursprungliga historien skulle vara en bluff.



På grund av att mediarapporteringen är motstridig och eftersom rådet normalt inte kommenterar rapporter i media varken kan eller bör ordförandeskapet spekulera i denna historia eller reagera på frågan i sig.

3-292

**Χαράλαμπος Αγγουράκης (GUE/NGL).** – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, πρέπει να πω ότι δεν με ικανοποιεί καθόλου η απάντηση της κυρίας Υπουργού. Πρόκειται για ένα φρικαλέο έγκλημα, για ένα έγκλημα χωρίς προηγούμενο, θα έλεγα, και εν πάση περιπτώσει θεωρώ ότι η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση, όταν θέλει, έχει τα μέσα για να διερευνά ζητήματα τέτοιας φύσης πιο εμπεριστατωμένα.

Και επειδή υπάρχουν οι σχέσεις με το Περού, απαιτούμε να υπάρχει επίσημη ενημέρωση εκ μέρους της κυβέρνησης του Περού για το συγκεκριμένο περιστατικό καθώς και να ληφθούν μέτρα. Αλλιώς θα βλέπουμε να επαναλαμβάνονται οι ίδιες καταστάσεις.

3-293

**Cecilia Malmström, rådets tjänstgörande ordförande.** – Vi har fått väldigt motstridiga rapporter om detta. Både från olika myndigheters sida och från journalistiska rapporter har det framgått att det inte finns något underlag som talar för att dessa fasansfulla händelser faktiskt skulle ha inträffat.

Eftersom vi inte har några säkra indikationer och mycket tyder på att det faktiskt inte har hänt utan att det rör sig om en bluff så har rådet inte haft möjlighet och inte heller behörighet att agera på området.

3-294

**President.** – Question 13 by Ryszard Czarnecki (H-0458/09)

Subject: Discrimination against the Polish minority in Lithuania

Does the Council intend to compel the Lithuanian Government to respect the rights of national minorities, given that discrimination against the Polish minority in Lithuania has a long history and manifests itself in the obligation to use the Lithuanian spellings of Polish surnames, discrimination in education, the ban on bilingual place names and the failure to return property seized from Poles by the Soviet authorities? When does the Council intend to take action in these matters?

3-295

**Cecilia Malmström, President-in-Office of the Council.** – The Council reaffirms the primacy of fundamental and human rights as recognised in the Treaties and in the Charter of Fundamental Rights. The Council is – and will remain – committed to the prevention and eradication of all forms of degrading and discriminatory treatment.

I would like to note that questions concerning the protection of minority rights are also dealt with by the Council of Europe under its framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. The issues raised by Mr Czarnecki are currently being examined by the competent organs of the Council of Europe. In particular, under Council Directive 2000/43/EC of 29 June 2000 implementing the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin, all persons are protected against discrimination on grounds of race or ethnic origin, regardless of their legal status. The scope of legal protection of this directive includes the areas of employment, social protection, education and access to goods and services. It is the responsibility of the European Commission to monitor the implementation of, and compliance with, European law in the Member States.

Finally, in the Stockholm Programme approved by the European Council on 10 and 11 December this year, the need for an additional proposal as regards vulnerable groups is assessed in the light of the experience acquired from the application by the Member States of the 2000 Hague Convention on the international protection of adults, to which they will become parties in the future.

3-296

**Ryszard Czarnecki (ECR).** – Bardzo dziękuję Pani Minister, Pani Komisarz, za tę odpowiedź, zwłaszcza za podkreślenie, że Rada będzie przeciwdziałać wszelkim formom dyskryminacji mniejszości narodowych na terenie Unii Europejskiej, w tym mniejszości polskiej na Litwie. To bardzo ważne stwierdzenie. Za to dziękuję! Chciałbym podkreślić, że mamy do czynienia, niestety, z systematycznym działaniem władz litewskich odnośnie do szkolnictwa i nazw dwujęzycznych w różnych miejscowościach i na różnych szczeblach administracyjnych. Jest to więc rzecz niesłychanie istotna i bardzo proszę o monitorowanie tej kwestii przez Radę.

3-297

**Cecilia Malmström, President-in-Office of the Council.** – I can only reiterate the principles and the values that the European Union stands for and that the Council, of course, defends.

Also, the particular events that Mr Czarnecki refers to are being examined by the relevant authorities of the Council of Europe and, should there be any other form of discrimination, it is the Commission's task to make sure that the Member States comply with the Treaties and with the laws of the European Union.

3-298

**President.** – Question 14 by Brian Crowley (H-0462/09)

Subject: Persecution of Buddhist monks and nuns in Vietnam

Following the adoption of the European Parliament resolution on the situation in Laos and Vietnam on 26 November 2009 (P7\_TA(2009)0104), what concrete measures have been taken to address the persecution and harassment of Buddhist monks and nuns in Vietnam?

3-299

**Cecilia Malmström, rådets tjänstgörande ordförande.** – Tack för frågan. Rådet är synnerligen medvetet om situationerna för de mänskliga rättigheterna i Vietnam och vi följer noga utvecklingen i landet.

Två gånger om året gör rådet och kommissionen en bedömning av situationen inom ramen för den människorättsdialog vi har med Vietnams myndigheter. Det senaste dialogmötet hölls i Hanoi förra veckan, den 11 december. Många angelägna frågor diskuterades, till exempel yttrandefrihet, reformen av strafflagen, inklusive dödsstraffet, samt religions- och trosfrihet, inklusive situationen för anhängarna av Plum Village. En EU-förteckning över personer och fångar vars situation inger särskild oro lämnades in till den vietnamesiska regeringen. Utöver människorättsdialogen tar EU också regelbundet upp särskilt oroväckande frågor med den vietnamesiska regeringen.

Den 10 november förde rådet och kommissionen en lång diskussion med medlemmarna i samfundet Plum Village. Den 26 november offentliggjordes den resolution från Europaparlamentet som frågan rör. Samma dag sammanträdde kommissionen på hög nivå med myndigheterna i Hanoi och mötet hölls inom ramen för den gemensamma kommitté för förhandling om ett partnerskaps- samarbetsavtal, som vi hoppas kunna ingå nästa år. Vårt huvudbudskap vid mötet var att ge uttryck för hur angelägen vi anser att situationen är vad gäller mänskliga rättigheter i Vietnam.

Vi nämnde exproprieringen av kyrkans egendom, vi nämnde angreppen mot människorättsförsvarare och bloggare – som tidigare har tagits upp av kolleger här i Europaparlamentet – och vi nämnde också situationen för anhängarna av Plum Village. Vi uppmanade våra motparter att skydda och respektera de mänskliga rättigheterna och uppfylla alla åtaganden enligt den allmänna förklaringen om de mänskliga rättigheterna och de internationella konventioner som Vietnam har skrivit på. Genom parlamentsresolutionen blev det extra kraft i budskapet, och jag vill tacka Europaparlamentet för detta. Vi har också informerat Vietnam om Europaparlamentets nya och viktiga roll, särskilt när det gäller det framtida partnerskaps- och samarbetsavtalet.

En EU-delegation besökte den 8–10 december 2009 Bat Nha-klostret och Phuoc Hue-pagoden, dit nästan 200 återstående medlemmar av Plum Village har tagit sin tillflykt. Vi talade då med de religiösa företrädarna och de lokala myndigheterna för att få mer information om den aktuella situationen. EU kommer fortsättningsvis också att mycket noga följa situationen vid Phuoc Hue-pagoden.

3-300

**Pat the Cope Gallagher (ALDE) deputising for the author.** – I would like to thank the President-in-Office on my own behalf and on behalf of Mr Crowley for her very comprehensive response and to say that I am very pleased with the approach of both the Council and the Commission. I hope that you will continue to monitor developments in a pragmatic way.

3-301

**President.** – Question 15 by Pat the Cope Gallagher (H-0463/09)

Subject: Iceland's application to join the European Union

Can the Council provide an updated assessment on the status of Iceland's application to join the European Union?

3-302

**Cecilia Malmström, President-in-Office of the Council.** – Madam President, I think this a question dear to you as well.

3-303

Låt mig börja med att påminna om vad som sades i rådets slutsatser av den 8 december. Där skriver rådet följande: "Island är ett land med gamla och djupa demokratiska traditioner och har potentialen att ge ett viktigt bidrag till EU, både strategiskt och politiskt. Landet är redan nära integrerat med EU på flera områden genom sitt medlemskap i Europeiska ekonomiska samarbetsområdet och Schengenområdet."

Islands ansökan om medlemskap i Europeiska unionen överlämnades officiellt i Stockholm den 16 juli 2009 till det svenska ordförandeskapet. Jag var själv med och tog emot den. Ansökan vidarebefordrades omedelbart till medlemmarna i rådet.

Vid mötet den 27 juli 2009 erinrade rådet om den förnyade konsensus om utvidgning som återges i slutsatserna från Europeiska rådets möte i december 2006, inbegripet principen att varje land ska bedömas efter sina egna meriter, och vi beslutade att inleda det förfarande som anges i artikel 49 i fördraget om Europeiska unionen. Kommissionen uppmanades därför att lägga fram ett yttrande för rådet om denna ansökan.

Ansökan kommer att bedömas enligt principerna i fördraget, de kriterier som fastställdes vid Europeiska rådets möte i Köpenhamn 1993 och slutsatserna från Europeiska rådets möte i december 2006. I enlighet med de slutsatser som allmänna rådet antog förra veckan så kommer det att ta upp frågan igen när kommissionen har lämnat sitt yttrande. Detta bör göra det möjligt för rådet att fatta ett beslut om ett eventuellt inledande av förhandlingar med Island under de första månaderna av det spanska ordförandeskapet.

3-304

**Pat the Cope Gallagher (ALDE).** – I want to thank the President-in-Office for her response. As Chair of the Delegation for relations with Switzerland, Iceland and Norway and to the European Economic Area (EEA) Joint Parliamentary Committee, I fully understand that, of course, every application has to be dealt with on its own merits and progress is being made. I think an indication of that is that Iceland responded to the many questions within a reasonably short time and, of course, it was helpful that it is a member of the EEA. That is an indication of the Icelandic Government's commitment. I believe it would be another major step in the further expansion of Europe if Iceland were to become a member of the European Union.

However, you mentioned the old democracy as a matter for the Icelandic people to take this decision, but I look forward to further progress at the next Council meeting and, hopefully, a major step will be taken there and that there would be an announcement by the Council.

3-305

**Cecilia Malmström, President-in-Office of the Council.** – The Icelandic application has to be dealt with in accordance with the rules and procedures, and the Commission has not yet finalised its scrutiny and its elaboration of the opinion. They are making progress, as is Iceland, and they have already appointed their negotiation teams and are prepared to be very thorough but quick in their work. I think therefore that we can count on the Commission presenting an opinion at the beginning of next year and hopefully the Council can take a decision on further measures.

3-306

**President.** – As the author is not present, Question 16 lapses.

3-307

Question 17 by Mairead McGuinness (H-0470/09)

Subject: Biodegradable waste

Can the Council comment on Member State progress with regard to diverting biodegradable waste from landfill, as outlined in the Landfill Directive (1999/31/EC<sup>5</sup>)?

3-308

**Cecilia Malmström, rådets tjänstgörande ordförande.** – Varje dag produceras stora mängder avfall i EU:s medlemsstater. Hur vi hanterar detta får förstås stora konsekvenser för miljön. I kommissionens nyligen offentliggjorda rapport om genomförandet av EU:s avfallslagstiftning drar man slutsatsen att även om en del medlemsstater har gjort framsteg så krävs det enorma genomförandeinsatser i väldigt många länder för att infrastrukturen av avfallshantering ska uppfylla de krav EU som ställer. Särskilt svårt är det att genomföra deponeringsdirektivet.

När det gäller att få bort biologiskt nedbrytbart avfall från deponierna anges i kommissionens rapport att endast nio länder nådde sina minskningsmål 2006, enligt de ganska begränsade uppgifter som är tillgängliga. I sina slutsatser från juni 2009 har rådet redan konstaterat att vi håller med kommissionen. Det är mycket viktigt att EU:s mål för minskning av biologiskt nedbrytbart avfall vid deponering uppfylls. Rådet uppmanade också kommissionen att fortsätta med sin konsekvensbedömning för att utarbeta ett förslag till EU-lagstiftning om biologiskt nedbrytbart avfall om så är lämpligt.

Rådet ansåg att behovet av EU-lagstiftning, särskilt om materialåtervinning av biologiskt nedbrytbart avfall genom kompostering och energiåtervinning i biogasanläggningar med efterföljande materialåtervinning av rötresten, bör beaktas. Rådet konstaterade också att en bättre hantering av bioavfall skulle bidra till en mer hållbar hantering av våra resurser, ett ökat markskydd, främja kampen mot klimatförändring och, inte minst, möjligheten att uppnå målen när det gäller att få bort avfall från deponierna, materialåtervinning och förnyelsebar energi.

3-309

5 OJ L 182, 16.7.1999, p. 1.

**Mairead McGuinness (PPE).** – I think everyone in this House supports the efforts. If you stand, as I have, on a landfill and inhale, it is pretty awful, and I think the public who dump should perhaps take a visit.

Could you, if you have any, give reasons that you could elaborate on as to why only nine Member States are at this stage? We know we need to do this; I agree we need to do biogas. Everybody agrees with the principles, but why are we failing to achieve the objectives?

3-310

**Cecilia Malmström, President-in-Office of the Council.** – I have to confess that I am not an expert on this theme, but, as far as I understood from the Commission statements, the appropriate infrastructure to deal with it is missing and it is quite costly to put into place. It is of course beneficial in the long term, but Member States have not invested in the appropriate infrastructure and that is why it has taken so much time.

3-311

**President.** – We will now take what will be the last question this evening, and indeed the last question of your presidency. It comes from Mr Hans-Peter Martin and concerns successes by the Swedish Council Presidency in matters of transparency where I dare say we have something to report.

3-312

Question 18 by Hans-Peter Martin (H-0472/09)

Subject: Successes by the Swedish Council Presidency in matters of transparency

On 16 September 2009, the Swedish Presidency stated in its answer to my question H-0295/09<sup>6</sup> that it "shares the Honourable Member's view on the importance of increased transparency in the work of the Union". It went on to state that "the Presidency intends to give full effect to the relevant transparency provisions, set out in Article 8 paragraphs 1 - 4, of the Council's Rules of Procedure. In principle, all deliberations on legislative acts to be adopted in accordance with the codecision procedure will be open to the public, as provided in the Council's Rules of Procedure".

Now that it has reached the end of its Presidency, what specific successes were achieved by the Council and in which fields?

3-313

**Cecilia Malmström, rådets tjänstgörande ordförande.** – Precis som ledamoten påpekar är det en viktig prioritering för Sverige som medlemsland och som ordförandeland att öka öppenheten i Europeiska unionens arbete. Vi har haft en klar och tydlig ambition om att öka öppenheten i rådets arbete på alla områden.

Jag vill nämna t.ex. ordförandeskapets webbplats, där information om möten, bakgrundsdokument och länkar till webbsändningar har kunnat hittas på tre språk.

Under de föregående månaderna har ordförandeskapet också gjort sitt yttersta för att öppenhetsbestämmelserna i rådets arbetsordning ska tillämpas.

Under juli, september, oktober och november 2009 hölls 20 offentliga debatter på det svenska ordförandeskapets initiativ, i enlighet med artikel 8.3 i arbetsordningen. Dessutom hölls en offentlig debatt om ordförandeskapets arbetsprogram för arbetet i Ekofinrådet. Därmed har 21 offentliga debatter hållits under fyra månader.

När det gäller antalet offentliga överläggningar har 59 rättsakter antagits offentligt som A-punkter inom medbeslutandeförfarandet, och nio lagstiftningsförslag har diskuterats som B-punkter under ett offentligt rådsmöte. Dessutom har en offentlig överläggning hållits på initiativ av ordförandeskapet. Om ledamoten tycker att det här låter lite så måste man komma ihåg att antalet punkter på rådets dagordning där överläggningarna ska vara offentliga varierar lite grann, beroende på hur många punkter som är medbeslutandeförfarande. Dessutom har det nya parlamentet inte haft lika många punkter som det brukar. Den nya kommissionen kommer säkert att öka antalet lagstiftningsförslag som ska behandlas av rådet och Europaparlamentet och då kommer antalet punkter att stiga.

Nu när Lissabonfördraget har trätt i kraft är dessutom alla rådsmöten, som rör den del av dagordningen som gäller överläggningar om lagstiftning, offentliga. Från det svenska ordförandeskapets sida välkomnar vi denna förbättring. Den kommer att göra Europeiska unionen mer effektiv och demokratisk.

Som avslutning kan jag nämna att det svenska ordförandeskapet igår tog initiativ till att träffa den interinstitutionella arbetsgruppen för öppenhet med kommissionens vice ordförande Margot Wallström och vice talman Diana Wallis. Vi diskuterade flera mycket konkreta förslag för att göra information i EU-institutionerna mer tillgängliga och mer användarvänliga för Europas medborgare.

<sup>6</sup> Written answer of 16.9.2009.

3-314

**Hans-Peter Martin (NI).** – Es ist selten, dass es im Plenum einen Anlass zu fast einer bestimmten Form von Rührung gibt. Ich halte es für eine Ehre und eine Freude, dass ausgerechnet wir hier den letzten Dialog führen dürfen. Frau Ministerin, Sie wissen ja selbst, es ist ein langsamer, kleiner Weg, auf dem man leider Gottes oft nur im Schnecken tempo in Richtung mehr Transparenz vorankommt, wenn ich daran denke, wo wir vor zehn Jahren waren und wo wir heute sind. Trotzdem kann man natürlich gerade als kritischer, aber glühender Pro-Europäer mit dem, wo wir jetzt stehen, nicht zufrieden sein.

Für mich wäre es interessant zu wissen, was Sie uns als Botschaft zurücklassen, was die Nachfolger tatsächlich verbessern könnten. Ich denke gerade an die Arbeitsgruppen des Rates. In der Tat bin ich über die Anzahl der Tagesordnungspunkte, die bisher öffentlich zugänglich sind, nicht glücklich, und auch über die Art und Weise, wie man an die Dokumente kommt. Sehen Sie in der langen Perspektive aus Ihrer jetzt doch zehnjährigen Erfahrung in der Europa-Politik die Chance, dass wir einmal dorthin kommen, wo Schweden seit Jahrzehnten schon ist, was Transparenz betrifft?

3-315

**Cecilia Malmström, President-in-Office of the Council.** – It is indeed a very important question. I would say that access to documents and transparency has increased considerably over the last ten years. This is due to Regulation (EC) No 1049/2001, which is a very important regulation and I am proud to have been able to take part in the birth of this regulation.

It is also how we implement it and it is about attitudes. They have improved during the last 10 years. Lots of people in our European institutions have realised that transparency and openness is not dangerous. It is good. It is efficient. It is good for legitimacy and it also decreases the possibilities of wrongdoings and corruption.

We still have work to do. The Lisbon Treaty presents us with new possibilities. I hope all incoming presidencies will use those possibilities in the best possible way. The Commission said yesterday that they will come back with proposals arising from the Lisbon Treaty as to how we can move forward with transparency.

There is still a lot to do, but we have come quite a long way. As the honourable Member says, it is a constant fight, and I look forward to going along that fighting path together.

3-316

**President.** – It therefore remains for me to say, Minister, dear Cecilia, thank you very much for your cooperation and such full participation in Question Time during the Swedish Presidency. We look forward, subject to the approval of this House, to seeing you on that side. Thank you very much, and thank you to your team.

That concludes Question Time.

3-317

Questions which have not been answered for lack of time will be answered in writing (see Annex).

3-318

### **13 - Agenda for next sitting: see Minutes**

3-319

### **14 - Closure of the sitting**

3-320

*(The sitting closed at 19.10.)*