

**СРЯДА 28 МАРТ 2012 Г.  
MIÉRCOLES 28 DE MARZO DE 2012  
STŘEDA 28. BŘEZNA 2012  
ONSDAG DEN 28. MARTS 2012  
MITTWOCH, 28. MÄRZ 2012  
KOLMARÄEV, 28. MÄRTS 2012  
TETAPTH 28 MAPTIOY 2012  
WEDNESDAY, 28 MARCH 2012  
MERCREDI 28 MARS 2012  
MERCOLEDI' 28 MARZO 2012  
TREŠDIENA, 2012. GADA 28. MARTS  
2012 M. KOVO 28 D., TREČIADIENIS  
2012. MÁRCIUS 28., SZERDA  
L-ERBGHA, 28 TA' MARZU 2012  
WOENSDAG 28 MAART 2012  
ŚRODA, 28 MARCA 2012  
QUARTA-FEIRA, 28 DE MARÇO DE 2012  
MIERCURI 28 MARTIE 2012  
STREDA 28. MARCA 2012  
SREDA, 28. MAREC 2012  
KESKIVIKKO 28. MAALISKUUTA 2012  
ONSDAGEN DEN 28 MARS 2012**

3-002-000

**VORSITZ: MARTIN SCHULZ**

*(Die Sitzung wird um 15.05 Uhr eröffnet.)*

**1. Wiederaufnahme der Sitzungsperiode**

3-004-000

**Der Präsident.** – Ich erkläre die am Donnerstag, dem 15. März 2012, unterbrochene Sitzungsperiode für wiederaufgenommen.

**2. Genehmigung des Protokolls der vorangegangenen Sitzung: siehe Protokoll**

### 3. Erklärung des Präsidenten

3-007-000

**Der Präsident.** – Meine Damen und Herren, ich darf Sie bitten, sich von Ihren Plätzen zu erheben. Werte Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Mit großer Bestürzung haben wir von den entsetzlichen Morden in Montauban und Toulouse erfahren. Drei Kinder, drei Soldaten und ein Lehrer wurden heimtückisch und feige ermordet. Unsere Gefühle und Gedanken sind bei den Eltern, bei den Freunden und bei den Angehörigen dieser ermordeten Menschen.

Es ist sicher für uns alle schwer, Worte zu finden im Angesicht dieser grausamen Verbrechen. Ich habe selten in meinem Leben – und ich glaube, das geht Ihnen genauso – eine verabscheuungswürdigere Tat gesehen als diese. Das sind Taten, die treffen uns alle. Sie treffen natürlich in erster Linie die Eltern, die Geschwister. Seine Kinder zu verlieren – wir hatten erst vor wenigen Wochen in Straßburg die traurige Pflicht, darüber zu reden –, ist sicher das Grausamste, was Eltern in ihrem Leben widerfahren kann. Sie auf eine solche Art und Weise zu verlieren, ist umso furchtbarer.

Wir leben in einer Welt, in der es immer häufiger dazu kommt, dass feige und grausame Mörder für sich das Recht reklamieren zu entscheiden, wer leben darf und wer nicht. Oder die das Leben unschuldiger Kinder als Instrument benutzen, um ihre wahnsinnigen, angeblich politischen Auffassungen damit zu verbreiten. Deshalb sind wir alle gemeinsam betroffen. Und dennoch – in einer Situation wie der, in der wir sind, in der das französische Volk sich befindet, in der die Stadt Toulouse sich befindet, in der sich die jüdische Gemeinde befindet, in der sich die islamische Gemeinde befindet, sind wir alle aufgefordert, meine Damen und Herren, trotz alles Zorns und aller Trauer unsere Werte aufrechtzuerhalten. Das sind die Werte des gegenseitigen Respekts und der Toleranz. Genau auf diese Werte zielen die feigen Mörder nämlich ab. Nicht zu antworten mit Zorn, sondern zu antworten mit der Entschlossenheit, über alles, was uns politisch trennt, hinausgehend zu sagen: In einem Punkt stehen wir zusammen, nämlich dass der Respekt und die Toleranz vor dem Anderen, unabhängig von seiner Hautfarbe, seiner Religion, seinem Geschlecht oder seiner politischen Überzeugung, die Grundlage unserer zivilisierten Gesellschaft ist. Deshalb glaube ich, dass wir nicht nur gedenken und nicht nur unsere Trauer ausdrücken, sondern mit unserer Trauer und der Solidarität mit den Opfern auch die Entschlossenheit zum Ausdruck bringen, diese Werte in unserem Europa zu verteidigen.

*(Das Parlament legt eine Schweigeminute ein.)*

### 4. Begrüßung

3-009-000

**Der Präsident.** – Liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen, wir heißen heute mit großer Freude auf der Tribüne dieses Hauses Herrn Ahmet Şık willkommen, einen türkischen Journalisten, der über ein Jahr zu Unrecht in Haft gehalten worden ist. Der Prozess ist noch im Gange, aber Herr Şık ist frei.

Unser Haus hat wiederholt seine Besorgnis im Hinblick auf die Problematik der Untersuchungshaft, insbesondere im Fall von Herrn Şık, zum Ausdruck gebracht. Ich freue mich, Herr Şık, dass ich Sie heute als freien Mann in diesem Parlament, das für Ihre Freilassung so gekämpft hat, begrüßen darf. Herzlich willkommen im Europäischen Parlament!

(Beifall)

Meine Damen und Herren! Ich freue mich auch, die Mitglieder einer Delegation des Parlaments von Tansania zu begrüßen. Die Delegation hat auf der Ehrentribüne Platz genommen. Die Damen und Herren aus Tansania besuchen das Europäische Parlament diese Woche im Rahmen einer Studienreise, die vom Büro zur Förderung der parlamentarischen Demokratie organisiert wurde. Herzlich willkommen!

(Beifall)

**5. Zusammensetzung des Parlaments: siehe Protokoll**

**6. Zusammensetzung der Ausschüsse und der Delegationen: siehe Protokoll**

**7. Berichtigung (Artikel 216 der Geschäftsordnung): siehe Protokoll**

**8. Vorlage von Dokumenten: siehe Protokoll**

**9. Anfragen zur mündlichen Beantwortung (Vorlage): siehe Protokoll**

**10. Hinfällige schriftliche Erklärungen: siehe Protokoll**

**11. Weiterbehandlung der Entschlüsse des Parlaments: siehe Protokoll**

**12. Mittelübertragungen: siehe Protokoll**

**13. Delegierte Rechtsakte (Artikel 87a GO): siehe Protokoll**

**14. Durchführungsmaßnahmen (Artikel 88 GO): siehe Protokoll**

**15. Arbeitsplan**

3-021-000

**Der Präsident.** – Der endgültige Entwurf der Tagesordnung dieser Tagung, wie er in der Konferenz der Präsidenten in ihrer Sitzung vom Donnerstag, dem 15. März gemäß Artikel 137 der Geschäftsordnung festgelegt wurde, ist verteilt worden.

Im Anschluss an die Beratungen mit den Fraktionen möchte ich dem Hause folgende Änderungen des endgültigen Entwurfs der Tagesordnung vorschlagen:

*Mittwoch:*

Der Bericht des Abgeordneten Lambsdorff über den Europäischen Fonds für Demokratie – AFET (A7-0061/2012) – wird ohne Aussprache behandelt und direkt in die Abstimmungsstunde am Donnerstag aufgenommen.

*Donnerstag:*

Der Rechtsausschuss hat vier Berichte von Herrn Rapkay über den Schutz der Immunität von Herrn De Magistris angenommen. Diese Berichte werden direkt in die Abstimmungsstunde aufgenommen.

3-022-000

**Sergio Paolo Francesco Silvestris (PPE).** - Signor Presidente, solo per chiederle se domani sarà possibile avere il voto per appello nominale sulla relazione sull'immunità dell'onorevole De Magistris.

3-023-000

**Der Präsident.** – Herr Silvestris! Wenn Sie eine namentliche Abstimmung haben wollen, wären wir Ihnen dankbar, wenn Ihre Fraktion das beantragt. Dann können wir eine namentliche Abstimmung durchführen.

*(Der Arbeitsplan ist somit angenommen.)*

## **16. Erweiterungsbericht über Serbien (Aussprache)**

3-025-000

**Der Präsident.** – Als nächster Punkt folgen die Erklärungen des Rates und der Kommission zu dem Erweiterungsbericht über Serbien.

3-026-000

**Nicolai Wammen,** *President-in-Office of the Council* . – Mr President, on behalf of the Danish Presidency of the Council it is a great pleasure to address this Parliament once again, this time to review the integration progress of Serbia. First of all, let me restate that the Presidency very much appreciates Parliament's active engagement with the EU enlargement process. Your active and constructive contribution to the general debate on enlargement and to Serbia's integration process in particular is a precious political asset to us. I would also like to take this opportunity to thank rapporteur Kacin for his work.

I would like to underline that the EU approach is rigorous but fair, delivering on its commitments against clear requirements. This was the case with Croatia when we successfully concluded accession negotiations, and this was the case with Serbia when the European Council decided to grant candidate status to the country.

These achievements show that the political drive behind the EU enlargement process policy continues to promote positive change and sustainable reforms. This process has over many years been a decisive positive factor for peace, security and prosperity throughout Europe. On behalf of the Danish Presidency and the Member States, I would like to welcome the work of this Parliament, and in particular Mr Jelko Kacin's continuous commitment and positive contribution to the endeavour of advancing the enlargement policy of the European Union. The significance of Parliament's work in particular to maintain the support of EU citizens for further enlargement must be underlined. I can assure you that we will pay particular attention to the views of the European Parliament in this regard.

The European Council granted Serbia candidate country status on 1 March this year. I visited Belgrade as part of this process, both before and immediately after the decision was taken, and I can say that it was met with great appreciation by the President and the people of Serbia. We welcome the fact that Serbia and Kosovo reached agreement on regional cooperation and the implementation of the integrated management for crossing points, the IBM. We are aware that there are temporary difficulties in implementing the Regional Cooperation Agreement, and we are working to restore the situation and bring all parties back together.

What is of the utmost importance for Serbia now is to continue its good work on the EU reform agenda and to continue to actively implement the agreements reached within the framework of the EU-facilitated Belgrade-Priština dialogue. Maintaining good relations with all its neighbours will bring stability to Serbia and to the whole region. This remains a very important part of the integration process of Serbia.

It is clear from the opinion of the European Commission of October 2011 that Serbia has progressed towards fulfilling the Copenhagen criteria and the conditions of the Stabilisation and Association Process, and important steps have been taken towards establishing a functioning market economy and achieving macro-economic stability. However, as is reflected in your resolution, Serbia needs to make further efforts to maintain the necessary degree of compliance with the membership criteria, with particular attention to the rule of law.

Let me end by recalling that regional cooperation and good neighbourhood relations are key to progress in the Western Balkans region. We therefore encourage Belgrade to continue its active engagement in regional cooperation, and from the Presidency's point of view we are also looking forward to close cooperation with Parliament and the Commission, and with Commissioner Füle, in this regard.

3-027-000

**Štefan Füle**, *Member of the Commission*. – Mr President, it is a great pleasure and honour for me to participate in today's debate on the European integration process of Serbia, not least because Serbia was granted candidate status by the European Council at the beginning of the month.

I am most grateful to the rapporteur, Mr Jelko Kacin, for having outlined comprehensively and accurately the many achievements, as well as the challenges, lying ahead of Serbia. That Serbia was granted candidate status is due firstly to the determination and vision of the Serbian leadership; secondly, to the priority given by all Serbian state institutions to the EU reform agenda; and thirdly, to their increasing efficiency in adopting and implementing key reforms, notably under the political criteria.

At the pinnacle of these achievements were the significant and consistent efforts of President Tadić to deliver on cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and to foster a new spirit of cooperation and reconciliation in the region, including by effectively engaging in the Belgrade/Priština dialogue.

We have now arrived at a major turning point in our relations with Serbia. Along with the forthcoming entry into force of the Stabilisation and Association Agreement, these relations have been brought to a much higher level. I am confident that this will generate a new impetus for reforms and a new wind of change within all Serbian institutions. Ultimately, this gives a far better prospect to Serbian citizens who are eager to live in a country where democracy and the rule of law prevail while its economy recovers and develops in the best possible environment.

2011 was an important year for Serbia, a year of demanding challenges. 2012 will be equally paramount, as Serbia is eager to open accession negotiations. Qualifying for that major step will be the first task of the incoming government after the elections on 6 May.

There is serious work ahead for Serbia if the Commission is to recommend opening accession negotiations in its next progress report. Firstly, Serbia is expected to deliver on

the key priority: making further progress towards a visible and sustainable improvement in its relations with Kosovo. This means in particular that Serbia needs to implement – and stick to the letter and spirit of – all agreements reached to date in the dialogue with Priština. Secondly, we will need to see the momentum of reforms continuing in order to confirm that Serbia sufficiently fulfils the political criteria.

We are determined to continue our engagement with Serbia. As long as the objective and criteria are clearly defined, I have strong faith in Serbia's capacity to mobilise itself and achieve the necessary additional progress to move towards accession negotiations. This will allow the negotiation process to push reforms and tackle even the most difficult challenges which lie ahead.

I am convinced that, with our joint support, Serbia will continue to embrace its European future. This will give a positive message to the whole region in order to consolidate peace and foster economic prosperity in the Western Balkans.

Thank you very much for your attention.

3-028-000

**Jelko Kacin**, *v imenu skupine ALDE*. – Danes prvič razpravljamo o napredku Srbije, odkar je dobila status kandidatke v pristopnih pogajanjih za Evropsko unijo.

To je velik preboj za državo in celotno regijo. Za srbske državljane je evropska perspektiva končno postala oprijemljiva. Poudarjam, da je ta pozitiven trenutek potrebno ohraniti tudi vnaprej.

Upam, da volilna kampanja za parlamentarne volitve v Srbiji ne bo vplivala na dialog s Prištino in na uresničevanje doseženih sporazumov.

Implementacija dogovora o skupni mejni kontroli je zelo pomembna. Pozdravljam odločenost srbskih oblasti, da zagotovijo svobodo gibanja na srbski strani meje.

Še bolj pozdravljam sodelovanje uradnega Beograda z Eulexom in Kaforjem in več kot očiten napredek po incidentih na severu Kosova v zadnjih letih.

Verjamem, da je Srbija pripravljena na pristopna pogajanja. Država ima na čelu službo za evropske integracije, najbolj usposobljeno administracijo v regiji. Če bo po volitvah nova vlada pokazala zavezanost k izvajanju reform in regionalnemu sodelovanju, je potrebno pogajanja začeti čim prej.

Obenem morajo srbske oblasti pospešiti boj proti sistemski korupciji. Prepletanje političnih strank s privatnimi interesi je še vedno prisotno in videti je, da je država pri teh vprašanjih še na samem začetku.

Reforme v pravosodju morajo odstraniti dvome o političnih vplivih na sodišča in tožilstva.

Želim spomniti na vse, kar je za Srbijo storila, žal pokojna, Verica Barač, vodja sveta za preprečevanje korupcije. Gospa Barač je umrla pred devetimi dnevi.

Želim si, da bi srbski voditelji pokazali toliko volje in energije pri boju proti korupciji in zavzemanju za pravno državo, kot jo je Verica Barač, ki je v tem boju prevečkrat ostala osamljena.

Kljub temu je dokazala, da neodvisne institucije v Srbiji zmorejo opravljati svoje delo učinkovito in profesionalno. V boju s korupcijo je zelo pomembna politična volja vsakokratne izvršne oblasti.

Vsebina resolucije o napredku Srbije, o kateri bomo glasovali jutri, je sporočilo vzpodbude in naklonjene kritike.

Trdno verjamem, da bo Srbija po odprtju pogajanj napredovala hitreje. Na Beogradu pa je, da se pri tem izkaže.

3-029-000

**György Schöpflin**, *on behalf of the PPE Group* . – Mr President, my congratulations to Mr Kacin. This is a thorough and cogent report. Cooperation has been very good.

Serbia has been granted candidate status, and at the same time – this is important – elections are to be held in early May. So this report can serve as a guide for the next Serbian Government in its stance towards Europe. A great deal has been done to make Serbian accession feasible, and the country should receive due credit for all these efforts. However, as the report makes clear, this does not mean that all is done and dusted: far from it. There are many areas where the Serbian system of government – and, for that matter, governance – demand a major overhaul before they meet the EU criteria.

One of these areas is very serious. This is where legal provision is used, indeed abused, to eliminate competition and to stultify the market in favour of insiders. It is all the worse that this practice is undertaken in the name of the fight against organised crime.

Then there is Kosovo. All candidate countries have to come to terms with their neighbours, whatever the antecedents. This means that Serbia has to confront Kosovo's independence and abandon illusions that somehow, one day, Kosovo will again be a part of the Serbian State. It will not, however hard that may be to accept.

Thirdly, while Serbia has taken a number of steps in the direction of providing equal status for its non-Serbian minorities, its citizenship concept is not yet sufficiently inclusive to provide full rights to some non-Serbian groups, notably the Romanian speakers of the Timok Valley and the Bulgarian minority. The model – the good model developed in Vojvodina – of all minority councils should be extended to the rest of the country. The next government will have plenty on its plate.

3-030-000

**Μαρία-Ελένη Κοππά**, *εξ ονόματος της ομάδας S&D* . – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, εκ μέρους των Σοσιαλιστών και Δημοκρατών, θα ήθελα και εγώ να συγχαρώ τον εισηγητή κ. Kacín για την έκθεσή του, και θα ήθελα να εκφράσω την ικανοποίηση για την απόδοση του καθεστώτος υποψήφιας προς ένταξη χώρας στη Σερβία.

Και αυτό για δύο κυρίως λόγους: Πρώτον, γιατί αποτελεί αναγνώριση των προσπαθειών της ίδιας της χώρας στην ευρωπαϊκή της πορεία και δεύτερον γιατί στην παρούσα συγκυρία οικονομικής κρίσης και γενικότερης κόπωσης για τη διεύρυνση, το βήμα αυτό εκπροσωπεί μια έμπρακτη απόδειξη ότι η πολιτική της διεύρυνσης συνεχίζεται και η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση προτίθεται να εκπληρώσει τις δεσμεύσεις της για ένταξη όλων των χωρών των Δυτικών Βαλκανίων.

Συγχαίρουμε τον Σερβικό λαό και την ηγεσία της χώρας για τα σημαντικά βήματα που έχουν γίνει και τους ενθαρρύνουμε να συνεχίσουν την προσπάθεια για τον εκσυγχρονισμό της κοινωνίας

και της διοίκησης, αλλά και για τον συμβιβασμό και την εξοικείωση με τα λάθη του παρελθόντος. Ιδιαίτερα συγχαρητήρια αρμόζουν, πιστεύουμε, στον Πρόεδρο Τάντιτς για την πολιτική του δράση, για τη συμφιλίωση στον χώρο της πρώην Γιουγκοσλαβίας και τη σταθερή του δέσμευση στην ευρωπαϊκή πορεία της Σερβίας. Αυτή η συνεισφορά αναγνωρίστηκε χθες και με την απονομή του βραβείου Βορρά - Νότου του Συμβουλίου της Ευρώπης. Η αναγνώριση στο πρόσωπό του είναι τιμή για όλη τη Σερβία.

Οι συμφωνίες που επιτεύχθηκαν στο πλαίσιο του διαλόγου μεταξύ του Βελιγραδίου και της Πρίστινα, δημιουργούν προσδοκίες για ομαλοποίηση της κατάστασης προς όφελος όλων των κατοίκων της περιοχής. Η εφαρμογή των συμφωνηθέντων και η συνέχιση του διαλόγου είναι καίριας σημασίας. Είναι ευθύνη όλων των εμπλεκόμενων αλλά και της ίδιας της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης να συμβάλλει στην επιτυχή συνέχισή του. Η ειρηνική επίλυση των διαφορών και η συμφιλίωση μεταξύ των λαών είναι αρχές στη βάση του Ευρωπαϊκού εγχειρήματος. Όλοι, όσοι επιδιώκουν την ένταξη στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση, πρέπει να το 'χουν αυτό υπόψη τους.

3-031-000

**Franziska Katharina Brantner**, *im Namen der Verts/ALE-Fraktion*. – Herr Präsident! Ich möchte auch zuerst dem Berichtersteller danken. Er hat einen sehr guten Entwurf vorgelegt, und zusammen haben wir daraus einen hervorragenden Bericht gemacht. Ich danke für die gute Zusammenarbeit. Der Bericht ist so gut, weil er ausgewogen ist. Er erkennt die Fortschritte an, die Serbien in den letzten Jahren und Monaten gemacht hat, legt aber dort den Finger in die Wunde, wo es immer noch notwendig ist. Die vielen wichtigen Fortschritte wurden schon genannt: Kooperation mit dem UN-Tribunal, rechtsstaatliche und wirtschaftliche Reformen und – wenn auch zögerlich – Kompromissbereitschaft im Fall Kosovo.

Doch Kosovo ist ein Stichwort, wo insgesamt die Sollseite noch deutlich die Habenseite überwiegt. Die jüngsten Vereinbarungen zum integrierten Grenzmanagement sind ein wichtiger Schritt, und sie haben den Weg zum Kandidatenstatus geebnet. Doch muss das Vereinbarte noch umgesetzt werden. Bisher hat Belgrad noch nicht die Unterschrift unter das Abkommen zum Grenzmanagement gesetzt, obwohl die entsprechende politische Einigung schon einen Monat zurückliegt. Hier müssen wir als Europäisches Parlament ein klares Signal nach Belgrad schicken. Geschlossene Abkommen sind einzuhalten und umzusetzen – Wahlkampf hin oder her. Daran wird Serbien gemessen werden.

Das wird wohl bald ganz konkret werden, wenn es um die Frage der Aufnahme von Beitrittsgesprächen geht. Ich hoffe, dass es dazu sobald wie möglich kommt. Doch Voraussetzung dafür ist, dass die von der EU-Kommission genannten Kriterien erfüllt werden. Und das betrifft vor allem auch die Beziehungen zum Kosovo.

Serbien sieht sich auch noch weiteren Herausforderungen gegenüber, insbesondere bei der Korruptionsbekämpfung, dem Minderheitenschutz und der Justizreform. Dazu wird meine Kollegin Cornelissen später mehr sagen. Klar ist, es liegt in der Hand der Serben, zügig in ihrer Annäherung an Europa voranzuschreiten. Wir werden die Probleme kritisch ansprechen, aber immer fair sein, denn unser gemeinsames Ziel ist es, dass Serbien Teil der europäischen Familie wird.

3-032-000

**Mirosław Piotrowski**, *w imieniu grupy ECR*. – Panie Przewodniczący! Unia Europejska, nie zważając na trawiący ją poważny kryzys finansowy, kontynuuje proces rozszerzenia. Uwagę swoją szczególnie kieruję w stronę Bałkanów.



Podczas marcowej sesji w Strasburgu ostro spierano się o Macedonię, a dziś Komisja Spraw Zagranicznych przedkłada Parlamentowi projekt rezolucji w sprawie integracji Serbii z Unią Europejską. Kraj ten – jak czytamy w sprawozdaniu – poczynił wyraźne postępy w dziedzinie reform demokratycznych i legislacji. Z niektórymi zapisami rezolucji trudno się do końca zgodzić, gdyż z jednej strony – jak chociażby w ustępie 30 – przedstawia się władzom Serbii zarzut ogólny, że „w czasie przygotowań do parady równości zaplanowanej na 2 października 2011 r. wykazały się brakiem woli politycznej”, z drugiej zaś strony w tym samym punkcie w sposób nieuprawniony ingeruje się w swobodę wypowiedzi, odmawiając między innymi prawosławnym duchownym prawa do wyrażania uwag zgodnych z własnymi przekonaniem.

Odrzucając oczywiście postawy ekstremistyczne w tym kraju, musimy pamiętać, że podnoszona w tym sprawozdaniu kwestia tolerancji powinna dotyczyć także krytykowanych chrześcijan, a zbyt natrętne sugestie Parlamentu mogą zaburzyć cały proces integracji.

3-033-000

**Miloslav Ransdorf**, za skupinu GUE/NGL . – Pane předsedající, chtěl bych říci, že mezi hodnoty Evropské unie patří to, že stabilita je nedělitelná. A tím, že pomůžeme integrovat Srbsko do rodiny evropských národů, tím vlastně pomáháme evropské stabilitě. Chtěl bych také říci, že Srbsko je centrální ekonomika Balkánu, čili integrací Srbska stabilizujeme Balkán jako region.

Za třetí bych chtěl zdůraznit, že integrací Balkánu a stabilizací Srbska jako centrální země této oblasti pomůžeme vzít půdu pod nohama jakémukoliv šovinismu. Šovinismus je nepřítel evropské integrace a je nepřítel stability.

Pokud jde o to, co říkal profesor Schöpflin, chtěl bych tady otevřeně říci, že např. Vojvodina, kterou tady zmiňoval jako odstrašující příklad, je příkladem právě tolerance, protože je tam řada národnostních komunit a i malá česká nebo slovenská komunita se může těšit z toho, že má vlastní školství a má vlastní přístup k médiím. Takže není pravda, že by tam byla diskriminace.

Srbsko v poslední době zahájilo odvážný boj proti organizovanému zločinu a také velice ambiciózní soudní reformu. Dokázalo během krátké doby odstranit 1 600 soudců, kteří byli propleteni s organizovaným zločinem. Toto úsilí, myslím si, je třeba z naší strany podpořit.

3-034-000

**Cristian Dan Preda (PPE)**. - Vreau să încep prin a sublinia că am susținut întotdeauna aderarea Serbiei. Cred cu tărie că întreg procesul de aderare la Uniune este în favoarea cetățenilor acestei țări, ce sunt finalmente principalii beneficiari ai reformelor politice și economice pe care le implică respectarea criteriilor de la Copenhaga.

Aderarea înseamnă însă respectarea integrală a acestor criterii, inclusiv criteriul esențial al protecției persoanelor aparținând minorităților. Vreau să atrag aici atenția în special asupra situației etnicilor români din nord-estul Serbiei care, din păcate, nu s-a ameliorat deloc. Accesul la educație, la serviciul religios și la mass-media în limba română, utilizarea limbii române în administrația locală, toate acestea continuă să fie problematice, iar acțiunile de intimidare la adresa etnicilor români din Valea Timocului continuă și ele.

Aceste elemente nu sunt noi și au fost evocate în repetate rânduri, numai că, în ciuda asigurărilor autorităților sârbe, inclusiv în debaterile din Parlamentul nostru, implementarea standardelor europene în materie de protecție a minorităților naționale e încă deficitară. Mai mult chiar, în ciuda angajamentelor asumate de Serbia înainte de reuniunea Consiliului European din luna martie, când a fost semnat protocolul Comisiei mixte cu România privind minoritățile naționale, există semnale că implementarea acestor norme nu e o prioritate pentru Serbia. Vreau să salut prin urmare decizia Comisiei Europene de a monitoriza implementarea legislației în materie de minorități din Serbia. Sper că acest lucru va conduce în sfârșit la schimbări concrete în situația minorității române, ceea ce nu va face decât să accelereze parcursul european al Serbiei.

3-035-000

**Libor Rouček (S&D).** - Pane předsedající, politika rozšiřování je jednou z nejúspěšnějších politik Evropské unie v posledních letech. Politika rozšiřování zajistila mír, stabilitu, spolupráci i prosperitu v zemích střední a východní Evropy. Myslím, že je naším společným cílem, abychom tento úspěšný koncept završili i na západním Balkáně. Chorvatsko úspěšně prošlo procesem vyjednávání a pokud vše bude dobře, v červenci příštího roku se stane plnoprávným členem.

Dnes mluvíme o Srbsku. Srbsko je pro celou oblast západního Balkánu z hlediska politického, strategického, historického, ekonomického a kulturního klíčovou zemí.

Je velmi potěšující slyšet a číst pozitivní zprávy, které z Bělehradu a z této země přicházejí. Je docela možné, že v budoucnu, až historikové budou pohlížet na první polovinu roku 2012, bude to právě toto období, které představuje klíčový zlom v integraci Srbska. Z této perspektivy má únorová dohoda s Prištinou o reprezentaci Kosova v regionálních uskupeních zásadní význam. A samozřejmě má zásadní význam i udělení kandidátského statusu.

My bychom ale měli v tomto nastoleném tempu pokračovat, tzn. Komise by měla co nejdříve umožnit Srbsku zahájit vyjednávání o členství. Ale také samozřejmě Srbové si budou muset udělat své domácí úkoly, tzn. pokračovat jak ve vnitřním reformním procesu a aproximaci evropského práva, tak také v normalizaci vztahů s Kosovem.

Čili toto je základní obsah zprávy. My jako sociální demokraté tuto zprávu podporujeme a přejeme Srbsku hodně úspěchů na cestě do Evropské unie.

3-036-000

**Станимир Илчев (ALDE).** - Г-н Председател, докладът, който обсъждаме днес, има много достойнства, защото авторът му г-н Касин е голям познавач на Западните Балкани и на ситуацията в Сърбия. Докладът съдържа и чудесната новина за новия статут на сръбската държава. Този статут е заслужен, тъй като сръбското общество направи и продължава да прави големи усилия за реформи.

Няма да бъде изненада, ако днес много често поставяме акцент върху диалога между Белград и Прищина. Това ще бъде една призма, през която за дълго време ще оценяваме сръбската политика - дали е рационална и полезна.

Друга важна призма за вътрешната политика е политиката на малцинствата. Идеята на докладчика за промяна в параграф втори е изключително важна. Вече ще имаме шанс да се

борим за правата на всички малцинства, като част от европейските стандарти, а не като част от уредбата на бивша Югославия.

Ще бъде логично да очакваме бърз напредък в тази област. Толкова ли е трудно, например, в българските църкви молитвите към бога да се отправят на български език? Нужно ли е сръбската именна система да се налага чрез административен натиск върху новородените български деца? Приемливо ли е да се пречи на българите в Босилеградско и Пиротско да отбелязват своите празници?

Бързата промяна на старите стереотипи няма алтернатива. Тя е наложителна и тя ще бъде много важна за напредъка на Сърбия.

3-037-000

**Marije Cornelissen (Verts/ALE).** - Mr President, we welcome the major steps that Serbia has taken to gain candidate status, notably the capture of Mladić and Hadžić and the constructive resumption of the dialogue with Kosovo – although Serbia still has quite a lot to prove in that regard.

The negotiations should start as soon as possible so that Serbia can start working even harder on sustainable and profound reform, starting with Chapters 23 and 24. We expect Serbia to remedy the huge flaws in its review of the judiciary. While its initiative to start carrying out this review is commendable, taking the initiative is really not enough. They do not seem to realise that the execution of the process is at least as important, and the way this has been done now reflects badly on them.

We expect Serbia to improve the position of ethnic minorities so that they will have a good future in Serbia and will not feel they need to ask for asylum in the EU. We expect Serbia to combat extremism, xenophobia and homophobia so that this coming October the people of Belgrade can walk freely and safely in a Gay Pride parade. I will be there too.

We also expect Serbia to continue fighting corruption and organised crime.

We expect Serbia to do all this not only because it bring accession closer and is popular in the polls (or not), but mainly because it means a brighter future for all Serbians.

3-038-000

**Adam Bielan (ECR).** - Panie Przewodniczący! Po niedawnym podpisaniu traktatu akcesyjnego z Chorwacją przyznanie Serbii statusu kraju kandydującego to kolejny element strategii rozszerzenia w kierunku bałkańskim. Republika Serbii od kilku lat wykazuje pełne zaangażowanie na drodze do członkostwa w Unii, również poprzez dążenie do zadośćuczynienia i wyjaśnienia niechlubnych wydarzeń ostatniego dwudziestolecia oraz poprawę relacji z sąsiadami. Opowiadam się zdecydowanie za jak najszybszym rozpoczęciem negocjacji akcesyjnych w celu maksymalnego przyspieszenia procesu integracji. Rozszerzenie systemu bezwizowego będzie doskonałym instrumentem rozwoju współpracy z wszystkimi krajami członkowskimi.

Dotychczasowa praktyka pokazała, że polityka rozszerzenia przynosi długotrwałe korzyści całej Unii. Jej powiększenie w latach 2004 i 2007 wzmocniło pozycję Wspólnoty w walce z późniejszym kryzysem. Jako największy zintegrowany obszar gospodarczy na świecie generuje ona teraz ponad 30% światowego PKB. Wewnętrzna wymiana handlowo-usługowa wpłynęła na wzrost średniego dochodu obywateli oraz zmniejszenie bezrobocia. Wierzę, że przyjęcie kolejnych krajów przyczyni się do powiększenia zamożności europejskich

społeczeństw. Nieocenionym atutem każdego rozszerzenia jest zwiększenie stabilności i bezpieczeństwa na całym kontynencie.

3-039-000

**Alojz Peterle (PPE).** - Zelo sem vesel, da v poročilu pozdravljamo napredek, ki ga je naredila Srbija z reformami in sporazumom s Kosovom, ter tako izpolnila pogoje za podelitev statusa države kandidatke.

Ta napredek ne pomeni samo izredno pomembnega formalnega koraka za Srbijo, je tudi dokaz, da se evropsko perspektivo uresničuje tudi s politiko boljšega sosedstva.

To dejstvo daje podlago, zaupanje za okrepljeno dinamiko pristopnega procesa z dosledno implementacijo že dogovorjenega.

Sedaj je zelo pomembno, da Srbija nadaljuje proces demokratične tranzicije v duhu spoštovanja različnosti, pravne države, socialno-tržnega gospodarstva in drugih evropskih standardov.

Uvedba teh standardov pomeni manj korupcije, bolj pošteno privatizacijo, več pravičnosti in spoštovanja različnih identitet oziroma manjšin ter več žensk na odgovornih mestih.

To bi okrepilo tudi pomen in uspešnost Srbije kot zelo pomembnega regionalnega igralca v regiji, v kateri preteklost večkrat zasenči voljo po novi kakovosti sožitja in sodelovanja.

Srbiji iskreno čestitam za dosežen napredek, za status države kandidatke, in ji želim, da ne čaka dolgo na začetek pogajanj.

Poročevalcu, kolegu Kacinu, in poročevalcem v senci pa čestitam za dobro opravljeno delo.

3-040-000

## **PRZEWODNICZY JACEK PROTASIEWICZ**

*Wiceprzewodniczący*

3-041-000

**Кристиан Вигенин (S&D).** - Г-н Председател, уважаеми г-н Комисар, г-н Министър, уважаеми колеги, искам на първо място да поздравя народа на Сърбия за получения статут на страна кандидат на последния Европейски съвет. Решението е заслужено признание за реализираните в страната реформи.

Властите в Сърбия поддържат неотклонно нейния европейски курс и изпълняват ангажиментите и обещанията си, въпреки трудната политическа и икономическа ситуация. Това е отразено в доклада на Европейския парламент.

Европейският съюз продължава работата си по процеса на разширяване, въпреки икономическите проблеми, дълговата криза и натиска върху единната валута. Поставена в контекста на напредъка на повечето страни от региона по пътя към Европейския съюз, стъпката по отношение на Сърбия доказва устойчивия ангажимент на Съюза към Западните Балкани, поет през 2003 година.

Сърбия има нужда от навременна и недвусмислена подкрепа за проевропейски ориентираните политически сили, предвид предстоящите в началото на май парламентарни

избори. Смятам, че докладът на Европарламента е такава подкрепа. Следващото и може би най-важно изпитание за страната ще бъде началото на преговорите за членство, което на практика ще направи необратима нейната евроинтеграция. Европейският парламент ще работи в тази посока.

3-042-000

**Андрей Ковачев (PPE).** - Г-н Председател, Европа, и особено Югоизточна Европа, има нужда от демократична Сърбия и Европейският съюз трябва да работи за такава политическа среда, която да подкрепя процеса на демократични реформи в Сърбия, за да може страната окончателно да скъса с комунизма, посткомунизма, и особено национализма, наследен от бивша Югославия.

Такава подкрепа за демократичния процес е даването на Сърбия на статут на страна кандидат. Както винаги, успехът зависи най-много от волята на самата страна. Сърбия трябва да вземе трудни решения по пътя към своето европейско бъдеще и смятам, че с настоящата си политика страната върви в правилната посока.

Теми като правата на всички граждани, независимо от техния етнически произход, както и преодоляването на проблемите със съседите, са също част от процеса на приближаване към Европейския съюз.

Искам да обърна особено внимание на неравностойното положение на едно често забравяно малцинство в икономически слаборазвитата част на Сърбия - българското. В този регион са нужни повече инвестиции и перспектива за младите хора да останат там, а също така и гарантиране на обучението в училищата на майчин език и наличието на учебници на български език.

И накрая, отново призовавам колегите от Сърбия, от Сръбското събрание и от правителството да не си затварят очите пред миналото, а да последват примера на всички държави на изток от Берлин и да разсекретят архивите на комунистическите тайни служби от времето на бивша Югославия, в името на прозрачността и помирението. Сенките от миналото не могат да ни водят към демократично европейско бъдеще.

3-043-000

**Kinga Gál (PPE).** - Elnök úr! Örömmel vettük, hogy Szerbia megkapta a tagjelölt státuszt, amit a csatlakozási tárgyalások megkezdése kell, hogy kövesse. Tudjuk, hogy ez az út nem lesz egyszerű. Van bőven tennivaló, de minden megtett lépés, ami a kritériumoknak való megfelelés, a jogállamiság kiépülése érdekében történik, az valahol mégis csak a Szerbiában élők javát szolgálja. Lényeges eleme ennek a jelentésnek és ezért köszönet Schöpflin kollégámnak és Kacin jelentéstevő nyitottságáért és befogadó készségéért, hogy a nemzeti kisebbségek jogai védelmének szükségessége által a koppenhágai kritérium is megfelelő hangsúllyal és figyelemmel került be ebbe a jelentésbe. Annak külön örülök, hogy a vajdasági magyar közösség számára fontos szempontok is bekerülhettek a szövegbe olyan elvárások formájában Szerbia felé, amelyek betartása segítheti ezen közösségek boldogulását szülőföldjükön, és az esélyekhez való egyenlő hozzáférést. Fontos, hogy Szerbia ne essen mások hibáiba, miszerint csak a csatlakozás érdekében, csak átmenetileg és elméletben tartja szem előtt e nemzeti kisebbségek érdekeit, hanem azt a gyakorlatban, a mindennapokban is érezhetővé teszi az ott élők számára. Nekünk ezt nyomon követni lesz kötelességünk itt a továbbiakban is.

3-044-000

**László Tótkés (PPE).** - Elnök úr! Mindenekelőtt elismerésemet fejezem ki Jelko Kacin képviselő úrnak bővítési jelentéséért. Kiemelt módon a dokumentum kisebbségvédelemmel kapcsolatos kitételeire szeretném felhívni a figyelmet. A koppenhágai kritériumok és a Lisszaboni Szerződés ez irányú előírásainak a teljesítése döntő előfeltétele volt annak, hogy március 1-jén a külügyminiszterek értekezlete végre megadta a tagjelölti státuszt Szerbiának. Mind a kisebbségpolitikai deficittel rendelkező Szlovákia és Románia számára tanulságos lehet az a következetesség, melyet az Európai Tanács a szerbiai kisebbségek, köztük a románok illetve a vlachok védelme ügyében tanúsított.

A Tanács konklúziói, valamint maga a Szerbiára vonatkozó állásfoglalási indítvány is a kollektív kisebbségi jogok erősítését szolgálják, nem utolsósorban azáltal is, hogy Szerbia kisebbségi politikájának a folyamatos monitorozását írják elő. Mi, magyarok, támogatjuk Szerbia európai csatlakozását, ugyanakkor viszont igazságot követelünk a múltban elkövetett, kisebbségeket sújtó tömeggyilkosságok ügyében, valamint közösségi jogokat és autonómiát a mindmáig ott élő magyar közösségünknek. A szerbiai magyarság érdekei védelmében példát veszünk Romániáról, mely határozottan kiállott a timok-völgyi románok mellett.

3-045-000

**Paulo Rangel (PPE).** - Senhor Presidente, eu queria basicamente dizer que é com grande alegria que nós verificamos que têm sido dados passos para integrar a Sérvia na União Europeia. Isto é muito importante porque a experiência de países como Portugal, como a Espanha ou como a Grécia, que foram países que viveram ditaduras e que tiveram um conjunto de problemas muito graves, é a experiência de que a integração europeia foi a forma de consolidar a democracia. E, por isso, a Sérvia merece também esta oportunidade.

Eu gostaria, em todo o caso, de dar aqui uma nota um pouco diferente daquela que tem sido dada pelos meus colegas. Sei e saúdo muito a preocupação com as minorias, mas é preciso não esquecer a maioria sérvia, é fundamental que os próprios sérvios tenham um lugar na União Europeia e lugar de pleno direito. Isto não pode ser esquecido. Não haverá paz nos Balcãs sem a Sérvia e, portanto, por muito que nós enfatizemos os direitos das minorias, eles têm de ser respeitados, nós não podemos esquecer a maioria sérvia, a sua identidade e o seu direito pleno a serem cidadãos europeus iguais a todos os outros, com o seu Estado e com o seu orgulho nacional próprio.

3-046-000

**Giuseppe Gargani (PPE).** - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, io credo che in un momento di crisi dell'Europa – perché il dibattito che c'è stato in questo Parlamento da parte di tutti i gruppi per l'accordo del 1° marzo ha dimostrato come il comunitario sia in crisi – sia molto importante che un paese come la Serbia diventi paese candidato per entrare nell'Europa.

Credo che sia un momento fondamentale, e sono d'accordo sia con i rappresentanti della Commissione e del Consiglio che con il relatore che la Serbia ha fatto tanti passi avanti ma che deve continuare a risolvere i problemi e a trovare omogeneità con l'Europa.

Io credo che sia un momento di stabilità e un momento di sicurezza per l'Europa e che il rapporto nuovo che la Serbia comincia a instaurare col Kosovo dia grandi speranze non solo all'Italia, perché ha un confine più vicino, più adiacente, ma anche a tutta l'Europa,

che credo abbia interesse a che la pace nel suo complesso venga garantita. Io credo che occorra monitorare il comportamento, ma penso che tutti quanti noi dobbiamo essere contenti di questo avvicinamento.

3-047-000

**Eduard Kukan (PPE).** - Oceňujem výbornú prácu spravodajcu Jelka Kacina. Jej výsledkom je správa, ktorá objektívne odzrkadľuje situáciu v Srbsku a jeho vzťahy s EÚ. Srbsko dostalo štatút kandidátskej krajiny zaslúžene. Teraz má možnosť využiť svoj potenciál a zaradiť sa medzi „front runners“ európskej integrácie. Chcem preto povzbudiť našich srbských kolegov. Veď kandidátsky štatút je totiž len začiatok tvrdej a dlhotrvajúcej práce.

Som rád, že dialóg Srbska s Kosovom pokračuje. Dialóg a dohody musia prispieť k zlepšeniu vzťahov a k postupnému odstraňovaniu anomálií medzi partnermi. Podstatná je pritom implementácia dohôd v dobrej viere, vzájomné rešpektovanie sa partnerov v dialógu a nevyvolávanie zbytočného napätia. Srbsko teda čaká intenzívna práca. Bude vyžadovať presvedčených proeurópsky orientovaných politikov, ktorí dokážu krajinu reformovať a pohnúť dopredu. Srbsko má potenciál tento proces úspešne zvládnuť a má v ňom aj našu plnú podporu.

3-048-000

*Procedura pytań z sali*

3-049-000

**Csaba Sógor (PPE).** - A Nyugat-Balkán országai mind az európai integráció útját választották. A térség lakói ettől remélik életkörülményeik jobbulását, a gazdaság fellendülését és a feszült etnikai viszonyok rendeződését. Szerbia lakói is ezt remélik, szerbek és magyarok, romák és románok, albánok és horvátok mindannyian. Azonban ha az Unió nem fordít kellő figyelmet a kisebbségi problémák kezelésére, akkor a leendő uniós polgárok csalódnak bennünk. Az etnikumközi feszültségek kezelésének legjobb módja a politikai autonómia biztosítása. Szerbia Vajdaság tartományában is ez a jövő útja.

Sokáig Koszovó esetében is ez látszott a megoldásnak, ám az idő meghaladta az államon belüli rendezés lehetőségét. Kérem a Bizottságot és a tagállamokat, ne engedjük, hogy a térség csatlakozás útját járó államai elveszítsék az európai perspektívát. Ehhez pedig oda kell figyelniük a problémákra még akkor is, ha ez az etnikumközi viszonyok rendezésében való szerepvállalást jelenti.

3-050-000

**Franz Obermayr (NI).** - Herr Präsident! Auch wenn es bis zur vollen Mitgliedschaft Serbiens noch ein langer, harter Weg sein wird: Der Kandidatenstatus ist ein deutlicher Schritt nach vorn, speziell für ein Land, das noch vor 13 Jahren immerhin Ziel von Nato-Angriffen war. Serbien ist kulturell, historisch und geografisch durch und durch ein europäisches Land. Zudem haben Serbien und Belgrad im letzten Jahr bewiesen, dass sie in der Lage sind, die Beitrittskriterien zu erfüllen.

Aufgrund der seit Dezember 2009 herrschenden Visafreiheit kam es zu einer wachsenden Zahl von Asylsuchenden auch in die EU. Leider wird diese Visafreiheit für Handel mit falschen Asylbewerbern missbraucht. Tatsächlich gehören zu den Asylsuchenden vor allem Angehörige der ethnischen Minderheiten. Aber auch Serbien wird selber Zielland

für Asylbewerber. Die EU muss daher im Rahmen der Beitrittsverhandlungen für ein effizientes Asylwesen in Serbien eintreten, dieses Asylwesen fördern, aber auch einfordern.

3-051-000

**Csaba Sándor Tabajdi (S&D).** - Kulcsfontosságú volt, hogy a májusi szerbiai országgyűlési választások előtt az Európai Tanács megadta a tagjelölt státuszt Szerbiának. A Közösség elismerte az erőfeszítéseket, amelyeket Szerbia a koppenhágai kritériumok teljesítése terén tett. Az egész Balkán stabilitása szempontjából nagy jelentősége van, meghatározó szerepe van Szerbia integrációs előrehaladásának. Nagyon fontos az a kisebbségvédelmi rendszer, amely Szerbiában kialakult. Számos európai uniós tagállam büszke lehetne arra a kisebbségvédelmi rendszerre, amit Szerbia kialakított, ugyanakkor szerb barátaink figyelmét felhívnom arra, hogy ehhez megfelelő pénzügyi forrásokra is szükség van. Ami pedig Koszovót illeti, nagyon kérem a Bizottságot és a Tanácsot, ne állítsa teljesíthetetlen követelmények elé Szerbiát. Ahhoz, hogy előrehaladás legyen Szerbia és Koszovó viszonyában, mind a két félnek megfelelő engedményeket kell tennie, nem csak Szerbiának, hanem a koszovói albánoknak egyaránt.

3-052-000

**Andrew Henry William Brons (NI).** - Mr President, we are not only opposed to the UK's membership of the EU, we are opposed to the institution itself, which is intentionally destructive of national identities and sovereignties. We would therefore urge all countries, including Serbia, to decide against membership.

The EU's interference in Serbian internal affairs is to be deprecated. Encouraging Serbia to embrace neo-liberal globalist economic policies is not in Serbia's interest. Attempts to foist social liberalism on a socially conservative society like that of Serbia have led to violence, inevitable repression and resentment. The true purpose of such measures is not to protect the real interests of sexual minorities, but to politicise them and generate friction with their neighbours.

Furthermore, it is in the UK's interest to oppose enlargement, especially the entry of relatively poor countries, the inclusion of which will lead to greater net contributions from the donor countries and mass migration from the newly admitted states.

3-053-000

**Petru Constantin Luhan (PPE).** - Evaluarea Comisiei Europene din octombrie privind avansarea Republicii Serbia pe calea europeană trebuie să se bazeze pe îndeplinirea criteriilor de la Copenhaga, a căror parte importantă este și protecția drepturilor persoanelor aparținând minorităților naționale.

În ceea ce privește situația minorităților române de pe întreg teritoriul Serbiei, nu cred că avem de-a face cu o situație bilaterală, ci cu una care ține de îndeplinirea criteriilor politice. Plecând de la principiul autoidentificării, Serbia trebuie să implementeze legislația privind minoritățile de o manieră coerentă, adică pe întreg teritoriul său și consistentă, adică pentru toate minoritățile. Asigurarea accesului la educație, serviciu religios, mass-media și administrație publică în limba română pentru toți cei care se identifică români este o necesitate.



Aplicarea recomandărilor convenite de România și Republica Serbia în Protocolul din 1 martie anul acesta privind minoritățile naționale trebuie să reprezinte un criteriu de evaluare în raportul Comisiei Europene din octombrie.

3-054-000

**Krisztina Morvai (NI).** - Kedves Kollegák! Legalább két csoportját tudom embereknek, akik nem ismernék föl, melyik országról beszélgetünk itt ma. Az egyik ilyen csoport a Szerbiában élő magyarok, akik folyamatosan és rendszeresen szenvedik el a legdurvább emberi jogi jogsértéseket, többek között a fizikai bántalmazást, pusztán az anyanyelvük, a magyar nyelv használata miatt. A másik csoportja az embereknek, az európa tanácsi képviselőtársaink, akik lefolytattak egy hasonló vitát és elfogadtak egy határozatot, amelyben kimondták Szerbiának a bűnösségét a súlyos emberi jogi jogsértésekben, mégpedig az őshonos nemzeti kisebbségekkel szembeni jogsértésekben. Erről most úgy tűnik, hogy szemérmesen hallgatunk, nem beszélünk. Az idő rövideje miatt, hadd említsem meg az etnikai tisztogatást, ami folyik, tehát a betelepítését a háborús menekülteknek erőszakos módon Délvidékre, a magyarok közé, illetőleg a már említett nyelvi jogoknak a megsértését, és hadd követeljem a magyarok számára a területi autonómiát Dél-Tirol mintájára.

3-055-000

**Petri Sarvamaa (PPE).** - Mr President, having personally witnessed the recent history of the Balkans as a foreign news correspondent, I cannot underline strongly enough the huge importance of this process for stability and understanding in that region. This is not just an opportunity but a duty for us. It is incumbent upon us to do what we can to silence the remaining voices of chauvinism and intolerant nationalism in Serbia. However, we would be foolish to repeat the somewhat lax approach to this round of enlargement that we witnessed in the previous round. Therefore I will be voting for amendments that require strict fulfilment of the most important preconditions for membership, including that of ensuring the protection of minorities.

3-056-000

**Danuta Jazłowiecka (PPE).** - Panie Przewodniczący! Ostatnie kilka miesięcy można uznać za niezwykle istotne dla przyszłości Bałkanów Zachodnich. Obszar, który jeszcze do niedawna był źródłem nieustannej troski Europy, zaczyna się powoli stabilizować. Po raz kolejny widać, jak skuteczna jest unijna polityka rozszerzeniowa. Sama perspektywa członkostwa powoduje, iż państwa tego obszaru podejmują ogromny wysiłek, próbując dostosować swoje prawodawstwo i gospodarkę do reguł obowiązujących we Wspólnocie. Oczywiście robią to mniej lub bardziej skutecznie, ale trzeba docenić ogromną determinację w chęci przezwyciężania istniejących trudności.

Jest to szczególnie widoczne w przypadku Serbii. Państwo to – doświadczone latami wojen, blokad gospodarczych, nieudolnych i autorytarnych rządów – zaczyna przechodzić pozytywną ewolucję. Sam fakt, iż udało się w kompromisowy sposób uregulować stosunki z Kosowem, pokazuje determinację tamtejszych polityków w utrzymaniu europejskiej drogi. Dlatego też Belgrad powinien poczuć nasze wyraźne wsparcie, powinien dostrzec, że doceniamy wysiłek, który jest podejmowany. Jest to szczególnie istotne teraz, kiedy kryzys gospodarczy dotyka tamtejsze społeczeństwo i widać wzrastającą frustrację i zniechęcenie. Nie możemy pozostawić Serbii samej ze swoimi problemami. W sposób szczególny powinniśmy zainteresować się rozwojem młodzieży serbskiej.

3-057-000

(Koniec procedury pytań z sali)

3-058-000

**Štefan Füle**, *Member of the Commission*. – Mr President, let me thank you for this rich debate, which has demonstrated the continuing support of the House for the European Union integration process of Serbia.

I have heard a lot of statements on a number of issues, some of which have been mentioned repeatedly. However, when I heard the expression ‘ethnic cleansing’ I looked round, just to make sure that the country we were talking about was Serbia and the year we were talking about was 2012. As the Commission and the Council have declared, we intend to monitor closely the protection of minorities in Serbia and work hand in hand with the relevant international and European stakeholders, in particular the OSCE and especially its High Commissioner for National Minorities, and the Council of Europe. The Commission will report on these issues in the next progress report, to be issued in October 2012.

I have taken good note of your wish to see Serbia move rapidly to the next step, the opening of accession negotiations. I fully subscribe to this objective, provided the criteria are fulfilled. We will therefore, as always, carefully monitor and assess how Serbia fulfils the particular criteria, in particular the state of play in the key areas of democratic institutions, judicial reform, the fight against corruption and organised crime, human rights and the protection of minorities.

Regarding the key priority – the improvement of relations with Kosovo – we will be looking at several aspects: the implementation in good faith of agreements (as already mentioned), progress on outstanding issues such as telecommunications and energy, and active cooperation with EULEX to enable it to exercise its function throughout Kosovo. It should also be clear that new controversial issues should be avoided – for instance, Serbia needs to refrain from holding local elections in Kosovo.

I am glad you agree with the merits of the new approach for Chapters 23 and 24, which will in time also be applicable to Serbia. I sincerely hope, as you do, that, on the basis of the strong foundations laid by Serbia in order to achieve candidate status, we will open another very dynamic phase in the next stage of our relations with Serbia.

3-059-000

**Nicolai Wammen**, *formand for Rådet*. – Hr. formand, ærede medlemmer, hr. kommissær, hr. Kazin! EU-udvidelsen er en succeshistorie for EU og Europa, og efter denne gode debat ser jeg frem til et forsat stærkt samarbejde med Europa-Parlamentet under vores formandskab, ikke alene vedrørende Serbiens EU-integrationsproces, men vedrørende alle lande med et EU-perspektiv.

Tildelingen af EU-kandidatstatus til Serbien er et resultat af Serbiens solide reformbestrebelse på mange vanskelige områder. Serbien har på kort tid gennemført vigtige reformer, især på områderne retsstaten og de grundlæggende rettigheder, og har fuldt tilfredsstillende samarbejdet med ICTY og engageret sig stærkt i det regionale samarbejde. Fremdrift i Beograd, Pristina-dialogen vil få stor betydning ikke bare for Serbien og Kosovo, men for hele regionen, og det nylige gennembrud er et eksempel til efterfølgelse. Det er pragmatiske løsninger og ikke fastlåste standpunkter, der er afgørende, når vanskelige konflikter skal løses.

Der er forsat behov for fremskridt både internt i Serbien og eksternt bl.a. i forholdet mellem Beograd og Pristina. Fremskridt i forhold til EU-integration er som bekendt meritbaseret. Hvor langt Serbien er nået, vurderes næste gang i forbindelse med Kommissionens fremskridtsrapport til efteråret. Det er mit håb, at vi snarest kan indlede tiltrædelsesforhandlinger med Serbien.

Under dagens drøftelser har vi været inde på en række af de områder, hvor reformer er påkrævede. Lad mig blot fremhæve nogle centrale problemstillinger: Det er afgørende fortsat at bekæmpe korrupsion og organiseret kriminalitet. Serbien har taget store skridt i bekæmpelsen af den organiserede kriminalitet og har arbejdet godt og aktivt med nabolandene, hvilket har ført til en række vigtige arrestationer. Der er ingen tvivl om, at et effektivt samarbejde med nabolandene er betydningsfuldt set i lyset af den organiserede kriminalitets grænseoverskridende karakter. På dette område har de serbiske myndigheder gjort en vigtig indsats, og jeg håber, at myndighederne vil lade sig inspirere af succesen med at bekæmpe organiseret kriminalitet for så også at gøre en ekstra indsats for at bekæmpe korrupsion, hvor der stadig er meget arbejde, der skal gøres.

Med hensyn til økonomien er der behov for at gennemføre strukturelle reformer for at fremme produktiviteten, begrænse det offentlige budgetunderskud og afbøde virkningerne af den internationale økonomiske krise især for de svageste samfundsgrupper. Det er i den forbindelse positivt, at den serbiske regering har taget vigtige initiativer til at fremme vækstbetingelserne for små og mellemstore virksomheder.

Afslutningsvist vil jeg gerne fremhæve den meget store indsats, som Serbien har gjort for at bidrage til regional forsoning. Over de seneste fire år har regeringen, med præsident Tadić i spidsen, bidraget afgørende til at hele sårene efter 90'ernes krigshandlinger. Dermed har landet gjort sit til, at hele det vestlige Balkan kan se en lysere fremtid i møde. Det skal vi fra EU's side selvfølgelig anerkende og bakke op om, samtidig med at vi i Parlamentet, Kommissionen og Rådet gør alt, hvad vi kan, for at tilskynde Serbien til at forblive på reformsporet, sådan at forhandlingerne med EU kan komme hurtigere i gang.

3-060-000

**Przewodniczący.** - Otrzymałem jeden projekt rezolucji<sup>(1)</sup> złożony zgodnie z art. 110(2) Regulaminu.

Zamykam debatę.

Głosowanie odbędzie się w czwartek 29 marca 2012 r.

### **Oświadczenia pisemne (art. 149)**

3-061-000

**Zoltán Bagó (PPE), írásban.** – Tisztelt Elnök Úr, kedves Képviselőtársaim! Üdvözlöm a Bizottság Szerbiáról szóló bővítési jelentését, mely alapos és átfogó módon jellemzi a Szerbia által eddig elért haladást. Továbbá, fel szeretném hívni a figyelmet arra, hogy Szerbia március 1-jén hivatalos tagjelölt lett, bizonyítva az EU elkötelezettségét az ország uniós kilátásai mellett. Üdvözlöm mindazt a Szerbia által tett lépést és számos erőfeszítést, amit az ország a politikai koppenhágai kritériumok teljesítése terén ért el. Az ország stabilizálása kulcsfontosságú szerepet tölt be nemcsak a Nyugat-Balkán térség biztonságának, hanem

(1) Patrz protokół.

az Unió biztonságpolitikájának garantálásában is. Szeretném hangsúlyozni, hogy Szerbia további előrelépése az integrációs folyamatban nagymértékben függ a még fennálló belső és külső politikai, illetve gazdasági problémák mihamarabbi rendezésétől, úgymint pl. a kisebbségek kérdésének ügyében, a jó szomszédsági politika, vagy a regionális együttműködés fenntartásától. Véleményem szerint az országban történt eddigi változások és reformok jó irányba mutatnak, a fennmaradó intézkedésekben pedig az EU-nak minden szükséges eszközt biztosítani kell.

3-062-000

**Tadeusz Cymański (EFD)**, *na piśmie*. – Jako osoba pochodząca z kraju, który kilkanaście lat temu znajdował się w podobnej sytuacji jak Serbia dzisiaj, w pełni rozumiem jak czują się nasi słowiańscy przyjaciele z państwa nad Dunajem. Serbia jest państwem, które ramię w ramię budowało z nami europejską cywilizację, dzieląc te same chrześcijańskie wartości, niejednokrotnie będąc zmuszone przelać za nie krew. Tak jak Polacy mają w pamięci kluczową Bitwę pod Wiedniem z Imperium Otomańskim, Serbowie są dumni ze swojego poświęcenia podczas Bitwy na Kosowym Polu.

Dzisiaj Serbia jest nowoczesnym państwem, które poczyniło ogromne postępy polityczne, gospodarcze i społeczne. Tragiczne dla krajów bałkańskich lata 90. są już przeszłością – w XXI wieku Serbia prężnie rozwija się w demokratyczny i otwarty kraj, który stał się liderem regionu. W pełni popieram więc sprawozdanie, które zachęci Radę Europejską do rozpoczęcia negocjacji w tak ważnym dla Serbii momencie – przed wyborami, które miejmy nadzieję ostatecznie pokażą, iż również serbskie społeczeństwo patrzy w kierunku Europy. Jednocześnie apeluję, aby Unia Europejska, podejmując wysiłek przyjęcia Serbii do swego grona, w pełni uszanowała jej tradycje, dziedzictwo kulturowe oraz wartości zakorzenione w społeczeństwie naszych serbskich braci.

3-063-000

**Kinga Göncz (S&D)**, *írásban*. – Szerbia nagy sikert ért el idén márciusban azzal, hogy az Európai Unió tagjelöltté nyilvánította. Ehhez az kellett, hogy a szükséges kompromisszumkészséget tanúsítva, Belgrád egy sor fontos kérdésben megállapodjon Pristinával. A megállapodások azt szolgálják, hogy megkönnyítsék a polgárok hétköznapi életét a határ mindkét oldalán. A párbeszédnek folytatódnia kell, az aláírt egyezményeket pedig mihamarabb végre kell hajtani! Belgrád közeledése az Európai Unióhoz jó hír a vajdasági magyaroknak és Magyarországnak is, amelynek elemei érdeke, hogy fejlett piaccsal rendelkező, demokratikus jogállamok vegyék körül. A szerb és más nyugat-balkáni országok csatlakozási folyamatának előrehaladása nem csak attól függ, hogy az Európai Unió képes-e szigorúan számon kérni a saját értékeit és normáit a tagjelölt országoktól, hanem attól is, hogy képes-e következetesen betartatni azokat a saját tagállamaival. Belgrádnak az eddigieknél erőteljesebb nyomást kell gyakorolnia a szakadár szerb erőkre Koszovóban és Boszniában is a megbékélés, a helyzet normalizálása érdekében. Bízom benne, hogy a közlő szerbiai választásokon megerősödnek a demokratikus, Európa-barát politikai erők, és Szerbia továbbléphet az uniós csatlakozás folyamatában.

3-064-000

**Jiří Havel (S&D)**, *písemně*. – Udělení statusu kandidátské země Srbsku je bezpochyby důležitý krok. Má nesporný význam v kontextu dalšího vývoje na západním Balkánu, a proto je třeba ho přivítat. Teď bude důležité využít tento pozitivní impuls především v samotném Srbsku. Abychom se vyhnuli tomu, že se kandidátský status mine účinkem,

měly by bez odkladu začít přístupové rozhovory. Jakýkoliv další odklad v tomto směru nemá opodstatnění. Víme, že Srbsko je dnes na taková jednání připraveno přinejmenším tak dobře jako Chorvatsko na podzim 2005. A je maximálně žádoucí dát tuto naši společnou politickou vůli na vědomí také nejširší srbské veřejnosti – v květnu tam přece budou parlamentní volby. Otevřená však zůstává i nadále otázka Kosova. ČSSD patří v rámci evropské politické scény na tu stranu, která nesouhlasí s vyhlášením jeho jednostranné nezávislosti. Osobně považuji za chybu podmiňovat začleňování Srbska do Evropy jeho vztahem ke Kosovu. A ze stejného důvodu pociťuji rozpaky nad tím, že Evropská komise začne sepisovat „feasibility study“ o Kosovu s cílem posoudit možnost přípravy dohody o stabilizaci a přidružení. Nicméně jsem si vědom toho, že jde o politickou cenu, kterou je třeba momentálně zaplatit v zájmu zprůchodnění dosud patové situace. Ale jen budoucnost ukáže, do jaké míry se nám to skutečně vyplatí.

3-065-000

**Iosif Matula (PPE)**, *în scris*. – Susțin extinderea Uniunii Europene, prin aderarea țărilor din Balcanii de Vest și, implicit, a Serbiei, în măsura în care acestea aplică în practică criteriile de la Copenhaga. La fel cum România a trebuit să respecte principii stricte în ceea ce privește drepturile minorităților, fiind astăzi un model în acest sens, și Serbia va fi nevoită să se alinieze la modelul european în domeniul, dacă dorește să adere la UE.

Mă refer la situația minorităților naționale în general și a celei românești în special, indiferent de diversele denumiri sub care o regăsim pe aceasta din urmă sau de numărul de cetățeni recunoscuți în mod mai mult sau mai puțin formal. Etnicii români cer, înainte de toate, educație, serviciu religios și presă în limba maternă, adică drepturi normale într-un stat democratic. Din păcate, li se refuză constant aceste cereri, iar problemele trenează de ani buni, autoritățile sârbești nealiniindu-se încă la practica UE în ceea ce privește tratamentul acordat minorităților naționale. În aceste condiții, până la rezolvarea satisfăcătoare a problemei, consider utilă monitorizarea de către Comisia Europeană a implementării în Serbia a standardelor europene cu privire la drepturile minorităților.

3-066-000

**Andreas Mölzer (NI)**, *schriftlich*. – Es sollte klar sein, dass die EU nicht die einzige Option für Serbien darstellt und man sich allzu leicht der altbewährten Verbindung zu Russland entsinnt. Die Krisenstimmung in der Europäischen Union und die Befürchtung, dass weitere Erpressungen im Zusammenhang mit der Kosovo-Frage anstehen, sorgen dafür, dass sich die Begeisterung der Serben über den Kandidatenstatus in Grenzen hält. Mal ganz abgesehen davon, dass die Unabhängigkeit des Kosovo einen Bruch der UNO-Resolution 1 244 darstellt, weshalb der neu entstandene Staat ja auch nicht von allen EU-Staaten anerkannt wird, nimmt die EU in dieser Frage die Ängste der Kosovo-Serben, von der erdrückenden albanischen Bevölkerungsmehrheit an die Wand gedrängt zu werden, eindeutig auf die leichte Schulter. Die betroffene Bevölkerung in dieser Frage zu ignorieren ist mit den europäischen Werten unvereinbar. Eine Bedrohung für die Stabilität am Balkan ist der auf Druck der Amerikaner aus der Taufe gehobene Kunststaat Kosovo, der ohne großzügige Geldmittel aus Brüssel nicht lebensfähig wäre. Diese Region, die unter Bruch der UNO-Resolution 1 244 völkerrechtswidrig die Unabhängigkeit erklärt hat, kann in ihrer derzeitigen Form ganz sicher nicht EU-Mitglied werden.

3-066-250

**Radvilė Morkūnaitė-Mikulėnienė (PPE)**, *in writing*. – Serbia's reform progress is to be welcomed and further encouraged, especially in light of the upcoming elections in Serbia. Much still needs to be done to implement the obligations and agreements undertaken by Serbia – especially as regards improving the business environment. The recent experiences of foreign investors in Serbia are very discouraging. Winners of privatisation tenders invested tens of millions, but were challenged by public institutions and forced to leave. Dubious decisions by Serbian institutions are now being contested internationally. The Commission must monitor very closely the progress committed to in December 2011 and February 2012 and report back at the end of this year. Another issue is reconciliation with the Communist past. This process is moving forward in many former Communist block countries, but not in Serbia. Serbia was the first country in the region to adopt its Lustration Law, but later annulled it as infringing the Constitution. I cannot see how truth and justice can infringe the Constitution of a democratic state? I call on Serbia to adopt the necessary legislation and open up its communist-times archives to its citizens as well as to other countries without further delay.

3-066-500

**Vladko Todorov Panayotov (ALDE)**, *in writing*. – On 1 March 2012, the EU countries decided to give Serbia the status of official candidate for EU membership. I welcome this decision as I welcome the economic, social and political efforts made by Serbia under the leadership of President Boris Tadić, who has proved to have a strong pro-European influence on his country. The upcoming elections on 6 May will hopefully give place to a Serbian Parliament which will keep on following the country's current line towards EU integration. Relations with Pristina remain a sensitive issue in the region but the dialogue is progressing considering the recentness of Kosovo's independence. Moreover, it is important to remember that, to this day, five EU countries have still not recognised the state of Kosovo for fear of independence willingness in their own country. We should keep in mind that the question of Kosovo's status concerns the whole EU and not only Serbia. Finally, I would like to congratulate the Romanian Government, which has come to a compromise with the Serbian State on the matter of Bulgarian and Romanian minorities' rights in Serbia. Compromises will indeed be necessary; Serbia is the largest ex-Yugoslav republic and it is undeniable that the future of the Western Balkans lies in the EU.

3-067-000

**Ioan Mircea Pașcu (S&D)**, *in writing*. – Only 15 years ago, such a debate on Serbia's candidacy for EU membership would have been unthinkable. The nucleus of a war-broken federal state, Serbia was marginalized within the 'New Europe'. Everything which had happened there was a tragedy both for the former Yugoslav peoples, including the Serbs, and for the entire continent. After the break-away of Slovenia and Croatia, war broke out in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and bombing took place over the separation of Kosovo. However, the last separation – Montenegro – took place peacefully, reflecting the maturity and courage of the new Serbian leadership, and primarily of President Tadić. Indeed, the current Serb leadership has taken decisive steps which have made this debate possible: it has captured two long-sought war criminals, Karadžić and Mladić, and has handled properly the independence of Kosovo. That was all possible because it understood that the only chance for Serbia was to cut loose from the past and concentrate on the future – a future which engaged the country inevitably on the path to EU integration. That has been correctly

understood by Serbia and I am confident that this country will fulfil the ensuing obligations, including by helping to maintain stability in a very sensitive and important area of the continent.

3-067-500

**Anna Záborská (PPE), písomne .** – Začatie prístupových rokovaní s Európskou úniou bolo pre Srbsko historickým momentom. Bol to prvý krok na ceste odpútania sa od dedičstva Titovho komunistického režimu. Tieto rokovania, no predovšetkým jasná perspektíva budúceho členstva Srbska v EÚ, sú kľúčové na dosiahnutie trvalej stability na vojnami poznačenom Balkáne. Možnosť v dohľadnom čase získať európsky pas a voľný prístup na jednotný trh práce, tovaru a služieb pôsobí motivujúco aj smerom k srbským menšinám žijúcim v okolitých republikách. Aj pre Srbov žijúcich za hranicami Srbska je to presvedčivý argument v prospech konštruktívneho hľadania takého spôsobu spolužitia, ktorý nebude postavený na konfliktoch, ale skôr na vzájomnej ústretovosti a kompromisoch. Bolo by naivné, keby sme presviedčali sami seba, že vidina členstva v EÚ raz a navždy odstráni všetky konflikty na Balkáne. Mnohé z nich trvajú už po stáročia a ich prekonanie bude trvať roky, možno desiatky rokov. Ale som presvedčená, že otvorením prístupových rokovaní sa na to vytvoril potrebný priestor.

## 17. Sprawozdanie w sprawie rozszerzenia dotyczące Kosowa (debata)

3-069-000

**Przewodniczący.** - Kolejnym punktem porządku dziennego jest oświadczenie Rady i Komisji dotyczące sprawozdania w sprawie rozszerzenia dotyczącego Kosowa.

3-070-000

**Nicolai Wammen, President-in-Office of the Council.** – Mr President, on Kosovo I can state clearly that I am optimistic about the situation as it has developed since the submission of the 2011 progress report by the Commission. The Council conclusions of 28 February this year also reflect the very considerable efforts made by both Serbia and Kosovo in the EU-facilitated dialogue.

As you know, last December the Council welcomed Kosovo's commitment to the European agenda, including through its sustained efforts in areas such as visas, trade and the judicial system, as well as the establishment of the National Council for European Integration. The Council also welcomed the improved integration of Serbs south of the Ibar River.

At the same time, the Council noted the limited progress achieved with regard to the reform agenda in a year marked by elections, and it urged Kosovo to take the necessary steps to address the shortcomings identified in the electoral process.

Kosovo was also encouraged to improve the budgetary situation, in close cooperation with the IMF. The Council noted the need for major efforts on the part of the authorities, particularly to strengthen public administration reform and consolidate the rule of law. Evidence was needed to demonstrate that organised crime and corruption are being tackled and that progress is being made in pursuing judicial reform and protecting freedom of expression. The Council also invited Kosovo to launch an inclusive and long-term agenda for northern Kosovo.

In addition to these requirements, the Council emphasised the crucial importance of the EU-facilitated Belgrade/Priština dialogue as a process of equal importance for both Serbia and Kosovo. The Council called on both parties to engage constructively on the full range of issues, from freedom of movement of persons to customs and from the cadastre to the implementation of the integrated management for crossing points, the IBM.

This call was certainly heard in both Belgrade and Priština. Progress was made over the subsequent months, and considerable political courage was demonstrated in both capitals. These are very positive developments, which demonstrate the power of the enlargement process to promote reform.

Equally important is the fact that the EU has responded to these efforts. The visa dialogue was launched in January 2012. Furthermore, the Commission intends to launch a structured dialogue on the rule of law and a feasibility study for a Stabilisation and Association Agreement between the European Union and Kosovo. These are important incentives.

I think we all agree that Kosovo's future lies within the European Union. Solid implementation of the agreements reached between Belgrade and Priština will bring Serbia and Kosovo further on their path towards the EU.

On the other hand, many challenges lie ahead for the leadership in Kosovo, not least on the domestic agenda. Here the EU is also ready to assist. I very much hope that more resources will be put in place on the ground to support the initiatives from Brussels and from the new EUSR/Head of Delegation, who has been in place for only a few weeks.

3-071-000

**Štefan Füle**, *Member of the Commission* . – Mr President, I am grateful for your kind invitation to participate in your discussion on Kosovo. I am also grateful for your support for the Commission's work on Kosovo, as confirmed by the report we will debate here today, and I am very grateful for the excellent work of your rapporteur, Ms Lunacek, in preparing this well-balanced report and ensuring broad support for it.

I have just returned from Kosovo. On Tuesday I had the pleasure of attending the very first meeting of Kosovo's Council for European Integration. The Council was set up by Kosovo's President Jahjaga in order to establish a forum for discussion and guidance on Kosovo's path to Europe.

In my speech to the Council for European Integration, I emphasised that it was essential that the Council reflect and be supported by all sides of the political spectrum in Kosovo. The Council needs to build as broad and inclusive a consensus across society as possible. Only with the support and engagement of all political forces and communities will Kosovo be able to make the efforts at reform required to move successfully towards Europe. European integration requires the support and commitment of Kosovo society as a whole. By its very nature, European integration is and needs to be inclusive.

Honourable Members, what can we do to support Kosovo on its way towards closer integration? The General Affairs Council of 28 February confirmed the Commission's intention to launch a feasibility study for a Stabilisation and Association Agreement with Kosovo. This marks the beginning of a new stage in the European Union's relationship with Kosovo. The Council's endorsement firmly anchors Kosovo in the European Union's policy framework for the Western Balkans. It marks a crucial step towards the establishment of contractual relations with Kosovo.



The objective of the feasibility study is to provide a comprehensive and in-depth analysis of Kosovo's readiness to negotiate and eventually implement a Stabilisation and Association Agreement, which forms the legal basis of the European Union's relations with the countries of the Western Balkans and a stepping stone towards membership. The study will focus on the political, economic and legal aspects of Kosovo's readiness for a Stabilisation and Association Agreement. My visit to Kosovo yesterday marked the start of our work.

The launch of the feasibility study was another, additional key element in the European Union's already ambitious agenda for Kosovo. Let me mention some of the key elements of this agenda. First, I hope that we will be able to issue the visa liberalisation roadmap for Kosovo later in the spring. Second, we will shortly resubmit our proposal for a framework agreement allowing Kosovo to participate in European Union programmes. Third, on 30 May, I will launch the structured dialogue on the rule of law. Fourth, we will support Kosovo's bid for membership of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, once Kosovo chooses to submit its application. Fifth, we are ready to support an inclusive and long-term agenda for the north of Kosovo.

Let me conclude by reaffirming the European Union's commitment to Kosovo. The last few weeks have shown that these are not just empty words but are backed up by concrete action. The Commission is fully engaged with Kosovo. 2012 should be a year of opportunity, and I trust I can count on Parliament's support to turn this opportunity into reality.

3-072-000

**Ulrike Lunacek**, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group* . – Mr President, my report this year aims to send a strong signal to the citizens of Kosovo that the future of independent Kosovo lies in the European Union. This report acknowledges the work the European Union has been doing over the last months and years, and these important steps forward regarding the Republic of Kosovo – be it the launching of the visa dialogue and the fact that the roadmap, as Commissioner Füle has now confirmed, is to be delivered this spring, or the fact that the dialogue between Priština and Belgrade, between Kosovo and Serbia – have led to some positive results. This needs to continue after the Serbian elections.

What are these results? Regional cooperation, where Kosovo can now participate on its own account in international and regional organisations, and the agreement on border management which, for the first time, constitutes a bilateral agreement between the two states. Nevertheless, I would also call on Serbia to sign the agreement, as it has promised. In addition, with his visit yesterday, Commissioner Füle launched the feasibility study, as we have already said, which is the first step for the further progress of Kosovo and towards the Stabilisation and Association Agreement.

My report also calls on the five recalcitrant Member States of the European Union to recognise Kosovo, because this would make the EU's efforts even more effective.

Nevertheless, there are still challenges in Kosovo itself: the fight against corruption and organised crime, building up a functioning economy and social developments, so that people can feel the desire, the need and the will to work in their own country and to build it up. There must be electoral and constitutional reforms, and all the perpetrators of electoral fraud in the last elections must be brought to justice. The rule of law and media freedom: there are still things to be done.

Regarding the north, my report calls on the Government in Priština to reach out to the Serbs in the north and for the Serbs in the north to implement the Ahtisaari Plan, because it would provide municipalities with wide-ranging autonomy. It also calls on Serbia to refrain from holding local elections in the north, which would violate international law and would not be in line with Resolution 1244, and to stop supporting perilous structures.

I hope my report will find broad support, even as regards the amendments that I had to table because the first vote was two months ago now, in the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and many things have happened since, as I have tried to relate.

3-073-000

**Bernd Posselt**, *im Namen der PPE-Fraktion*. – Herr Präsident! In diesem Jahr ist es hundert Jahre her, seit im ersten Balkankrieg königlich-serbische Truppen den Kosovo erobert haben. Was damals passiert ist, ist dokumentiert in Berichten der Carnegie-Stiftung und des österreichischen Sozialdemokraten Leo Freundlich. Es folgten 86 Jahre Unterdrückung und am Schluss der Versuch eines Genozids durch das Milošević-Regime. Seit zwölf Jahren haben die Kosovaren die Chance, einen europäischen demokratischen Staat aufzubauen. Sie haben dabei große Probleme, aber sie haben auch Gewaltiges geleistet. Dies anzuerkennen und sie auf dem weiteren Weg zu unterstützen, ist heute unsere Aufgabe.

Um es klar zu sagen: Ich bin für einen Beitritt Serbiens zur Europäischen Union! Ich war erst am Sonntag deswegen in Serbien. Aber ich fordere Gerechtigkeit für den Kosovo. Serbien hat Kandidatenstatus, Kosovo ist von fünf EU-Staaten immer noch nicht anerkannt. Das muss sich ändern. Im Kosovo gibt es garantierte Minderheitenrechte, reservierte Mandate im Parlament auf der Basis des Ahtisaari-Plans und der kosovarischen Verfassung. Nach den serbischen Wahlen besteht die Gefahr, dass die Albaner im Preševo-Tal noch nicht einmal einen einzigen Abgeordneten im serbischen Parlament haben. Die Serben haben im Kosovo einen Vizepremier und einen Vizepräsidenten des Parlaments. Deshalb bin ich wirklich der Meinung, wir müssen hier Augenmaß und Vernunft walten lassen und auf dem Weg in die Europäische Union beiden Seiten die gleichen klaren Bedingungen stellen.

Es gibt neun Abkommen zwischen Pristina und Belgrad. Von diesen neun Abkommen sind die wichtigsten noch nicht unterschrieben und zwei zur Hälfte umgesetzt. Die anderen nicht. Wir wollen Taten sehen und nicht nur Versprechungen und Worte hören. Wir wollen die Taten vor den serbischen Wahlen sehen und nicht erleben, dass sie womöglich nachher wieder einkassiert werden. Und wir wollen ganz klar keine Teilung des Kosovo, kein neues Aufrollen der Statusfrage, sondern eine europäische Entwicklung einer jungen europäischen Demokratie!

3-074-000

**Pier Antonio Panzeri**, *a nome del gruppo S&D*. – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, l'onorevole Lunacek ha svolto davvero un buon lavoro.

Io penso che il processo di consolidamento della democrazia in Kosovo sia un fattore molto importante. Il nostro obiettivo ora è quello di incoraggiare le autorità di governo di Pristina e l'insieme delle forze politiche presenti in Parlamento a proseguire sul terreno delle riforme democratiche, riforme in grado di modernizzare il paese e di aprire una nuova fase nella vita politica, civile ed economica del Kosovo. Ci sono ancora molti problemi da affrontare – li richiamava il Consiglio prima – e devono essere affrontati con forza e

determinazione e soprattutto devono essere affrontati con la coerenza necessaria da parte delle autorità kosovare.

È vero, la situazione si sta evolvendo. Non possiamo che salutare positivamente lo storico accordo raggiunto tra Belgrado e Pristina in materia di cooperazione regionale inclusiva e rappresentazione del Kosovo nei forum regionali. Tutto ciò può favorire seriamente la stabilità dell'intera regione dei Balcani occidentali ed è motivo di grande rilevanza anche per l'Unione europea. È proprio in questo quadro – lo ha ricordato il Commissario Füle – che è positivo il fatto che la Commissione ha avviato uno studio di fattibilità relativo a un accordo di stabilizzazione e di associazione tra l'Unione europea e il Kosovo.

Bisogna ora insistere su questa strada, perché questa strada non solo può pacificare e rendere più proficuo il rapporto tra Serbia e Kosovo e può avvicinare ancor di più questi paesi verso l'Unione europea, ma anche perché può aiutare a superare le differenze esistenti verso il Kosovo anche di quei paesi che ancora non hanno riconosciuto l'esistenza del Kosovo stesso. C'è quindi un lavoro che deve essere svolto da parte dell'Europa, ma soprattutto un lavoro che le autorità kosovare devono compiere fino in fondo per realizzare questi obiettivi.

3-075-000

**Jelko Kacin**, *on behalf of the ALDE Group* . – Mr President, I would like to congratulate Madam Lunacek on a good and well-balanced report. At long last, Kosovo's citizens receive some good news from Brussels. A feasibility study has begun, as well as work on visa liberalisation. We need to ensure that these processes bear fruit in the near future. Kosovo is the last country in the region whose citizens need visas for travelling in the Schengen area. We need to do our part in order to put an end to this predicament as soon as possible.

Kosovo has engaged in a dialogue with Serbia in good faith, and we should welcome their constructive approach. Dialogue with Belgrade is in the very best interests of Kosovo, its citizens and the economy. Both sides should continue the dialogue and implement the agreements fully.

What Kosovo urgently needs in addition is a dialogue between the Serbian community in the north of Kosovo and ethnic Serbians living to the south of the Ibar river. Serbian culture has a strong presence in Kosovo. The gap that has been opening between these two parts of the Serbian community weakens it and makes the life of ethnic Serbians in Kosovo more difficult. At the same time, Priština needs to reach out in good faith to the Serbian community in the north and encourage their integration in a wider Kosovo. Belgrade needs to dispel ideas that the Serbian-dominated north will in some way remain a de facto part of Serbia proper. This will be difficult as long as certain Member States do not change their position regarding the independence of Kosovo.

This is our part of the job if we seek stability in the region and coherence in our foreign policy. But what is of the utmost importance for Kosovo's future is that Priština needs to engage in a dialogue with itself. Systemic corruption and organised crime are a plague on the Kosovo economy and the rule of law. Much more needs to be done in this battle, where concrete results will make it possible for Kosovo to have a Stabilisation and Association Agreement soon. The political will of Kosovo's leaders will be crucial in these efforts.

3-076-000

**Χαράλαμπος Αγγουράκης**, *εξ ονόματος της ομάδας GUE/NGL* . – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, το ψήφισμα προωθεί την ιμπεριαλιστική πολιτική της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης και τις επιδιώξεις των μονοπωλίων

στα Δυτικά Βαλκάνια. Είναι μια περίοδος βαθιάς καπιταλιστικής κρίσης και οξύτατων ιμπεριαλιστικών ανταγωνισμών για αγορές και σφαίρες επιρροής. Το ψήφισμα στηρίζει την επιβολή των καπιταλιστικών αναδιαρθρώσεων, την καταλήστευση του φυσικού πλούτου του Κοσόβου, την όξυνση της ανεργίας και της φτώχειας. Εγκαλεί προκλητικά τους κατοίκους του βορείου Κοσόβου που αντιστέκονται στις κατοχικές δυνάμεις της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης και του ΝΑΤΟ.

Η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση επιδιώκει τη διαιώνιση της παρουσίας των δυνάμεων της ΚΦΟΡ, της EULEX και της μεγαλύτερης αμερικάνικης βάσης εκτός ΗΠΑ. Προσπαθεί να επιβάλλει την αναγνώριση ενός προτεκτοράτου του ΝΑΤΟ και της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης, που είναι δημιούργημα του βρώμικου πολέμου ενάντια στον Γιουγκοσλάβικο λαό, εκβιάζει απροκάλυπτα τον Σερβικό λαό ν' αποδεχτεί τον διαμελισμό της χώρας για ν' αρχίσουν οι διαδικασίες ένταξης στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση. Ανοίγει έτσι τους ασκούς του Αιόλου για την όξυνση εθνοτικών αντιθέσεων, την υποδαύλιση αποσχιστικών κινημάτων και την επαναχάραξη των συνόρων. Δημιουργούνται κίνδυνοι για γενικευμένη πολεμική ανάφλεξη.

Τασσόμαστε ενάντια στην παρουσία των ξένων στρατευμάτων στα Βαλκάνια, τασσόμαστε για μια Ευρώπη της ειρήνης και της φιλίας των λαών που δεν μπορεί να είναι παρά μόνο πάνω στα ερείπια της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης.

3-077-000

**Fiorello Provera,** *a nome del gruppo EFD* . – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, il Kosovo è un paese con grandi problemi strutturali, evidenziati dalla relazione stessa. Una corruzione profonda e diffusa, un sistema giudiziario che non risponde alle esigenze di un paese democratico, una pubblica amministrazione fortemente inefficiente, una grave mancanza di libertà dei mezzi d'informazione, una protezione delle minoranze insufficiente anche nei confronti delle tradizioni culturali e religiose. Inoltre, l'economia è molto debole e la tutela dell'ambiente è trascurata. A tutto questo si aggiunge una criminalità diffusa che riguarda il traffico d'armi, di persone e di droga, verificata da inchieste internazionali e riportata da mezzi d'informazione autorevoli.

Il Consiglio d'Europa nel 2010 ha poi denunciato il coinvolgimento del premier Taci nel contrabbando d'organi e in altre attività criminali. Tutto questo dimostra che siamo molto lontani da una qualsiasi ipotesi di possibile integrazione, anche se dobbiamo accompagnare il Kosovo nella sua evoluzione sociale e democratica.

*(L'oratore accetta di rispondere a una domanda "cartellino blu" (articolo 149, paragrafo 8, del regolamento))*

3-078-000

**Bernd Posselt (PPE),** *Frage nach dem Verfahren der blauen Karte* . – Herr Präsident! Ich möchte Herrn Provera fragen, ob er weiß, dass Herr Marty von der Parlamentarischen Versammlung des Europarats vor dem außenpolitischen Ausschuss unseres Parlaments keinen einzigen Beleg für seine Behauptung des Organhandels vorlegen konnte. Das muss natürlich untersucht werden. Aber es gibt keinen einzigen Beweis, und ich möchte nur wissen, ob Herr Provera das weiß?

3-079-000

**Fiorello Provera (EFD),** *risposta a una domanda "cartellino blu"* . – Io so che l'accusa del Consiglio d'Europa ha nominato per ventisette volte nel proprio rapporto il Presidente

Taci e c'è stata anche una ripresa di questa notizia da parte della BBC. Io non sono l'autorità giudiziaria e non tocca a me verificare dal punto di vista giudiziario eventuali responsabilità. Tuttavia, l'accusa del Consiglio d'Europa è un'accusa molto grave, fatta da un Consiglio autorevole, che credo meriti una qualche considerazione.

3-080-000

**Krzysztof Lisek (PPE).** - Panie Przewodniczący! (Chciałbym z dumą powiedzieć, że pierwszy raz mogę powiedzieć „Panie Przewodniczący!” do mojego wieloletniego przyjaciela.) Panie Komisarzu! Chciałbym powiedzieć, że sprawozdanie przygotowane przez panią poseł sprawozdawczynię jest dobrym, wyważonym sprawozdaniem i godnym poparcia. Wskazuje na duże zaangażowanie pani poseł sprawozdawczyni i dużą wiedzę na temat tego, co się dzieje w Kosowie.

Kosowo to oczywiście nie jest łatwa kwestia, nie jest łatwa sprawa i to jest i będzie jeszcze przez wiele lat dużym wyzwaniem dla Unii Europejskiej, dla społeczności międzynarodowej w ogóle, bo nie tylko my jesteśmy zaangażowani w budowę, w pomoc w budowie tego państwa, w reformy tego państwa. I trzeba powiedzieć, że bardzo dobrze, że w tym sprawozdaniu podkreślono, że państwo kosowskie już zrobiło wiele na drodze do budowania normalnej organizacji państwowej, do naprawy – czy do budowy właściwie od zera – systemu prawnego, budowy różnych instytucji niezbędnych dla tego państwa. Chciałbym jednak zwrócić uwagę tak naprawdę na jedną generalną rzecz, że to, co się stanie w Kosowie, sukces Kosowa to jest również przykład dla innych państw, to jest przykład na skuteczność polityki Unii Europejskiej, przykład, który będzie ważny dla innych państw bałkańskich i dla całego regionu Bałkanów Zachodnich.

3-081-000

**María Muñoz De Urquiza (S&D).** - Señor Presidente, para una parte no desdeñable del Grupo Socialista, una posición constructiva pero diferenciada dentro de la Unión Europea en relación con la independencia de Kosovo ha tenido efectos muy positivos en la situación de avances en la que nos encontramos actualmente: ha beneficiado la apuesta europea por Serbia y ha contribuido a la estabilidad en el conjunto de la región.

Si la Unión Europea se hubiera posicionado en bloque al lado de una de las partes, no se habrían conseguido muchos de los logros ni de los avances significativos que se han mencionado ya aquí con profusión, desde el diálogo bilateral hasta el diálogo de la Unión Europea con ambas partes.

Por ello, consideramos que no es adecuado el llamamiento, que figura en el informe, a los Estados miembros que no han reconocido aún a Kosovo a que lo reconozcan, y tampoco consideramos que sea adecuada ninguna de las menciones que pueden interpretarse como un reconocimiento implícito de Kosovo.

Consideramos que este debate debería centrarse más bien en los problemas que afectan a Kosovo, como la corrupción, la delincuencia organizada, la situación económica o la construcción institucional, más que en el debate sobre el reconocimiento o no reconocimiento de Kosovo.

3-082-000

**Eduard Kukan (PPE).** - Mr President, my thanks to the rapporteur for her work. Kosovo is facing a year of challenges and opportunities. I appreciate and fully support the agenda

prepared by the Commission and the Council for this year: moving on with the feasibility study, the visa liberalisation dialogue and the EU programmes constitutes concrete and ambitious steps which are urgently needed for Kosovo now.

The EU needs to invest in this agenda to be credible. We should also expect concrete and tangible results from the Kosovo authorities, especially reforms in the judiciary and in public administration, but most importantly in strengthening the rule of law and in the fight against corruption and organised crime. I would also like to encourage Kosovo to continue the dialogue with Serbia in order to bring concrete results for Kosovars and normalise relations between Kosovo and Serbia. I also believe that both the people's representatives in the Kosovo Assembly and we in the European Parliament should be regularly informed of this process and its results.

Finally, Kosovo has lots of hard work ahead, but I am sure this will improve life in Kosovo and bring it first closer to the EU and finally into the EU itself.

3-083-000

**Tanja Fajon (S&D).** - Kolegici Lunačkovi bi se zahvalila za njeno delo in podporo državi, ki edina v regiji nima pogodbenih odnosov z Unijo in je ena najbolj izoliranih v tem delu Evrope, saj njeni državljani še danes ne vidijo luči na koncu brezvizumskega tunela.

Odprava vizumov bo posebej pomembna za mlade. Ko bo Kosovo spomladi dobilo časovnico za odpravo vizumov, moramo zagotoviti, da bo proces hiter, pomagati oblastem, ki jih čaka veliko dela.

Tudi dialog s Srbijo mora po dogovoru o regionalnem zastopstvu Kosova in skupnem upravljanju meja stopiti stopnico više. Le popolno priznanje Kosova bo normaliziralo življenje.

Vesela sem, da je Komisija zagnala študijo izvedljivosti, ki bo korak k tesnejšemu povezovanju z Unijo. Mladi rabijo perspektivo, rabijo delovna mesta.

Krepiti moramo evropsko zavest med mladimi, boj proti korupciji, organiziranemu kriminalu, ne samo na Kosovu, ampak v vseh državah Zahodnega Balkana. Predvsem pa moramo biti iskreni, na obeh straneh.

3-084-000

**Knut Fleckenstein (S&D).** - Herr Präsident, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Den Belgrad-Priština-Gesprächen war hier in Brüssel ein erster Erfolg beschieden worden. Ich möchte sagen, dazu gehört auch Mut! Mut des Premierministers Thaçi und des Präsidenten Tadić. Diesen Mut sollten wir anerkennen, weil dies ein erster Schritt gewesen ist, die Voraussetzung für eine positive Entwicklung. Jetzt ist es auch an uns, den Menschen im Kosovo zu zeigen, dass wir es ernst meinen. Deshalb unterstützen wir Kommissarin Malmström in ihrem Engagement für die Visaliberalisierung, und wir unterstützen Sie, Kommissar Füle, bei der Machbarkeitsstudie zum Abschluss des Stabilitäts- und Assoziierungsabkommens. Sie können fest mit unserer antreibenden Solidarität rechnen, wenn Sie sich hier an die Arbeit machen.

Eines sollten wir von hier aus allerdings auch sagen – das galt in der Vergangenheit und das gilt auch in Zukunft: Beide Seiten müssen wissen, dass sie nur gemeinsam bzw. parallel der EU näher kommen können. Keiner wird es auf Kosten des anderen schaffen. Da werden wir nicht mitmachen.

3-085-000

*Procedura pytań z sali*

3-086-000

**Sergio Paolo Francesco Silvestris (PPE).** - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, anch'io voglio ringraziare l'onorevole Lunacek e congratularmi per il lavoro svolto. Siamo davanti a grandi sfide e a grandi opportunità per il Kosovo e io penso che l'agenda proposta e illustrata oggi dal Consiglio vada in questa direzione e debba trovare il nostro sostegno.

Vi è sicuramente grande ottimismo rispetto ai notevoli sforzi e ai grandi progressi compiuti dal Kosovo in questi anni. Basterebbe pensare a quella che era la situazione di pochi anni fa, di dieci, quindici anni fa, per comprendere quanti importanti passi in avanti siano stati compiuti. Oggi dobbiamo incoraggiare il governo di Pristina, ma dobbiamo incoraggiare tutte le forze politiche democratiche a proseguire sulla via delle riforme, a favorire l'agenda europea e le riforme dei visti, del commercio e del sistema giudiziario. È questo il percorso che ci aspetta per conseguire due obiettivi: quello di migliorare il livello di democrazia in Kosovo, per migliorare la vita dei kosovari e avvicinare il Kosovo all'Europa, e poi quello di portare il Kosovo in Europa. Una giovane democrazia europea deve trovare il sostegno forte e convinto dell'Europa.

3-087-000

**Ramon Tremosa i Balcells (ALDE).** - Mr President, the Catalan Liberal Party that I represent fully supports the process of Kosovo's accession to the EU.

I would like to remind you that, while we in this Parliament are discussing the enlargement of the EU, there are five European countries that have not yet recognised Kosovo as a new independent state. One of these countries is Spain. I would like to call on all the European institutions to maintain pressure on Spain to recognise Kosovo's independence. The EU cannot accept this incredible democratic deficit within its membership.

I also welcome the fact that Montenegro is making steps towards European integration after its independence in 2006. I thank the European Union for being always respectful towards freedom and democracy.

3-088-000

**Inês Cristina Zuber (GUE/NGL).** - Senhor Presidente, sempre o referimos e a realidade demonstra-o. A declaração unilateral de independência da província sérvia do Kosovo foi um acontecimento de extrema gravidade e um perigoso precedente no plano do direito internacional, com imprevisíveis consequências na estabilidade das fronteiras, nomeadamente no continente europeu.

Tratou-se de uma flagrante violação da Carta das Nações Unidas e da Ata de Helsínquia e de uma decisão ilegal à luz dos principais princípios do direito internacional.

A realidade tem vindo a demonstrar que a criação artificial de um pseudo-estado sob soberania vigiada, seja lá o que isso for, foi tudo menos soberana. Tratou-se, isso sim, de um protetorado criado e imposto através da agressão e ocupação militar pelos Estados Unidos da América, pela NATO e pela União Europeia que se mantêm através da KFOR, esta secundarizada pela missão EULEX da União Europeia.

A declaração unilateral de independência do Kosovo pretendeu apenas perpetuar, através da política do facto consumado, o domínio político, económico e militar dessa importantíssima região da Europa por parte dos Estados Unidos e das grandes potências da União Europeia.

3-089-000

**Jaroslav Paška (EFD).** - Rešpektujem stanovisko Európskej rady, ktorá v roku 2003 prisľúbila všetkým krajinám západného Balkánu, že sa budú môcť stať členmi Európskej únie. Naplnenie tohto sľubu voči súčasnej administratíve Hašima Tačiho sa mi však javí ako výsmech princípom ľudskosti a spravodlivosti, na ktorých budujeme spolužitie národov v Únii. Správa parlamentného zhromaždenia Rady Európy totiž poukázala na ťažké zločiny páchané drenickou skupinou najmä voči srbským, ale i nepohodlným albánskym obyvateľom tejto provincie. Stále pokračujúce zastrašovanie a vraždy svedkov týchto zločinov dokazujú, že práca misie Európskej únie pre právny štát v Kosove je nedostatočná a misia nedokáže v mafiou prerastenom prostredí dokonale objektívne dokumentovať zločiny oslobodeneckej armády Kosova. Som presvedčený o tom, že pokiaľ nebudú dôsledne vyšetrené všetky obvinenia vznesené Radou Európy, nemáme právo legitimizovať spoločnými rokovaniami režim vedený osobami vyšetrovanými zo závažných zločinov.

3-090-000

**Agustín Díaz de Mera García Consuegra (PPE).** - Señor Presidente, yo fui y soy solidario con Kosovo. En la época de Milosevic estuve en los campos de refugiados de Kukes, en Elbasan, en Stankovic, etc. En mi propia ciudad acogí a muchos miembros del UCK en términos solidarios.

Pero hoy, señor Presidente, en Kosovo hay problemas de corrupción, de control de los medios de comunicación social, de delincuencia organizada, de administración mejorable. Hoy Kosovo, a mi juicio, señor Presidente, no reúne ninguna de las condiciones necesarias ni para estar en la Unión Europea ni para ser un Estado independiente.

3-091-000

**Csaba Sógor (PPE).** - Míg a 90-es években a koszovói albánok autonómiaköveteléseiőről hallhattunk, mára Koszovó az EU-tagállamok többség által elismert, független állammá vált. A kettő között azonban nem volt zökkenőmentes az út, véres harcok és rengeteg áldozat, továbbá két, gazdaságilag is elvesztegetett évtized kellett hozzá. Amikor a szerb vezetés elvetette Koszovó autonómiáját, talán nem sejtette, hogy az elszakadáshoz vezető első lépést tette meg. Amikor pedig a nemzetközi közösség nem vette komolyan a Rugova vezette békés tiltakozásokat, talán nem sejtette, hogy hozzájárul az erőszak, a fegyveres harc kialakulásához. Az etnikailag vegyes lakosságú térségekben, a Nyugat-Balkán pedig ilyen, a különböző őshonos nemzeti kisebbségi közösségek önigazgatásának lehetővé tétele a társadalmi béke elsődleges feltétele. Erre tanít minket Koszovó nem is olyan távoli történelme. Az Uniónak oda kell figyelnie a nemzeti kisebbségek hangjára, jobban, mint eddig tette.

3-092-000

**Izaskun Bilbao Barandica (ALDE).** - Señor Presidente, España no reconoce el Estado de Kosovo ni apoya su progresiva integración en la Unión, olvidando que, el pasado 22 de julio de 2010, la Corte Internacional de Justicia consideró que su declaración de independencia no había violado el Derecho internacional.



Kosovo era un Estado antes de que las tropas serbias lo conquistasen en 1912 y ha sido una de las áreas de la antigua Yugoslavia más castigadas por el genocida Milosevic. Solo por respeto a la legalidad internacional, por solidaridad con las víctimas del colonialismo serbio y por el reconocimiento al pacifismo de Rugova, debería cambiar esta posición.

Considero que, tras ella, solo hay miedo a reconocer que en su propio seno tiene también naciones cuyos habitantes aspiran legítimamente a otro estatus. España debe entender que, en el siglo XXI, la voluntad ciudadana, libre y democráticamente expresada, es el verdadero fundamento de la soberanía y, en este sentido, señor Comisario, ¿cuál es su opinión al respecto, después de todos los esfuerzos que está realizando para la integración de Kosovo?

3-093-000

(*Koniec procedury pytań z sali*)

3-094-000

**Štefan Füle**, *Member of the Commission*. – Mr President, I am grateful for this opportunity to exchange views with you today on the European Union's commitment to Kosovo. I am also grateful for your encouragement and support for the Commission's initiatives to bring Kosovo closer to Europe and for our work on the feasibility study for Kosovo in particular.

Over the next couple of months we will prepare an in-depth analysis of Kosovo's preparedness to negotiate and conclude a Stabilisation and Association Agreement with the European Union. Such an agreement would confirm Kosovo's joining the rest of the Western Balkans in their shared endeavour to one day share and be part of our zone of stability, security and prosperity.

My visit to Kosovo this week marked the start of a new phase, one of hard work and serious reform. Turning from words to a process based on substance and content is the right way to address the many challenges the people of Kosovo face. The Commission will be ready to support Kosovo in this. Kosovo's recent agreement on regional cooperation with Serbia, despite its teething problems, should help the European Union to engage more deeply.

I ask for your continued support in passing this message on and strengthening engagement with Kosovo's Parliament. Let us work together towards this common objective of bringing Kosovo and the region closer to Europe and helping to bring lasting security and prosperity to the Western Balkans.

3-095-000

**Nicolai Wammen**, *formand for Rådet*. – Hr. formand, ærede medlemmer, hr. kommissær! Jeg takker for den diskussion, der har været her i Parlamentet i dag om Kosovos EU-perspektiv. Særligt vil jeg gerne takke Ulrike Lunacek for hendes stærke engagement i Kosovo og Kosovos EU-integrationsproces. EU har utvetydigt forpligtet sig i forbindelse med det europæiske perspektiv for Kosovo, og EU vil forsætte med at støtte Kosovo ved hjælp af sin stærke tilstedeværelse, bl.a. via EULEX, men det primære ansvar for fremdrift ligger naturligvis hos Kosovos ledere.

Kosovo står over for store udfordringer, og meget er blevet nået på få år. Vi må dog også erkende, at nogle helt særlige forhold gør sig gældende for et så ungt land. Kosovo har gjort gode fremskridt i etableringen af en større offentlig infrastruktur, som vil gøre det lettere at iværksætte de nødvendige reformer; men vejen mod EU vil være et langt sejt træk baseret på hårdt arbejde og egne meritter. Kroatiens optagelse i EU og senest tildelingen af

kandidatstatus til Serbien viser imidlertid, at EU-tilnærmelsen for de lande, der laver deres hjemmearbejde, i allerhøjeste grad er en mulighed. Det vil også være en kilde til motivation for de øvrige lande på det vestlige Balkan, herunder også Kosovo.

Under dagens drøftelser har vi været inde på en række områder, hvor reformer er påkrævede. Lad mig bare nævne nogle helt centrale problemstillinger: Jeg deler bekymringen over det begrænsede fremskridt, som Kosovo generelt har gjort, når det gælder de politiske kriterier, og ikke mindst de begrænsede fremskridt på området bekæmpelse af korruption.

Korruption er et meget alvorligt problem i Kosovo, og opfølgningen på korruptionssager kunne være bedre, for kun et begrænset antal sager på højt niveau har resulteret i retsforfølgelse. Her bør der gøres en ekstra indsats fremover fra de kosovarske myndigheders side.

Det er også afgørende, at der tages yderligere skridt til at bekæmpe den organiserede kriminalitet. Der skal vedtages mere lovgivning inden for dette område, og lovgivningen skal implementeres effektivt. Og så er det vigtigt, at disse tiltag gennemføres i samarbejde med nabolandene, da organiseret kriminalitet ikke respekterer landegrænser. I det hele taget er der et påfaldende behov for reform og udbygning af retssystemet i Kosovo, og det er et område, som EU støtter aktivt.

Med hensyn til økonomien er der et meget stort behov for at gennemføre strukturelle reformer, der kan fremme Kosovos udvikling hen mod en velfungerende markedsøkonomi. Her er der stadigvæk lang vej endnu.

Udfordringerne er med andre ord store, men EU har en særskilt forpligtigelse til at støtte Europas yngste stat, så den gennem yderligere reformer kan tage de nødvendige skridt på vejen mod yderligere EU-tilnærmelse. Den kosovarske ledelse er opmærksom på dette og ønsker at gøre en ekstra indsats for at leve op til forventningerne, og regeringen i Pristina har gennem den EU-faciliterede dialog med Beograd vist, at den er rede til at arbejde pragmatisk for at opnå løsninger også i vanskelige spørgsmål.

Det er vigtigt, at denne kurs fortsættes, og i den forbindelse er det min forhåbning, at regeringen i Pristina vil gå pragmatisk til værks og forny bestræbelserne på at iværksætte en inklusiv og langsigtet dagsorden for det nordlige Kosovos fremtid. Det danske formandskab ser i den forbindelse frem til et fortsat tæt samarbejde med Parlamentet og med Kommissionen.

3-096-000

## **PRESIDENZA DELL'ON. ROBERTA ANGELILLI**

*Vicepresidente*

3-097-000

**Presidente.** – Comunico di aver ricevuto una proposta di risoluzione <sup>(2)</sup> a conclusione della discussione (articolo 110,2 del regolamento).

La discussione è chiusa.

La votazione si svolgerà giovedì 29 marzo 2012.

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(2) vedasi processo verbale

## 18. Relazione sull'allargamento alla Turchia (discussione)

3-099-000

**Presidente.** – L'ordine del giorno reca le dichiarazioni del Consiglio e della Commissione sulla relazione sull'allargamento alla Turchia.

3-100-000

**Nicolai Wammen,** *President-in-Office of the Council.* – Madam President, on behalf of the Danish Presidency, I would like to thank Parliament, and in particular Mrs Ria Oomen-Ruijten for her work. The motion for a resolution highlights a number of significant issues and concerns, and comes at an important point in EU-Turkey relations.

Turkey is more to Europe than a candidate country. It is also an essential strategic ally, playing a key regional role. As such, it has a privileged relationship with a number of crucial actors in the region. Turkey is also an important and growing economic player. Turkey and the EU have an obvious mutual interest in upholding strong ties with each other. Only in this way can we contribute to containing and overcoming tensions in our neighbouring regions.

The EU-Turkey relationship is a close one and goes back several decades. This clearly not only illustrates our many shared interests; it also demonstrates the power of the enlargement process to give impetus to political and economic reform in Turkey.

We can all see that the accession negotiations are not advancing as quickly as we would like. However, if the opportunity for progress in negotiations arises, the Danish Presidency stands ready to seize it. We will do our utmost to facilitate progress, but needless to say, this will require additional significant efforts from the Turkish side.

We will also act in support of the Commission's positive agenda. We must not lose sight of Turkey's and the EU's mutual interest in deepening our relations, in spite of the challenges encountered in the formal accession talks. It is clear that the positive agenda should be a complement to the negotiations and not a substitute for them. As stated by the Council last December, Turkey's contribution to the EU will only be fully effective in the context of an actual negotiation process that makes progress. Work on the actual content of this agenda is still at an early stage, but we are following and supporting developments with great interest.

As far as the reforms in Turkey are concerned, I will begin with a few words about constitutional reform. Preparing a new constitution is now well under way. The process is an opportunity to address a number of important issues. It has to take place in a broad and inclusive way, and in a spirit of constructiveness and compromise. We very much welcome initial steps towards ensuring this. Much of the work on this key reform is of direct relevance for the enlargement negotiations with Turkey.

While constitutional reform is important, further progress by Turkey in other areas is required. As noted both in your resolution and in the Council conclusions of December, some very important issues have to be addressed. However, further progress is needed on issues such as fundamental rights and freedoms. I would especially like to highlight freedom of expression. We have witnessed a large number of cases brought against writers and journalists, and although there have been some positive developments, such as the recent

liberation from prison of four journalists, the high number of cases against writers and journalists raises serious concerns, which need to be addressed.

Let me now turn to the one unresolved issue which has a direct bearing on both the negotiations and, more widely, on EU-Turkey relations. The Council notes with deep regret that Turkey – despite our repeated calls – has so far failed to fulfil its obligation under the Additional Protocol to the Association Agreement. The EU position on this has not changed, and in the absence of progress in the full non-discriminatory implementation of the Protocol, the EU will maintain its measures from 2006, which will continue to affect overall progress in the negotiations. We also continue to expect Turkey to make progress towards normalising its relations with the Republic of Cyprus without further delay.

I would like to recall that the Council has regretted statements by Turkey threatening to freeze relations with the EU Presidency during the second half of this year. The rotating presidency is a fundamental institutional feature of the EU provided for in the EU Treaty and must be fully respected – a position which I know is also included in your resolution.

In conclusion, the aim of the Presidency is to do our utmost to facilitate progress in the enlargement negotiations, to promote political and economic reform in Turkey and to strengthen the relationship between the EU and Turkey. This is a task that we can only realise with the support and cooperation of the Member States, the Commission, and not least this Parliament.

Let me also, on behalf of the Danish Presidency and the Member States, thank this Parliament, and in particular your rapporteur Ria Oomen-Ruijten, for your work on this issue. Your continued commitment to enlargement is vital to its success, as is your particular role in promoting popular support in the EU for this cause.

The resolution on Turkey and its endorsement in the plenary is indeed a forceful political and strategic message. I also believe that, in contacts with fellow parliamentarians from the Turkish Parliament, this House will be able to make an important and much-appreciated contribution to enhancing understanding of the EU, the values that we share and the way we work.

3-101-000

**Štefan Füle**, *Member of the Commission* . – Madam President, I would like to thank the Parliament, and in particular, and with special appreciation, Mrs Oomen-Ruijten for her good and balanced report on Turkey. This debate and your resolution come at an important time for European Union-Turkey relations, and the draft resolution underlines a number of issues of great importance for the Commission.

Last Friday the High Representative and Vice-President of the Commission Cathy Ashton and I met ministers Davutoğlu and Bağış and we had a very positive and open political dialogue. Once again, I realised that we have much more in common at strategic level than there are differences. We discussed our ever closer foreign-policy dialogue and progress related to the political criteria and agreed in particular to work concretely and constructively to make the positive agenda a reality.

The positive agenda is there to provide a realistic and feasible way of injecting new life into EU-Turkey relations in general, and into the accession process in particular, and I wish to thank you for your support as expressed in the resolution we are discussing today. Let me

emphasise once again that this agenda exists to complement and not to replace the accession process.

The positive agenda means renewed efforts in a number of key areas, including support for political reforms in Turkey, such as the alignment with our acquis, a closer cooperation on visas and migration and a closer dialogue on foreign policy. All are highlighted in your resolution.

I am happy to tell you that since the Member States endorsed the positive agenda last December we have made very good progress in putting it into practice.

The Commission and Turkey have agreed to work on eight chapters, including the chapters on company law, on the information society and the media, on the judiciary and fundamental rights and on justice, freedom and security. We have also agreed to work on bringing the relevant Turkish legislation closer into line with the EU acquis.

Working groups will be set up for each chapter in May/June. The Commission services will use kick-off meetings to update the Turkish authorities on all developments regarding the acquis. And we will of course involve stakeholders, as appropriate, at further stages of the process.

Work continues also in other areas of the positive agenda. As regards energy for instance, Turkey and the Commission have agreed to set up a joint working group, which will develop a road map by May to identify concrete actions for intensified cooperation.

Turning now briefly to some recent developments in Turkey which are also reflected in the resolution: I have welcomed the overall consensus on the need for a new constitution – which emerged after the general elections last June.

The specific work launched by the Turkish Parliament to bring this process forward, including constructive collaboration between the four main political parties, has started. Obviously, the real test will come with the first discussions on the substance. Consensus through a democratic, participatory process with the broadest possible consultation is essential if this new constitution is to serve all Turkish citizens.

Let me in this context also refer explicitly to the conclusions of the most recent meeting of the reform monitoring group, held in Istanbul on 16 March. These conclusions list a large number of political reforms already underway or planned for the near future by the Turkish Government. I would like to single out the intention to table a fourth judicial reform package which envisages further reforms in the area of freedom of expression and the media. We hope that this package will address the outstanding core concern as regards freedom of expression and the right to a fair trial. These issues are rightly highlighted as persistent concerns in the resolution you intend to adopt later. We hope that our cooperation with Turkey on these issues, notably as part of the positive agenda, will bring badly needed improvements in legislation and practice.

We will report in the 2012 Progress Reports on developments in trials and in investigations of alleged criminal networks, as we have done over the past years and as expressly requested in your resolution.

Let me in closing take this opportunity to raise the concerns increasingly being voiced by civil society in Turkey as regards recent developments relating to freedom of expression. Freedom of expression is intimately linked to political debate in a country, and thus to the quality and maturity of a democracy. In a mature democracy, the majority respects and

protects the views of minorities and their rights. In a mature democracy, dissenting voices are not ridiculed or pushed into self-censorship, but valued for their contribution to the democratic fabric of society. In the words of Voltaire: we can disapprove of what someone says, but we need to defend to the death his or her right to say it. If this right is not defended, democracy inevitably withers.

The resolution of this House gives a fair assessment of the important challenges that Turkey is taking on in the area of the judiciary and fundamental rights. Only a mature domestic political debate, with full respect for dissenting voices, will ensure that these reforms deliver the democratic standards and practices the citizens of Turkey expect. Expect and deserve.

3-102-000

**Ria Oomen-Ruijten**, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Madam President, first of all I would like to thank Mr Wammen and also Commissioner Füle, for the warm words of support for the resolution. We have such a balanced resolution because we all worked on it together, so my thanks also to all the shadow rapporteurs.

We want to convey in this resolution the message of interdependence between the EU and Turkey. Turkey is a key country for the security and prosperity of the European Union. Turkey has enormous potential for economic growth and it has a strategic role as a corridor for the European Union's energy supply. Complemented by the value of potential synergies between the EU and Turkey, the foreign policy and security policy can do a lot for us both.

I believe, however, that interdependence can only produce positive results when it is framed in a context of mutual commitment.

This requires efforts from both sides. For Turkey, this means concrete results in the reform process and also an improvement in bilateral relations with its neighbours. From the EU and its Member States, I expect renewed efforts to create the conditions for the opening of chapters. I fully support Mr Füle's new positive agenda for EU-Turkey relations. It was initiated by him and we support it. We must now increase our cooperation through that, but that also means we must have more coordination in areas like foreign policy and the fight against terrorism. There is much to gain for both of us.

This resolution expresses our concern about freedoms: the deterioration of press freedom and freedom of expression in Turkey. I have just met Mr Ahmet Şık who was released from prison just this week. He came here to visit us in Parliament. In Turkey pre-trial detention lasts too long, legislation on terrorism is too wide-sweeping and these sorts of things do not fit in with a country which should have independent and all-over impartial justice. The long pre-detention happening now is, *de facto*, a punishment. So I ask my colleagues to look into that.

Turning to bilateral relations: bilateral relations continue to affect deeply the negotiation process. I call on the government to do something, to come up with positive steps.

We have not just reported on negative elements in this resolution. We have also highlighted positive developments and I would like to stress once again that we fully support the Parliament of Turkey in its obligation to draw up a new constitution with checks and balances which are important for a modern and prosperous Turkey.

3-103-000

**Raimon Obiols**, *en nombre del Grupo S&D*. – Señora Presidenta, nuestro Grupo cree que esta propuesta de resolución es clara y es equilibrada. Se aprobó por amplia mayoría en comisión y esto es un buen signo. Se ha hecho un buen trabajo partiendo de un buen borrador de nuestra colega Ria Oomen-Ruijten, y creo que todo ello es muy positivo. Es una contribución del Parlamento a la mejora y al impulso de la relación entre la Unión Europea y Turquía.

Sin embargo, esto no debe ser óbice para indicar que se produce en un contexto en el que no ha habido avances sustanciales en el proceso de negociación para la adhesión de Turquía a la Unión Europea, y ello en una situación de grandes cambios en el Mediterráneo y de grandes cambios en Oriente Próximo.

En este contexto, el desarrollo del programa positivo que propuso el Comisario Füle, no como sustitución del proceso de negociación pero sí para el impulso y la mejora de las relaciones bilaterales, merece nuestro apoyo más decidido.

En resumen, este informe tiene una característica positiva de apoyo a la mejora de la situación, pero también cumple con nuestra obligación de señalar aquellos aspectos negativos que se producen, tanto en la relación con el país como en su situación.

Hace hincapié en el programa positivo, pide la apertura de nuevos capítulos de la negociación, se mantiene firme por lo que respecta a la defensa de la libertad de expresión y la pluralidad de los medios, manifiesta su preocupación por la utilización abusiva de la legislación antiterrorista y la detención de periodistas, políticos y activistas. Creo, en definitiva, que puede contribuir a que el próximo período sea positivo para las relaciones entre la Unión y Turquía.

Acabo felicitando a la ponente, porque creo que ha hecho un buen trabajo.

3-104-000

**Andrew Duff**, *on behalf of the ALDE Group*. – *(microphone off)* ... strongly supports the report, and I agree that it is possible to be positive – but it is impossible to be optimistic. Turkey seems distracted by the other pressing priorities that it faces. Europe is clearly not ready to move forward the accession process, and the central problem is Cyprus. Because Cyprus is shortly to assume the Council Presidency, I think it is appropriate for us to spotlight that problem.

Nothing could be more intelligent and strategic than for the Cypriot Presidency to call the bluff of Turkey and to open Chapters 23 and 24 on rights and justice. Such a move would not be about power and pride and prejudice but about the people – about Greeks and Turks, Christian and Muslims – who could then look forward to a period of reconciliation in which they could live together in freedom, security and justice. I strongly insist that the Cypriot Presidency of the Council should be made aware of its responsibilities.

3-105-000

**Hélène Flautre**, *au nom du groupe Verts/ALE*. – Madame la Présidente, je me félicite vraiment de ce rapport et je félicite par la même occasion sa rapporteure, Mme Oomen-Ruijten, qui a fait un travail extrêmement inclusif. Je considère que ce rapport est, tout ensemble, un appel et un soutien aux réformes démocratiques et à la protection des libertés fondamentales en Turquie. Je crois que les messages qu'il adresse sont extrêmement

clairs et précis et qu'ils s'adressent bien entendu aux autorités, mais aussi à l'ensemble des acteurs dans le champ politique et des acteurs de la société civile pour qu'ils s'engagent plus avant dans l'approfondissement de l'État démocratique en Turquie.

Le rapport ne manque pas de faire part de nos vives inquiétudes par rapport à la façon dont la loi contre le terrorisme est appliquée, menaçant directement le droit à l'expression, à l'opinion, à la manifestation, à la liberté de la presse et nous demandons un changement de cette loi, notamment de ses articles 6 et 7. Nous soutenons aussi et demandons une réforme approfondie du système judiciaire: il faut absolument que les citoyens – tous les citoyens en Turquie – puissent faire confiance à un système judiciaire efficace, impartial, indépendant et nous soutenons toutes les réformes qui iront dans cette direction.

Nous abordons également la question kurde et disons clairement que l'éducation dans la langue maternelle serait une proposition tout à fait adéquate pour répondre de manière politique à la question kurde et pas seulement de manière sécuritaire. Je crois que ces messages forts sont d'autant plus crédibles que nous ne mégotons pas non plus quant aux demandes à l'endroit du Conseil, notamment pour obtenir une vraie cohérence et pour que, finalement, l'Union européenne puisse retrouver sa capacité de référence pour les réformes en Turquie, et sa capacité de levier pour les promouvoir. Nous demandons que toutes les mesures soient prises en vue d'ouvrir les chapitres 23 et 24. Pour les visas également, la demande est claire: il nous faut une feuille de route pour la libéralisation des visas, car cette situation d'un pays en voie d'adhésion à l'Union européenne est tout à fait unique, et donc tout à fait discriminatoire.

Ces messages essentiels, nous voulons qu'ils soient entendus en Turquie et je ne voudrais pas que l'audience de cet excellent rapport et son importance au regard de la situation actuelle en Turquie soient amoindries ou détournées par des énoncés qui sont contestables. Que vient faire dans ce texte la référence à l'intégrité séculaire de l'armée? Nous nous félicitons de l'immense travail qui a été accompli en Turquie depuis plusieurs années pour faire en sorte que l'armée retrouve sa place, sous le contrôle du pouvoir civil, et pour que les dépenses militaires soient contrôlables par la Cour des comptes. Que vient faire cette référence à l'intégrité séculaire d'une armée qui sert l'OTAN depuis 1952, qui est une de ses plus grandes armées et dont on voudrait conditionner la présence, au sein de l'OTAN, à cette intégrité séculaire? Nous savons ce que c'est que l'armée d'un État séculier et laïque. C'est ce que nous souhaitons pour la Turquie et je crois que nous devons ensemble effacer ces mots.

Pour ce qui est du procès Ergenekon – et j'en termine –, il n'est pas sérieux de jeter le doute sur tous les cas du procès Ergenekon, parce que nous le savons – et la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme l'a redit, en décembre, dans un arrêt –, il y a des cas totalement fondés pour lesquels les arrestations pour accusations de crimes ou d'actes criminels sont considérées comme fondées par la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme. Nous ne pouvons pas nous permettre de jeter la suspicion et de disqualifier tous les cas impliqués dans le procès Ergenekon. Voilà mon avis: si nous enlevons ces deux références, nous aurons une audience maximale – et c'est très important – en Turquie, dans toute la société, dans toutes les composantes de son champ politique et social.

*(Applaudissements)*



3-106-000

**Geoffrey Van Orden**, *on behalf of the ECR Group* . – Madam President, first of all can I join in the congratulations to Ria Oomen-Ruijten. It is a good report. Of course there are many aspects of the report which we might have liked to see worded in a rather different way and I appreciate that there are strong feelings on the subject of Turkey on all sides of the House.

For my part, I have always been supportive of Turkish aspirations towards the European Union and I am particularly appreciative of Turkey's role as a key ally over the years. But I have to ask, is the European Union being helpful enough? Is it sending a really positive message to Turkey? In particular, we see consistent obstruction from certain rather obvious quarters regarding Turkey's European aspirations and status. This is unrealistic, it is unjust and it prevents progress. We make demands of Turkey but we should reciprocate with movement in Turkey's direction. For example, Cyprus, which my good friend and colleague Mr Duff has mentioned: this should not feature in Turkey's accession but we all know that it is in fact a factor. There are constant demands for Turkey to make unilateral concessions and in return she gets nothing.

The EU is supposed to have ended the isolation of Northern Cyprus. Whatever happened to that? By all means call for reductions in Turkish troop numbers in the north of Cyprus and for agreement to the Additional Protocol, but match this with opening trade through the ports and airports in Northern Cyprus. I have to say that the assumption of the EU Presidency by the Republic of Cyprus in the second half of this year would present a great opportunity for progress if there was real courage. If there is a genuine desire to reunite the island of Cyprus then the Turkish Cypriots need to feel they are actually welcome and respected in the island that they share.

I have to say we regret that some unhelpful amendments have been tabled to the resolution, but overall the resolution is balanced and reasonable and the ECR Group will support it.

*(The speaker agreed to take four blue-card questions under Rule 149(8))*

3-107-000

**William (The Earl of) Dartmouth (EFD)**, *blue-card question* . – Madam President, Mr Van Orden used the phrase 'Turkey is a key ally'. Do you accept that a country can be a key ally without political union, Mr Van Orden?

3-108-000

**Geoffrey Van Orden (ECR)**, *blue-card answer* . – Madam President, as my good friend and colleague knows full well, I am not overly enthusiastic about many aspects of the European Union, in particular political integration. But the fact is that Turkey does have an aspiration towards joining the European Union and I think Turkey's strategic position is a very important one. Turkey has been an excellent ally for many years and we therefore need to meet her aspirations in a positive way. I have always said that, if we send negative signals to Turkey, we should not be surprised if she starts heading off in a rather different direction. Once or twice, in recent months and years, there have been one or two little indications that maybe there were feelers going out in different directions. We have to be very careful about that.

So I would say that of course Turkey can be a good ally without being in the Union, because that is the situation at the moment. But we need to meet Turkey's aspirations, and what

she wishes is accession to the European Union. But I hope that by the time that happens – which I hope will not be too many decades distant – we will be talking about a very different European Union to the one that we have now, and a European Union that is heading in a rather different direction to the one that it is heading in at the moment.

3-109-000

**Bernd Posselt (PPE)**, *Frage nach dem Verfahren der blauen Karte* . – Frau Präsidentin! Herr Van Orden, Sie wissen, dass ich ein vehementer Gegner eines türkischen EU-Beitritts bin, und Sie haben mir einmal das, was Sie auch jetzt gesagt haben, darauf geantwortet: Wenn die Türkei beitrifft, wird die EU eine ganz andere werden. Was meinen Sie damit? Wie wird die EU dann?

3-110-000

**Geoffrey Van Orden (ECR)**, *blue-card answer* . – Mr Posselt, I am delighted that you have asked that because there are certain Members who ascribe mischievous intentions to my support for Turkey. I would have to say that the whole question of the impact of Turkey on the European Union is not one of the major factors as to why we should be supporting European Union accession by Turkey. It is true that the European Union would inevitably be very different with a country like Turkey as a member. But, as I say, I hope that, by the time that comes about, the European Union will be very different to what it is today.

The European Union needs to get away from this course of insistence and obsession with political integration. What we need is a European Union of overlapping circles of engagement where, if there are those that want to push forward with intense integration, by all means let them. But others, including perhaps my own country, could be part of that Union without having to be intimately involved in that particular movement. So I hope it will be a very different European Union when Turkey joins and that Turkey will help that process.

3-111-000

**Κυριάκος Μαυρονικόλας (S&D)**, *ερώτηση "γαλάζια κάρτα"* . – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, η έκθεση αναφέρεται στην Τουρκία και όχι στην Κύπρο. Θα ήθελα δε, ο κύριος Van Orden, που παρουσιάζεται ως γνώστης του κυπριακού προβλήματος, να παρουσιάσει την άποψή του για την παρουσία 700.000 εποίκων στην κατεχόμενη Κύπρο και την προσπάθεια που γίνεται από την Τουρκία να "τουρκοποιήσει" τα κατεχόμενα.

3-112-000

**Geoffrey Van Orden (ECR)**, *blue-card answer* . – Madam President, I have rather missed the point because actually there are significant references to Cyprus in a number of paragraphs of the resolution. Mr Mavronikolas, clearly you have not read it very carefully. I would ask you to read it carefully because it is very important that we get it right. There are references to Cyprus and indeed there are references to the Additional Protocol. But on the other hand it is saying that we should open ports as well. That is why I say it is a balanced resolution. There are many references to Cyprus in the resolution and I commend it to your reading.

3-113-000

**Αντιγόνη Παπαδοπούλου (S&D)**, ερώτηση "γαλάζια κάρτα". – Κύριε Van Orden έχετε πει ότι οι γνωστοί-ύποπτοι παρεμποδίζουν την ενταξιακή πορεία της Τουρκίας. Ποιοί είναι οι γνωστοί-ύποπτοι; Η χώρα μου, η Κύπρος, δεν έχει βάλει βέτο στην ενταξιακή πορεία. Ποιοί είναι οι άλλοι ύποπτοι; Μπορείτε να τους κατονομάσετε;

Και η δεύτερη ερώτηση: η Τουρκία, λέτε, κάνει μονομερείς υποχωρήσεις. Ποιες μονομερείς υποχωρήσεις έχει κάνει έναντι της Κύπρου αφού δεν την αναγνωρίζει;

3-114-000

**Geoffrey Van Orden (ECR)**, *blue-card answer*. – When I spoke I was trying to be polite, without referring to particular countries, but I seem to recall that in April 2004 the European Union agreed that the isolation of Northern Cyprus should be ended. A few weeks later the Republic of Cyprus joined the European Union and suddenly all that went off the agenda. I do not know whether this was coincidental. I sometimes get the impression that some of my very good friends and colleagues from Greece and the Republic of Cyprus are not as helpful as they might be.

When we talk about unilateral concessions, all the time we are making demands of Turkey, but it takes two to tango you know, and we have got to see some movement on the other side. Turkish friends say to me 'when we make concessions, we never get anything in return' or 'when we offer to make concessions, we never get anything offered in return'. So I would say: open up Northern Cyprus, free the ports there, give them international access and then some of these other things might start flowing into place.

3-115-000

**Richard Howitt (S&D)**. - Madam President, I wonder if you could ensure the smooth functioning of Parliament and the proper allocation of political priorities at the next part-session by allocating on the agenda a full 60 minutes of Question Time with Mr Van Orden because I enjoyed that last session so greatly.

3-116-000

**Geoffrey Van Orden (ECR)**. - (*microphone off*) ... support from a colleague in my own region of the United Kingdom, albeit from another political party. Thank you, Richard.

3-117-000

**Τάκης Χατζηγεωργίου**, *εξ ονόματος της ομάδας GUE/NGL*. – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, είναι αλήθεια ότι η συζήτηση που προηγήθηκε με παρακινεί και εμένα ν' αλλάξω λίγο τα κείμενά μου και ν' αναφερθώ στη μεγάλη λύπη του κ. Van Orden για την απομόνωση των τουρκοκυπρίων. Θα ήθελα να του πω ότι οι αγώνες οι δικοί μου για τους τουρκοκύπριους ξεπερνούν κατά δεκάδες χιλιάδες φορές τους αγώνες του ίδιου για τους τουρκοκύπριους, και ότι η απομόνωση τους, η οποία υπάρχει, οφείλεται στο γεγονός ότι εκεί βρίσκονται 40 χιλιάδες τούρκοι στρατιώτες, οι οποίοι κατέχουν αυτό το κομμάτι της Κύπρου και οι οποίοι επιβάλλουν, μόνο δια της παρουσίας, τους τη θέλησή τους στον τουρκοκυπριακό πληθυσμό.

Τούτο δεν θέλει πολύ νου για να το κατανοήσει κανείς: σαράντα χιλιάδες στρατιώτες ανάμεσα σε 100.000 τουρκοκύπριους σημαίνει ένας στρατιώτης έξω από κάθε σπίτι. Σκεφτείτε το λίγο: είναι δυνατόν να στέκει αυτό το πράγμα; Εμείς είμαστε υπέρ της άρσης της απομόνωσης των τουρκοκυπρίων η οποία οφείλεται στην τουρκική κατοχή.

Εάν ερχόσασταν σήμερα το πρωί κ. Van Orden, στην ακρόαση που οργάνωσε η Ομάδα της Αριστεράς, όπου δεκάδες τουρκοκύπριοι ήταν εκεί και εκπροσωπούσαν μεγάλες συνδικαλιστικές οργανώσεις και τουρκοκυπριακά κόμματα, θα ακούγατε την κραυγή αγωνίας των τουρκοκυπρίων για το ότι σήμερα είναι 100.000 ανάμεσα σε άλλες 500.000 τούρκους. Πως είναι δυνατόν αυτή η κοινότητα να έχει αυτόβουλη πίστη και θέληση για την εξέλιξη των πραγμάτων στην Κύπρο; Δεν νομίζω ότι χρειάζονται πολλά επιχειρήματα για να κατανοήσει κανείς ότι η τουρκοκυπριακή κοινότητα είναι δέσμια της κατοχής, πολύ περισσότερο δέσμια, αν θέλετε, απ' ό,τι είναι η ελληνοκυπριακή κοινότητα.

Έρχομαι τώρα στην έκθεση για την οποία - χωρίς καμιά αμφιβολία - δούλεψε πάρα πολύ η κ. Oomen-Ruijten. Όμως, τελικά δεν είναι δυνατόν παρά να διαπιστώσουμε ότι πρόκειται για μια άσκηση πολιτικής ισορροπιών που δεν υπογραμμίζει εν τέλει, παρά μόνο τις πραγματικότητες που υπάρχουν μέσα στο Κοινοβούλιο. Δεν μπορεί να μένουμε στα ευχολόγια για τα προβλήματα που έχει ο κουρδικός πληθυσμός της Τουρκίας, ήτοι δέκα εκατομμύρια άνθρωποι. Γιατί δεν δίνει η Τουρκία αυτά τα δικαιώματα που αναζητάτε για τους τουρκοκύπριους (και εγώ πρώτος τ' αναζητώ) και στους κούρδους, κ. Van Orden; Γιατί δεν τα εφαρμόζει για τον πληθυσμό της; Και σας έπιασε το δάκρυ και το κλάμα για το γεγονός ότι παραβιάζονται τα δικαιώματα των τουρκοκυπρίων - και πολύ καλά κάνετε - αλλά τούτο οφείλεται στο ότι η Τουρκία δεν είναι έτοιμη να δείξει αυτή τη θέληση. Η άρνηση της Τουρκίας να έχει επαφές με την προεδρεύουσα χώρα που θα είναι σε μερικούς μήνες η Κυπριακή Δημοκρατία δεν προσβάλλει μόνο την Κύπρο, αλλά προσβάλλει και εμάς, τους θεσμούς μας, την ίδια Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση, τους τρόπους λειτουργίας της.

Θέλω να κλείσω λέγοντας ότι εμείς είμαστε υπέρ της ένταξης της Τουρκίας, το αποδείξαμε δίνοντας την ψήφο μας για την έναρξη διαπραγματεύσεων όσον αφορά την ένταξη της Τουρκίας. Ήταν μια πολύ κρίσιμη στιγμή και η Κύπρος έχει δώσει αυτό το πράσινο φως. Όμως, η Τουρκία πρέπει να υλοποιήσει τις δεσμεύσεις της όπως κάθε άλλη χώρα.

(Ο ομιλητής δέχεται να απαντήσει σε ερώτηση με γαλάζια κάρτα (άρθρο 149, παράγραφος 8 του Κανονισμού)

3-118-000

**Andrew Duff (ALDE), blue-card question.** – Madam President, can I ask my good colleague Takis Hadjigeorgiou, who is from the AKEL Party, which is at the centre of the Cypriot Government, what he expects of the Presidency of the Council. Does he agree that it is the duty of the Presidency of the Council to project the values and principles of the European Union and to complete that process of integration which is at present, so sadly, not applicable to the island of Cyprus?

3-119-000

**Τάκης Χατζηγεωργίου (GUE/NGL), απάντηση "γαλάζια κάρτα"** . – Η Κύπρος όταν θα προεδρεύσει της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης, θα υποστηρίξει το σύνολο των ιδεών του τι εστί η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση. Αυτό είναι το καθήκον της και αυτό θα κάνει.

Λαμβάνω όμως την ευκαιρία να υπενθυμίσω στον, επίσης εξαιρετο, συνάδελφο τον κ. Duff, επειδή προηγουμένως είχε αναφέρει γιατί η Κύπρος να μη εξετάσει το θέμα ανοίγματος κεφαλαίων όταν θα προεδρεύει, ότι εγώ προσωπικά ρώτησα τον κ. Μπαγίς στην Τουρκία όταν συναντηθήκαμε, τι προτίθεται να κάνει η Τουρκία εάν η Κύπρος δείξει ετοιμότητα να ανοίξει κεφάλαια και απάντησε : "Δεν θ' ανοίξουμε εμείς κανένα κεφάλαιο εάν το επιχειρήσει η Κύπρος". Αυτή είναι συμπεριφορά αποδεκτή;

3-120-000

**Bastiaan Belder**, *namens de EFD-Fractie*. – Voorzitter, het volstrekt verwerpelijke Turkse reclamespotje met Adolf Hitler bevestigt mijn vaste voornemen, commissaris Füle, u in dit debat aan te spreken op de realiteit van het antisemitisme in toetredingskandidaat Turkije. Ik onderstreep daarbij de dringende oproep van de Turks-joodse wetenschapper en publicist Rifat Bali, waarmee ik in correspondentie sta. Hij schreef mij: "De EU dient heel krachtig te verklaren dat de passieve houding van de Turkse regering en rechterlijke macht tegenover antisemitische uitingen in de Turkse media onaanvaardbaar is. Dergelijke manifestaties moeten streng worden bestraft".

Ik verwacht van u, commissaris Füle, dat u premier Erdogan rechtstreeks aanspreekt op dit abjecte antisemitisme. Want de Turkse regeringsleider ontkent deze naargeestige realiteit met het irrationele argument dat de islam antisemitisme zou uitsluiten.

Namens de protestantse gemeenschap - en dat is mijn tweede punt - heb ik ook nog een drietal urgente verzoeken aan het adres van de Commissie. Deze actiepunten richting de Turkse overheid houden in: veel meer vergunningen en een ruimhartig beleid voor kerkbouw, afschaffing van de aparte vermelding van godsdienst op identiteitskaarten, want dat leidt tot talrijke gevallen van discriminatie van Turkse christenen, en tenslotte afschaffing van facultatief islamitisch godsdienstonderwijs in het lesplan, want dat maakt christelijke scholieren tot constant mikpunt van leraren en klasgenoten.

3-121-000

**Barry Madlener (NI)**. - Voorzitter, commissaris en islamliefhebber Füle en mevrouw Ria Oomen-Ruijten zijn volledig de weg kwijt. Het gaat de verkeerde kant op met Turkije. Er zitten veel journalisten in de gevangenis en cartoonisten worden voor de rechter gesleept. De vrijheid van meningsuiting wordt steeds verder beperkt onder de islamiseringsagenda van de AK-partij.

De corruptie stijgt en de illegale immigratie via Turkije neemt steeds verder toe; het meest schandalige is wel, Voorzitter, dat de illegale Turkse bezetting van een deel van EU-lidstaat Cyprus nu al meer dan 35 jaar voortduurt. De Turkse minister Baris dreigt zelfs om Noord-Cyprus te annexeren en gaat binnenkort illegaal gasboringen verrichten op Cyprus. Dit is pure oorlogsdreiging van Turkije aan het adres van Europa. Dit is onacceptabel. Ieder jaar zien we kritische rapporten over Turkije, maar dit Parlement doet niets. Turkije wordt zelfs beloond met meer dan 500 miljoen euro belastinggeld van Europa.

Het verslag van mevrouw Oomen-Ruijten is een lachertje. Er staat geen enkele sanctie tegen Turkije in. Als de Turken de EU boycotten tijdens het Cypriotisch voorzitterschap, zal Turkije wat ons betreft nooit meer naar de onderhandelingstafel hoeven terugkeren.

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

3-122-000

**Ria Oomen-Ruijten (PPE)**, *"blauwe kaart"-vraag*. – Voorzitter, op de taal van de heer Madlener wil ik niet ingaan, maar wel heb ik een vraag. Staat er niet in de Universele Verklaring van de rechten van de mens dat je iedereen ongeacht zijn godsdienst mag liefhebben? Betekent uw opmerking dat u niet meer achter die verklaring staat? Want dan bent u dus echt de weg kwijt.

3-123-000

**Barry Madlener (NI)**, *"blauwe kaart"-antwoord*. – Voorzitter, collega Oomen-Ruijten weet dat de PVV de islam in Europa wil tegengaan. Meer islamisering willen wij niet. Er is al genoeg islam in Europa, en een Turks lidmaatschap, wat u zo graag wilt, zou ertoe leiden dat miljoenen Turken naar West-Europa komen. Dat is slecht voor Nederland, en ik denk ook slecht voor uw achterban.

3-124-000

**Francisco José Millán Mon (PPE)**. - Señora Presidenta, en relación con el proceso de adhesión de Turquía a la Unión Europea me gustaría detenerme en tres puntos.

En primer lugar, su política de visados respecto de nacionales de terceros países. Ya hace dos años expresé en este Parlamento mi sorpresa por que Turquía no acercara esta política a la de la Unión Europea. El informe de situación de 2011, elaborado por la Comisión Europea, indica que Turquía ha concluido recientemente acuerdos de supresión de visados con Sudán y con Yemen. Según mi información, tampoco necesitan visados los nacionales de Irán, Libia, el Líbano y Siria.

La semana pasada, un periódico español muy difundido señalaba lo siguiente: «La excepción de visado a algunos países y miles de kilómetros de frontera terrestre hacen de Turquía el corredor favorito de las mafias».

Turquía, en mi opinión, debe hacer un esfuerzo serio y acercarse progresivamente a la política de la Unión en materia de visados. Es parte del acervo. Debe alinearse y no proseguir la línea actual, que sigue la vía contraria, alejándose de la política de la Unión Europea. Lo que debe haber es un alineamiento progresivo y creo que la Comisión debe seguir atentamente este asunto.

En segundo lugar, creo que la Unión Europea y Turquía deben estrechar su diálogo político. Últimamente Turquía se ha acercado al mundo árabe, ocupa un lugar destacado en una región muy próxima y muy importante para Europa y que está experimentando grandes transformaciones. El diálogo y la cooperación entre Bruselas y Ankara serán muy positivos.

Por último, Señorías, yo celebro el conjunto de reformas que Turquía ha hecho y espero que las prosiga con determinación y firmeza, como pide el informe que mañana aprobaremos.

3-125-000

**Μαρία-Ελένη Κοππά (S&D)**. - Κυρία Πρόεδρε, θέλω αρχικά να συγχαρώ την εισηγήτρια για μία ακόμη εξαιρετική έκθεση. Η Τουρκία συνεχίζει να στέλνει αντιφατικά μηνύματα σχετικά με τις προθέσεις της και την Ευρωπαϊκή της πορεία. Από τη μία έχει ξεκινήσει έναν διάλογο για το νέο Σύνταγμα που θα είναι απαλλαγμένο από την κληρονομιά του στρατιωτικού καθεστώτος. Από την άλλη συνεχίζει τις διώξεις κατά δημοσιογράφων και αντιφρονούντων διανοουμένων. Σήμερα πάνω από 100 δημοσιογράφοι παραμένουν στις φυλακές, ενώ πρόσφατα ο ίδιος ο Ερντογάν δήλωσε ότι ένα βιβλίο μπορεί να είναι τόσο επικίνδυνο όσο και μια βόμβα. Σε κάθε ευκαιρία η Τουρκία υποστηρίζει ότι δεν προτίθεται να εγκαταλείψει τον Ευρωπαϊκό της προσανατολισμό. Όμως εξακολουθεί να απειλεί με χρήση βίας κράτη-μέλη και να προκαλεί με το να ισχυρίζεται ότι δεν προτίθεται να έχει καμία επαφή με την επερχόμενη Κυπριακή Προεδρία. Εφόσον η Τουρκία επιθυμεί πράγματι την ένταξη, πρέπει να καταλάβει ότι αυτή η στάση έχει συνέπειες. Οι ενταξιακές της διαπραγματεύσεις πράγματι δεν προχωρούν και έχουν παγώσει. Είναι καιρός λοιπόν να αναλογιστούν οι ιθύνοντες στην Άγκυρα, τι δεν έχει γίνει σωστά και να

αναλάβουν τις ευθύνες τους. Η ένταξη δεν είναι μια αυτόματη διαδικασία. Απαιτεί σταθερή δέσμευση που αποδεικνύεται με έργα και πράξεις και όχι παλινδρομήσεις. Η λογική της Τουρκίας ένα βήμα μπρος, δύο βήματα πίσω, δεν μπορεί να γίνει αποδεκτή.

3-126-000

**Метин Казак (ALDE).** - Г-жо Председател, уважаеми колеги, уважаеми г-н Комисар, аз също искам да приветствам г-жа Ria Oomen-Ruijten за постигнатото в доклада, в който тази година са добавени нови елементи, които са доста окуражителни.

Много е важно да се подчертае, че Турция е единствената страна кандидатка с толкова строг визов режим. Затова поздравявам конструктивния подход на докладчика, който призовава Съвета да даде мандат на Комисията за започването на диалог по визите и да определи пътна карта за либерализиране на визовия режим, след като споразумението за реадмисия бъде подписано от Турция. Това не само ще засили икономическите и търговските отношения между Европейския съюз и Турция, но също така е и основополагаща предпоставка за сближаване на гражданите.

Приветствам и призова на Комисията да обмисли мерки, които да доведат до отварянето на Глава 24 относно правосъдието и вътрешните работи, както и Глава 23, засягаща съдебната система и основните права. Смятам, че наистина, ако искаме европейската перспектива да бъде все така катализатор за политическите реформи в Турция и да бъде фактор за дискутирането на такива проблеми като свободата на словото и на медиите, трябва държавите членки, които все още се противопоставят на това отваряне, да преосмислят позицията си.

Също така бих искал да подчертая и засилването на съществуващия между Европейския съюз и Турция политически диалог, както и ролята на Турция като източник на вдъхновение за демократизацията на арабските държави.

Съжалявам в същото време, че все още в доклада не е постигнат балансиран подход по отношение на Кипър. Изцяло съм убеден, че не бива да очакваме едностранни отстъпки от страна на Турция, но и държавите от Европейския съюз, и по-специално Република Кипър, трябва да поемат отговорността си и да се изпълнят заключенията на Съвета от 26-ти април 2004 година за прекратяване на икономическата изолация на кипърските турци. Мисля, че това е от ключово значение за постигане на компромисно решение.

*(Ораторът приема да отговори на въпрос, зададен чрез вдигане на синя карта (член 149, параграф 8 от Правилника за дейността).)*

3-127-000

**Bastiaan Belder (EFD), "blauwe kaart"-vraag.** – Prettig om juist een lid van de ALDE-Fractie, die erg liberaal en voor ongelimiteerde vrijheid van meningsuiting is, een "blauwekaart"-vraag te stellen. Kunt u mij, collega Kazak, vertellen wat op dit kritieke moment het aantrekkelijke is van toetreding van de Republiek Turkije voor wat betreft de vrijheid van meningsuiting en de vrijheid van de media in de Arabische wereld? Ook de rapporteur maakt zich er schuldig aan daar losjes overheen te glijden en te denken dat dat kan. Hoe denkt de Arabische wereld over Turkije als model? Kunt u nu eens concreet aangeven wat het aantrekkelijke is van Turkije als model voor de democratisering van de Arabische wereld, iets waar we tot nu toe tevergeefs op wachten.

3-128-000

**Метин Казак (ALDE)**, *отговор на въпрос, зададен чрез вдигане на синя карта*. – Аз мисля, че отговорът на Вашия въпрос, уважаеми г-н Belder, се съдържа в параграфите на проектодоклада на г-жа Ruijten, както и в изявленията на Комисията. Ролята на Турция като вдъхновител на демократичните промени в Северна Африка е безспорна и ще се съгласите, че този модел на светска демократична държава вдъхновява не една или две държави от региона. Мисля, че тази роля трябва да бъде подкрепяна и окуражавана от страна на Европейския съюз и Турция да продължава да служи като онзи посредник между Европейския съюз и тези държави за налагането на демократичен модел в тях.

*(Ораторът приема да отговори на въпрос, зададен чрез вдигане на синя карта (член 149, параграф 8 от Правилника за дейността).)*

3-129-000

**Charles Tannock (ECR)**, *blue-card question*. – Mr Kazak, according to the interpretation you talked about the fact that Turkey was being demanded to make unilateral concessions and you accused Cyprus of not living up to its 'commitments' – the word in interpretation – towards the Turkish Cypriots in the north of the island. Is it not true that Turkey made a commitment under the Ankara Protocols to allow Cypriot-registered vessels to dock at Turkish ports and it has never actually fulfilled that commitment or allowed it to come to pass? Who is actually in breach of their commitments here, Turkey or the Republic of Cyprus?

3-130-000

**Метин Казак (ALDE)**, *отговор на въпрос, зададен чрез вдигане на синя карта*. – Уважаеми г-н Таннок, аз съм съгласен, че при изпълнението на ангажиментите и Турция, и Европейският съюз не успяват да постигнат това, което наистина са поели като ангажимент. Но моята критика е свързана с това, че в проектодоклада се обвинява единствено Турция в неизпълнение на нейните ангажименти. Но за пореден път в този доклад не се позволява да бъде повдигната каквато и да е критика, по-скоро самокритика, и към неизпълнение от страна на Европейския съюз на ангажименти, публично поети в заключенията от 2004 година за слагане край на икономическата изолация на кипърските турци вследствие на проведения през същата година референдум по плана за уреждане на конфликта, така наречения план "Кофи Анан". Това имам предвид.

3-131-000

**Димитър Стоянов (NI)**, *въпрос, зададен чрез вдигане на синя карта*. – Г-н Казак, бих искал да Ви попитам не бихте ли желали да декларирате конфликт на интереси, когато се изказвате по този доклад, при положение, че и Вие, и брат Ви сте завършили Сорбоната на разности на турското правителство?

3-132-000

**Метин Казак (ALDE)**, *отговор на въпрос, зададен чрез вдигане на синя карта*. – Уважаеми колеги, г-н Стоянов, това е клевета за пореден път, която изричате. Аз не съм завършил във Франция на разности на турското правителство, а съм бил стипендиант на френското правителство - за информация на всички тук - и нямам никакво отношение към това, което Вие повдигате като клевета.



3-133-000

**Κυριάκος Μαυρονικόλας (S&D)**, ερώτηση "γαλάζια κάρτα". – Κύριε Kazak μπορείτε να μας πείτε ένα μέτρο καλής θέλησης και κοινής εμπιστοσύνης στο οποίο να έχει προχωρήσει η Τουρκία μετά από 40 χρόνια κατοχής και εποικισμού της Κύπρου; Ένα μέτρο καλής θέλησης απέναντι στην Κυπριακή Δημοκρατία. Μπορείτε να το ονομάσετε;

3-134-000

**Метин Казак (ALDE)**, отговор на въпрос, зададен чрез вдигане на синя карта. – Уважаеми г-н Μαυρονικόλας, мога да Ви спомена само факта, че броят на турските войски на остров Кипър беше намален значително от 1974 година досега. В същото време знаете, че по нито един от ангажиментите, поети от Европейския съюз - и за „зелената линия”, и за премахването на ограниченията пред кипърските турци, не беше постигнат почти никакъв напредък. Така че аз мисля, че тук наистина трябва двете страни, подчертавам двете страни, да продължат усилията си с добра воля, с желание за постигане на трайно решение. Тази конфронтация трябва да престане.

3-135-000

**Franziska Keller (Verts/ALE)**. - Madam President, I would also like to congratulate the rapporteur, Mrs Oomen-Ruijten, on her good work. Many problems still remain unsolved in Turkey – press freedom, minority rights (especially those of transgender people and homosexuals), the environment and the Kurdish question, to mention just a few – and also in Cyprus, where a sustainable settlement needs to be reached and the isolation of the northern part brought to an end. Solving these issues will be very beneficial for Turkey and its citizens.

The accession process is an important incentive for change and reform in Turkey, as it is for other enlargement countries as well. However, this will only be an incentive as long as we are clear in our commitment to welcome Turkey as soon as it fulfils the Copenhagen criteria, just as we have done with other countries.

Our most important tool for change and reform is the accession negotiations. It is incomprehensible why we deprive ourselves of this tool by not opening the chapters on justice and fundamental rights as well as on home affairs, in which a lot of the problems I just mentioned – and a lot of the concerns raised in this House – are included. We should open them as soon as possible. We should be sincere in our wish to help Turkey solve those problems. Therefore, Chapters 23 and 24 should be opened as soon as possible so that we can welcome Turkey to the EU as soon as the criteria are fulfilled.

3-136-000

### VORSITZ: RAINER WIELAND

*Vizepräsident*

3-137-000

**Peter van Dalen (ECR)**. - Voorzitter, de in Turkije populaire film Fetih 1453 heeft duistere kanten. De Nederlandse krant NCR-Handelsblad tekende dat op uit de mond van een filmbezoeker die sprak: "Jammer dat in 1453 niet meteen alle christenen zijn uitgemoord, dan hadden we er nu geen last meer van". Turks-nationalisme vermengt zich met de schaduwkanten van de islam. Dat zien we ook aan de koers van de regering-Erdoğan. Die

wordt steeds inniger met Hamas. Erdoğan is de grote leider van de zogenaamde Arabische Lente, een lente die in Egypte inmiddels heeft geleid tot uitzetting van de Israëliëse ambassadeur.

Het is geen toeval dat recentelijk veel processen zijn begonnen tegen het grondbezit van Aramese kloosters. Erdoğan zit namelijk stevig in het zadel en is bezig met zijn islamitische AK-partij de machtsbasis uit te breiden, onder andere door die rechtszaken. Een gevaarlijke cocktail van Turks-nationalisme en de duistere kanten van de islam. Het toelaten van Turkije tot de EU zou een fout van historische proporties zijn. Goed nabuurschap is genoeg.

3-138-000

**Jürgen Klute (GUE/NGL).** - Herr Präsident! Ich möchte zunächst sagen, dass die Abschnitte in dem Bericht von Frau Oomen-Ruijten, die sich mit dem Thema Justiz und Verfassungsreform befassen, aus meiner Sicht sehr gelungen sind. Dazu möchte ich ihr gratulieren. Allerdings möchte ich anmerken, dass das Thema der Situation der Kurden in der Türkei aus meiner Sicht bei weitem zu kurz kommt. Es gibt ja nicht nur – wie schon mehrfach angemerkt wurde – einige hundert inhaftierte Journalisten, sondern es gibt mehrere tausend inhaftierter kurdischer Menschen, insbesondere kurdische Politiker, die der BDP angehören. Es sind zum Teil gewählte Parlamentarier darunter.

Ich denke, dies ist keine Art und Weise, den Konflikt zwischen der türkischen Regierung und den Kurden zu lösen. Es wäre angemessen, wenn zu diesem Thema in dem Bericht ein deutlicheres Wort gesagt würde. Wir haben dazu auch mit einigen Abgeordneten für morgen noch Änderungsanträge eingebracht. Ich würde es begrüßen, wenn diese Änderungsanträge eine Mehrheit finden. Ich glaube, es hilft nicht, an dieser Stelle die Augen zuzumachen. Hier braucht es ein paar deutlichere Worte seitens der EU!

3-139-000

**Νικόλαος Σαλαβράκος (EFD).** - Κύριε Πρόεδρε, αναμφισβήτητα η Τουρκία, όπως τονίζεται και μέσα στην έκθεση, αποτελεί μια αναπτυσσόμενη οικονομία, είναι πολυπληθής χώρα και έχει στρατηγικό ρόλο στη σταθερότητα και την ασφάλεια στην ευρύτερη Ανατολή.

Ευχόμαστε η Τουρκία να πάρει τα μηνύματα της εκθέσεως τα οποία χαρακτηρίζονται από πλήρη αντικειμενικότητα. Ωστόσο, θεωρώ ότι η Τουρκία δεν καταφέρνει να λύσει τα προβλήματά της με τον αρμόζοντα τρόπο και τη δυτική νοοτροπία, παρά την Ευρωπαϊκή πορεία την οποία επιθυμεί. Ενδεικτικά αναφέρω: διατηρεί στρατεύματα εισβολής και κατοχής σε τμήμα της Κύπρου, χώρα της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης, κατά παράβαση αποφάσεων των Ηνωμένων Εθνών. Επιπλέον, απειλεί με ανοίκειο ύφος ότι αν δεν λυθεί το Κυπριακό όπως αυτή θέλει, θα διακόψει κάθε επικοινωνία, επίσημη ή ανεπίσημη, με την Κυπριακή Προεδρία που θα αρχίσει το επόμενο εξάμηνο. Θεωρώ ότι αυτό είναι καταφρόνηση κυρίως της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης και, αν το πράξει αυτό η Τουρκία, θα πρέπει να σταματήσουν οι περαιτέρω ενέργειες ...

(Ο Πρόεδρος διακόπτει τον ομιλητή)

3-140-000

**Andreas Mölzer (NI).** - Herr Präsident! Herr Kommissar! Der Bericht von Frau Oomen-Ruijten ist sicherlich insofern verdienstvoll, als er immerhin die Einschränkungen der Medienfreiheit, der Meinungsfreiheit und auch Menschenrechtsverletzungen in der Türkei aufzeigt. Insgesamt aber muss man den Eindruck haben, dass die EU und auch dieses Parlament in gewisser Form im Hinblick auf die Türkei Realitätsverweigerung betreibt.

Die Türkei bewegt sich nämlich trotz der neuen Verfassung zunehmend von Europa weg. Auch die neue Verfassung ändert nichts daran, dass Premierminister Erdoğan zunehmend autoritär regiert. Diese Abwendung von Europa zeigt sich in einer zunehmenden Islamisierung des Landes, sie zeigt sich in der Haltung der Türkei in der Frage des Armeniergenozids, und sie zeigt sich in der arroganten Haltung der Türkei gegenüber dem nächsten Ratsvorsitzenden, Zypern. Insgesamt muss man sagen, die Türkei bewegt sich von Europa weg. Sie nimmt allerdings die Heranführungshilfe in Anspruch. All das sollte dazu führen, dass wir uns endlich einmal eingestehen, dass die Türkei kein europäisches Land ist und niemals wirklich Mitglied dieser Union sein sollte.

3-141-000

**Jarosław Leszek Wałęsa (PPE).** - Panie Przewodniczący! W tym roku chciałbym skupić się na jednym bardzo ważnym aspekcie, który jest również poruszany w tym sprawozdaniu. Chodzi o procesy dziennikarzy, którzy są aresztowani pod różnymi pretekstami, na przykład na podstawie prawa antyterrorystycznego za rzekome rozpowszechnianie poglądów i propagandę organizacji terrorystycznych z powodu poruszania w swojej pracy niewygodnych dla władz w Ankarze tematów.

Ustawa antyterrorystyczna ma bardzo duży wpływ na wolność wypowiedzi dziennikarzy. Na podstawie art. 6 i 7 tej ustawy wystarczy, by dziennikarz opublikował informację o manifestacji kurdyjskiej, aby trafił do więzienia. Aresztowania są faktem i – jako Parlament Europejski – musimy nalegać, aby toczące się przeciwko dziennikarzom procesy sądowe były prowadzone w sposób przejrzysty, z poszanowaniem prawa i w odpowiednich warunkach. Niestety cały czas nie dysponujemy dokładnymi danymi dotyczącymi liczby dziennikarzy zatrzymanych oraz liczby spraw aktualnie otwartych przeciwko dziennikarzom. Prace nad reformą konstytucji i kodeksem karnym trwają. Rozwiązaniem nie będzie jednak zniesienie obowiązujących regulacji. Turcja musi zmienić podejście do stosowania istniejącego prawa. Nawet najlepiej sformułowane regulacje prawne nie zapewnią sprawiedliwości i poszanowania praw człowieka bez rozsądnego ich interpretowania.

3-142-000

**Richard Howitt (S&D).** - Mr President, with other international observers I was prevented this year from observing the KCK trials in Diyarbakır and, had we been let through the door, we would have seen prosecutions taking place without the defence present and with the use of the Kurdish mother tongue prohibited. So it is right that we keep the pressure up for judicial reforms to show full respect for human rights. The release of jailed journalists, Nedim Şener and Ahmet Şık, shows that our criticisms are effective. Indeed I was honoured recently to meet the daughter of murdered Armenian-origin journalist Hrant Dink, to speak in support of her appeal against the findings that this was not an organised crime, and to hear from Etyen Mahçupyan, the proprietor of his newspaper at the time, that popular revulsion to his murder has eased attitudes in Turkey towards the Armenian question.

I have nothing but praise, on the other hand, for the help Turkey has given to the 17 000 Syrian refugees who have crossed its borders. I join with the Commissioner in welcoming the constitutional debate but ask him to join with me in asking that the submissions be republished on the website from which they were abruptly taken off.

*(The speaker agreed to take a blue-card question under Rule 149(8))*

3-143-000

**William (The Earl of) Dartmouth (EFD),** *blue-card question* . – Mr President, has Mr Howitt ever considered the impact on his constituents of giving 90 million Turkish citizens, including an oppressed Kurdish minority of approximately 15 million, the absolute right to live, work and settle in the United Kingdom, which will be the consequence of admitting Turkey as a member of the European Union? Have you ever considered that, Mr Howitt?

3-144-000

**Richard Howitt (S&D),** *blue-card answer* . – Mr President, a young Turkey with a growing skilled workforce and growing business can improve prosperity, not just for that country but for my country and my constituency. The honourable Member knows a few things about losing elections. Perhaps if Nicolas Sarkozy loses the election on 6 May there will be a fairer hearing for Turkey in the European Union.

3-145-000

**Anneli Jäätteenmäki (ALDE).** - Arvoisa puhemies, Turkin naiset ovat menestyneet erinomaisesti lentopallon mestarien liigassa, ja joukkue on vahvasti matkalla kohti finaalia. Sen sijaan Turkin journalisteilla ei mene yhtä hyvin. Useat ovat joutuneet ja ovat edelleen matkalla kohti vankilaa. Media- ja sananvapaus eivät toteudu Turkissa. Ihmisoikeuksissa on paljon korjattavaa.

Ongelmista huolimatta on tunnustettava, että Turkki on ollut aktiivinen ja rakentava ulkopoliittinen toimija omalla alueellaan. On tervehdittävä sitä kehitystä, mikä on tapahtunut, ja toivottavasti Turkki tekee rakentavaa yhteistyötä EU:n kanssa, puolin ja toisin. Elämää on laajentumisneuvotteluiden ulkopuolellakin. Tämä mietintö on erinomainen ja yhdyin mietinnön laatijan vaatimukseen avata neuvottelukappaleet 23 ja 24.

*(Puhuja lupasi vastata työjärjestyksen 149 artiklan 8 kohdan mukaiseen sinisen kortin kysymykseen.)*

3-146-000

**Charles Tannock (ECR),** *blue-card question* . – Mrs Jäätteenmäki – this was again in the interpretation – you said that Turkey had been a force for good in the work it has done in its region. How then do you account for the fact that it has kept the border closed and imposed an embargo on peaceful, democratic Armenia for 20 years, for no other reason than the fact that it sides with its cousins in Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh? How can you justify a boycott on a country like Armenia purely because of your solidarity with some other country? This is absolutely unparalleled in any other place in the world. So what good is it doing in terms of keeping its border with Armenia shut?

3-147-000

**Anneli Jäätteenmäki (ALDE),** *Vastaus sinisen kortin kysymykseen* . – Arvoisa puhemies, Turkilla on ongelmia Armenian kanssa, mutta meidän on myönnettävä, että sillä alueella on tapahtunut paljon kehitystä ja Turkki on ollut tässä asiassa aktiivinen ja se on toiminut rakentavasti.

3-148-000

**Marina Yannakoudakis (ECR).** - Mr President, Turkey is still lagging behind when it comes to equality between men and women. The rigid role which women play in Turkish

society means lower participation by women in the workplace, politics and civil society. Worse still, attacks against women are commonplace, and the authorities are too lenient on the perpetrators of gender-based violence. More women's shelters are needed in order to protect the vulnerable.

Turkey must work harder to eradicate the practice of honour killings, with dozens of Turkish women murdered each year. I also call on Turkey to criminalise forced marriages. Turkish women are still less educated than their male counterparts, and there needs to be a special focus on rural women, especially with regard to literacy. Three million rural Turkish women remain illiterate. Kurdish women in particular are disadvantaged by the double burden of being women and Kurds. I call on the Commission to put women's rights at the forefront of negotiations with Turkey.

3-149-000

**Lorenzo Fontana (EFD).** - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, c'è da dire che ci troviamo ciclicamente in quest'Aula a parlare dell'adesione della Turchia in Europa. Devo dire che però ogni anno i passi avanti sono pochi, se non c'è addirittura una regressione rispetto all'anno precedente.

Io mi chiedo, dopo quello che ha detto il ministro degli Esteri turco riguardo alla Presidenza cipriota, se già questo non sia abbastanza per la Commissione europea, per il Parlamento europeo e anche per il Consiglio europeo per decidere che forse è ora di dire basta al cercare di far entrare la Turchia in Europa. È evidente che ci sono degli interessi completamente diversi ed è evidente che forse bisogna intraprendere una strada diversa con questo paese che è sicuramente strategico per l'Europa e con il quale si possono avere sicuramente buone relazioni commerciali. Tuttavia, l'adesione all'Unione europea creerebbe sicuramente degli scompensi anche alle nostre basi e ai nostri valori fondamentali.

Quindi io lanciao un appello proprio alla Commissione perché riveda questa politica di adesione, anche perché noi stiamo dando dei soldi per questa politica di preadesione, ma di certo non li diamo per l'invasione di Cipro né tantomeno per l'incarcerazione dei giornalisti.

3-150-000

**Димитър Стоянов (NI).** - Г-н Председател, много пъти съм говорил в тая зала за Турция и за проблемите, свързани с нея. Виждам, че колегите се опитват да изброят всички нарушения. Но те са толкова много, че те просто не могат да бъдат изброени по никакъв начин.

Толкова много нарушения прави Турция на основните принципи на демокрацията, на човешките права, че миналата седмица многууважаваният от всички нас колега José Bové от групата на Зелените, заедно с още трима колеги, ми изпратиха и ме помолиха да подпиша писмо до Главния секретар на Съвета на Европа, с което се иска суспендиране на членството на Турция в Съвета на Европа. И ние, при положение, че има такава инициатива от този Парламент, какво седим и какво обсъждаме за нейното членство в Европейския съюз?

Съветът на Европа е една много по-либерална институция, отколкото Съюза. И накрая ще се обърна към гражданите на Европа и ще ги попитам: Граждани на Европа, вие съгласни ли сте в Европейския съюз да има една страна, извършила няколко геноцида, която не само не се разкайва за това, но и се гордее?

3-151-000

**Μαριέττα Γιαννάκου (PPE).** - Κύριε Πρόεδρε, συγχαίρω την κ. Oomen-Ruijten για την πολιτική πληρότητα της έκθεσής της. Τα θεσμικά όργανα της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης διατηρούν πάντα την πολιτική τους βούληση για την Ευρωπαϊκή προοπτική της Τουρκίας.

Το ερώτημα είναι εάν η ίδια η Τουρκία έχει την πραγματική βούληση να γίνει Ευρωπαϊκή χώρα. Οι μειονεξίες του συστήματος στην Τουρκία αφορούν κυρίως τα περι δημοκρατίας κατά την κρατούσα αντίληψη. Βασικά δομικά στοιχεία μιας πραγματικά δημοκρατικής διακυβέρνησης είναι η ελευθερία του λόγου, οι θρησκευτικές ελευθερίες, η ελευθερία των διαφόρων εθνικών κοινοτήτων να διατηρούν την πολιτισμική τους ταυτότητα, η συνταγματική προσαρμογή στο σύγχρονο μοντέλο δημοκρατίας, η διπλωματική προσέγγιση των θεμάτων εξωτερικής πολιτικής και η αποφυγή απειλών, η προσήλωση στις αρχές καλής γειτονίας, η αποφυγή παραβίασης του εθνικού χώρου άλλων κρατών και οι προκλήσεις έναντι των γειτόνων, ο σεβασμός των αρχών και αξιών του οικοδομήματος του οποίου ζητά να γίνει τμήμα η Τουρκία και, συνεπώς, η υποχρέωση που έχει να αναγνωρίσει όλα τα μέρη που απαρτίζουν την Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση. Επιπλέον, το ζήτημα της παράνομης μετανάστευσης μέσω της Τουρκίας και η άρνησή της να εφαρμόσει τις ήδη υπάρχουσες συμφωνίες, δημιουργεί πολλά ερωτηματικά.

Κύριε Πρόεδρε, η Τουρκία είναι καλώς αποδεκτή στην Ευρώπη, εάν και εφόσον η ίδια αποφασίσει ότι θέλει να λάβει τα αναγκαία μέτρα και δεν θέλει να παραμείνει με το ένα πόδι στις ασιατικές αντιλήψεις και με το άλλο στις ευρωπαϊκές.

3-152-000

**Wolfgang Kreissl-Dörfler (S&D).** - Herr Präsident! Verehrte Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Wir Sozialdemokraten haben immer unmissverständlich klargemacht, dass wir an der Beitrittsperspektive für die Türkei festhalten. Dazu stehen wir nach wie vor.

Leider müssen wir auch feststellen, dass uns die derzeitige Politik Erdoğans und seiner Regierung gar nicht gefällt. Es wurden zwar viele Reformen durchgeführt und Demokratisierungsprozesse vorangetrieben; die Wirtschaft boomt. Doch dem stehen auf der anderen Seite besorgniserregende Entwicklungen gegenüber: Innenpolitisch wird die Meinungsfreiheit erneut eingeschränkt, Journalisten und Politiker werden verhaftet. Sorgenvoll stimmt uns auch die Drohung des türkischen Ministerpräsidenten, während der zypriotischen Ratspräsidentschaft die Beziehungen zur EU einzufrieren. Dies ist völlig inakzeptabel.

Der Reform- und Demokratisierungsprozess muss dennoch weitergehen und fortgesetzt werden. Klar ist auch: Die Türkei ist kein Bittstellerland, sondern ein Partnerland, mit dem die EU auf der Grundlage ihrer eigenen einstimmigen Beschlüsse Beitrittsverhandlungen führt. Vielleicht ist das manchen hier noch nicht aufgefallen. Und manche, die hier von Werten sprechen: Da graust es mir, diese Werte auch nur im Ansatz zu sehen. Wir müssen an unseren Zusagen festhalten. Ich finde, dass es ein sehr guter Bericht ist, aber leider lassen hier manche Redebeiträge in ihrer Qualität sehr zu wünschen übrig; dies ist eine Schande.

3-153-000

**Marietje Schaake (ALDE).** - Mr President, today we call for a renewed boost in EU-Turkish relations and to open the negotiation chapters on the most essential issues now: the chapters on fundamental freedoms, justice and the rule of law.

Our emphasis on these key issues prompts the Turkish authorities, the government first and foremost, to ensure the rule of law is upheld. While we are open to cooperation in

relation to the Middle East and on mutual security challenges, we strongly condemn the abuse of anti-terrorism laws. It is, after all, NATO's second largest army, but a significant portion of this army's leadership now faces the most serious charges of committing terrorist activities or of plotting a coup. It is essential for Turkey, its role in NATO and its relations with the EU that both process and outcomes of these trials are fairly conducted and that suspects get a due process.

The same goes for the high number of journalists imprisoned, as many colleagues have mentioned. The climate of fear and mistrust in institutions in Turkey is undermining its potential to be a leader in a changing world and we urge the Turkish Government to take its responsibilities.

3-154-000

**William (The Earl of) Dartmouth (EFD).** - Mr President, Turkey's Prime Minister Erdogan has described UN sanctions against Iran as, and I quote, 'a mistake'. Since March last year, Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria have issued tourist visas valid for those four countries together. Turkey, of course, has a customs union with the EU, but it also has a customs union with the five Turkic-speaking countries of Central Asia. The inconvenient truth is that Turkey is a regional power of the Middle East, and this is because of the actuality. Turkey is an Asian country, moreover one that does not tolerate meaningful dissent. Turkey should not even be considered for membership of the European Union, and it certainly should not be receiving almost one billion euros a year in pre-accession funding.

3-155-000

**Philip Claeys (NI).** - Voorzitter, hoe lang gaan we ons nog bezighouden met het opstellen van zogenaamde voortgangsverslagen over Turkije, die totaal geen vooruitgang bevatten. Dit is nu al het zesde of het zevende sinds 2005, en ik vraag mij af of er in Turkije en in Europa nog iemand is die deze teksten serieus neemt. We weten allemaal dat Turkije destijds al niet voldeed aan de criteria om überhaupt aan de onderhandelingen over de toetreding te beginnen, en het is intussen van kwaad naar erger gegaan.

Momenteel zitten er ongeveer 100 mensen in Turkije in de gevangenis, louter omwille van de mening die ze hebben verkondigd. Daar zitten professoren, ambtenaren, legerofficieren, schrijvers, journalisten en verkozen politici bij. Willen we dat soort landen in de Europese Unie hebben? Ook de houding van Turkije tegenover Cyprus is een schandaal, net zoals het buitenlands beleid dat zich steeds meer van Europa afkeert.

Laat ons dus eindelijk de stekker eruit trekken en eens en vooral beslissen dat Europa Europees moet blijven.

3-156-000

**Ελένη Θεοχάρους (PPE).** - Πρόεδρε, είναι ξεκάθαρο ότι και από μόνο του το επίπεδο εφαρμογής των ανθρωπίνων δικαιωμάτων στην Τουρκία δεν επιτρέπει σε αυτή την χώρα να φιλοδοξεί να γίνει μέλος της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης. Η Τουρκία δεν μπορεί να καταστεί μέλος της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης, ακόμη και για το γεγονός ότι απειλεί με προσάρτηση το κατεχόμενο τμήμα της Κύπρου, και για αυτό δεν φταίει ούτε η Κύπρος, ούτε η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση.

Η παραβίαση βεβαίως των ανθρωπίνων δικαιωμάτων επεκτείνεται στην Κύπρο και εναντίον των ελληνοκυπρίων και εναντίον των τουρκοκυπρίων, και εύχομαι να είχατε ακούσει σήμερα την

αγωνιώδη κραυγή των τουρκοκυπρίων για τον κίνδυνο αφανισμού τους από την παρουσία του τουρκικού στρατού.

Βεβαίως, συγχαίρω την εισηγήτρια για το δύσκολο έργο της, αλλά παρόλο που η έκθεση είναι ισοζυγισμένη και προϊόν συμβιβασμού, η Τουρκία αρνείται πεισματικά να αναγνωρίσει την καλή μας θέληση. Συνεπώς, εάν η Τουρκία θέλει να προχωρήσει η ενταξιακή της διαδικασία και να ανοίξουν κεφάλαια, οφείλει να συμμορφωθεί με τις αποφάσεις του Ευρωπαϊκού Συμβουλίου και του Ευρωπαϊκού Δικαστηρίου Ανθρωπίνων Δικαιωμάτων. Οφείλει να σεβαστεί το ευρωπαϊκό κεκτημένο.

Αλλά, πως δείχνει τον σεβασμό της στην καλή μας θέληση η Τουρκία; Πώς αντιδρά στη θετική ατζέντα και στα θετικά μηνύματα που στέλνουμε; Απαντά με απειλές εναντίον της Κυπριακής Δημοκρατίας, οδηγεί τις διαπραγματεύσεις σε αδιέξοδο και αντί να συμμορφωθεί με τα ψηφίσματα του Οργανισμού Ηνωμένων Εθνών, καλεί τους νομίμους κατοίκους της Αμμοχώστου να επιστρέψουν ως πολίτες του ψευδοκράτους.

Γιατί λοιπόν να έχει ευνοϊκή μεταχείριση;

(Ο Πρόεδρος διακόπτει την ομιλήτρια)

(Ο αγορητής συμφωνεί να απαντήσει σε ερώτηση "γαλάζια κάρτα" (άρθρο 149, παράγραφος 8 του Κανονισμού).)

3-157-000

**Emine Bozkurt (S&D)**, "blauwe kaart"-vraag . – Voorzitter, ik heb eigenlijk een heel eenvoudige vraag. Vandaag is door onze Grieks-Cypriotische collega's meerdere malen gerefereerd aan wat de Turks-Cyprioten zouden willen, wat hun wensen zijn en wat zij vinden. Kunt u mij uitleggen waarom de Turks-Cypriotische collega's niet hier in dit Parlement vertegenwoordigd zijn, zodat ze dat zelf kunnen vertellen?

3-158-000

**Ελένη Θεοχάρους (PPE)**, απάντηση "γαλάζια κάρτα". – Γιατί τους το απαγορεύει ο τουρκικός στρατός κατοχής και αυτό το έχουν αποδείξει χιλιάδες φορές, τόσο με τις διαδηλώσεις πέρυσι στη Λευκωσία εναντίον του στρατού κατοχής και του Ερντογάν, όσο και με τη σημερινή τους παρουσία στο Ευρωπαϊκό Κοινοβούλιο, αλλά και κάθε φορά που έχουν την ευκαιρία να έρθουν εδώ στο Ευρωπαϊκό Κοινοβούλιο. Έρχονται εδώ με την ταυτότητα και το διαβατήριο του κυπριακού κράτους και σέβονται την κυπριακή πολιτεία, κάτι το οποίο δεν κάνουν δυστυχώς πολλοί εδώ μέσα.

3-159-000

**Κυριάκος Μαυρονικόλας (S&D)**. - Κύριε Πρόεδρε, συμπληρώνονται σαράντα χρόνια συνομιλιών για τη λύση του Κυπριακού προβλήματος, ο δε τελευταίος γύρος των ομιλιών συμπληρώνει μια τριετία, χωρίς να έχει επιτύχει τίποτα σε σχέση με τις προσπάθειες εκ μέρους της Τουρκίας για λύση του προβλήματός μας. Ο στρατός δεν έχει μειωθεί. Διατηρούν 50.000 κατοχικό στρατό σε μια τουρκοκυπριακή κοινότητα των 100.000, ενώ παράλληλα κρατούν την πόλη της Αμμοχώστου σαν πόλη φάντασμα χωρίς να την αποδίδουν στους κατοίκους της και διατηρούν τη Λευκωσία χωρισμένη και αυτά, ενώ όλοι εμείς εδώ στο Κοινοβούλιο, αγωνιούμε επανειλημμένα για τον εποικισμό παλαιστινιακών εδαφών από το Ισραήλ.

Δυστυχώς, ο εποικισμός ο οποίος γίνεται στα κατεχόμενα είναι ανυπολόγιστος. Ο στόχος του Ερντογάν είναι να πετύχει ένα εκατομμύριο εποίκους και τότε η λύση του κυπριακού προβλήματος



πραγματικά θα είναι ανέφικτη. Θα είμαστε εδώ μετά από πέντε και δέκα χρόνια για να εξακριβώσουμε ότι δεν υπάρχει λύση για το κυπριακό πρόβλημα.

(Ο αγορητής συμφωνεί να απαντήσει σε ερώτηση "γαλάζια κάρτα" (άρθρο 149, παράγραφος 8 του Κανονισμού).)

3-160-000

**Метин Казак (ALDE)**, *въпрос, зададен чрез вдижане на синя карта*. – Г-н Председател, аз имам въпрос към г-н Мантониόolas. С какво Република Кипър подпомага намирането на трайно решение на кипърския въпрос през последните години? Може ли да изброите конкретни инициативи, които да доведат до едно такова разрешение. Защо се противопоставяте на предложението на Комисията за директни търговски контакти със Северен Кипър?

3-161-000

**Κυριάκος Μαυρονικόλας (S&D)**, *απάντηση "γαλάζια κάρτα"*. – Δεν ήμασταν εμείς εναντίον του απευθείας εμπορίου, έχει αποφασίσει σχετικά η Επιτροπή Νομικών Θεμάτων ότι πρέπει να αλλαχθεί η νομική βάση αυτής της πρότασης από την Επιτροπή. Επομένως, εμείς θέλουμε να υπάρχουν εμπορικές συναλλαγές νοουμένου ότι η νομική βάση δεν δίνει αναγνωρισιμότητα στα κατεχόμενα και επαναλαμβάνω ότι οι προσπάθειες οι οποίες έγιναν από την Κύπρο ήταν ουκ ολίγες. Ανταπόκριση δεν υπάρχει, όμως, από μία Τουρκία όπου ο Πρωθυπουργός δηλώνει ότι στόχος του είναι να μεταφέρει...

(Ο Πρόεδρος διακόπτει τον ομιλητή)

3-162-000

**Magdi Cristiano Allam (EFD)**. - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, leggendo la proposta di risoluzione mi sono domandato di quale Europa si stia parlando e a quale Turchia si faccia riferimento.

Se voi consideraste l'Europa come una semplice entità geografica, dovrete rendervi conto che la Turchia non è Europa, dal momento che il 97% del territorio turco è in Asia. La Turchia laica, fondata nel 1924 da Atatürk non esiste più. Al suo posto si è imposto un regime islamico, il cui primo ministro Erdogan è stato condannato e arrestato nel 1998 per incitamento all'odio religioso per aver declamato pubblicamente: "Le moschee sono le nostre caserme, le cupole i nostri elmetti, i minareti le nostre baionette e i fedeli i nostri soldati". Erdogan ha favorito l'avvento al potere di islamici integralisti ed estremisti in Medio Oriente. Secondo Erdogan, Israele sarebbe uno Stato terrorista e Hamas un'organizzazione da sostenere, ma soprattutto ...

(Il Presidente interrompe l'oratore)

3-163-000

**Birgit Schnieber-Jastram (PPE)**. - Herr Präsident! Danke an Frau Oomen-Ruijten für diesen Bericht. Er zeigt uns, was für eine wichtige Rolle die Türkei für die EU nicht nur wirtschaftlich, sondern auch politisch als ein Bindeglied für die Regionen Zentralasien, Arabien und Afrika spielt. Trotz aller Fortschritte, die die Türkei in den letzten Jahren gemacht hat, gibt es Vieles nachzuholen. Stichworte: kurdische Minderheiten, inhaftierte Journalisten. Das ist hier sehr deutlich geworden. Deshalb müssen wir uns bemühen, gemeinsam mit der türkischen Regierung und der türkischen Gesellschaft nach Lösungen

für tatsächlich noch bestehende Probleme zu suchen und die Türkei bei Reformen zu unterstützen.

Ich bin übrigens ziemlich erschüttert, in welcher Weise manche Kollegen hier elementare Grundrechte der Union in Frage stellen: das Recht auf freie Religionsausübung, das Recht auf freie Meinungsäußerung.

Zum Schluss eine Bitte an die Kommission: Sehr geehrter Herr Kommissar Füle! Die positive Agenda zur Türkei sollte möglichst bald vorgelegt und möglichst weit entwickelt werden.

3-164-000

**Emine Bozkurt (S&D).** - Mr President, Turkey's importance keeps increasing. Turkey's economy is growing and Turkey is becoming a regional and global power. Europe and Turkey need each other more than ever. But ironically the accession negotiations have entered a stalemate. The Commission has no real leverage on important issues, due to the blocked chapters. The positive agenda is important to keep supporting the reforms, but if we want real changes we must support the opening of Chapters 23 and 24.

The report we will vote on tomorrow is important because it recognises these issues and it gives support to the positive agenda. It supports the reforms but also says that there are still reforms that need to be carried out, especially on freedom of speech and press freedom. We are concerned about the wide margin of appreciation allowed by the anti-terror law; we are concerned about the arrested journalists and those working under the threat of being arrested. But I am also concerned about attacks in Europe on Turkish press offices and ask for investigations to be carried out in Europe to find the perpetrators.

*(The speaker agreed to take a blue-card question under Rule 149(8))*

3-165-000

**William (The Earl of) Dartmouth (EFD),** *blue-card question* . – Mrs Bozkurt, you used the phrase in your speech that Turkey is a growing economy and a regional power. Well the same could be said of South Korea. Why do these two facts, if they are facts, justify political union with Turkey?

3-166-000

**Emine Bozkurt (S&D),** *"blauwe kaart"-antwoord* . – Vast staat dat er onderhandelingen gaande zijn; volgens mij is het in het kader van die onderhandelingen belangrijk om te bekijken wat belangrijk is voor Turkije en wat belangrijk is voor de Europese Unie. Dat heb ik onderstreept. Dat u tegen bent, is uw probleem; ik denk dat het belangrijk is dat wij bekijken hoe op een juiste manier verdere onderhandelingen kunnen worden gevoerd. Daar gaat mijn speech over.

3-167-000

**Alf Svensson (PPE).** - Herr talman! Jag gratulerar fru Oomen-Ruijten till ett utomordentligt betänkande. Man undrar om rapporten har skrivits för att ta reda på hur lång vägsträcka som Turkiet har kvar till medlemskap, och för att man vill ta upp allt som brister i Turkiet, eller om man har skrivit detta betänkande för att så småningom få se Turkiet som medlem i EU.

Herr talman, jag tycker att det krävs ett större mått av ärlighet i den här debatten och att man säger om man vill se Turkiet som medlem i EU eller inte, för då får man faktiskt finna sig i att försöka få en annan ton från en del håll än vad jag tycker har varit fallet här.

För min personliga del tycker jag att det är mycket angeläget att arbeta för att Turkiet kommer med som medlem. Jag tror att Turkiet är mindre beroende av EU än vad EU är av Turkiet. Det är klart att vägsträckan är ganska lång, men vi måste ändå våga uttala om vi vill att Turkiet ska klara av den eller inte.

Turkiet är en stormakt, och förblir en stormakt, och kan agera som en stormakt.

3-168-000

**Pino Arlacchi (S&D).** - Mr President, I support this resolution because I am in favour of full EU membership for Turkey and because I am convinced that its accession process should be completed as soon as possible. I have heard many objections to this process and I believe many of them are well grounded, but I believe also that these objections are overshadowed by three facts.

First, the contribution of Turkey to the stability of the world economy. Its economic growth, along with the performance of the BRICS, averted the transformation of the financial crisis in Europe and the USA after 2008 into a genuine catastrophe.

The second fact is the strengthening of global peace generated by Turkey's democratisation process and its related problem-free foreign policy. There has been a huge change of course of Turkish foreign policy in the right direction, which is positively affecting all East-West relationships.

The third is the quality of Turkish social policies. In just six years, from 2003 to 2009, the country reduced its poverty rate by an astonishing 36%, and as Socialists and Democrats we particularly appreciate this achievement.

3-169-000

**Γεώργιος Κουμουτσάκος (PPE).** - Κύριε Πρόεδρε, κύριε Επίτροπε, κύριοι συνάδελφοι, προσέξτε την αλληλουχία των εξής γεγονότων: 23 Φεβρουαρίου ο τούρκος Υπουργός Άμυνας ανακοίνωσε στην Μεγάλη Τουρκική Εθνοσυνέλευση την αγορά 100 μαχητικών αεροσκαφών F15 για την επόμενη τετραετία. Κόστος: 16 δισ. δολάρια. Ένα μήνα μετά, 21 Μαρτίου, το τουρκικό ερευνητικό σκάφος "Πίρι Ρέις" κάνει παράνομες ερευνητικές δραστηριότητες στην ελληνική υφαλοκρηπίδα.

Στις 24 Μαρτίου η τουρκική φρεγάτα Gaziantep εισήλθε σε ελληνικά χωρικά ύδατα φθάνοντας ανοιχτά του Σουνίου. Πιστεύω κυρίες και κύριοι συνάδελφοι να ξέρετε που βρίσκεται το Σούνιο και ο ναός του Ποσειδώνα και σε ποιά απόσταση από την Αθήνα! Ο παράνομος αυτός πλους της τουρκικής φρεγάτας ανάγκασε το ελληνικό πολεμικό ναυτικό και την αεροπορία να κινητοποιηθεί και ερωτώ κύριε Επίτροπε: είναι εθνικός μαζοχισμός που η Ελλάδα καταβάλλει 3,5% του Ακαθάριστου Εθνικού Προϊόντος για αμυντικές δαπάνες; Περισσότερο από κάθε άλλο κράτος μέλος; Τι έχετε να πείτε γι' αυτό στην Τουρκία;

3-170-000

**Ana Gomes (S&D).** - Senhor Presidente, como assinala o relatório Oomen-Ruijten, a Turquia já fez notáveis progressos, mas tem ainda caminho a percorrer para garantir direitos humanos, democracia e Estado de direito. A nova Constituição deve consagrar valores e

princípios basilares da União Europeia, assegurando uma real separação de poderes, controlo civil sobre os militares e uma definição inclusiva da cidadania turca que respeite plenamente os direitos das minorias, nomeadamente a curda, e da maioria, que são as mulheres.

A liberdade de expressão e de imprensa são fundamentais para garantir outros direitos humanos e a democracia. Intelectuais, jornalistas e ativistas de direitos humanos continuam a ser postos nas prisões. É urgente que a Turquia reveja as leis perversas penais e antiterroristas, que pare com o abuso de tribunais especiais contra opositores e garanta a independência do sistema judicial.

A atuação da Turquia no próximo semestre, em que Chipre vai assumir a presidência da União Europeia, não vai testar apenas a União Europeia: porá à prova o entendimento turco do que implica pertencer a esta União, do que implica construir a União Europeia.

3-171-000

**Theodor Dumitru Stolojan (PPE).** - Locul Turciei este în Uniunea Europeană. Avem tot dreptul ca în negocierile cu Turcia să fim exigenți pentru respectarea deplină a valorilor europene, dar consider că aceeași exigență trebuie să o aibă unele state membre față de motivele reale pe care le invocă an de an pentru a bloca procesul negocierilor cu Turcia.

Îmi exprim speranța că viitoarea Președinție cipriotă va fi o surpriză pozitivă în progresul acestor negocieri.

3-172-000

**Krzysztof Lisek (PPE).** - Panie Przewodniczący! Panie Komisarzu! Dziękuję pani poseł Oomen-Ruijten za – jak powiedział mój przedmówca – bardzo dobre, wyważone sprawozdanie, pokazujące zarówno to, co się pozytywnego działo przez ostatnie lata i miesiące, jak i wyzwania, przed którymi wspólnie stoimy, i my, i Turcja. Bowiem musimy wszyscy zdawać sobie sprawę w jednego podstawowego faktu politycznego – prowadzimy w Turcję negocjacje akcesyjne jako Unia Europejska, czyli prowadzą je również poniekąd Niemcy, Austria, Francja, Grecja i Cypr. Jeżeli je prowadzimy, to – jak pamiętam – w historii wszystkie negocjacje akcesyjne doprowadziły finalnie do członkostwa danego kraju w Unii Europejskiej, co zresztą władze tureckie deklarują. Musimy sobie na pewno odpowiedzieć na podstawowe pytanie: czy chcemy Turcji w Unii Europejskiej?

Jeszcze jedna rzecz do kolegów z Cypru. Chciałbym zaapelować, aby na pewne procesy spojrzeć z punktu widzenia historii. Polska z Niemcami przez stulecia toczyły wojny, a dzisiaj nie ma lepszych partnerów w Unii Europejskiej niż Polska i Niemcy.

3-173-000

„Catch the eye“-Verfahren

3-174-000

**Danuta Jazłowiecka (PPE).** - Panie Przewodniczący! Gratuluję pani sprawozdawczyni Rii Oomen-Ruijten doskonałej pracy nad sprawozdaniem. Tym bardziej gratuluję, że zmarnowanych zostało wiele lat, nie wyznaczając konkretnych działań w sprawie rozszerzenia dla Turcji. Dotychczasowa stagnacja jedynie mnoży problemy, o których mówili moi koledzy, a ich nie rozwiązuje. Zaproponowany obecnie plan działań daje natomiast nadzieję, że po jednej i po drugiej stronie rozpoczniemy wspólną drogę do

zblizenia Turcji do Unii Europejskiej, do osiągnięcia lepszych standardów w rozwiązywaniu spornych spraw.

Jak słusznie zauważył pan komisarz, jest wiele spraw łączących nas, warto zatem pracować nad rozszerzeniem obszarów, które bardziej zbliżą Turcję do Europy. W naszym interesie jest wspierać, zachęcać i współpracować z Turcją na różnych polach, by problemy rozwiązywać. Wierzę w turecką demokrację, tylko ona może zapewnić nienaruszalność godności obywateli tureckich i respektowanie ich praw, ale także rozwiązywanie problemów niektórych krajów członkowskich, które wskazywali moi koledzy.

3-175-000

**Αντιγόνη Παπαδοπούλου (S&D).** - Κύριε Πρόεδρε, το Ευρωπαϊκό Κοινοβούλιο δεν νομιμοποιείται να κλείνει τα μάτια στη συνεχιζόμενη παραβίαση ανθρωπίνων δικαιωμάτων στην ίδια την Τουρκία, στην Κύπρο, στις χουντικές περιοχές. Η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση, δεν δικαιούται να ανέχεται απειλές από μια υποψήφια χώρα εναντίον κράτους μέλους, επειδή θα προεδρεύσει του Συμβουλίου της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης.

Περίμενα από την έκθεση Oomen-Ruijten, κυρώσεις κατά της Τουρκίας για τη μη εφαρμογή του πρόσθετου πρωτοκόλλου, για τις τουρκικές απειλές, για τη συνεχιζόμενη κατοχή στην Κύπρο. Η έλλειψη κυρώσεων αποθρασύνει την Τουρκία, όπως επίσης την αποθρασύνουν επικίνδυνες αναφορές για σύνδεση του απευθείας εμπορίου με το θέμα της Αμμοχώστου και για τροχοδρόμηση του ανοίγματος δύο νέων ενταξιακών κεφαλαίων με πρόσχημα τη θετική Ατζέντα. Ήδη, η Τουρκία προετοιμάζεται για παράνομο εποικισμό της κλειστής περιοχής της Αμμοχώστου.

Τι θα πράξει η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση σε μια τέτοια περίπτωση; Θα δεχθεί μια νέα παραβίαση των ψηφισμάτων του ΟΗΕ ή θα συνεχίσει να μιλάει για ...

*(Ο Πρόεδρος διακόπτει την ομιλήτρια)*

3-176-000

**Ivo Vajgl (ALDE).** - Morebitno članstvo Turčije v Evropski uniji polarizira.

To smo danes ponovno doživeli in to se bo ponavljalo, to stanje duha, vse dokler ne bomo, kot je kolega rekel, odkrito priznali, ali Turčijo želimo v Evropski uniji, ali jo zmoremo v Evropski uniji, ali si tega ne želimo.

Tudi k temu stanju duha bo prispevalo dejstvo, če bodo vsi grški in kolegi iz Cipra v vsaki razpravi želeli sodelovati, prav vsi.

Jaz mislim, da je vendarle osnovni kriterij tega, ali je neka država za sprejem v Evropsko unijo sposobna in primerna ali ne, *acquis, acquis communautaire*. In dokler se pogajanja ne začnejo, jih po tem merilu ne moremo soditi.

Mislim, da je prav, da obsojamo obsodbe novinarjev in preganjanje intelektualcev v Turčiji, vendar pa moramo to državo obravnavati z neko naklonjenostjo kot bodočo tehtno in pomembno članico Evropske unije.

3-177-000

**Ana Miranda (Verts/ALE).** - Mr President, we have heard here some opinions about the violation of human rights and the lack of separation of powers. We have heard here some opinions also about the lack of freedom of expression in Turkey. What is Turkey doing about the separation of powers? What is Turkey doing to use the constitutional drafting

process as a chance for developing a moral and democratic identity, allowing for the full recognition of all ethnic groups including Kurds, Laz, Gypsies, Roma, Alevis, Syriacs, Arabs, Greeks, Armenians, Jews and others? What is Turkey doing to consider a process of decentralisation and meaningful local government in order to meet the demands of the diverse segments of its population?

3-178-000

**Bernd Posselt (PPE).** - Herr Präsident! Der Kollege Vajgl hat den Vertrag nicht richtig zitiert. Das Hauptkriterium, ob ein Staat Mitglied werden kann, ist, ob er ein europäischer Staat ist und die Kriterien erfüllt.

Die Türkei ist kein europäischer Staat. Ich bin für ein föderalistisches, starkes Europa. Das wird es mit einer Türkei als Vollmitglied nicht geben. Deshalb müssen wir andere Formen der Integration finden. Außerdem bin ich für eine ehrliche Türkeipolitik. Wie hat einer Ihrer Vorgänger, Herr Füle, einmal gesagt: Was machen Sie sich Sorgen, Herr Posselt. Die Türkei wird ja sowieso nie Mitglied. Das war einer, der öffentlich dauernd dafür gesprochen hat. Diese Unehrllichkeit spüren die Türken. Wir wollen eine klare Partnerschaft, aber keine Vollmitgliedschaft. Dann wird die Türkei auch stabilisiert. Alles andere dient der Destabilisierung, sowohl der Türkei als auch der EU.

3-179-000

*Ende des „catch the eye“-Verfahrens*

3-180-000

**Štefan Füle,** *Member of the Commission* . – Mr President, the Turkish accession process has to move forward. It is urgent now for Turkey to comply with its obligation of full implementation of the additional protocol to the association agreement, and to make progress towards normalisation of bilateral relations with the Republic of Cyprus – the same Cyprus which is soon to become a proud and, I am confident, effective Presidency of the Council to the benefit of the European Union and to the benefit of the interests of the European Union.

It has been a fascinating debate. It is only a pity that not that many people who were so outspoken during the debate have stayed until the end, because I would like to share a couple of thoughts here.

Number one – what really surprised me, though maybe I was occasionally not attentive enough, is that no one has really mentioned the comprehensive talks on Cyprus, and tomorrow's important meeting, and the road map as put forward by the United Nation's Secretary-General and implemented by special representative Alexander Downer. Is it a sign of this House being content with the status quo? I hope not. I hope that the energy which I have sensed in your discussion will be turned towards supporting the two leaders who will be meeting tomorrow, addressing the core issues and allowing Downer to recommend to the Secretary-General to go for the finalisation of the process and not to leave it for a plan B – because I have news for you: there is no plan B.

*(Applause)*

Secondly, as for the reform process, looking at the progress achieved in the past years we can conclude that Turkey is moving forward. Even if progress is sometimes too slow or uneven a lot of taboos have been removed, a lot of questions are now being debated. Who

could have imagined Turkey restoring properties to non-Muslim religious communities, the latest example being the title deeds of the Greek primary school of Galata in Istanbul?

My third point concerns the remarks about my predecessor and about double standards. I have only one standard, and it is to be sincere and truthful both in open meetings and in meetings behind closed doors. Despite my age I have enough experience and diplomacy to be aware that the worst enemy of success is to say one thing in an open arena and something different behind closed doors. I will never, ever do it.

What this House should not be split on, I believe personally, is the issue of clear rules of the game at the end of this process. What are these rules of the game?

The first is the accession treaty which clearly reflects Turkey's position in this case, approximating its legislation fully with the European Union acquis, as stipulated by all negotiating chapters. Number two is the consensus of all Member States, and the procedure to ratify this approval. And the third is an impact study showing clearly the impact of, in this case, Turkish membership and also showing clearly to all Member States and all of us that we are going to talk about how the process is to be managed to the benefit of both the European Union and Turkey.

Those are the rules of the game and I hope the House is not split on this particular issue. I also hope that this House is not going to split on the issue that the best way to achieve this, the best way to help Turkey, to strengthen democracy, is actually the accession process. Does anyone in this House believe that building a big wall between us and Turkey would improve the very fundamental rights so many of you referred to? Because I do not.

The accession process is the only way to make the European Union the benchmark of the reforms in Turkey. The accession process is not there to compromise on our values. The accession process is for Turkey to embrace the values the European Union is so firmly based on. Why should this House be split on this process? Because, interestingly enough in this debate, I have not heard one single idea how to do it better and more efficiently to the benefit of the Turkish people. I have not heard it and I am afraid I will not hear it in the future.

Now coming to particularities, but important ones: as regards a paragraph in the resolution on civil/military relations I would like to agree that the formulation of the sentence on the integrity of the armed forces could be improved in order to clarify more precisely what is meant and take away any ambiguity that might arise.

The next point: at the start of the debate I also expressed my concerns about the respect for freedom of expression in general. It is something I will continue to raise with my counterparts. I will not miss any opportunity. In Turkey we will continue to exchange views on civil society.

Let me stress, in conclusion, something I feel personally very strongly about. The European Union should continue to encourage the reform process in Turkey. Our leverage and influence in Turkey will become all the more credible and stronger if our commitments, as outlined in 2005 when we launched the accession negotiations, remain unambiguous.

3-181-000

**Nicolai Wammen**, *formand for Rådet* . – Hr. formand, ærede medlemmer, kommissær Füle! EU's udvidelse har historisk vist sig at være et af EU's mest succesrige udenrigspolitiske instrumenter. EU's tiltrækningskraft er brugt aktivt til at få en række lande til at gennemføre

vidtrækkende samfundsmæssige, politiske og økonomiske reformer. Vi har fået et stadig større fællesskab, hvor vi deler de samme værdier, hvor vi udveksler og handler med hinanden på kryds og tværs til fordel for sikkerhed og velfærd i hele Europa. Præcis de værdier, som kommissær Füle i sin stærke tale netop har berørt. Jeg ser frem til det videre konstruktive og positive samarbejde med Europa-Parlamentet under det danske formandskab - ikke alene hvad angår Tyrkiets tiltrædelsesproces, men også i forhold til de andre kandidatlande.

Vi ved alle, at processen er kompliceret og vanskelig, og at den stiller store krav til de lande, som vælger at være en del af den. Selv om forhandlingerne med Tyrkiet på ingen måde er lette, synes jeg, at debatten i dag har vist, at fortsatte forhandlinger er den bedste måde at hjælpe Tyrkiet på på dets videre vej mod politiske og økonomiske reformer. Som det er fremhævet i Parlamentets beslutning, er det grundlæggende både i EU's og Tyrkiets interesse, at vi fortsætter ad den vej.

Det danske formandskab vil sammen med medlemsstaterne, Europa-Parlamentet og Kommissionen gøre, hvad vi kan, for at fremme processen, men jeg vil også gerne i dag gøre det klart, at den endelige beslutning ligger hos Tyrkiet. Tiltrædelsesforhandlingerne kan kun skride frem, hvis der sker fremskridt i Tyrkiets egen reformindsats. Det er hårdt arbejde, som ikke skal undervurderes, og som også beror på politisk vilje og engagement. Fra det danske formandskabs side vil vi fortsat følge udviklingen tæt og støtte op om processen, hvor vi kan.

Endelig vil jeg understrege vigtigheden af Europa-Parlamentet i den bredere politiske sammenhæng. Diskussioner som den, vi har haft i dag, er afgørende for at skabe engagement hos befolkningerne både i Tyrkiet og i EU's medlemslande og sikre fortsat opbakning til og forståelse for vores fælles projekt. Det er et vigtigt arbejde, som ikke må undervurderes, og som vi alle burde fokusere mere på. Her har Europa-Parlamentet en utrolig vigtig rolle at spille.

3-182-000

### IN THE CHAIR: EDWARD McMILLAN-SCOTT

*Vice-President*

3-183-000

**President.** – I have received one motion for a resolution <sup>(3)</sup> tabled in accordance with Rule 110(2) of the Rules of Procedure.

The debate is closed.

The vote will take place tomorrow (Thursday, 29 March 2012).

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

3-184-000

**Cristian Dan Preda (PPE)**, *în scris.* – Doresc să-i adresez mulțumiri Riei Oomen-Ruijten pentru acest raport echilibrat despre progresele realizate de Turcia în 2011, în drumul său spre aderarea la UE. Apreciez în mod special îndeplinul de a deschide negocierile pentru

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(3) See Minutes.



capitolul 23 - Justiție și Drepturile Omului, ceea ce susțineam și eu anul trecut printr-unul dintre amendamentele depuse.

Sunt mulțumit, de asemenea, că R. Oomen-Ruijten a decis să susțină amendamentul meu despre cooperarea în zona Mării Negre și importanța pe care Turcia o are în zonă.

Apreciez, în fine, susținerea pentru „agenda pozitivă” propusă de Comisia Europeană și sper să existe și rezultate concrete. Turcia joacă un rol tot mai important la nivel regional și nu numai. Sper în mod sincer că ea va continua eforturile de aderare în cursul acestui an, astfel încât în decembrie să putem vorbi despre un moment pozitiv în procesul de negociere.

3-185-000

**Tunne Kelam (PPE)**, *in writing*. – I welcome the ongoing work on drafting the new constitution, which has to represent and protect the rights of all groups and minorities in Turkish society. Broadening the scope of the restoration of property rights to all non-Muslim communities since August 2011 is an encouraging development. It is equally important for the religious communities to obtain the status of a legal personality. I refer in particular to Aramean (Syriac) Christians who live mostly in the south-east of Turkey and represent one of the oldest cultures in that region. Owing to their very limited numbers, they are one of the most vulnerable ethnic and religious groups. They are exposed to assimilation by surrounding cultures; therefore, it is vital for Arameans to be able to freely teach their language in schools and to be granted officially the legal status of a minority group as suggested in Council of Europe Resolution 1704/2010. So far, the Arameans have been refused such a status, which could guarantee their cultural survival in the future. The legal ownership of the 4th Century St Gabriel's Monastery and its surrounding lands, which is a major cultural treasure for all Turkey, should be secured and the monastery and lands protected in their entirety.

3-185-003

**Czesław Adam Siekierski (PPE)**, *na pismie*. – Turcja to przykład udanej transformacji gospodarczej na obszarze Bliskiego Wschodu. Imponuje poziom wzrostu PKB Turcji, który od 2009 r. wynosi ponad 6% średniorocznie. Biorąc pod uwagę kryzys w strefie euro, różnice rozwojowe między Turcją a Europą są więc w ekspresowym tempie niwelowane. Według danych MFW w 2010 r. gospodarka turecka była 16. największą na świecie. Duże postępy w rozwoju gospodarczym są możliwe dzięki korzystnemu profilowi demograficznemu oraz ciągłemu wzrostowi produktywności. Dzięki swojemu strategicznemu położeniu na styku trzech kontynentów: Europy, Afryki i Azji, Turcja odgrywa kluczową rolę w zapewnieniu stabilizacji w tym niezwykle zapalnym regionie. Będąc członkiem NATO, Turcja jest niezwykle ważnym partnerem UE w jej dążeniach do stworzenia obszaru stabilizacji i dobrobytu w najbliższym sąsiedztwie.

Największe braki Turcja ma nadal w obszarze demokracji i praw człowieka. Wydaje się, że reformy wprowadzane przez rząd premiera Erdogana mają charakter głównie kosmetyczny i nastawione są raczej na łagodzenie krytyki zewnętrznej. Nadal niewystarczające są działania na rzecz zapewnienia praw kobiet czy mniejszości narodowych. Ponadto w przypadku Turcji brak jest realnej oceny przeszłości, a wiele przyjmowanych rozwiązań prawnych nie znajduje odzwierciedlenia w ich implementacji. Bez rozwiązania sporów historycznych z sąsiadami czy mniejszościami narodowymi Turcji trudno będzie tworzyć pomyślną przyszłość.

3-185-004

**Zbigniew Ziobro (EFD),** *na piśmie* . – Turcja jest dziś silnym i ważnym graczem na arenie międzynarodowej. Jest niezbędnym elementem układanki dającej europejskiej Wspólnocie perspektywy energetycznej niezależności. Jest również ważnym partnerem gospodarczym i 77-milionowym rynkiem zbytu dla naszych produktów.

Przy wszystkich swoich zaletach Turcja wciąż jest krajem, który nie potępił pierwszego masowego ludobójstwa w XX-wiecznej Europie – rzezi Ormian w latach 1915–1917. Jest krajem bardzo biednym, ze znacznymi różnicami w rozwoju pomiędzy zachodnią a wschodnią częścią. Stan wolności mediów jest niewystarczający, podobnie jak przestrzeganie praw człowieka. Nierozwiązana pozostaje również sprawa północnego Cypru. Między innymi dlatego przyjęcie Turcji do Unii Europejskiej wydaje się całkowicie nierealne i nielogiczne. Byłoby to klęska takich filarów Wspólnoty jak: obrona praw człowieka, wspólny rynek czy polityka spójności.

Unia i Turcja muszą pozostać partnerami gospodarczymi, dlatego powinniśmy dążyć do ułatwień handlowych pomiędzy krajami tworzącymi UE a Turcją, budowy wspólnych projektów infrastrukturalnych jak np. gazociąg Nabucco, jednak wciąż pozostawać osobnymi bytami prawnymi bez możliwości i potrzeby dalszej integracji.

**19. Appointment of the members of the Special Committee on organised crime, corruption and money laundering (tabling deadlines): see Minutes**

**20. Enlargement report for Montenegro (debate)**

3-188-000

**President.** – The next item is the Council and Commission statements on the enlargement report for Montenegro.

3-189-000

**Nicolai Wammen,** *President-in-Office of the Council* . – Mr President, let me start by acknowledging and welcoming Parliament's support for the efforts undertaken to advance Montenegro's prospects for EU integration. In particular, I welcome your rapporteur, Charles Tannock's, continuous balanced and positive contribution.

There is strong public support for Montenegro's EU integration as well as national consensus on this objective among the political parties. This has enabled the country to work systematically with the reform efforts. In December last year, both the Council and the European Council welcomed the Commission's assessment that Montenegro has achieved overall satisfactory results, notably with regard to the key priorities set out by the EU in 2010.

With a view to opening accession negotiations by June this year, the European Council has tasked the Council to examine Montenegro's progress in implementing reforms. Among the focus areas are the rule of law, fundamental rights, the fight against corruption and organised crime. The Commission is now preparing a report on the implementation, which it will most probably present in May.

Montenegro has achieved a high degree of compliance with the membership criteria. The country has progressed towards establishing a market economy and strives to live up to the obligations under the Stabilisation and Association Agreement. Montenegro's relations

with its neighbours are very good and Montenegro has been actively involved in a number of regional initiatives, such as the Southeast European Cooperation Process which Montenegro chaired in 2010 and 2011.

Montenegro has also been actively involved in the Sarajevo Process on finding a solution for the refugees and internally displaced persons in Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Croatia following the conflict in the 1990s.

However, Montenegro still has some way to go. It has to continue its reform efforts and ensure full implementation, especially concerning the rule of law. Progress in this area is particularly needed when it comes to internally displaced persons, media freedom, implementation of anti-discrimination policies and independence of the judiciary. We look forward to the conclusions of the constitutional reform which will enhance independence of the judiciary.

Progress in the fight against corruption and organised crime will also be key to the advancement of Montenegro in its EU integration process. I am convinced that we will see progress in these areas and that Montenegro's accession process will provide further positive momentum in the Western Balkans. With the historic agreements in the dialogue between Pristina and Belgrade, the decision of 1 March 2012 to grant candidate status to Serbia and the ongoing smooth ratification process of Croatia's Accession Treaty, strong signals have been sent by the EU to the region and this will hopefully encourage neighbouring countries and regions to make the right political choices.

If these reform efforts in Montenegro continue at the same pace, it is my hope that this will be possible, and that we can agree to open accession negotiations with Montenegro in June. We in the Danish Presidency will work closely with Parliament and the Commission to achieve that.

3-190-000

**Štefan Füle**, *Member of the Commission*. – Mr President, it is a great pleasure and honour for me to address the European Parliament today for the debate on the resolution on the 2011 progress report on Montenegro. I would also like to express my warm gratitude and congratulations to the rapporteur for Montenegro, Charles Tannock, on his excellent report.

The decision of the December European Council is a fair recognition of the progress the country has made over the five years since its independence, and in particular since December 2010 when it was granted European Union candidate status. This decision has opened the door towards the start of accession negotiations.

Key to this success was the determination of the Montenegrin authorities to conduct ambitious reforms, together with the active involvement of the parliamentary opposition, civil society and the media. I am positive that this broad national consensus on the country's European integration is a major asset for Montenegro. It will facilitate its continued steady progress towards the European Union.

I met the Montenegrin Prime Minister, Igor Lukšić last week. His determination to pursue the reform process and commitment to sustained progress in the country's European Union agenda are commendable.

I am further encouraged by our shared understanding that the opening of accession negotiations will not mark the end of a process, but the beginning of a long and demanding journey.

As acknowledged in Mr Tannock's report, Montenegro has made significant progress so far, but needs to deploy further efforts in the area of rule of law, in particular in the fight against corruption and organised crime. The track record of final convictions, notably for high-level corruption and organised crime, needs to be substantially increased and all alleged cases thoroughly investigated. In line with the 2006 renewed consensus on enlargement, we know the importance of addressing these issues as early as possible in the accession process.

The new approach for the negotiation chapters – 23 on the judiciary and fundamental rights, and 24 on justice, freedom and security – will allow them to be opened early in order to give Montenegro sufficient time to produce a solid track record in the fight against organised crime and corruption. As I am speaking to you, the first explanatory phase of the screening of Chapter 24 is taking place, while the one on Chapter 23 took place earlier this week.

A further important milestone for Montenegro will be the finalisation of the ongoing constitutional reform, in line with the recommendations of the Venice Commission, in a spirit of consensus and constructive dialogue with the opposition parties. This will provide a solid guarantee for the independence and accountability of the judiciary.

Compliance with European standards in the field of human rights and minority rights is also of crucial importance, in particular regarding freedom of expression and anti-discrimination. The recent attack against an investigative journalist is unacceptable and needs to be thoroughly investigated, along with past cases of violence and vandalism directed against the media.

Further efforts are also needed to strengthen anti-discrimination policy, in particular from the aspect of gender equality and the effective protection of minority rights. Efforts to increase the number of legally registered displaced persons also need to be actively pursued.

The responsibility for addressing these outstanding challenges lies with Montenegro and its capacity to maintain the pace of reforms and ensure their effective implementation. The Commission will continue to support Montenegro's efforts on its path towards the European Union through financial and expert assistance.

3-191-000

**Charles Tannock**, *on behalf of the ECR Group*. – Mr President, Montenegro as a candidate country remains a relatively straightforward country in terms of monitoring its progress towards EU accession, and, in this case, small is beautiful. Montenegro has worked hard to address the criteria and benchmarks set by you as Commissioner in seven key priority areas, namely improving the work of its parliament and the electoral framework, professionalism within the administration of Montenegro, independence of the judiciary, fighting corruption, combating organised crime, ensuring media freedom and cooperation within civil society. Montenegro – to its credit – was admitted to the World Trade Organisation in December last year. WTO accession will inevitably help Montenegro build a competitive and dynamic modern economy.

This signals Montenegro's integration into the world economy as well. The major political Copenhagen criteria issues, which include inter-ethnic relations, gender, religious, ethnic and disability discrimination, the repatriation of IDPs, independence and transparency of the judiciary, and freedom of the media, are very fully covered in my resolution. As a country with outstanding natural beauty, tourism plays a major role in Montenegro's economy as well. Protecting the environment from the building of hydroelectric dams and energy policy transparency are therefore natural priorities for the Montenegrin Government.

My current resolution on Montenegro's progress also focuses on the economy. By freeing up the country from too much red tape and bureaucracy, this will encourage business and promote growth through foreign direct investment.

Montenegro is also well known as a champion of better regional cooperation with its immediate neighbours, and its achievements in this area include resolving an outstanding small border dispute with Croatia and leading the fight against organised crime in a region which sadly has too much of it. Last year it successfully concluded bilateral extradition treaties with Serbia, Macedonia and Croatia. In short, Montenegro is a good news story and it is hoped that the negotiations will now start in June of 2012 for EU accession.

3-192-000

**Gay Mitchell**, *on behalf of the PPE Group* . – Mr President, I would like to thank Charles Tannock for this report.

Sometimes I think that, when we look back on this period of history, people will not just look at the economic turmoil but they will look at the fact that the Berlin Wall came down suddenly and miraculously in 1989; and here we are, with 10 new Member States such a short time after that, talking about Montenegro joining the European Union, given the recent history of the former Yugoslavia. This is indeed miraculous and it is what we need in Europe and is what the whole foundation of Europe was about from the very beginning.

I welcome this. I welcome the progress that has been made by Montenegro in the way they have addressed this issue so far, but the European Union is open to any European country which is a democracy and can take on the responsibilities of membership.

I raise this issue only because it is a difficult issue for smaller Member States. At some stage we have to again look at the institutional issues. Can we continue to expand in the way we are expanding, for example, and have a Commission with an ever-increasing number of Commissioners? In my country the answer to that is 'Yes', because small countries guard this with great jealousy. But if this question is to be addressed – and I am sure it is on the agenda somewhere – let it be addressed in such a way that it is not a power grab by large Member States. This is the one place where Member States, irrespective of their size, have equality, and I would ask the Commissioner to keep that in mind.

I do welcome the progress that has been made and it is great to see that the reasoning behind the origins of the European Union is still alive and well, and that we are broadening and deepening and making this continent a stable place for the future and a place where we can conduct our affairs in a more united way internationally.

3-193-000

**Göran Färm**, *för S&D-gruppen* . – Herr talman! Tack till Tannock. Han har skapat en väldig bred enighet runt det här betänkandet och det tror jag är väldigt viktigt.

Det är glädjande att EU:s medlemsstater nu startar sina anslutningsförhandlingar med Montenegro. Det är en stark signal om EU:s engagemang för hela västra Balkans framtid i EU.

Det är också viktigt att kandidatländerna verkligen bedöms enbart på sina egna meriter och på sina framsteg med att uppfylla anslutningskriterierna. Resolutionen är väldigt tydlig på detta område.

Montenegro förtjänar beröm för sitt engagemang, den konstruktiva rollen när det gäller att bidra till regional stabilitet och goda förbindelser med sina grannar, och de har gjort framsteg, stora framsteg, det har Tannock pekat ut, med att uppfylla de nyckelprioriteringar som kommissionen har fastställt tidigare, men fortfarande finns det en hel del kvar.

Reformarbetet kommer att kräva en stark politisk vilja att ta itu med tuffa utmaningar, särskilt de som handlar om rättsstatsprincipen och kampen mot korruption, smuggling och organiserad brottslighet. Där finns det väldigt mycket kvar att göra och att verkligen lyckas med det kommer att vara viktigt för hela anslutningsprocessen.

Men en anslutningsprocess är inte bara en angelägenhet för regeringar och parlament. Hela samhället måste ställa om, och därför måste Montenegro också stärka dialogen med det civila samhället, med arbetsmarknadsparterna och med fackföreningarna. Mediafriheten måste säkerställas.

I mitt ändringsförslag till plenum uppmanar jag Montenegro att grundligt utreda de fall av våld och hot mot journalister som har inträffat och visa sitt engagemang för fria medier.

Till sist jämställdheten – här finns väldigt mycket att göra när det gäller att på allvar ta itu med problemet att kvinnor är kraftigt underrepresenterade på viktiga positioner i Montenegro. Även detta måste förändras.

Jag ser fram emot att kunna välkomna Montenegro som EU-medlem så snart anslutningskriterierna är uppfyllda. Sedan är det också upp till oss i EU att göra vårt jobb med att t.ex. utveckla föranslutningsprogrammet IPA så att det på allvar ger det stöd som länder som Montenegro behöver för att kunna anpassa sig till en framtid i EU.

3-194-000

**Ivo Vajgl**, *v imenu skupine ALDE*. – Jaz sem mislil, da ste kot liberallec, gospod predsedujoči, namenoma ustavil uro zato, da lahko govorimo nekaj dlje.

Rad bi se zahvalil gospodu Tannocku kot poročevalcu za izvrstno sodelovanje, tudi za sodelovanje z vsemi ostalimi poročevalci v senci.

Dobra novica za Črno goro in za nas je, da se bodo pogajanja končno začela in to v začetku junija.

Dovolj razlogov je za to, da verjamemo, da je Črna gora dobro pripravljena. Vzpostavljena je tudi kohezivnost v družbi o cilju Evropski uniji.

Pozitivno je dejstvo, da začneta Črna gora z enim od najtežjih poglavij, s poglavjem 23.

Črna gora je uspešno izvedla vrsto reform, ki jamčijo izpolnjevanje pogojev po *acquisu*. To velja za reformo pravosodja, za ustvarjanje učinkovitih institucij za boj proti korupciji, ki je tudi v tem Parlamentu privlačila pozornost mnogih kolegov poslancev.

Velja poudariti pozitivno vlogo Črne gore pri regionalnem sodelovanju.

Tudi jaz mislim, kot poročevalec, da je dogovor s Hrvaško, da odprto vprašanje Prevlake predajo v presojo Haaškemu sodišču, rezultat zdrave in pametne odločitve.

Pozdravljamo tudi ukrepe črnogorske vlade, ki hočejo zagotoviti sodobno in stvarno svobodo izražanja, preprečiti napade na novinarje, in ki bodo zagotovili demokratično tolerantnost, ko gre za manjšine vseh vrst v družbi.

Nekatere od teh zadev so za črnogorsko družbo nove, so pa nujne in zagotovo dobrodošle.

Čas je da majhna, neskončno lepa dežela z bogato zgodovino in kulturo odločno stopi proti združeni Evropi.

3-195-000

**Ulrike Lunacek**, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group* . – Mr President, on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group I would also like to thank Mr Tannock for a very good report and the constructive cooperation we had in order to reach compromises. Also on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group, I would like to welcome the clear support this Parliament is going to give tomorrow to the European Union starting negotiations with Montenegro. This is an important step forward. It is also one step to keep up this enlargement momentum that we now have with Croatia, with candidate status for Serbia, and with dialogue between Kosovo and Serbia going ahead.

Yes, Montenegro is ready and is doing quite well. Many of the amendments that we tabled have been accepted, or have been voted in the Committee on Foreign Affairs: on environment, on large-scale dams. That was very positive, but still there is one thing that is very problematic in Montenegro and that is the corruption problem. It has been addressed by several colleagues, especially concerning the privatisation processes. State-owned companies – aluminium, telecom, electricity – there were large-scale protests just recently in Podgorica against this, and the government really has to look into this and move ahead. In addition, the threats against investigative journalists, mentioned by Mr Färm and also by Commissioner Füle, are not isolated cases and the government really has to step up its support for freedom of the media.

One last issue: the law on financing of political parties. Implementation of that law has been largely delegated to the State Electoral Commission, and do you know who that is composed of? Representatives of political parties. That is simply not the way to control financing of parties and I think changes are still needed there.

Let me end on a very positive note, on LGBT issues. Here, there has been progress in Montenegro recently and I would like to add one aspect of regional initiatives. Montenegro and the government have just recently held a regional conference on lesbian, gay bisexual and transgender rights with Croatian, Serb and Kosovo representatives. That is a good thing.

3-196-000

**Νικόλαος Χουντής**, *εξ ονόματος της ομάδας GUE/NGL* . – Κύριοι συνάδελφοι, είμαι υπέρ της ένταξης του Μαυροβουνίου στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση όπως και άλλωστε όλων των χωρών των Δυτικών Βαλκανίων, εφόσον ο λαός το επιθυμεί, εφόσον οι πολιτικές δυνάμεις συμφωνούν.

Όμως πιστεύουμε πως αυτή η διαδικασία, οι ενταξιακές διαπραγματεύσεις, θα πρέπει να αποτελέσει την αφορμή να λυθούν προβλήματα οικονομικά, κοινωνικά, δημοκρατικά, προβλήματα δικαιωμάτων προς όφελος του λαού. Με αυτή την έννοια η έκθεση έχει τέτοιες θετικές προοπτές,

ιδιαίτερα στην καθιέρωση ενός σύγχρονου δημοκρατικού κράτους και στην αντιμετώπιση του οργανωμένου εγκλήματος. Έχει όμως δύο σημεία που - με την ευκαιρία ότι η περίπτωση του Μαυροβουνίου είναι από τις πιο εύκολες που έχουμε στα Βαλκάνια - θα ήθελα να τα τονίσω, λέγοντας ότι δεν συμφωνούμε να τίθενται τέτοια ζητήματα ή με αυτόν τον τρόπο.

Το πρώτο θέμα είναι ότι συμψηφίζει την ένταξη στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση και στο NATO. Το NATO όπως ξέρετε είναι ένας προβληματικός οργανισμός και ιδιαίτερα σ' αυτή την περιοχή δεν έχει την καλύτερη φήμη, μιλάω στην περίπτωση της γενικότερης Βαλκανικής, ενώ το δεύτερο σημείο έχει να κάνει ότι ουσιαστικά προτρέπουμε σε οικονομικές λύσεις, όπως π.χ. ξένες επενδύσεις, ελαστικοποίηση της εργασίας, που είναι σίγουρο (υπάρχει υψηλή ανεργία στο Μαυροβούνιο) ότι θα επιδεινώσουν την κατάσταση των εργαζομένων.

Επομένως, εάν μπει με τέτοια κριτήρια το Μαυροβούνιο, θα κατεβάσει το γενικό επίπεδο οικονομικής και κοινωνικής στάθμης στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση. Θα ήθελα να μην υπήρχαν αυτά τα σημεία στην έκθεση του συναδέλφου.

3-197-000

**Monica Luisa Macovei (PPE).** - Mr President, over the past year Montenegro has made progress in judicial reform. The backlog of cases in the courts has been reduced and measures to reinforce the independence, accountability and efficiency of judges and prosecutors have been adopted. But these are all on paper and in legislation. Enforcement is the most important element, the key issue and it is the most difficult to achieve.

If we look at the last 20 years in the post-Communist countries, the most difficult reforms were the reforms of the judiciary and the measures to enforce the fight against corruption. In the area of the fight against corruption, legislation has been reinforced by adopting a new public procurement law, the law on funding political parties and a law on conflicts of interest.

Once again, implementation is the key issue and the test of the success of all this adopted legislation. Further efforts are needed to ensure a predictable and efficient judicial system and to restore public trust. Here I would like to give two suggestions: jurisprudence must be unified – justice must not be a lottery – and all judgments must be made public.

In the fight against corruption, the Montenegrin authorities must focus on high-level corruption cases. This is the test of the judiciary and of the political class. We need, and the people of Montenegro need, a strong and convincing track record of final convictions in high-level political cases.

3-198-000

*Catch-the-eye procedure*

3-199-000

**Elena Băsescu (PPE).** - Muntenegru a realizat progrese concrete în cele șapte domenii prioritare identificate de Comisia Europeană în urmă cu un an. În acest context salut și eu decizia Consiliului European privind deschiderea negocierilor de aderare cu această țară în iunie 2012. Consider că astfel vor fi încurajate reformele în toate statele din regiune, demonstrând că progresele interne sunt un element fundamental pentru reușita procesului de integrare europeană.



Solicit totodată autorităților din Muntenegru să continue eforturile în special în domeniul justiției, în combaterea corupției și a crimei organizate. În acest context consider că este oportună noua strategie a Comisiei de a deschide capitolele 23 și 24 la începutul negocierilor. Subliniez totodată nevoia de măsuri suplimentare pentru a îmbunătăți situația romilor, inclusiv prin elaborarea unei noi strategii naționale în domeniu.

3-200-000

**Eduard Kukan (PPE).** - Poďakovanie a kompliment Charlesovi Tannockovi za jeho líderstvo pri príprave tejto správy, ale aj za jeho nezlomnú podporu v procese integrácie Čiernej Hory. Uznanie patrí aj tieňovým spravodajcom. Čierna Hora dosiahla hmatateľný pokrok v integračnej agende. Dosahuje dobré výsledky v procese spoločenskej transformácie a reforiem, týka sa to tiež siedmych známych priorit Európskej komisie. Tieto procesy treba ďalej podporovať.

Zostáva, samozrejme, mnoho problémov, najmä v oblasti vlády práva, boja proti organizovanému zločinu a korupcii, spolupráce štátu s občianskou spoločnosťou a sloboda médií, ale aj tu už sú vidieť výsledky. Ide o dlhodobé procesy, pre ktoré má Európska únia inštrumenty počas prístupových rokovaní. Čierna Hora je na západnom Balkáne šampiónom na ceste do Európskej únie a je aj faktorom regionálnej stability. Mali by sme ju preto v tomto úsilí ďalej podporovať.

3-201-000

**Bernd Posselt (PPE).** - Herr Präsident! Montenegro ist ein eindeutig europäisches Land. Ein Land, das der älteste neuzeitliche Staat auf dem Balkan ist, mit großer slawischer, aber auch albanischer Kultur, ein Begegnungsort zwischen Christen und Muslimen. Die Minderheiten sind traditionell sehr gut geschützt. Das heißt, trotz vieler Probleme, die es noch gibt, befindet sich Montenegro meiner Ansicht nach auf einem sehr guten Weg, den wir massiv unterstützen sollten. Deshalb begrüße ich den ausgezeichneten Bericht von Charles Tannock und glaube in der Tat, dass ein montenegrinischer Kommissar und montenegrinische Parlamentarier auch eine Bereicherung für diese Europäische Union wären. Das Land könnte so etwas werden wie eine Art Luxemburg des Balkans.

3-202-000

**Štefan Füle,** *Member of the Commission* . – Mr President, let me conclude my remarks by reiterating my congratulations to the rapporteur, Charles Tannock, for his informed contribution to today's political debate. I am confident that this resolution sends the right message to Montenegro: one of both acknowledgement of the hard work delivered so far and strong encouragement to pursue the reform process with determination.

Montenegro is very close to opening accession negotiations. I am positive that, with the strong commitment of its people and our joint support, Montenegro will continue to set a positive example in the region by moving ahead in its European integration efforts. In line with the recent European Council conclusions, the Commission will present an interim report this spring on Montenegro's progress in the implementation of reforms, in particular in the area of rule of law and fundamental rights. The report will especially look into continued progress on the seven key priorities since the adoption of our 2011 progress report. Should the report indicate further progress, the launching of accession talks by the Council in June would confirm the credibility of the enlargement process as a whole.

3-203-000

**Nicolai Wammen**, *formand for Rådet*. – Hr. formand, ærede medlemmer, hr. kommissær! EU har givet Montenegros borgere håb om en fremtid i EU. Det er en fremtid og et ønske, som nu er inden for rækkevidde. I Montenegro er der bred national enighed om ønsket om EU-medlemskab, og det er imponerende, hvor meget Montenegro på kort tid har opnået i bestræbelserne på at komme tættere på EU.

Som led i det danske EU-formandskab besøgte jeg selv landet den 21. februar i år. Her oplevede jeg en reformvillighed og et stærkt engagement fra landets side. Man har på kort tid gennemført mange og vigtige reformer, bl.a. for at opbygge en mere effektiv retsstat og for at sikre borgernes grundlæggende rettigheder. Det er reformer, som er i både Montenegros og EU's interesse.

Alt det er godt, men der er forsat behov for fremskridt, især hvad angår bekæmpelse af korrupsion og organiseret kriminalitet. Jeg ser i den forbindelse frem til Kommissionens næste fremskridtsrapport, som vil vurdere de mange reformtiltag.

Vi har i dagens debat været inde på en række af de områder, hvor reform er påkrævet. Der er bred enighed mellem EU og Montenegro om de områder, som det er relevant at arbejde videre med, og det er glædeligt. Montenegros fremtidige reformarbejde bør især fokusere på færdiggørelsen af forfatningsreformen, bekæmpelse af organiseret kriminalitet og korrupsion samt effektiv gennemførelse af den lovgivning, der er vedtaget, navnlig på områder som finansiering af politiske partier og antidiskrimination.

I den forbindelse ser vi frem til færdiggørelsen af arbejdet med forfatningsreformen, som vil styrke domstolenes uafhængighed. De kommende reformer vil uden tvivl præge befolkningernes dagligdag og stille store krav. I den forbindelse er det vigtigt, at landets administrative kapacitet forsat styrkes. Det kan bl.a. ske med bidrag fra EU's instrument til førtiltrædelsesbistand, som hidtil har gjort god gavn i Montenegro.

Med en lille og åben økonomi er også Montenegro blevet ramt af krisen, og som andre steder i Europa vil der være udsigt til lav økonomisk vækst og arbejdsløshed. Også af den grund er det vigtigt, at Montenegro gennemfører en politik til fremme af erhvervslivets vækstbetingelser. Der er allerede sket fremskridt på Montenegros vej mod en markedsøkonomi, og yderligere reformer vil styrke denne udvikling.

Jeg er overbevist om, at Montenegro forsat vil gøre sit bedste for at leve op til forpligtelserne i stabiliserings- og associeringsaftalen. Fremskridt inden for EU-integration er som bekendt meritbaserede. Det er glædeligt, at Montenegro allerede har opnået en høj grad af efterlevelse af medlemskabskriterierne.

Når landene i EU's integrationsproces leverer, så skal EU gøre det samme. Det er mit håb, at vi under et dansk formandskab i juni kan indlede tiltrædelsesforhandlingerne med Montenegro. De fremskridt, vi forventer i forbindelse med Montenegros EU-integration, vil naturligvis først og fremmest være til gavn for Montenegro selv; men jeg er overbevist om, at fremskridtene også vil være med til at give et positivt momentum til de andre Balkanlandes bestræbelser på at nærme sig EU. Det er derfor en sag, der er vigtig for Montenegro, for Balkan og for EU. Det er en sag, hvor det danske formandskab vil arbejde tæt sammen med Europa-Parlamentet og med Kommissionen for at opnå de resultater, som vi er enige om skal til, til gavn for Montenegro og til gavn for Europa.

3-204-000

**President.** – I have received one motion for a resolution <sup>(4)</sup> tabled in accordance with Rule 110(2) of the Rules of Procedure.

The debate is closed.

The vote will take place tomorrow (Thursday, 29 March 2012).

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

3-204-500

**Corina Crețu (S&D), în scris .** – Muntenegru a făcut progrese substanțiale în procesul de integrare europeană, reușind să îndeplinească într-o mare măsură criteriile pentru aderare, prin punerea în practică a unor importante reforme structurale. Există însă și câteva probleme pe care autoritățile de la Podgorița au datoriat de a le trata cu maximă seriozitate. Mă gândesc, în primul rând, la necesitatea combaterii criminalității organizate și la respectarea libertății presei. Se impun anchete obiective și prompte în toate cazurile de atac împotriva jurnaliștilor. Ne îngrijorează totodată subreprezentarea gravă a femeilor în poziții decizionale și nerespectarea drepturilor muncii pentru femei. Acestea sunt expresii evidente ale încălcării egalității de gen. Nu în ultimul rând, Muntenegru are obligația de a implementa soluții sustenabile pentru problemele celor 15 000 de refugiați ce se găsesc pe teritoriul țării.

## **21. European Refugee Fund 2008 to 2013 (debate)**

3-206-000

**President.** – The next item is the report by Rui Tavares, on behalf of the Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs, on the recommendation for second reading on the Council position at first reading with a view to the adoption of a decision of the European Parliament and of the Council amending Decision No 573/2007/EC establishing the European Refugee Fund for the period 2008 to 2013 as part of the general programme ‘Solidarity and Management of Migration Flows’ (06444/2/2012 – C7-0072/2012 – 2009/0127(COD)) (A7-0063/2012).

3-207-000

**Rui Tavares, relator .** – Senhor Presidente, às vezes temos que nos lembrar de onde viemos: se olharmos para a história da lei internacional sobre os refugiados, vemos que a constituição do Aknur, em 1949, a Convenção de Genebra sobre os Refugiados, em 1951, e o primeiro grande esforço da reinstalação de refugiados, que foi em 1956, a seguir à revolução na Hungria, tiveram como objeto, todos eles, refugiados europeus.

A Europa era, nessa altura, o continente dos refugiados. E, muitas vezes, nós, europeus, esquecemos hoje que assim foi, quando vemos os refugiados virem do resto do mundo.

Temos que pensar também em que mundo estamos. Os refugiados são a população mais vulnerável do mundo. De entre os alguns milhões de refugiados que existem, a maior parte quer voltar a casa, aos seus países de origem. Uma outra parte pode ficar nos países de trânsito com os quais têm às vezes afinidades culturais ou linguísticas. Mas uma pequena

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(4) See Minutes.

porção de refugiados, que o Aknur estima em cerca de 200 mil por ano, não podem nem voltar a casa, onde correriam risco de vida, nem ficar onde estão, em países que muitas vezes não são signatários das Convenções de Genebra.

É preciso, então, dar-lhes acesso a uma nova vida num país terceiro. A reinstalação de refugiados é um esforço global, ordeiro e pacífico, no qual todos nós devemos desempenhar a nossa parte, e a Europa deve fazer a sua parte precisamente se se lembrar de onde veio e da sua História. Hoje em dia, a Europa reinstala cerca de 5 mil refugiados por ano, quando comparado com cerca de 100 mil que são reinstalados por outros países: os Estados Unidos, principalmente, o Canadá, a Austrália, ou até novos atores como o Brasil e o Chile. É preciso então pôr mãos à obra e nós temo-lo feito nos últimos anos. A codecisão sobre o Fundo Europeu de Refugiados, que votámos nesta casa já há dois anos, introduz novas prioridades humanitárias com categorias mais claras, prioridades estratégicas na vizinhança da União Europeia, onde nós podemos agir para ajudar a resolver situações críticas de urgência humanitária, e modulação entre o apoio que é dado aos Estados-Membros para podermos atrair novos Estados-Membros e chegar aos 27, uma vez que quando começámos este processo, apenas dez faziam reinstalação e agora já vamos em 13 que querem fazer reinstalação.

Não foi fácil fazer este caminho desde há dois anos a esta parte. Desde que ele foi iniciado sob a Presidência sueca e até que foi finalizado, finalmente, sob a Presidência dinamarquesa. Houve nestas várias presidências vários obstáculos e houve vários momentos de angústia em que se perderam vidas e em que pessoas esperaram nos campos de refugiados mais tempo do que aquele que teríamos desejado.

Do meu ponto de vista, e creio que do ponto de vista dos cidadãos europeus e de muita gente nesta casa e nas Instituições, isto não é maneira de fazer lei em casos de vida ou de morte. É preciso que, para lá do Tratado de Lisboa, que instituiu o procedimento de codecisão, que haja um acordo interinstitucional que possibilite que haja prazos claros para fazer este tipo de lei.

Não podemos demorar dois anos a fazer lei em casos de vida ou de morte. Devo, no entanto, agradecer à Presidência dinamarquesa que nos possibilitou fechar este processo, pela sua atividade, pelo trabalho duro que puseram neste dossiê, ainda mais tendo em conta que a Dinamarca, porque tem um *optout* destas matérias, não tem acesso ao dinheiro do Fundo Europeu dos Refugiados. Foi trabalho desinteressado e trabalho nobre, como aliás foi grande parte do trabalho feito também aqui neste próprio Parlamento. Os refugiados, não é demais lembrá-lo, não são quem vota nos deputados que aqui estão, não são quem lhes paga o salário através dos seus impostos ou não são os líderes dos nossos partidos políticos, no entanto, desde comunistas gregos a conservadores britânicos, houve uma enorme aliança nesta casa para levar este dossiê a bom porto e eu agradeço muito isso.

E quero terminar lembrando a própria Comissão, onde o processo foi iniciado, e, em representação de muitos funcionários da Comissão, quero referir uma pessoa que trabalhou durante dois anos neste dossiê e que infelizmente faleceu já depois do acordo obtido e ainda antes de ele ser adotado aqui: a nossa colega e amiga Stéphanie Pasqueti, cujo trabalho, tal como o trabalho de muita gente que trabalhou neste dossiê, será prolongado sempre que nós conseguiremos reinstalar mais uma família de refugiados, duplicar ou triplicar o número de refugiados instalados no mundo.

Muito obrigado e agradeço muito a toda a gente que colaborou neste dossiê.

3-208-000

**Cecilia Malmström**, *Member of the Commission*. – Mr President, I am really happy to be here today. It has, as the rapporteur has said, been a long journey to where we stand today, and I would like to thank Mr Tavares for his commitment, his endeavours and his hard work to finally achieve a result in this dossier. I would also like to thank all the presidencies that have been involved, and the Danish Presidency that has now brought it to a successful conclusion.

Many people have worked on this and thank you, Mr Tavares, for mentioning Stefania Pasquetti. She and many others at the Commission did a lot of work and she was very committed. As you said, she very tragically died unexpectedly a few weeks ago. She would have been very happy today to see that we have finally reached an agreement between the three institutions, with overwhelming support from the European Parliament. I would like this to be a tribute to her work.

When we proposed the establishment of the programme back in 2009, our aim was to make sure that more refugees in situations of extreme vulnerability could be given more stable lives by resettling them in the European Union.

We proposed not only to increase refugee resettlement to the EU, but also to use and to pool our resources in a more strategic way. In order to achieve this, increased funding was offered to Member States new to resettling refugees. We also had the idea of annual selection of resettlement priorities. This was intended to widen the scope of refugees that could be resettled under the European Refugee Fund. In this way more people can be given the possibility to have a life in dignity and safety, offering them a future in which they can live rather than merely survive.

I am so proud and happy that today we have managed to overcome all the differences in a spirit of good compromise and to see our work on this file completed. Today's legislation runs to the end of 2013, but the new asylum and migration fund that we have proposed for the coming financial perspective, 2014 to 2020, includes a reinforced and ambitious resettlement component.

Furthermore, in line with the suggestions made by the European Parliament, we are working this year on the implementation of a pilot project on resettlement in emergency situations which allows for even more resettlement to take place in the European Union.

As you know, we had to overcome a last-minute snag in the legislative negotiations on the legal basis for the proposal, so I would like to read out a specific declaration on this issue by the Commission: 'The Commission, in a spirit of compromise and in order to ensure the immediate adoption of the proposal, supports the final text; however, it notes that this is without prejudice to its right of initiative with regard to the choice of legal bases, in particular in reference to the future use of Article 80 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union.'

By establishing this programme, we are sending a very strong signal to the international community that the European Union recognises the need for more resettlement of refugees and of our commitment to give shelter and protection and a durable solution for refugees.

Thank you all for your work on this; I am looking forward to a very strong endorsement in the vote tomorrow.

3-209-000

**Γεώργιος Παπανικολάου,** *εξ ονόματος της ομάδας PPE .* – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, ευχαριστώ και από την πλευρά μας τον εισηγητή, τον κ. Tavares, για όλη την προσπάθεια που έγινε σε αυτά τα δύο και πλέον χρόνια. Ευχαριστώ και την Επιτροπή για όσα μας ανέφερε σήμερα και είναι ευχάριστο για όλους μας το γεγονός ότι μετά από πολλές συζητήσεις, εδώ στην ολομέλεια μας, ολοκληρώνουμε πλέον την προσπάθεια και τη διαπραγμάτευση για αυτό το πρόγραμμα επανεγκατάστασης προσφύγων. Υπενθυμίζω και εγώ ότι είναι σημαντικό να δώσουμε περισσότερα κίνητρα στα κράτη μέλη για να εμπλακούν στο πρόγραμμα, είναι δε πολύ σημαντικό να αυξήσουμε τη συμμετοχή της Ευρώπης στην κάλυψη των αναγκών όλων εκείνων των ατόμων τα οποία σε παγκόσμιο επίπεδο ξεπερνούν τις περίπου 200.000 τον χρόνο και έχουν ανάγκη από μια νέα πατρίδα για λόγους τους οποίους όλοι αντιλαμβανόμαστε.

Επιτρέψτε μου όμως να κάνω τις εξής παρατηρήσεις: Δεν περιποιεί τιμή για όλους μας, το ότι ενώ συνέβησαν όλα αυτά τα γεγονότα στη Βόρειο Αφρική εμείς καθυστερήσαμε τόσο να λάβουμε τις τελικές μας αποφάσεις για λόγους που όλοι γνωρίζουμε. Όπως επίσης δεν περιποιεί τιμή ότι όλη αυτή η διαπραγμάτευση που διήρκεσε πάνω από 2 έτη, κατέληξε τελικά στο να έχουμε ένα πρόγραμμα που θα εφαρμοστεί μόνο για ένα χρόνο, μόνο για το 2013. Αυτά λοιπόν τα δεδομένα ως προσπάθισουμε τουλάχιστον, την επόμενη περίοδο, να τα αξιοποιήσουμε κατά τον καλύτερο δυνατόν τρόπο. Στο επόμενο πρόγραμμα, στην επόμενη δημοσιονομική περίοδο, να αξιοποιήσουμε αυτή την χρονιά, να την αξιολογήσουμε γρήγορα, να δούμε τα θετικά και τα αρνητικά, ώστε να δημιουργήσουμε τη βάση, τον πυλώνα για την περαιτέρω προσπάθειά μας.

Άκουσα με πολλή προσοχή τη δήλωση της Επιτροπής. Η δήλωση αυτή δείχνει ότι και το υπόλοιπο διάστημα θα έχουμε να κάνουμε μια πολύ σημαντική διαπραγμάτευση. Ας μη καθυστερήσουμε αυτή τη διαπραγμάτευση. Όλοι από την πρώτη στιγμή στηρίζαμε αυτό το πρόγραμμα. Επίσης, όλοι έχουμε πει ότι αυτό το πρόγραμμα πρέπει να συνδυαστεί με το πρόγραμμα εσωτερικής επανεγκατάστασης στην Ευρώπη το "reallocation programme" και αυτό είναι κάτι που αναμένουμε και γνωρίζουμε όλοι ότι εργαζόμαστε πάνω σε αυτό, την τρέχουσα περίοδο. Επομένως, συγχαρητήρια για άλλη μια φορά, και ας ελπίσουμε ότι αυτή η εφαρμογή του προγράμματος, τον επόμενο χρόνο, θα είναι η αφετηρία για πολύ πιο σημαντικές επιδόσεις της Ευρώπης στον εν λόγω τομέα τα μελλοντικά έτη.

3-210-000

**Antonio Masip Hidalgo,** *en nombre del Grupo S&D .* – Señor Presidente, pocos son los asilados reasentados permanentemente en Europa. Mi país, España, apenas ha comenzado con la experiencia.

Los casos son, sin embargo, de urgente necesidad. Los diputados así lo han comprobado sobre el terreno en viajes a los campamentos de iraquíes de origen palestino en Siria, también en vista de las noticias que nos llegaron de Túnez.

Otro aspecto más institucional es el equilibrio de fuerzas entre el Parlamento y el Consejo. Nuestro ponente, el valeroso Rui Tavares –hay muchos buenos parlamentarios pero pocos de tanta tenacidad como Rui Tavares–, ha luchado por que el Parlamento Europeo mantenga las nuevas competencias conseguidas tras la aprobación del Tratado de Lisboa.

No puedo olvidar la permanente labor que ha llevado a cabo el ACNUR, sin la que tampoco el éxito habría sido posible. El ACNUR nos ha hecho conscientes a todos de la premura del informe, por encima de disquisiciones jurídicas, para que los fondos puedan ser utilizados cuanto antes, ahora que tanto se necesitan.

Y, por último, muchas gracias, Comisaria. Espero que les demos a usted y a su buen corazón la satisfacción de sacar adelante el paquete de asilo en el próximo mes.

3-211-000

**Auke Zijlstra (NI).** - Voorzitter, overal op aarde zijn mensen op de vlucht. Ongekende wreedheden in langdurige oorlogen, de groeiende invloed van de islam. Er is veel om voor te vluchten. De Partij voor de Vrijheid is voorstander van opvang van deze vluchtelingen in de eigen regio. Zowel de fysieke afstand als de culturele afstand is dan het kleinst.

Ik wijs er ook op dat het Vluchtelingenverdrag stelt dat vluchtelingen in het eerste veilige land asiel moeten aanvragen. De ontworteling die plaatsvindt als er iemand vlucht, wordt op deze manier zo beperkt mogelijk gehouden, en integratie - noodzakelijk als terugkeer niet mogelijk blijkt - wordt daarmee geholpen.

Maar nu, Voorzitter, hebben we het over de hervestiging van vluchtelingen. Een onzalig plan om bijvoorbeeld Afghaanse vluchtelingen in Turkije en Somalische vluchtelingen in Ethiopië naar de EU te halen. Brussel wil hier zelfs voor betalen, en deze betaling, Voorzitter, is de verkeerde aanmoediging. Niet alleen dekt het de kosten bij lange na niet, ook kan het geld veel beter en veel effectiever besteed worden in de regio's waar deze vluchtelingen worden opgevangen. En daarmee, Voorzitter, zijn méer vluchtelingen beter geholpen.

3-212-000

**Simon Busuttìl (PPE).** - Hemm żewg raġunijiet għaliex jien se nappoġġja bis-shiħ id-deċiżjoni li jitwaqqaf dan il-programm. L-ewwel nett għaliex għall-ewwel darba se jkollna programm fuq skala Ewropea li jippermetti r-risistemazzjoni jew trasferiment ta' refuġjati minn barra l-Unjoni Ewropea għal pajjiżi tal-Unjoni Ewropea, programm li jgħin anki finanzjarjament lil dawk il-pajjiżi li lesti jaċċettaw refuġjati minn barra l-Unjoni Ewropea. L-Istati Uniti, pereżempju, għandhom programm simili li huwa tajjeb u effettiv hafna u jippermetti li l-Istati Uniti jgħinu lil nies li jkollhom bżonn protezzjoni internazzjonali. Dan huwa ġest nobbli u issa dan il-ġest se norganizzawh u ninkoraġġuh anki fuq livell Ewropew kif inhu xieraq. F'Lulju li għadda, jiena mexxejt delegazzjoni ta' dan il-Parlament fil-fruntiera bejn il-Libja u t-Tuneżija, fejn sibna mal-5,000 persuna li kienu ħarbu mill-ġlied fil-Libja, jgħixu taħt it-tined f'Xuxa. Dawn kienu nies minn pajjiżi bħas-Somalja, l-Eritrea u s-Sudan li ħarbu mil-Libja iżda ma kellhomx fejn imorru. Dawn in-nies setgħu faċilment jikkwalifikaw għal trasferiment taħt il-programm li qed nadottaw il-lum. It-tieni raġuni għaliex se nappoġġja dan il-programm hija li l-inizjattiva bħal din se tagħti l-possibilità lil dawn ir-refuġjati li jiġu fl-Ewropa mingħajr ma jkollhom għalfejn iħallsu lil xi organizzazzjoni kriminali biex jitilgħu fuq dġħajsa sabiex jaqsmu l-Mediterran u mingħajr ma jkollhom għalfejn jirriskjaw hajjithom. Għaldaqstant b'dan il-programm se nattakkaw il-kriminalità organizzata u fl-istess hin se nnaqqsu n-numru ta' nies li jtilfu hajjithom fil-Mediterran għaliex ir-refuġjati se jkunu jistgħu jiġu trasferiti direttament lejn xi pajjiż Ewropew li jkun lest illi jilqagħhom. Grazzi hafna.

3-213-000

**Juan Fernando López Aguilar (S&D).** - Señor Presidente, desde que, en septiembre de 2009, la Comunicación de la Comisión lanzó la idea de establecer un fondo de reasentamiento para refugiados, todo en Europa ha estado en crisis. Y por eso es doblemente digno de ser saludado y celebrado este éxito de cooperación institucional, que involucra la iniciativa de la Presidencia sueca, culminada por la Presidencia danesa, el trabajo de la

Comisión y, por supuesto, la perseverancia del Parlamento Europeo, que ha conducido a este informe de la Comisión de Libertades Civiles, Justicia y Asuntos de Interior que presido.

Quiero saludarlo, como quiero saludar la insistencia del ACNUR en llamar la atención sobre el hecho de que la Unión Europea es una unión de valores y lanza un mensaje positivo, no solamente a los países de la orilla sur del Mediterráneo, sino también a los de la frontera este, euroasiática, de la Unión Europea, diciendo que tenemos un compromiso con la protección de aquellas personas que buscan refugio porque son perseguidas en sus países de origen o se acogen a algún otro estatuto complementario de protección y que, sin embargo, no pueden ser acogidas en el primer país de entrada.

Este fondo viene a cumplir ese objetivo y, además, lo hace superando disquisiciones y discusiones jurídicas que han durado demasiado, acerca del procedimiento, los actos delegados, pero también respecto a la propia base jurídica, y me complace subrayar que la Comisión de Libertades Civiles, Justicia y Asuntos de Interior ha avalado por unanimidad el reconocimiento de esta base jurídica en el artículo 80 del Tratado de Funcionamiento de la Unión Europea, que nos convoca a un principio de solidaridad que tenemos que llenar de contenido.

Y por eso me complace decir que la Comisión de Libertades Civiles, Justicia y Asuntos de Interior no solo votó de forma prácticamente unánime a favor de este informe, sino que, además, reconoció, en su homenaje a la memoria y en la condolencia por su pérdida, la contribución de la señora Pasquetti, funcionaria de la Comisión Europea, que falleció sin poder ver completado este trabajo.

3-214-000

### ΠΡΟΕΔΡΙΑ: ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΠΑΠΑΣΤΑΜΚΟΣ

*Αντιπρόεδρος*

3-215-000

**Agustín Díaz de Mera García Consuegra (PPE).** - Señor Presidente, señora Comisaria, felicito al señor Rui Tavares de todo corazón. Este debate supone un paso adelante para incrementar la labor humanitaria de la Unión y, a su vez, proporcionar una mayor protección internacional a los refugiados.

Nos congratulamos por la mejora de las condiciones de acogida, la aplicación de los procedimientos de asilo y la promoción de prácticas buenas y eficaces para la protección internacional de los derechos de las personas.

Teniendo en cuenta que, en el último año, el número de solicitudes de asilo presentadas fue de 301 000, de las que se aceptaron 59 465, debemos racionalizar las medidas de reasentamiento en aras de una maximización de la eficacia del suministro de las prestaciones.

Cinco mil reasentados en Europa es muy poco aún en términos solidarios. Yo también estuve en Shusha.

Es necesario que un mayor número de Estados miembros se implique en las acciones de reasentamiento y, para ello, apoyamos brindar un soporte económico adicional a los que participen por primera vez.



Además, es necesario prestar ayuda financiera adicional para el reasentamiento de personas en el caso de regiones geográficas y nacionalidades específicas cuando se haya concluido que ésta es la respuesta más apropiada a sus necesidades especiales.

No quiero olvidar la emergencia y la prioridad que debe suponer para todos los Estados miembros el apoyo a los niños y a las mujeres pertenecientes a un grupo de riesgo en particular, a las víctimas de la violencia psicológica, física y sexual y de la explotación. Uno de cada cinco solicitantes de asilo es menor de trece años.

Le felicito, señor Presidente, por el acuerdo interinstitucional.

3-216-000

**Sylvie Guillaume (S&D).** - Monsieur le Président, je regrette évidemment les retards procéduraux qui se sont accumulés sur ce dossier mais je veux aujourd'hui saluer l'adoption de ce programme européen de réinstallation. Un programme commun, qui – je l'espère, nous l'espérons tous – permettra de renforcer la participation des États membres à l'effort mondial de réinstallation – n'oublions pas que la réinstallation comporte une dimension globale – et d'améliorer aussi la qualité des procédures d'identification, d'accueil et d'intégration qui sont mises en place. C'est un programme qui permet aussi que le recours au Fonds européen pour les réfugiés ne soit pas définitivement compromis, même si le temps est court maintenant. C'est enfin un programme qui permettra que l'Union européenne ne soit plus aux abonnés quasi absents face à une situation de crise humanitaire, comme cela a été le cas pour l'accueil des réfugiés en provenance de Lybie. Mais j'en dirais un mot tout à l'heure.

Ceci étant posé, il est aussi temps de regarder vers l'avant, vers l'avenir. Le temps des grandes déclarations est révolu. Il faut dès à présent donner chair, donner corps à ce programme européen de réinstallation et considérer comment, dans la pratique, nous pouvons travailler de concert avec les États membres et les autres principales parties prenantes aux activités de réinstallation.

Je veux, à cet égard saluer, un programme qui existe: le projet pilote sur la réinstallation lancé à l'initiative du Parlement européen, qui de manière très innovante et sur la base d'échanges de pratiques, permet d'élaborer un réseau européen de réinstallation des villes et des régions. Bien que les autorités nationales soient en charge de la sélection de réfugiés installés, les autorités régionales et locales jouent en effet un rôle tout à fait déterminant en matière d'accueil et d'intégration, une fois que ces réfugiés sont arrivés sur place. La réussite des programmes nationaux de réinstallation dépend aussi fortement de l'engagement, de la capacité et des partenariats des villes, des municipalités et des régions.

Autre sujet sur lequel il nous faut agir dans la pratique: la mise en œuvre pleine et effective des programmes de réinstallation. Il faut noter en effet, selon nos informations, une baisse significative dans les départs effectifs des réfugiés qui sont acceptés pour cette réinstallation, et cette tendance serait due à des vérifications de sécurité très minutieuses et à divers problèmes dans la gestion des procédures de réinstallation. Il faut donc rappeler, dans ce contexte, que beaucoup d'États arguent aussi de la saturation de leur capacité d'accueil pour renoncer à une politique de réinstallation.

Il convient donc de rappeler une fois de plus que ces projets nationaux ou transnationaux ont permis, au contraire, d'offrir des conditions d'accueil et d'intégration aux réinstallés et que ceci désengorge d'une certaine manière les dispositifs d'accueil et permet un accès rapide des réinstallés à l'autonomie.

Je profite des vingt secondes qu'il me reste, Monsieur le Président, pour revenir sur ce que disaient M. Díaz de Mera et M. Busuttil, qui ont malheureusement quitté l'assistance. J'étais également à Choucha – pour le coup, nous ne parlons pas de programme, nous ne parlons pas d'argent, nous parlons d'êtres humains –, nous étions à Choucha il y a quelques semaines et malheureusement je veux bien parier que les personnes qui étaient sur place, pour beaucoup d'entre elles, y sont encore, ce qui prouve à l'évidence – mais Mme Malmström le sait – qu'il faut encore beaucoup agir sur les conditions pour que des offres soient faites pour accueillir les personnes qui en ont véritablement besoin.

3-217-000

**Regina Bastos (PPE).** - Senhor Presidente, cumprimento o relator Rui Tavares pelo excelente trabalho e por finalmente ter conseguido um acordo. Foi um processo demasiado longo devido a um inexplicável bloqueio ao nível do Conselho. Um acordo que, na minha delegação, foi já aplaudido pelo Deputado Carlos Coelho, inexplicável especialmente para os milhares de refugiados que vivem a tragédia humanitária, esperando em campos, na maior parte dos caos em condições sub-humanas e correndo o risco de vir a alimentar redes de tráfico humano.

A urgência da situação revela-se nos números: durante o ano de 2011, registou-se um aumento de 15 % comparado com o ano anterior. A União Europeia, no conjunto dos 27 Estados-Membros, recebeu cerca de quase 280 mil pedidos de asilo. O Fundo Europeu para os Refugiados deverá permitir financiar ações do interesse da União Europeia no seu todo, mas também ações de dimensão transnacional ou meramente de âmbito nacional, à luz da criação de um programa conjunto de reinstalação da União Europeia.

Os sistemas de receção e de proteção de vários Estados-Membros têm sido drasticamente postos à prova devido à chegada inesperada de um grande número de pessoas que necessitam de proteção internacional, provenientes, em especial, de países como o Afeganistão, a Líbia, a Síria, a Tunísia e a Costa do Marfim. É fundamental, por isso, que este apoio financeiro comunitário possa ser utilizado pelos Estados-Membros para melhorar os seus sistemas de acolhimento e encorajar a reinstalação.

3-218-000

**Salvatore Iacolino (PPE).** - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, signora Commissario, non v'è dubbio che seppur tardivamente il programma, una volta definito l'accordo, costituisca uno strumento di grande solidarietà e per questo va registrato con grande favore il suo successo.

Noi siamo dell'avviso che il reinsediamento congiunto sia una chance formidabile di riscatto per tanti disperati in cerca di protezione, che arrivano da realtà più difficili e che meritano una disponibilità non soltanto formale ma concreta e di sostanza. È necessario che vi sia un concorso responsabile da parte degli Stati membri, tenuto conto che tutto questo avviene su base volontaria. L'Eurostat nei giorni scorsi ha comunicato i dati: oltre trecentomila istanze. Mi fa piacere constatare che l'Italia è al primo posto nell'accoglimento delle istanze per la protezione umanitaria, un'Italia che ha bisogno nuovamente dell'apporto costruttivo dell'Unione europea perché, come saprete, gli sbarchi a Lampedusa hanno ripreso in maniera massiccia e significativa.

Deve fare molto il governo italiano, ma parimenti deve esservi questo concorso concreto da parte dell'Unione europea. Siamo contrari ovviamente a flussi migratori irregolari, che vanno decisamente contrastati perché spesso in mano alla criminalità organizzata, e

guardiamo all'orizzonte temporale del 2013 intanto, e poi del 2014-2020, perché i programmi di reinsediamento costituiscano un traguardo concreto e reale. Diamo atto al relatore, da un lato, e alla signora Commissario Malmström, dall'altro, di aver lavorato intensamente su questo binario.

3-219-000

(*Διαδικασία catch-the-eye*)

3-220-000

**Elena Băsescu (PPE).** - Consider că raportul colegului Tavares este oportun, în contextul dificultăților întâmpinate de unele state membre în gestionarea fluxului de refugiați. În acest context subliniez stabilirea priorităților europene anuale de reinstalare. În acest mod se asigură un grad înalt de flexibilitate pentru programul european de reinstalare.

Mai mult, este stabilită o obligație din partea statelor membre de a raporta Comisiei aproximarea numărului de refugiați pentru anul următor. Astfel se pot evita incidente precum cel din Lampedusa, precum și victimele rezultate în urma tentativelor ilegale de traversare a Mării Mediterane.

De asemenea, subliniez utilitatea noului mod de calcul al fondurilor suplimentare, prin constituirea unui buget mediu de persoană. În acest fel se iau în calcul necesitățile reale ale refugiaților sau ale persoanelor relocate.

3-221-000

**Franziska Keller (Verts/ALE).** - Mr President, I would also like to congratulate very much the rapporteur, my colleague Rui, on this excellent report, even though it took a long time. I think it is high time that we finally passed this.

Resettlement – as we all know – is the last hope for many people in this world who can never return to their homes; people who are traumatised and suffering from the effects of war and other things. Other countries in the world, such as the United States, already resettle quite substantial numbers, at least when compared with EU Member States which do not resettle very many people. I hope that the resettlement programme will change this. Finally, we – as the EU – are encouraging Member States to take the step, but that still means that they have to take it themselves.

I would urge the Council to encourage Member States to take up this initiative and really resettle substantial numbers of people. We have the 'Save Me' campaign at a local level. Many communities in the European Union have said 'yes, we want to have people here in our community.' So please, Council, do part of the job and resettle some.

3-222-000

(*Τέλος της διαδικασίας catch-the-eye*)

3-223-000

**Cecilia Malmström, Member of the Commission.** – Mr President, honourable Members, thank you for this debate. I agree with all of you who said that we hope more Member States will engage in the programme once it is in place. We are definitely willing on the Commission side to try to organise, facilitate and also fund this.

As we all know, there are many people in the world who are desperate to run away from suffering, and from oppression and violence, many who have no other hope than to be resettled in Europe. These are the most vulnerable people in the world. While we are, of course, aware that we have an economic crisis in the European Union, we also have a long tradition of solidarity; that is part of one of the most important values of the European Union. Sometimes when I look and listen to the debate in the European Union, in different Member States today, solidarity does not seem to be very fashionable. But this is a chance to show solidarity not only in theory but also in practice. It is a chance to give people a life, hope for the future, and I would like to thank Parliament for making this possible.

3-224-000

**Rui Tavares**, *relator*. – Obrigado Senhor Presidente e obrigado a todos os colegas e à Comissária Malmström pelas suas intervenções. Eu gostaria agora de dizer algumas palavras sobre o futuro do programa de reinstalação de refugiados na União Europeia.

Estou muito contente por ver que as próximas perspectivas financeiras da União Europeia, propostas pela Comissão, adotaram uma boa parte das ideias que vimos discutindo nos últimos anos. A modulação entre Estados-Membros para poder atrair mais Estados-Membros a fazerem reinstalação, a criação também de uma unidade de reinstalação situada no Gabinete Europeu de Apoio em Matéria de Asilo e a inclusão de alguma inteligência e sensibilidade, eu diria, nas políticas de reinstalação que não podem ser só baseadas num fundo orçamental.

E, evidentemente, apoio totalmente a Comissão na utilização do artigo 80.º sobre solidariedade como base legal. Não é para nós aceitável que alguns Estados-Membros no Conselho não queiram ver citado o artigo 80.º na base legal deste tipo de instrumentos. É caso para perguntar quem tem afinal medo da solidariedade na União Europeia?

Uso agora este minuto que me resta para pedir aos cidadãos que façam também a sua parte: por um lado, que persuadam os seus Estados-Membros e que lhes digam que há agora dinheiro extra para reinstalação, há novas regras, há ajuda a nível europeu para fazer coisas que individualmente seriam caras mas que feitas juntos são muito mais económicas, que reinstalem mais refugiados. Por outro, que apoiem as ONG e o Aknur que trabalham nesta área e peço também que se informem mais acerca da maneira de fazer lei na União Europeia e que façam algo para terminar com este processo de coindecisão com que às vezes a lei europeia é bloqueada entre Parlamento e Conselho. Sem prazos, uma codecisão não é uma codecisão, é apenas uma desculpa para utilizar um veto tácito. E, por último, lembrem-se que, como nós na nossa história europeia que fomos refugiados tantas vezes, um refugiado é uma pessoa normal em circunstâncias muito difíceis, é alguém que já arriscou a vida quando foi expulso da sua casa, não vamos deixar que o faça de novo, ainda para mais caindo na mão do tráfico de seres humanos e, por favor, ajudem-nos a nós também a cumprir com o trabalho de duplicar ou triplicar em breve o número de refugiados reinstalados na União Europeia.

3-225-000

**Πρόεδρος**. - Η συζήτηση έληξε.

Η ψηφοφορία θα διεξαχθεί αύριο, 29 Μαρτίου 2012 στις 11.30.

**Γραπτές δηλώσεις (άρθρο 149)**

3-226-000

**Sebastian Valentin Bodu (PPE)**, *în scris*. – Fondul European pentru Refugiați (FER) sprijină și încurajează eforturile depuse de statele membre de a admite refugiații și persoanele deplasate în teritoriu și de a face față efectelor acestor admiteri, ținând seama de legislația comunitară în domeniu. Obiectivul general al Fondului European pentru Refugiați este sprijinirea și încurajarea eforturilor depuse de statele membre de a admite refugiații și persoanele deplasate în teritoriu și de a face față efectelor acestei admiteri, ținând seama de legislația comunitară în domeniu.

Salut prezenta propunere care solicită modificarea Deciziei de instituire a Fondului european pentru refugiați, având în vedere crearea unui Program comun de reinstalare al UE. Ideea de a crește impactul acțiunilor UE de reinstalare este binevenită în actualul context internațional; astfel se oferă protecție refugiaților și sunt maximizate efectele strategice ale reinstalării, printr-o mai bună orientare către persoanele pentru care reinstalarea este o necesitate stringentă, precum și prin stabilirea în mod regulat a priorităților comune în materie de reinstalare la nivelul UE.

3-227-000

**John Bufton (EFD)**, *in writing*. – The United Kingdom is criticised repeatedly in the EU Citizenship Report which details the obstacles to EU citizens' right to free movement. Increasingly people in the UK highlight immigration as one of the most pressing political issues, yet the EU fails to democratically recognise their voice. The UK population has grown faster in the last decade than at any other time, with the majority of growth related to immigration and an increased birth rate as a result of second generation immigration. It is essential that the relevant UK authorities retain the power to determine who lives in the country, which people are entitled to welfare payments and what checks and conditions are used to determine legal residency. This can only be done by leaving the EU. The report fails to examine issues that relate to the free movement principle, such as stress on employment, pressures upon society and integration issues. The EU is happy to publicly condemn, rather than condone, overt dialogue on the negative aspects of free movement of people while they continue to forge policies that underscore the ideal of a federal superstate where national values would be replaced by Brussels' ideology.

3-227-500

**Ioan Enciu (S&D)**, *în scris*. – Evenimentele recente din sudul Mediteranei au constituit o provocare pentru Uniunea Europeană nu doar în termeni de susținere a democrației și a statului de drept, dar și în ceea ce privește mecanismele de gestionare a fluxurilor migratorii, a frontierelor externe și a mecanismelor interne de solidaritate în cadrul Uniunii. Acest ultim aspect al solidarității este probabil cel mai problematic, întrucât asistăm nu doar la o erodare a acestei solidarități în cadrul UE, dar și în relația cu partenerii internaționali, în special în ceea ce privește protecția internațională. Programul general privind solidaritatea și gestionarea fluxurilor migratorii este o parte a răspunsului UE la această erodare a solidarității și de aceea el trebuie să fie sprijinit. Uniunea Europeană trebuie să sprijine statele membre care se arată dispuse să se implice mai mult în ajutorarea refugiaților care au nevoie de protecție din partea UE. În același timp, este important ca gestionarea programelor pentru refugiați și a programelor de reinstalare să se realizeze ținând cont de anumite priorități bine definite, cea mai importantă fiind orientarea către persoanele cele mai vulnerabile.

3-227-750

**Franz Obermayr (NI),** *schriftlich* . – Die Europäische Union steckt Unsummen in Imagekampagnen, die dem Bürger die Vorteile der Union schmackhaft machen sollen. Jeder kluge Kaufmann weiß, dass ein gutes Produkt keiner Werbung bedarf. Wo genau der Fehler der EU liegt, wird implizit auch beim Thema "Ausweitung des Neuansiedlungsprogramms" deutlich: die Diskrepanz zwischen der Lebenswirklichkeit zumindest der Bürger der älteren EU-Staaten und der pathologischen Umgestaltungswut vieler Eurokraten. Trotz massiver Integrationsprobleme von Einwanderern aus völlig fremden Kulturkreisen sollen Neuansiedlungsprogramme ausgeweitet und mit noch mehr Mitteln versehen werden. Wer Flüchtlinge aus sicheren Drittstaaten in die EU holen möchte beweist damit nicht seine Solidarität sondern seine Dummheit! Wirksame Hilfe wäre, Flüchtlinge aufnehmende Drittstaaten finanziell und strukturell zu unterstützen und speziell in Krisenregionen friedensstiftende, demokratiefördernde und humanitäre Projekte zu fördern. Die wahnwitzige Idee, man könne jedem Bedrängten der Welt in der EU ein warmes Plätzchen schaffen ist selbstzerstörerisch. Nachhaltige Hilfe kann nur vor Ort geleistet werden. Die Idee der Flüchtlingshilfe wird durch die Festlegung permanent als verfolgt geltender Gruppen und dem Begriff der Neuansiedlung geradezu ad absurdum geführt. Wer seine Heimat wegen der Schrecken eines Krieges verlassen muss, der soll in einem sicheren Staat Schutz finden können. Damit kann aber keine dauerhafte Neuansiedlung mit Wohlstandsgarantie gemeint sein.

## 22. Προβλέψεις εσόδων και δαπανών για το 2013 - Τμήμα Ι - Κοινοβούλιο (συζήτηση)

3-229-000

**Πρόεδρος.** - Το επόμενο σημείο είναι η έκθεση του κ. Derek Vaughan, εξ ονόματος της Επιτροπής Προϋπολογισμών, σχετικά με τις προβλέψεις εσόδων και δαπανών για το 2013 - Τμήμα Ι - Κοινοβούλιο (2012/2006(BUD)) (A7-0062/2012).

3-230-000

**Derek Vaughan,** *rapporteur* . – Mr President, it is normal on these occasions to thank the shadow rapporteurs. I want to give particular thanks today because the cooperation between the shadows on these estimates has been exceptional. I also want to thank the Bureau and the Secretary-General for their cooperation in putting these estimates together. There is now a widespread consensus that we need a modest budget in Parliament, especially during these difficult economic and financial times.

I believe the estimates show that we are on the way to achieving that modest budget. The proposed increase of 1.9% for 2013 is already a freeze in real terms, and it is in line with the letter we received from Commissioner Lewandowski asking us to keep the increase at or below 1.9%, although I do believe there is potential to make even more savings. I will return to that in a few minutes.

To achieve the 1.9% we have found around EUR 9.3 million in savings in the budget, savings in all Members' allowances, including the daily allowances and general expenditure allowance, all travel budget lines, in the security costs in Parliament, in representational costs, in seminars, savings made in the budget of political parties and foundations, and also in the project reserve. Colleagues will note that when we have sought to make savings we have also attempted to protect the effectiveness of the European Parliament and to respect our legal responsibilities.

It would be easy to listen to populist voices and make cuts in areas which damage the European Parliament's effectiveness, and indeed the effectiveness of individual Members of this House. I believe the majority of Members will take the middle, sensible course. Therefore, in addition to the suggested savings, I also support the call for no new unforeseen building projects for the rest of this term. I also call for more information on the KAD building in Luxembourg, for no extra funds to be made available for the House of European History and for this project to be co-financed. We need to clarify with the Commission how much they will put into the building costs and the running costs of that particular project.

I support greater interinstitutional cooperation. There must be opportunities for savings if we work jointly with other institutions on translation, on interpretation, on buildings and on human resources. I am pleased to say that work has already started on that.

I also support calls to look at all our budget lines, particularly the budget lines which are normally under-spent each year. There must be the potential for further savings. As I said earlier, the estimates currently calling for an increase of 1.9% should be just the start. That is why we are also calling for the establishment of a working group in our guidelines.

This working group can do a full evaluation of Parliament's budget. It can also look at the forthcoming travel costs report, and it can look at the comparable study with other parliaments and Congress which this House called for in last year's estimates.

When this working group finishes its work towards the end of the year we will be able to identify even more savings in our budget. My aim, and I believe the aim of most Members of this House, will be to say that we have listened, we have listened to people's views, we have made savings in our budget, and we have produced a budget which is a cut in real terms, but at the same time we have produced a budget which protects the effectiveness of this Parliament and of all its Members.

3-231-000

**Monika Hohlmeier**, *im Namen der PPE-Fraktion*. – Herr Präsident, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! An den Anfang möchte ich ein herzliches Dankeschön an Derek Vaughan als unseren Hauptberichterstatter richten, aber auch an meine Mitberichterstatter. Wir haben eine sehr enge Zusammenarbeit gepflogen und uns sehr intensiv ausgetauscht und versucht, miteinander vernünftige Lösungen für einen ersten Schritt in Richtung *Estimates* zu finden. Ich glaube, dass es schon sehr erwähnenswert ist, dass der Anstieg der Mittel des Europäischen Parlaments bereits jetzt unter der Inflationsrate liegt und dass wir uns auch bis zum Herbst noch einmal intensiv mit einer systematischen Überprüfung der Ausgaben des Parlaments auseinandersetzen wollen, um entsprechend weiteres Potenzial für Einsparungen zu finden. In diesem Zusammenhang wollen wir auch der Öffentlichkeit sehr deutlich machen, dass uns bewusst ist, dass das Europäische Parlament zwar eine vernünftige Ausstattung braucht, um gut arbeiten zu können, dass wir aber dort, wo wir sehen, dass Einsparmöglichkeiten bestehen, diese auch wahrnehmen wollen. Dazu gehört aus meiner Sicht sicherlich auch, dass wir dort, wo wir im Bereich der Gebäude eingreifen können, sorgfältig mit den Geldern umgehen. In diesem Zusammenhang gilt es allerdings zu erwähnen, dass wir bereits erste Einsparpotenziale geltend gemacht haben und dass wir insbesondere im Bereich überteuerter Mieten bereits eine deutliche Reduktion haben vornehmen können.

Was die Zusammenlegung an einen Standort betrifft, würde ich vorschlagen, dass wir die Kosten der Zusammenlegung und die Konsequenz der Zusammenlegung an einen Standort auch einmal berechnen sollten und nicht nur fiktive Kosten, die sich aus den durch die verschiedenen Standorte bedingten Reisen ergeben. Dies wäre vielleicht einmal für eine sinnvolle Analyse notwendig, denn es gibt Beamte, die überhaupt nicht reisen müssen, da sie mit dem Parlament direkt und seiner Arbeit nichts zu tun haben, sodass sich bei einer Zusammenlegung unter Umständen gar keine Vergünstigung ergeben würde. Man sollte das schlicht und einfach einmal sorgfältig und unvoreingenommen analysieren. In diesem Zusammenhang noch einmal Danke an die Kollegen. Ich glaube, dass wir gute *Estimates* vorlegen.

3-232-000

**Göran Färm, för S&D-gruppen.** - Herr talman! Stort tack till Derek Vaughan. Han har verkligen visat förmåga att skapa bred enighet bakom det här betänkandet på ett område som annars ofta har kännetecknats av stora kontroverser.

Det känns som en ny era. Det är bara något år sedan det var nästintill självklart att parlamentets budget skulle expandera. Nu har vi istället en bred enighet om det är ett minimikrav att frysa budgeten och att ytterligare besparingar ska sökas fram till budgetprocessen i höst, inte minst för ledamöternas egna utgifter som har varit oerhört svåra att överhuvudtaget diskutera tidigare.

Det är också glädjande att parlamentet har antagit vårt förslag om att starta en särskild oberoende arbetsgrupp för att utveckla nya rationella arbetsmetoder och jämföra våra modeller och kostnader med andra parlament.

Jag är helt övertygad om att det finns en stor potential för rationaliseringar utan att vi ska behöva offra principer som flerspråkighet, hög kvalitet i lagstiftningsarbetet, goda arbetsförhållanden för personalen o.s.v. som är viktiga principer att försvara.

Ändå, och trots den här förändringen i inställning till parlamentets budget, så ryggas många fortfarande inför den, som jag personligen anser, största och mest självklara besparingen: att samla parlamentets verksamhet på en plats.

I budgetutskottet fick vi i förra veckan tydlig majoritet för det ändringsförslag som lades fram och jag hoppas att vi får en tydlig majoritet för det även i plenum imorgon.

Självklart måste vi försöka hitta lösningar för dem som förlorar sina arbetsplatser, men låt oss titta praktiskt på det. Jag är helt övertygad om att det går att hitta modeller för att kompensera dem som kommer att göra förluster om vi kan koncentrera parlamentets verksamhet på ett ställe. Att upprätthålla den nuvarande modellen är helt orimligt både ekonomiskt, praktiskt och miljömässigt.

Det är dags att faktiskt nu börja verka för en sådan förändring.

3-233-000

**Carl Haglund,** *on behalf of the ALDE Group* . – Mr President, first of all I want to thank Derek Vaughan for a very good job. Our group is very satisfied with the outcome of the negotiations between the groups. We put forward amendments to make sure that we can find savings and greater efficiency. We looked at the election costs for 2014 and at the costs for representation, etc., and all of these have been incorporated into the deal reached by the groups. The outcome is therefore very satisfying.



At the same time, we need to bear in mind that we are still increasing the budget in line with what we call inflation: 1.9% plus the costs of incorporating Croatia. The budget is continuing to grow in real terms because of Croatia. We therefore still see a need to look for additional savings in autumn. We are also convinced that there are possible savings to be made. In view of this, we have previously called for an outside evaluation of the budget. Other groups have not been so keen on this, but now an agreement has been mentioned by my Socialist colleagues on this working group. This is a good initiative and we support it as another way to tackle the issue of our own costs. We are convinced that we can find more savings.

Concerning the single seat issue, which Mr Färm referred to, the broad majority of our group is also in favour of concentrating our work in the one place of work. This would be a good way to save nearly EUR 200 million a year, which is far more than we can save with all the other measures we are now taking. I think this proves that this economic time is the right time to find a solution to the situation we are in right now.

Finally, the Commission has proposed that all institutions cut their staff numbers. We should also do so. We therefore regret the fact that the administration is proposing an increase in staff numbers for next year. We need to find a solution to cut down on staff in the long run in order to keep our costs in order.

3-234-000

**Richard Ashworth**, *on behalf of the ECR Group*. – Mr President, I too want to thank Derek Vaughan for his report. He will know that I am broadly supportive of his proposals. In particular I want to say that I welcome the efforts of colleagues on the committee because we have worked together to find savings and I definitely think that this report is headed in the right direction.

At a time when national governments throughout Europe are striving to cut budgets to deliver better value for money and to keep budgets under tight control, it is absolutely essential that we in this House visibly are seen to be doing the same thing. It is especially important that we scrutinise those headings where the big numbers are. Here I mention in particular administrative staffing costs and building policy; policy not just here in Brussels, but policy in Luxembourg, policy in Strasbourg. I welcome the rapporteur's call for a single seat for this Parliament. Surely at a time when we are looking for savings, that has to be the most obvious saving of all, and now is the time to address that if we are to retain credibility with the electorate.

But overall I would have liked to have seen more ambition in this report. The very minimum we should have been seeking is an absolute freeze on expenditure. That reflects another EUR 9 million of savings, something which in my opinion we could easily achieve. I look forward to working with the rapporteur and working towards achieving that goal later this year and achieving an absolute freeze on the overall size of the budget.

3-235-000

**Miguel Portas**, *em nome do Grupo GUE/NGL*. – Senhor Presidente, também eu gostaria de reconhecer o esforço realizado pelo relator no sentido de conseguirmos ter contenções fortes no orçamento desta casa para o próximo ano.

O aumento previsto de 1,9 % é inferior à taxa de inflação e isso é positivo, mas a esquerda considera que estes 1,9 % devem ser considerados como um teto máximo e que há que

continuar, daqui até à aprovação final dos números, a baixar este teto. E apresentaremos propostas nesse sentido, garantindo, em qualquer caso, o integral respeito dos direitos dos trabalhadores e do direito ao multilinguismo.

Onde é que estão as nossas reservas? Em primeiro lugar, aguardamos o relatório da Presidência do Parlamento sobre a redução das despesas de viagem dos eurodeputados. Estão em causa 12 milhões de euros. Em segundo, consideramos insuficiente o congelamento das várias formas de salário indireto destes mesmos eurodeputados. Estão em causa mais 10 milhões de euros. Em terceiro lugar, discordamos do aumento previsto para as rubricas associadas à comunicação social. É possível fazer melhor, com mais imaginação mas sem mais dinheiro. Em quarto lugar, discordamos do aumento acima da inflação previsto para as fundações e os partidos europeus. Eu estou à vontade porque sou dirigente de um partido europeu, mas há uma coisa que eu não quero fazer, que é despertar os demónios do antieuropeísmo primário. E, finalmente, finalmente, precisamos de discutir a questão da sede única com abertura de espírito, porque isso significa discutir tanto Bruxelas como Estrasburgo e, ao mesmo tempo, encontrar alternativas para aquela que for preterida.

3-236-000

**Marta Andreasen**, *on behalf of the EFD Group*. – Mr President, this Parliament should not be asking for more money from taxpayers, but less. This Parliament does not need more taxpayers' money to fund a European History House or other narcissistic projects. This Parliament does not need more taxpayers' money to fund expensive delegation trips to some paradise island. This Parliament does not need more taxpayers' money to fund synthetic European political parties. This Parliament does not need more taxpayers' money to fund communication and advertising campaigns to make itself known to the public.

What this Parliament needs is to behave responsibly and act genuinely in the interests of the citizens of the Member States. In this sense, the first thing it should do is to stop burdening Europe's people with heavy and useless regulation that frequently drives them out of business.

The second thing it should do is take the lead in avoiding, condemning and sanctioning all wasteful and irregular use of taxpayers' funds. I will vote against this budget proposal and urge the British Prime Minister to call for a 10% reduction in the EU budget for the European Parliament for 2013.

3-237-000

**Bruno Gollnisch (NI)**. - Monsieur le Président, je me contenterai de commenter le paragraphe 16 du rapport de M. Vaughan.

On y apprend qu'il y a des partis politiques européens qui porteraient atteinte aux principes de la liberté, de la démocratie, du respect des droits de l'homme, des libertés fondamentales et de l'état de droit. Je suis très étonné que, dans un Parlement comme celui-ci, qui est si attaché à un droit fondamental – le respect des droits de la défense –, on ait pu prononcer un jugement aussi solennel sans auditionner ceux contre lesquels on porte une aussi grave accusation.

Dans un deuxième temps, j'ai pensé que ceci visait peut-être – je ne sais pas – les partis communistes, qui ont réduit en esclavage la moitié de l'Europe pendant un demi-siècle. Mais on m'a dit – par une indiscretion – que c'était l'organisation que je présidais qui était visée.

Pour conclure, je vous dirai que nous respectons la liberté, mais la liberté des peuples. Nous sommes démocrates et nous n'aurions pas resservi, sous forme de traité ratifié par voie parlementaire, une Constitution rejetée par les peuples. Nous respectons les droits de l'homme, les libertés fondamentales – au nombre desquelles la liberté d'expression – et l'état de droit, qui suppose l'égalité entre tous les parlementaires et les citoyens qui les ont élus.

3-238-000

**Salvador Garriga Polledo (PPE).** - Señor Presidente, en una época de crisis es evidente que el gasto de las instituciones y, en particular, el gasto administrativo del Parlamento Europeo pueden someterse al escrutinio de la opinión pública.

Por eso, creo que lo que ha presentado nuestro ponente, el señor Vaughan, de acuerdo con la Mesa de este Parlamento, son unas estimaciones muy contenidas del gasto para el año 2013.

Yo soy de los que piensan que el dinero de los contribuyentes debe ser siempre vigilado y controlado. Pero todos somos contribuyentes y ese dinero debe ser vigilado de igual forma en un parlamento europeo que en un parlamento británico, que en un parlamento regional español o de cualquier otro país europeo.

Y creo que nosotros sí hemos hecho el esfuerzo de reducir nuestro presupuesto lo máximo posible. Es cierto que existen partidas que hemos reducido. Es cierto que hay partidas que podríamos reducir.

Les voy a poner un ejemplo a los pocos que están aquí. Ahora mismo tenemos a más personas en las cabinas de interpretación que diputados en esta Cámara. ¿Quiere eso decir que tenemos que quedarnos sin interpretación? No, simplemente que tenemos que seguir asignando mejor los recursos a las necesidades. Y ahora mismo no necesitamos tener a tanta gente.

En cualquier caso, sé que el diputado Vaughan y mi colega Hohlmeier se han ocupado de ello recientemente y, por tanto, yo creo que la propuesta que presentamos es una propuesta muy afortunada.

Y, por último, en cuanto al debate sobre una sola sede, yo creo que hay que hacer debates reales y no debates virtuales. Queda muy bien delante de la opinión pública decir que queremos limitarnos a una sede y a un solo lugar de trabajo, pero tenemos que saber exactamente cuáles son las posibilidades que nos marca el Tratado. Y ahora nuestra responsabilidad es rechazar esa enmienda.

*(El orador acepta responder a dos preguntas formuladas con arreglo al procedimiento de la «tarjeta azul» de conformidad con el artículo 149, apartado 8, del Reglamento)*

3-239-000

**Ferreira, João (GUE/NGL),** Pergunta segundo o procedimento “cartão azul” . – Senhor Presidente, o colega Garriga Polledo referia-se ao facto de, provavelmente, termos mais intérpretes nesta sala do que deputados. Eu gostaria de perguntar, enfim, sem fazer quaisquer considerações de outra ordem, gostaria de perguntar ao colega se tem conhecimento de que esta sessão, este debate, está também a ser transmitida pelo circuito interno de televisão e que, nessa medida, pode estar a ser vista por muito mais gente. Que isto não seja utilizado

como pretexto para os cortes que o colega reconhece como positivos nos serviços de interpretação e de tradução.

3-240-000

**Salvador Garriga Polledo (PPE)**, *respuesta a una pregunta de tarjeta azul*. – Me alegro de que el colega portugués me haga esa pregunta porque se refiere a un tema muy sensible, a saber, el derecho que tiene cada uno de los diputados a expresarse y a ser entendido en su propia lengua.

Señor Ferreira, lo que sí es cierto —y estará usted de acuerdo conmigo— es que ahora mismo existe una mala asignación de los recursos. Por mucho que usted me quiera decir que esto se está interpretando para muchas televisiones diferentes ahora mismo, el hecho es que estamos aquí menos de veinte diputados y que hay más de sesenta intérpretes.

Y creo que eso es algo que el señor Vaughan tiene que arreglar; se menciona en su propio informe.

Por lo demás, todos tienen derecho a ser oídos en su propia lengua; estoy completamente de acuerdo.

3-241-000

**Ana Miranda (Verts/ALE)**, *pregunta de tarjeta azul*. – Señor Garriga, yo creo que cuestionar el tema de la interpretación y de los gastos de la interpretación no tiene mucho sentido.

No tiene mucho sentido porque esta Cámara se ha dotado de unos servicios de interpretación profesionales, que están previstos en un presupuesto comunitario. Y, por lo tanto, cuestionar la irresponsabilidad de algunos diputados y algunas diputadas que no están presentes —muchas veces cualquiera de nosotros no está presente por tener que asistir a otras reuniones— y poner esa excusa en detrimento de la interpretación, que es un servicio profesional, me parece una falta de cortesía hacia los servicios de interpretación.

Por otra parte, hay pueblos que no nos podemos expresar en nuestras lenguas en esta Cámara y eso también tendría que estar previsto.

3-242-000

**Salvador Garriga Polledo (PPE)**, *respuesta a una pregunta de tarjeta azul*. – Señora Miranda, aprovechando los servicios de interpretación le voy a contestar con una frase española: no coja usted el rábano por las hojas. No sé cómo lo traducirán.

Lo que quiero decir es que no existe una correcta asignación de los recursos de interpretación. Le he puesto un ejemplo. Si usted fuera miembro de la Comisión de Presupuestos conocería exactamente el nivel del debate que tenemos en la Comisión de Presupuestos, donde consideramos que, ahora mismo, no están bien asignados los recursos de interpretación a las necesidades del momento.

Por lo demás, señora Miranda, puede usted iniciar un debate sobre lo que yo he dicho o no he dicho, pero mis colegas de la Comisión de Presupuestos saben perfectamente de qué hablo.

3-243-000

**Lidia Joanna Geringer de Oedenberg (S&D).** - Panie Przewodniczący! Sprawozdanie w sprawie preliminarza wpływów i wydatków Parlamentu Europejskiego w roku budżetowym 2013 przedstawia potrzeby administracyjne i wyzwania, którym musi w przyszłym roku sprostać nasza instytucja. W dobie globalnego kryzysu gospodarczego obywatele też oczekują od Parlamentu wzmożonej odpowiedzialności i powściągliwości budżetowej.

Cieszę się zatem, że koleżanki i koledzy z Komisji Budżetowej w większości wsparli złożone przeze mnie poprawki związane z ograniczeniem zbędnych kosztów idących w setki milionów euro rocznie, związanych z trzema miejscami pracy Parlamentu. Nasza instytucja powinna mieć jedną siedzibę skupiającą posłów i urzędników. Zatem wzywamy Radę do uwzględnienia naszych żądań i szeregu obywatelskich akcji dążących do zaprzestania niezrozumiałych i bardzo kosztownych wędrowek posłów i urzędników z racji trzech miejsc pracy Parlamentu oraz zaproponowania odpowiednich zmian traktatowych.

Same koszty delegacji służbowych urzędników ulokowanych w Luksemburgu a podróżujących między trzema miejscami pracy wyniosą w tym roku niemal 30 mln euro. Do tego należy doliczyć kolejne niepotrzebne wydatki związane np. z planowaną budową w Luksemburgu gigantycznego biurowca KAD dla 6 tysięcy urzędników, którego koszty są tak trudne do oszacowania, że żadna firma budowlana nie chciała się tego podjąć i Parlament zamierza sam wystąpić w roli dewelopera. Jeśli mówimy poważnie o oszczędnościach, to teraz jest najlepszy moment, aby zrezygnować z tego bizantyjskiego projektu i przenieść urzędników do miejsca, gdzie pracują posłowie, co jest i logiczne, i zrozumiałe dla obywateli, od których stale wymaga się zaciskania pasa. Na koniec chciałabym serdecznie pogratulować koledze Derkowi Vaughan świetnie wykonanej pracy.

3-244-000

**Hynek Fajmon (ECR).** - Pane předsedající, pokud chceme, aby tento Parlament neztratil jakoukoliv autoritu u občanů v našich členských státech, tak musíme reagovat na současnou hospodářskou situaci. To v praxi znamená nutnost šetrného a efektivního hospodaření s veřejnými penězi.

Zpráva, kterou nyní projednáváme, jde v mnoha směrech správným směrem. Jsem rád, že obsahuje závazek nezvyšovat do konce tohoto volebního období jakékoliv platby pro poslance a asistenty. Jsem také rád, že jasně a jednoznačně říká, že největší potenciální úspory v rozpočtové kapitole Evropského parlamentu spočívají v redukci počtu sídel naší instituce. Věřím, že toto konstatování zůstane součástí textu usnesení i po zítřejším hlasování. Před občany není nijak obhajitelné to, že zbytečně každý rok utratíme přes 200 milionů eur jen za stěhování mezi Bruselem a Štrasburkem. S tím je nutné skoncovat.

Celkově vzato se ale v předložené zprávě počítá s tím, že rozpočet Evropského parlamentu má příští rok růst o 1,9 % oproti letošnímu roku, a to jsou ještě z tohoto zvýšení vyjmuty náklady na přistoupení Chorvatska. Takové zvýšení považují stále za příliš velké. Správné by bylo ponechat výdaje na současné výši a nezvyšovat je.

3-245-000

**Claudio Morganti (EFD).** - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, finalmente in questa relazione è indicato quello che è lo spreco massimo del Parlamento europeo, ovvero l'avere più sedi di lavoro.

Spero che, continuando a battere su questo tasto, arriveremo presto a una soluzione, perché non vogliamo più continuare a essere complici, nostro malgrado, di questa assurda situazione. Io mi rallegro che, dopo il mio emendamento, più onorevoli si siano messi insieme e dicano no alla doppia sede. Onestamente, deve essere il Parlamento a dare forza e a essere veramente il volano per cambiare la situazione.

Vorrei aggiungere però che ci sono ancora molte cose da fare. Non si capisce ad esempio come, in questo momento di crisi e sacrifici per tutti, si possano spendere milioni di euro per la realizzazione della Casa della storia europea, una storia europea che peraltro oggi è fortemente a rischio. Ci troviamo in un'Unione europea dominata da una sola nazione e spalleggiata dalla burocrazia di Bruxelles, nella quale i popoli sovrani sono ormai relegati al ruolo di sudditi, costretti a subire decisioni prese altrove e con ben altri interessi. Ci penserei quindi bene prima di investire denaro pubblico in quest'opera, che potrebbe tra l'altro rischiare di trasformarsi da Casa della storia europea a mausoleo funebre dell'Unione europea.

3-246-000

**Lucas Hartong (NI).** - Voorzitter, rechter O.W. Holmes heeft eens deze geweldige uitspraak gedaan: "verminder de belastingen en uitgaven, houd de overheid arm en behoud daarmee je vrijheid". Daaraan moest ik denken toen ik het verslag van socialistische collega Vaughan over de begroting van het Parlement voor 2013 las.

Hoewel er een paar kleine stappen in de richting van bezuinigingen worden gedaan, is het allemaal te weinig en te laat. De begroting van het Parlement gaat opnieuw stijgen, met maar liefst 2,7%. De PVV wil echter een absolute verlaging van de gehele begroting. Het tientallen miljoenen euro kostende prestigeproject Huis van de Europese geschiedenis moet zo spoedig mogelijk worden geschrapt.

Voorzitter, goed besturen is eigenlijk helemaal niet zo moeilijk. Verminder de uitgaven, verklein de Europese overheid, en behoud de vrijheid. Wanneer gaat het Parlement dat doen voor onze burgers?

3-247-000

**Barbara Matera (PPE).** - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, gradirei anzitutto complimentarmi con il relatore e i relatori ombra per essere riusciti a coniugare la volontà della commissione per i bilanci di questo Parlamento, orientata a una crescita reale negativa per il bilancio 2013 del Parlamento, e la volontà dell'amministrazione di operare un risparmio concreto senza pregiudicare il corretto funzionamento dell'Istituzione.

La riduzione di 9,3 milioni di euro rispetto alle stime preliminari ci consente di contenere l'incremento del bilancio 2013 al di sotto del 2%, in linea con l'inflazione prevista per l'anno prossimo e secondo le indicazioni di contenimento della Commissione europea. Il bilancio europeo non presenta deficit e le spese amministrative del Parlamento ammontano all'1% del bilancio dell'Unione. Tuttavia, s'impone una linea di rigore e buona gestione finanziaria, nel rispetto degli sforzi che tutti i cittadini europei affrontano in un contesto di difficile risanamento dei bilanci nazionali.

Sono sicura che ulteriori sforzi, come la riduzione dei costi energetici, l'avviamento di progetti pilota quali l'*e-committee* per il risparmio della carta e la miglior gestione dei servizi di traduzione, ci consentiranno di raggiungere, al termine della procedura di bilancio, un incremento pari all'1,9% incluse le spese dell'adesione della Croazia.

(L'oratore accetta di rispondere a una domanda "cartellino blu" (articolo 149, paragrafo 8, del regolamento))

3-248-000

**William (The Earl of) Dartmouth (EFD)**, *blue-card question*. – Madam, you mentioned that this budget line has a EUR 9.3 million reduction. Have you considered that this is absolutely meaningless in relation to the EUR 14 billion of aid budgeted between 2014 and 2020 for candidate countries and potential candidate countries?

3-249-000

**Barbara Matera (PPE)**, *Risposta a una domanda "cartellino blu"*. – Siamo parlando soltanto delle spese amministrative di questa Istituzione. Non capisco pertanto questa domanda che è su tutt'altro bilancio. A scuola si sarebbe detto: "Mi spiace ma è fuori tema".

3-250-000

**Angelika Werthmann (NI)**. - Herr Präsident, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Eurostat prognostiziert aktuell für dieses Jahr eine Inflationsrate in Höhe von 2,7 %. Im Vergleich hierzu kann der Budget-Ansatz des EP für 2013 als angemessen und sparsam bezeichnet werden. Es ist eine Botschaft an unsere Bürgerinnen und Bürger, dass wir als Parlamentarier in diesen für viele Mitgliedstaaten schwierigen Zeiten besonnen handeln, Augenmaß zeigen. Wir müssen aber gleichzeitig betonen, dass die Reduzierung von Mitteln für Instandhaltungsmaßnahmen, Sprachendienste oder andere Leistungen mittelfristig an Substanz, Handlungsfähigkeit und Qualität der parlamentarischen Arbeit und der Infrastrukturen zehren werden. Ein zu großer Investitionsstau darf nicht zu später ungleich höheren Kosten führen. Ich danke abschließend für die konstruktive Arbeit seitens des Präsidiums sowie des Generalsekretariats und ich danke dem Kollegen Vaughan für seine Kooperationsbereitschaft.

3-251-000

**Ingeborg Gräßle (PPE)**. - Herr Präsident, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Wir haben es mit einem Budget des Übergangs zu tun, dem es schon ein bisschen an Ehrgeiz fehlt. Es ist ein Budget, das auf Abwicklung setzt, und das könnte angesichts der Herausforderungen hier ein Fehler sein. Ich vermisse Kostentransparenz, vor allem was das Luxemburger KAD-Gebäude betrifft. Herr Vaughan, es hat mir nicht gefallen, dass die Zahlen inzwischen völlig aus Ihrem Bericht verschwunden sind. Nach der Abstimmung im Haushaltsausschuss waren noch Zahlen drin, was das KAD-Gebäude kosten soll. Für die Plenarabstimmung wurden diese Zahlen jetzt durch Kompromisse entfernt. Ich finde es nicht gut, dass wir nicht einmal sagen, was diese große Herausforderung für das Parlament in Euro und Cent für die nächsten Jahre bedeutet.

Wir haben noch eine weitere Baustelle offen, und das sind die drei parallelen Pensionsfonds, deren Finanzierung ansteht und die zurzeit insgesamt mit einem Defizit von über 350 Millionen Euro zu Buche schlagen. Dieses Defizit ist anwachsend. Auch hier gibt es keinerlei Pläne oder Vorhersehungen, wie wir denn mit diesem Budget umgehen.

Ich glaube, dass wir gut beraten wären, für dieses Parlamentsbudget wirklich mutige Entscheidungen zu treffen, dass wir vor allem diese strukturellen Lücken, die wir vorgesehen haben, eben so füllen, wie die Steuerzahler es wirklich erwarten. Wir müssen aufpassen,

dass wir nicht weiter Entscheidungen treffen, die uns durch jährliche Folgekosten in der Gestaltungsfreiheit für die nächsten Jahre und Jahrzehnte gewaltig behindern.

3-252-000

(*Διαδικασία catch-the-eye*)

3-253-000

**Elena Băsescu (PPE).** - Doresc să salut și eu eforturile și responsabilitatea de care a dat dovadă Parlamentul în această perioadă de dificultăți majore. Consider estimările realiste, în contextul actual de consolidare a bugetelor naționale. Este esențial ca Europa să dispună de un cadru adecvat de politică economică, iar acest lucru se poate realiza prin economii în cadrul executării bugetului.

Susțin și eu însă analizarea metodelor de lucru ale Parlamentului, în vederea unei reorganizări. Consider necesară consolidarea eforturilor colective, pentru a facilita punerea în aplicare a bugetului prin măsurile luate la nivelul Uniunii.

Totodată, redresarea economică trebuie să se bazeze pe un buget rezonabil, care să favorizeze creșterea în aceste vremuri de austeritate. Consider, de asemenea, că Parlamentul ar trebui să caute și alte posibile surse de finanțare în afara propriului buget.

3-254-000

**João Ferreira (GUE/NGL).** - Senhor Presidente, queria referir-me a um aspeto particular deste relatório. Ele congratula-se com aquilo a que chama a reorganização das atividades de tradução e de interpretação. Cabe perguntar que reorganização é esta afinal? Será para suprir as carências que hoje existem nos domínios da tradução e da interpretação? Lamentavelmente, não! O objetivo é bem claro: poupar no orçamento. Mesmo que hoje existam resoluções não traduzidas ou traduzidas tarde e a más horas. Mesmo que sejam graves as restrições aos serviços de interpretação em várias reuniões e delegações. Este Parlamento não pode congratular-se com os cortes nestes domínios e depois fazer piás afirmações de preocupação pelo respeito pelo multilinguismo.

Quero daqui, mais uma vez, saudar todos os trabalhadores dos serviços de tradução e de interpretação, imprescindíveis ao funcionamento desta casa. Não aceitaremos que se venha a promover a precariedade laboral entre estes trabalhadores, pondo em causa postos de trabalho e os seus direitos.

3-255-000

**Vicky Ford (ECR).** - Mr President, I have listened carefully to the comments of Members this evening and, in the context of real cuts in real front-line services back in our Member States, in health, education and other areas, I cannot believe that Members think it is enough just to talk about freezing this budget in real terms.

A freeze – a total freeze – would be a step in the right direction. I completely agree that Members must have the right to speak and listen in their own languages but I have also seen many Members fail to turn up for meetings where they have asked for interpretation, and that does not seem responsible. But more fundamentally we need to consider in the future how we run this Parliament and especially the costs of our monthly commute to Strasbourg because in order to have our citizens' satisfaction in our work we need to look again at the costs that they are bearing in the wider economy.



3-256-000

**Sergio Gaetano Cofferati (S&D).** - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, volevo tornare rapidamente su quello che mi pare l'argomento più contestato nella discussione che abbiamo appena fatto, vale a dire quello relativo ai risparmi che si produrrebbero attraverso la semplificazione delle sedi del Parlamento. Non bisogna dimenticare che in verità sono tre le sedi: Lussemburgo, Strasburgo e Bruxelles.

I tentativi che stiamo facendo con efficacia, come quelli che sono contenuti nella relazione, e anche con attenzione intorno al tema, cioè quello dei risparmi delle nostre spese, rischiano di restare poca cosa di fronte agli occhi dell'opinione pubblica se non affrontiamo davvero il tema della semplificazione delle sedi. Però non possiamo farlo come questa sera, annunciando un'esigenza o indicando un obiettivo e non arrivando mai, attraverso le commissioni del Parlamento, a delle proposte concrete. Risolvere quel nodo non è semplice, vuol dire intervenire sul trattato e avere poi delle alternative credibili. È dunque questo lo sforzo che dobbiamo fare.

3-257-000

(Τέλος της διαδικασίας *catch-the-eye*)

3-258-000

**Derek Vaughan, rapporteur.** – Mr President, first of all, can I thank Mr Garriga Polledo for answering so many questions. It saves me having to do it and I am very grateful to him. I am also pleased that colleagues have recognised that the proposed budget increase is below EU inflation. I also want to point out to colleagues that, as a result of this proposal, the Parliament's share of heading 5 in the EU budget will be 19.196%, which is well below the normal 20% which Parliament receives. But let me make it clear once again that the 1.9% figure suggested is not the final figure. A number of colleagues have spoken as if the 1.9% is the final figure; it is not. As far as I am concerned, it is the start of the process, and I – like other colleagues – will want to make even more savings later this year.

And how do we make those savings? Colleagues have made a number of suggestions tonight. Concerning the single seat, it was rightly pointed out that we are not just talking about Brussels and Strasbourg: Luxembourg must also be added into the equation. Other colleagues have mentioned the building policy, savings on delegations and savings on interpretation and translation. Yes, work is being done on that at the moment, but when the work is concluded, I am sure that every Member will want to ensure that the rights of Members are also protected.

Let me also say that putting together a budget is always difficult, and when you put together your own budget it is even more difficult. Some colleagues will want a bigger budget; some colleagues will want a much bigger cut. But, I say to everyone, even those who want a bigger cut in Parliament's budget: please at least recognise that we are making efforts to save and are doing our best to keep the increase as low as possible. I am sure that we will find savings later this year and we will be able to say that we have frozen or even cut Parliament's budget in real terms.

3-259-000

**Πρόεδρος.** - Η συζήτηση έληξε.

Η ψηφοφορία θα διεξαχθεί αύριο, 29 Μαρτίου 2012 στις 11.30.

### Γραπτές δηλώσεις (άρθρο 149)

3-259-002

**John Attard-Montalto (S&D)**, *in writing*. – A decision to have one seat for the European Parliament has become essential. There are only two possibilities: Brussels or Strasbourg. The present calendar of the European Parliament gives us the answer. Strasbourg is retained only for plenary sessions, whilst Brussels has already been selected for all the other working weeks. The scales are tipped in favour of Brussels. One must also consider that it is the seat of other institutions, such as the European Commission. It is only natural that most EU parliamentarians prefer Brussels to Strasbourg. There are various obvious factors including accommodation and connectivity. But more important is the vital fiscal savings that this would entail. The present EP buildings in Strasbourg are not utilised for most of the working weeks. Surely they can be put to better use. My favoured proposal is a university; perhaps a university specialising in European Affairs.

3-259-003

**Geoffrey Van Orden (ECR)**, *in writing*. – At a time when governments in the United Kingdom and across Europe are cutting public expenditure and departmental budgets by factors of 20 % and more, it is unacceptable that Parliament is asking for any increase in its budget – even if only in line with inflation. Conservatives only voted in favour of this report in order to support the important amendment demanding a single seat for Parliament. Otherwise, Conservatives would have voted against the estimates. The report last September by the think-tank New Direction – the Foundation for European Reform, entitled ‘Ending Excess – Cutting the Costs of the European Parliament’, set out clearly the extravagance in growth of the bureaucracy and buildings of Parliament. Of Parliament’s budget of over EUR 1.6 billion at that time, it identified potential savings of some EUR 400 million that could be made without impacting on the core activities of parliamentarians. We want to see these proposals taken forward, with money that is saved returned to contributing countries.

3-259-004

**Jacek Włosowicz (EFD)**, *na piśmie*. – Zgadzam się z poglądem, że Parlament Europejski powinien ograniczyć swoją pracę do jednego miejsca pracy z siedzibą w Brukseli. To tutaj na co dzień skupiają się posłowie i urzędnicy. Zmiana taka, jak widać, przynosi duże oszczędności. A Parlament Europejski powinien mieć prawo decydowania o swoim własnym trybie pracy. Jestem również za podjęciem działań, które umożliwią posłom skuteczne korzystanie z narzędzi opierających się na zastosowaniu nowych technologii oraz skuteczniejsze wsparcie procesu ustawodawczego, w szczególności dzięki wprowadzeniu systemu zarządzania wiedzą. Zasadne byłoby również korzystanie z wideokonferencji, co umożliwiłoby dalsze obniżenie kosztów podróży zarówno posłów, jak i pracowników.

### 23. Πλαίσιο εταιρικής διακυβέρνησης των ευρωπαϊκών επιχειρήσεων (συζήτηση)

3-261-000

**Πρόεδρος**. – Το επόμενο σημείο είναι η έκθεση του κ. Sebastian Valentin Bodu, εξ ονόματος της Επιτροπής Νομικών Θεμάτων, σχετικά με το πλαίσιο εταιρικής διακυβέρνησης των ευρωπαϊκών επιχειρήσεων [2011/2181 (INI)] (A7-0051/2012).

3-262-000

**Sebastian Valentin Bodu**, *rapporteur*. – Mr President, this report, a non-legislative one, contains questions of crucial importance on how the future of corporations will look. Having said that, such measures should not be applicable to non-public corporations. Corporate governance rules are naturally necessary to regulate the relationship between shareholders, directors and managers. If the number of shareholders is not large, irrespective of their size or business, there is no need for corporate governance. Moreover, such rules are not appropriate for SMEs where flexibility is of the essence. So, the key points of this report, as well as of the future corporate governance legislation, should strengthen the ties between a company and both its non-executive directors and its shareholders.

In this respect a clear demarcation line should be drawn between the attributions of the chairman of the board and the chief executive officer. Furthermore, non-executive directors should have a professional background, an expertise, for instance former executives from other companies in the same or another industry or in the same or another market. Such qualifications are necessary because it is the board that selects the officers and furthermore watches over their activity in order to report to shareholders and supervisors.

To perform this properly they should be trained and skilled. Moreover, the number of seats that one director can hold should be limited, except in the situation where the companies on whose board the director sits are members of the same group or where the director is performing this role as a representative of an institutional investor where he holds his main job. The composition of the board should also be more diverse and the role of non-residents – for multinational companies – and of women should be increased.

Shareholders should be more involved, to stimulate their appetite to participate in decision-making within the company, even if their investment is just for a short period of time. Electronic voting could be a solution and the Commission should evaluate this possibility based on a cost-benefit ratio.

Shareholders should receive the same amount of information from the company, irrespective of their stake. Cooperation between shareholders should also be allowed. In some Member States this is forbidden when it comes to voting. A conflict of interests between shareholders and the company, for instance transactions with related parties, should lead to the shareholders concerned, irrespective of the size of their stake, refraining from voting. Minority shareholders should be protected against the abusive decisions of the dominant one, but without giving the opportunity to allow harassing behaviour by the former.

Risk behaviour should be approved by the board and publicly disclosed, and the bonuses of officers should be linked more to long-term results in order to discourage risky behaviour that endangers the company in the long run. Furthermore, the remuneration policy of both directors and officers should be approved by the general meeting of shareholders.

The report aims also to strengthen the role of the audit, nomination and remuneration committees. The key issue of this report will be mandatory norms versus compliance with plain principle and I am glad that the PPE point of view in favour of the latter prevailed after the vote in the Committee on Legal Affairs.

Last, but not least, all such measures to be introduced should be considered based on the cost of each measure, for instance periodic mandatory appraisal. The Commission should then come up with a set of tools contained in a European Code of Conduct which will leave

the main corporate governance instruments to be applied by public corporations, customised in certain matters in accordance with the policy of each Member State.

The final goal of the future legislative report that is yet to come, later this year, is to preserve the strength of our corporations and make them important global actors, protecting their competitiveness and, as a consequence, securing jobs and profits.

3-263-000

### VORSITZ: OTHMAR KARAS

*Vizepräsident*

3-264-000

**Michel Barnier**, *membre de la Commission*. – Monsieur le Président, Mesdames et Messieurs les députés, je voudrais d'abord exprimer à Monsieur Bodu – et à toute l'équipe qui a travaillé avec lui – mes remerciements pour le travail qui a été fait pour préparer cette résolution dans le cadre de la gouvernance d'entreprise pour les sociétés européennes. C'est un point important pour nous et pour moi, en quelque sorte, le premier point d'orgue d'un processus collectif – Monsieur Bodu – de réflexion auquel nous avons nous-mêmes, de la part de la Commission, voulu donner une impulsion forte avec le Livre vert au mois d'avril dernier.

Cette réflexion, cette consultation a rencontré son public. Elle correspond à un vrai besoin. Nous notons une participation importante de toutes les composantes économiques, sociales et scientifiques de tous les coins d'Europe, près de 400 réponses – Mesdames et Messieurs –, ce qui est très important. C'est une participation à la hauteur des enjeux qui ont trait à la confiance des Européens dans leur entreprise.

Je pense que, quand on parle de performances économiques durables – et c'est bien cela qu'attendent les citoyens –, de l'emploi, de la croissance, il y a quelques conditions: le grand marché unique – qui est notre espace collectif de vie économique et sociale en commun –, l'innovation, l'investissement, mais je pense aussi à la bonne gouvernance et à la cohésion sociale dans les entreprises. Ce sont là les conditions de toute performance économique durable.

Je pense que ce n'est pas seulement dans le secteur financier que nous devons renouer cette confiance avec les citoyens. Voilà pourquoi selon moi – Monsieur Bodu, Mesdames et Messieurs – le Parlement européen a aussi, là encore, un rôle central à jouer dans cette perspective d'une bonne gouvernance.

Quand on regarde les résultats de cette consultation, il y a naturellement beaucoup d'avis partagés, notamment sur la nécessité d'un nouveau cadre européen de gouvernance d'entreprise. En revanche, il y a un soutien clair, très clair pour des mesures européennes dans des domaines particuliers: la transparence des rémunérations, l'identification des actionnaires ou encore l'encadrement des agences de conseil de vote.

Votre résolution – Monsieur Bodu – reflète bien cette tendance: une action précise, ponctuelle, efficace dans un certain nombre de domaines particuliers. Il est cependant trop tôt, en ce qui me concerne, pour que je me prononce sur tous les points que vous soulevez, mais, comme je le fais toujours, j'apporterai une grande attention à ce que dit le Parlement, à ce qu'il dira à travers cette résolution, et cela nous sera très utile pour orienter nos propositions futures.

Peut-être deux points, rapidement. Le premier est la diversité dans les conseils d'administration. C'est un point que je considère comme très important parce que je pense que cette diversité dans les conseils d'administration et dans les conseils de surveillance est aussi une des raisons d'une meilleure efficacité de la gouvernance des entreprises. J'ai la conviction qu'un cadre de gouvernance doit, pour être crédible, inclure des mesures qui permettent de renforcer cette diversité et j'ai bien l'intention – Mesdames et Messieurs – d'inclure ce point dans les initiatives que nous préparons. Je crois, en particulier, que les instances dirigeantes doivent s'ouvrir à davantage de femmes. Mes services travaillent en ce moment à une mesure qui obligerait les sociétés à plus de transparence sur leur politique de diversité dans les conseils d'administration.

Nous l'avons d'ailleurs déjà fait dans certains textes qui sont en discussion: un texte que le président Karas connaît bien – le CRD 4, dont il est le rapporteur –, et le MiFID, pour des mesures de diversité en faveur des femmes, notamment, dans les conseils d'administration des institutions financières. Avec Mme Reding, nous avons également engagé une discussion sur ce point. Elle-même a engagé une consultation. Nous travaillons – je le répète – à une proposition en vue de renforcer la transparence des sociétés, de renforcer la diversité dans les conseils et nous n'excluons pas de proposer des mesures quantitatives (quotas ou flexiquotas) pour améliorer l'équilibre homme/femmes dans les conseils des entreprises cotées, en particulier. En ce qui me concerne, je suis personnellement favorable à de telles mesures.

Deuxième point: le droit des sociétés – Monsieur Bodu. Ayons, comme vous le proposez, une vision large. On ne peut pas séparer la gouvernance d'entreprise du droit des sociétés. Je pense que les deux sont étroitement liés. Voilà pourquoi j'ai souhaité regrouper les axes de travail "gouvernance d'entreprises", d'un côté, et "droit des sociétés européen", de l'autre, pour créer un cadre commun et cohérent.

Dans cet esprit, nous avons lancé, il y a six semaines, une consultation sur l'avenir du droit des sociétés européen. Les résultats seront connus très bientôt (fin mai/début juin). Cette démarche, combinée avec notre travail sur la gouvernance – que je viens d'évoquer –, va nous permettre de préparer les initiatives à venir de manière plus cohérente et plus efficace. Mais je puis d'ores et déjà vous annoncer qu'en octobre 2012, je présenterai un programme de travail dans ces deux domaines avec une liste d'initiatives concrètes au service d'un grand projet: le développement, à long terme, d'entreprises responsables.

3-265-000

**Kay Swinburne**, *on behalf of the rapporteur for the opinion of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs*. – Mr President, Ashley Fox, the rapporteur for the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs, has asked me to speak on his behalf this evening and extends his thanks to Mr Bodu and all the shadows. Previously Member States have taken different approaches in how they promote good corporate governance, often as a result of their different company law. It is time to establish best practice across the EU to improve corporate governance for all companies.

Best practice is constantly evolving, and setting prescriptive rules may hinder the development of new methods and techniques that improve the overall corporate governance of companies. This is why we welcome Mr Bodu's report, which has achieved broad cooperation and support for the principle of 'comply or explain'.

Many of the issues in the field of corporate governance are not black and white and overly defined rules could lead to a tick-box approach, which could take us back many years. We want better qualified directors and more actively engaged shareholders to ensure better run companies across Europe.

The ECR does not support mandatory quotas on company boards, but does support the many voluntary moves that are currently under way to encourage more diversity, not just on boards but at all levels of management of companies.

And a plea to the Commissioner: forced diversity often does not bring the same benefits that the voluntary schemes provide in terms of overall cultural change, especially in changing how business leaders choose to manage their companies.

3-266-000

**Sergio Gaetano Cofferati**, *relatore per parere della commissione per l'occupazione e gli affari sociali*. – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, è molto importante che il sistema delle imprese si organizzi e sia sollecitato da parte nostra per uscire dalla crisi terribile che stiamo attraversando mediante un miglioramento del governo societario e del modello di governance e dunque della sua oggettiva competitività.

Ma come si fa a migliorare il governo di un'impresa? Io credo che le linee indicate nella relazione del collega Bodu siano utili ad approfondire e a sviluppare questo ragionamento. Serve maggiore trasparenza nella governance attuale e bisogna che le imprese abbiano la volontà e la capacità di adottare pratiche di responsabilità sociale, non più però secondo il criterio fino ad oggi utilizzato dell'adesione volontaria, ma con l'introduzione di vincoli che siano accompagnati anche da stimoli e da incentivi.

Poi bisogna che siano sempre rispettati il lavoro e i diritti delle persone che sono impegnate nelle imprese, qualunque sia il loro livello di responsabilità. Per questa ragione ci sono tre aspetti che valgono più di altri. Bisogna in primo luogo favorire la presenza delle donne attraverso le quote. Lo dico esplicitamente, la *moral suasion* in questo caso non porta da nessuna parte. Poi bisogna valorizzare la partecipazione degli azionisti qualunque sia la loro origine, che siano lavoratori o che siano soggetti esterni all'impresa. Infine, se si vuole davvero avere obiettivi di sostenibilità praticabili, bisogna che anche una parte rilevante del salario abbia questa connessione e serva dunque da incentivo alla realizzazione dell'obiettivo finale.

3-267-000

**Lena Kolarska-Bobińska**, *autorka projektu opinii Komisji Przemysłu, Badań Naukowych i Energii*. – Panie Przewodniczący! W czasie kryzysu szczególnie ważny jest dobry ład korporacyjny, ład, który jest transparentny, oszczędny, przewidywalny. I o tym mówi sprawozdanie, i dlatego to sprawozdanie jest ważne dla nas dzisiaj.

Zabrakło mi natomiast w sprawozdaniu jednej rzeczy, mianowicie ostrzejszego postawienia kwestii kwoty udziału kobiet w zarządach. Wiemy już, że miękkie sposoby dochodzenia do tego nie przynoszą rezultatu i dlatego bardzo się cieszę, że pani Reding mówi w tej chwili już o twardych, zdecydowanych kwotach, również pan komisarz o tym dzisiaj mówił. Tego nie zawiera niestety to sprawozdanie, nad którym będziemy jutro głosowali.

Dzisiaj odbyła się duża dyskusja na posiedzeniu PPE, mieliśmy podzielone zdania, jednak zdecydowanie zwyciężyli zwolennicy twardych i ostrych kwot i bardzo się z tego cieszę,

dlatego że one nie są ograniczeniem swobody i wolności gospodarczej, swobody przedsiębiorstw. One po prostu czynią zarządy bardziej odpowiedzialnymi społecznie. Wiadomo też już z różnych badań, że zarządy i firmy, które mają większą *gender balance*, przynoszą lepsze rezultaty ekonomiczne. Mam nadzieję, że jutro poprzemy kwoty.

3-268-000

**Constance Le Grip**, *rapporteur pour avis de la commission du marché intérieur et de la protection des consommateurs*. – Monsieur le Président, la commission du marché intérieur avait elle aussi été saisie pour avis et avait voulu apporter sa contribution à cette réflexion sur la définition d'une gouvernance d'entreprise plus responsable, qui promeuve une croissance durable du marché intérieur, au service de l'économie réelle.

Nous nous étions donc attachés à la définition de quelques priorités, de quelques préconisations dont j'en retiens trois.

La première est une forte préconisation de la commission du marché intérieur qui porte sur la diversité professionnelle et sociale au sein des conseils d'administration des entreprises. Cette préoccupation se trouve dans le rapport Bodu, qui souligne que les conseils d'administration doivent comprendre des personnes indépendantes présentant un éventail diversifié de qualifications, d'expérience et de parcours. Nous insistons, nous avons vraiment insisté à l'INCO, sur la diversité des parcours tant professionnels que personnels.

Autre point prioritaire pour notre commission: qu'il y ait des propositions européennes équilibrées en matière de divulgation d'informations aux actionnaires dans les rapports annuels. Nous insistons sur l'impératif de transparence.

Dernière préconisation: celle, bien sûr, des principes de parité et d'égalité de traitement. Nous nous réjouissons que, grâce à la discussion sur ce rapport, de vrais progrès qui puissent être accomplis en matière de représentation des femmes en ce qui concerne l'instauration de quotas.

3-269-000

**Tadeusz Zwiefka**, *w imieniu grupy PPE*. – Panie Przewodniczący! Panie Komisarzu! Omawiając dzisiejsze sprawozdanie Sebastiana Bodu – jak i każde inne tak naprawdę – musimy zawsze zadawać sobie pytanie: na czym tak naprawdę nam zależy. Jeśli chcemy usprawnić działanie europejskiego sektora przedsiębiorstw poprzez ustanowienie rozsądnych i przede wszystkim możliwych do przeprowadzenia na wolnym rynku zmian w systemie zarządzania i ładu korporacyjnego, powinniśmy poprzeć sprawozdanie naszego kolegi Sebastiana Bodu. Zgadzam się, że europejskie firmy muszą dbać w dobie kryzysu zarówno o wyniki gospodarcze – bo to przecież one generują poziom zatrudnienia – jak i o szeroko rozumiane kwestie społeczne i środowiskowe, ale także o własnych akcjonariuszy. Zapisy, które wynegocjował nasz sprawozdawca, sprzyjają zwiększeniu przejrzystości, stabilności i wiarygodności przy jednoczesnym odpowiedzialnym społecznie zarządzaniu europejskimi firmami.

Oczywiście zdaję sobie sprawę, że dla niektórych posłów są to zbyt miękkie i niewystarczające zalecenia. Ale wróć do pytania, które stawiam na początku. Czy zależy nam na zgłaszaniu propozycji, które są nierealne, ale bardzo ładnie brzmią, czy chodzi nam o realne zmiany? Uważam, że zapisy dotyczące sfery zarządzania i działania zarówno od strony technicznej, jak i merytorycznej oraz wprowadzenie stosowania przez wszystkie

przedsiębiorstwa zasady „przestrzegaj i wyjaśnij” oraz kodeksu ładu korporacyjnego pozwolą na stworzenie lepszego, bardziej funkcjonalnego systemu.

Należy jednak pamiętać, że stosowanie zasad ładu korporacyjnego nie uwolni przedsiębiorstw od ryzyka ponoszonego przez każdy podmiot gospodarczy związany z prowadzoną przez niego działalnością. Dobre zarządzanie to zarządzanie rozsądne i zrównoważone, które bierze pod uwagę interesy wszystkich zainteresowanych stron. Pamiętajmy, że mówimy tu także o firmach prywatnych, firmach funkcjonujących na wolnym unijnym rynku, firmach, którymi tak często i tak bardzo lubimy się szczycić.

3-270-000

**Evelyn Regner,** *im Namen der S&D-Fraktion* . – Herr Präsident! Sehr geehrter Herr Kommissar! Worum geht es uns beim *Corporate-Governance*-Rahmen für europäische Unternehmen? Es geht darum, die richtigen Lehren aus der Krise, die richtigen Lehren aus dem Lehman-Kollaps zu ziehen, basierend auf einer Unternehmenskultur, die von Gier gesteuert wird und vom kurzfristigen Profit; einer Unternehmenskultur, die ungeheuren Schaden angerichtet hat und das nach wie vor tut. Unternehmen sind aber keine Aliens, sie sind keine Marsmännchen, die sich im Vakuum bewegen. Nein, sie sind Teil der Gesellschaft. Deshalb brauchen wir faire und nachhaltige *Corporate-Governance*-Regeln.

Der Bericht Bodu ist dazu absolut nicht geeignet. Von zentraler Bedeutung – und damit zitiere ich die Kommission selbst – ist es, dass die europäischen Unternehmen größtmögliche Verantwortung an den Tag legen, sowohl gegenüber Beschäftigten als auch gegenüber ihren Aktionären und gegenüber der Gesellschaft insgesamt. Das ist auch die Grundlage für den alternativen Entschließungsantrag von S&D und Grünen. Wir brauchen klare, verbindliche *Corporate-Governance*-Regeln und Sanktionen. Selbstregulierung und das „*comply or explain*“-Prinzip haben kläglich versagt. Selbstregulierung war und ist bei *Corporate Governance* entweder Marketinggag oder gut gemeint. Und gut gemeint ist auch sehr oft daneben.

Wichtig für einen nachhaltigen Unternehmenserfolg ist die Einbeziehung nicht nur der *share*- sondern auch anderer *stakeholder*. Ich denke hier an die Einbeziehung von Arbeitnehmern und deren Vertretern in den *boards*, in den Verwaltungs- und Aufsichtsräten. Diese sind an einem langfristigen Unternehmenserfolg interessiert, und darum geht es ja auch: langfristige Erfolge zu erzielen. Wichtig ist es auch, Transparenz durch die umfassende Offenlegung von Managergehältern einzuhalten sowie den Anwendungsbereich auf alle börsennotierten Unternehmen auszuweiten.

Ich möchte auch noch auf die mit besonders großer Leidenschaft geführte Diskussion über die Frauenquote Bezug nehmen. Die Frauenquote wird von der Kommission, von Kommissarin Reding, mit großer Glaubwürdigkeit gefordert. Und auch dieses Haus, das Europäische Parlament, hat das oft getan. Natürlich ist gerade das Thema der verbindlichen Frauenquote ein sehr, sehr wichtiges im Zusammenhang mit den *Corporate-Governance*-Regeln.

3-271-000

**Alexandra Thein,** *im Namen der ALDE-Fraktion* . – Herr Präsident! Sehr geehrter Herr Kommissar! Liebe Kollegen! Die Bearbeitung des europäischen *Corporate-Governance*-Rahmens ist zu begrüßen.



Normalerweise ist es in unserem Rechtsausschuss üblich, dass wir bei Initiativberichten, also bei nichtlegislativen Vorschlägen, alle politischen Fraktionen im Wege von Kompromissen mit an Bord nehmen. Das ist diesmal nicht gelungen – und das ist gut so. Denn bei *Corporate Governance* zeigen sich fundamentale Unterschiede in der politischen Betrachtungsweise zwischen Sozialdemokraten und Grünen einerseits und uns Liberalen, den Christdemokraten und den Konservativen andererseits. So sind wir zum Beispiel der Auffassung, dass der Grundsatz „Mittragen oder begründen“ bei der *Corporate Governance* ein nützliches Instrument ist. Jede Abweichung vom Verhaltenskodex muss angemessen begründet und die alternative *Corporate-Governance*-Maßnahme darüber hinaus beschrieben und erklärt werden.

Hier verbindliche Regeln zu fordern, wie es die Sozialdemokraten in ihrem alternativen Entschließungsantrag tun, greift unverhältnismäßig in die Freiheit der Unternehmen ein und ist nicht akzeptabel, erst recht nicht unabhängig von der Unternehmensgröße. Es darf nicht sein, dass börsennotierte Unternehmen, zu denen teilweise auch kleine Unternehmen gehören, mit nicht börsennotierten Unternehmen, kleinen und mittleren Unternehmen, einfach über einen Kamm geschoren werden – und dann auch noch die Forderung erhoben wird, jede wohlbegründete Abweichung vom entsprechenden Kodex zu sanktionieren. Das ist purer Sozialismus.

Man kann auch angesichts der Verschiedenartigkeit der Unternehmenskulturen anderen Mitgliedstaaten nicht einfach die deutsche beziehungsweise österreichische Mitbestimmung aufzwingen. Selbst wenn dadurch vielleicht einige unnötige Streiks, wie sie gerade in Südeuropa öfter stattfinden, verhindert werden könnten.

Lassen Sie mich jetzt zur Frauenquote kommen. Wir haben als ALDE einen entsprechenden Änderungsantrag eingereicht mit einem sehr weitreichenden Antrag, was die Vertretung von Frauen in Aufsichtsräten angeht. Wir sind uns hier in unserer Fraktion auch nicht ganz einig – wie wir es eben auch schon von Rednern anderer Fraktionen gehört haben. Dennoch hoffe ich auf breite Zustimmung. In Zukunft würde ich mir wünschen, dass die Kommission die duale Struktur, die wir in Europa haben, etwas mehr berücksichtigt und sich nicht nur auf das monistische System mit dem Verwaltungsrat konzentriert.

3-272-000

**Eva Lichtenberger**, im Namen der Verts/ALE-Fraktion. – Herr Präsident! Herr Kommissar! Werte Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Eigentlich war der Ansatz dieses *Corporate-Governance*-Rahmens ein sehr wichtiger und guter, und wir hätten hier sehr stark auf die Krisensymptome reagieren können und auch etwas an Aufarbeiten von möglichen Ursachen betreiben können.

Leider ist das in diesem Bericht nicht in dem Ausmaß enthalten, wie wir uns das gewünscht haben. Denn – meine Vorrednerin hat es schon erwähnt – es gab hier wirklich unterschiedliche Ansätze. Es gab einerseits den Ansatz, auch so etwas wie gesellschaftliche Verantwortung und langfristiges Denken – nicht nur Denken in kurzfristigen Gewinnmargen, in Vorständen, in Aktionärsversammlungen – einbringen zu können. Es ging darum, so etwas wie die Frage zu klären: Verantwortung ja, aber wem gegenüber? Ist es sozusagen eine reduzierte Sicht von Verantwortung, die sich nur darauf beschränkt, den kurzfristigen Gewinn zu forcieren und das gesamte unternehmerische Handeln darauf hin zu orientieren? Oder haben wir nicht die Verpflichtung, hier einen Schritt weiter zu gehen? Denn wir haben diese Konstruktion ja nicht umsonst, sondern sie dient dem Zweck, sozusagen weitere Aspekte mit einzubringen: sei es die Mitbeteiligung der

Arbeitnehmerinnen und Arbeitnehmer, sei es das langfristige Denken, sei es das Berücksichtigen von anderen Aspekten als dem kurzfristigen Gewinn. Da wünschen wir uns nicht nur feine Erklärungen, nette *homepages*, auf denen auf die gesellschaftliche Verantwortung hingewiesen wird, sondern auch Möglichkeiten zu Sanktionen. Anders wird das nicht gehen.

Das gilt auch für die Frauenquote. Das möchte ich hier noch einmal deutlich und laut festhalten: Von selber hat sich für Frauen auf dieser Welt leider noch nie etwas bewegt.

3-273-000

**Vicky Ford**, *on behalf of the ECR Group*. – Mr President, in financial services, failures by directors to hold their employees to account and failures by shareholders to hold those directors to account compounded risk-taking, led to corporate collapse and taxpayers' bailouts. Corporate governance is really important. This report recommends best practices shared through principles established in each Member State and coupled with a 'comply or explain' regime. I agree, and I would also like to see it backed up with sanctions.

As regards women's quotas, yes, I would like to see more women in senior positions, but my priority is to get the right people, the best people with the best skills, and in banking that means the balanced approach. Please remember that the Chief Financial Officer of Lehman's was a woman. A survey released today by the Bundesbank, a normally risk-moderate institution, suggests that in banks women are bigger risk-takers than men. Please be careful of jumping to decisions. Not all women are identical, and not all men are identical either.

3-274-000

**Der Präsident.** – Sie sind auch heute präsent und in der Mehrheit.

3-275-000

**Edit Bauer (PPE).** - Elnök úr! Kedves Biztos úr! Kedves Kollégák! A válság tapasztalatai alapján senkinek sem lehet kétsége afelől, hogy átláthatóbb, stabil, megbízható, elszámoltatható és magasabb szintű irányítással rendelkező uniós vállalati szektorra van szükség. Az elmúlt évek csődsorozatából leszűrhető az a tapasztalat, hogy a felelősségteljes irányítás önmagában nem tudja megakadályozni a túlzott kockázatvállalást, ezért szükséges a független ellenőrzés és az eltérő vállalati kultúrát tiszteletben tartó, rugalmas szabályok létrehozása. A vállalatirányítással kapcsolatos kezdeményezéseknek együtt kell járniuk a vállalat társadalmi felelősségvállalására vonatkozó kezdeményezéssel. A kettőt azonban nem szerencsés összekeverni, és erről nagy vitáink voltak a jelentés elkészítése során is.

Annak ellenére, hogy a jelentés maga rendkívül bonyolult irányítástechnikai és elméleti megoldásokkal foglalkozik, mégis egészen meglepő, hogy a kvóták körül csapnak össze az indulatok. És ami még meglepőbb számomra, hogy az ITRE és az IMCO Bizottság is erre fókuszált a véleményében. Úgy gondolom, hogy az igazgatótanácsokról beszélve nem kerülhetők meg a diverzitás kérdései, de úgy gondolom, hogy ez valóban nem egy központi kérdés, és nem szabadna ezen múlnia a jelentés sorsának. Úgy gondolom, hogy erre valóban ügyelni kell, de mindenképpen a szakmai háttérrel, a szakmai fölkészültséget figyelembe kell venni, és annak éppen olyan fontosnak kell lennie, mint a diverzitásnak.

3-276-000

**Vasilica Viorica Dăncilă (S&D).** - În primul rând, vreau să îl felicit pe Sebastian Bodu pentru acest raport.

Construirea unei piețe unice la nivelul Uniunii Europene nu a fost și nu este posibilă fără existența unor societăți comerciale puternice și fără o evoluție adecvată a acestora în funcție de mediul economic, foarte dinamic la nivel european și internațional. Pentru a ține pasul cu această evoluție dinamică, Europa are nevoie să își adapteze cadrul legislativ la nevoile societăților comerciale, pentru a oferi o protecție corespunzătoare la nivel european a acționarilor, a creditorilor și a tuturor partenerilor care sunt influențați de activitatea societăților.

Într-o Europă fără frontiere interne este esențială o armonizare corespunzătoare a legislațiilor naționale și a structurilor societăților din statele membre, pentru ca cetățenii europeni să poată beneficia de toate serviciile și produsele oferite de acestea, mai ales în ceea ce privește comerțul transfrontalier, dar și din punctul de vedere al responsabilității sociale a întreprinderilor și al rolului acestora în domeniul inovării și al creșterii economice.

3-277-000

**Silvia-Adriana Țicău (S&D).** - Guvernanța corporativă este definită ca fiind sistemul prin care întreprinderile sunt conduse și controlate și ca un set de relații între conducerea unei întreprinderi, consiliul său de administrație, acționarii săi și celelalte părți interesate.

Cadrul de guvernanță corporativă pentru întreprinderile cotate din Uniunea Europeană este o combinație de legislație și instrumente juridice neobligatorii, care include recomandări și coduri de guvernanță corporativă. Directiva 2006/46/CE promovează aplicarea codurilor de guvernanță corporativă și solicită întreprinderilor cotate să facă referire la un cod în declarația lor corporativă și să raporteze cu privire la aplicarea acestuia.

Conform constatărilor Comisiei, în prezent proporția femeilor în consiliile de administrație ale companiilor cotate din Uniunea Europeană este în medie de 12 %. Solicităm Comisiei o propunere legislativă până la sfârșitul lui 2012, în cazul în care întreprinderile nu îndeplinesc prin măsuri facultative obiectivul de a include până în 2015 30 % femei în componența consiliilor de administrație, respectiv 40 % până în 2020.

3-278-000

**Der Präsident.** – Herzlichen Dank, Frau Kollegin. Unsere letzte gemeldete Rednerin vor dem „Catch the eye“-Verfahren ist eine neue Kollegin, die heute ihre zweite Plenarsitzung absolviert: Frau Costello.

3-279-000

**Emer Costello (S&D).** - Mr President, corporate governance by self-regulation is clearly not working. The financial crisis is evidence of this, if it were needed. Since 2008 Parliament and the Council have taken responsibility, and agreed a raft of measures to better regulate the financial services sector. The process has started and needs to continue, but equally there needs to be a complete overhaul of the entire corporate governance framework. When confronted with corporate governance scandals too often the response is that these were isolated cases, things are different now, but sadly this is not the case.

I am concerned that the report that we have in front of us, while it is welcome, does not go far enough. I believe that we need to move beyond the mere 'comply or explain' principle. We need a system of clear binding rules and sanctions, particularly on issues such as workers' rights and gender balance. Making good corporate governance is not an optional extra. For that reason I cannot support the report as presented and will be supporting the amendment from the S&D Group and the Greens.

3-280-000

**Der Präsident.** – Herzlichen Dank, Frau Kollegin. Ich wünsche Ihnen viel Erfolg und alles Gute bei Ihrer Tätigkeit in diesem Hause!

„Catch the eye“-Verfahren

3-281-000

**Ildikó Gáll-Pelcz (PPE).** - Elnök úr! Mindenekelőtt szeretnék gratulálni a jelentéstevőnek, hiszen az előttünk fekvő jelentés, bár elsődlegesen a tőzsdén jegyzett vállalatok irányítási keretéről és azok közös szabályozásáról szól, ugyanakkor nagy hangsúlyt fektet a magatartási kódex kibővítésére, valamint a „betart vagy indokol” elv kellő és megfelelő szintű alátámasztásának megkövetelésére is. E prioritásokat én is - mint az ECON-nak a néppárti árnyékjelentéstevője - célul tűztem ki. Ezáltal meggyőződésem, hogy az irányítási rendszer rugalmasabbá válik és a mindennapi élet gyakorlatához közelebbivé tehető. Az új szabályozás mindamelllett összhangban áll a pénzügyi szolgáltatásokat végző vállalatok vállalatirányítási rendszerével, és támogatja azt, hogy a vállalatok magatartási normáit nemzeti szinten határozzák meg. Saját kezdeményezésre belekerült egy olyan javaslat, hogy a Bizottság dolgozzon ki egy irányítási csomagot, ami az elismert legjobb gyakorlatokat foglalja össze annak érdekében, hogy a belső piac motorjaként is szolgáló kkv-k minél inkább egységes keretek között tevékenykedhessenek. Összességében ez a jelentés kiváló, alapos, nemcsak támogatandónak tartom, hanem támogatásra is ajánlom.

3-282-000

**Phil Prendergast (S&D).** - Mr President, companies that see themselves as enterprises in the broader sense of the word, beyond the short-term maximisation of values for shareholders, are the ones that generate true value for their employees, their communities, the environment and the EU's exchequers. Light-touch and self-regulation approaches have proved disastrous in the financial world, with consequences we will have to live with, and suffer through, for the foreseeable future.

The conspicuous absence of proposals from the Commission on employees' representation and engagement with stakeholders is most regrettable. Gender diversity is not only an imperative in terms of equality, but it also makes economic sense as it has been demonstrated that companies with a significant female presence at executive levels fare far better than average.

Simultaneous membership of several company boards is patently incompatible with diligent work and flies in the face of the outrageous astronomical remuneration levels enjoyed, often regardless of performance. In the context of countries currently assisted by bailouts we must work to prevent the misuse of public monies due to poor corporate governance.

3-283-000

**Zofija Mazej Kukovič (PPE).**- Pregledno in odgovorno upravljanje podjetij ter vprašanje zaupanja so pomembni temelji za obvladovanje gospodarske in socialne krize.

Državljanke in državljani pričakujejo odgovornost za slabe prakse v preteklosti in odpravo le-teh v prihodnosti.

Odgovornost za nepregledno upravljanje in prevzeme podjetij, stečaje in izgubo delovnih mest ter tudi za neodgovorno ravnanje bank.

Občutljivost državljanek in državljanov, delničarjev, do upravljanja podjetij izhaja tudi iz varčevanja, ki ga doživljajo na svoji koži. Zato so pričakovanja po preglednosti in družbeni odgovornosti še večja.

Poročilo sicer poudarja, da naj podjetja omogočajo enakost moškim in ženskam pri usposabljanju, napredovanju v karieri, v Evropi pa se moramo močneje zavzeti za vzpostavitev pogojev in mehanizmov v družbenem okolju, v katerem bo lahko ženska mati, žena in hkrati imela kariero.

3-284-000

*Ende des „catch the eye“-Verfahrens*

3-285-000

**Michel Barnier,** *membre de la Commission* . – Monsieur le Président, je souhaite naturellement et avant toute chose remercier M. Bodu et les rapporteurs fictifs, mais aussi chacune et chacun de ceux – il y a d'ailleurs plus de femmes députés que d'hommes – qui se sont exprimés tout au long de ce débat que j'ai suivi avec beaucoup d'attention.

Mme Swinburne disait qu'il ne fallait pas cocher des cases. M. Zwiefka disait: "Nous devons nous garder de propositions irréalistes". J'en conviens. En effet, c'est pour cette raison que nous prenons le temps de procéder à des consultations, de tenir compte des livres verts, en particulier. Je prends le temps de consulter pour ne pas improviser des propositions sur la nouvelle et la bonne gouvernance. Le rapport de M. Bodu constitue d'ailleurs un élément utile, très utile, dans le cadre de ce temps consacré à la consultation.

Beaucoup d'entre vous ont parlé de la diversité et de la parité hommes-femmes. Naturellement, ce n'est pas le seul sujet, mais il s'agit d'un sujet important et nous devons mettre l'accent – nous allons le faire dans nos propositions – avant tout sur la transparence en matière de politique de diversité. Nous n'avons pas encore tranché la question des quotas contraignants. Je vous avais dit que j'avais mon opinion à ce sujet, comme Mme Reding – nos opinions sont d'ailleurs proches –, et je suis également d'accord avec ce qu'ont dit M. Cofferati et Mme Kolarska-Bobińska, et également, il y a un instant, Mme Prendergast.

Il s'agit aussi, dans l'entreprise, dans la communauté que constitue une entreprise, que tous les salariés soient respectés et, dans cet enjeu du respect, figure aussi le souci d'une plus grande diversité et d'une présence plus normale des femmes, en particulier à des postes de direction.

Je voudrais dire à M. Zwiefka, à Mme Swinburne, à Mme Vicky Ford, que la Commission connaît bien les différents systèmes nationaux en matière de gouvernance. La flexibilité du modèle européen offre un atout à nos entreprises qui, nous le savons, doivent faire face à la concurrence chinoise, indienne ou américaine.

Cela dit, la gouvernance d'entreprise, et je le dis également à Mme Gáll-Pelcz, ne se limite pas aux seuls principes. Toute une partie de cette gouvernance est inscrite dans le droit des sociétés qui règle des questions de contrôle externe ou interne, ainsi que dans les mécanismes de prise de décision et la séparation des pouvoirs au sein des entreprises, notamment dans la directive sur le droit des actionnaires, dans la directive sur l'audit, dans la directive "Transparence", dans la directive sur les offres publiques d'achat ou bien dans les règles, encore insuffisantes de mon point de vue, sur la rémunération des dirigeants.

Il s'agit bien là du droit des sociétés sur lequel nous travaillons et pas seulement de principes. Il est vrai, Mesdames et Messieurs les députés, que la gouvernance d'entreprise est souvent une question de comportement, mais dans d'autres domaines aussi, il y a des règles contraignantes, utiles, qui concernent le comportement des gens, par exemple le code de la route ou le code pénal. Donc, tout notre problème consiste à trouver un juste équilibre entre ces deux exigences – je m'adresse ici à Mme Țicău, qui évoquait ce sujet –, et c'est une question à laquelle la Commission travaille.

Mme Regner évoquait le champ des mesures que nous comptons prendre, et je peux lui confirmer que nous appliquerons des règles à toutes les entreprises cotées. C'est un sujet, Mme Regner, qui n'est pas contesté, toutes les entreprises cotées seront bien concernées, au moins elles, par ces règles. Nous serons – je le dis également à Mme Thein, qui évoquait la difficulté ou les caractéristiques des petites et moyennes entreprises – attentifs, dans ce domaine comme dans les autres domaines, à la situation des petites et moyennes entreprises. Il ne faut probablement pas imposer à ces petites entreprises les mêmes contraintes qu'à d'autres entreprises plus grandes.

M. Cofferati, Mme Le Grip, Mme Bauer, Mme Lichtenberger et Mme Dăncilă se sont exprimés au sujet de la responsabilité sociale. Nous proposerons cet automne des règles sur la transparence des informations non financières, tout comme sur l'engagement social et écologique des entreprises, et je vous remercie, ainsi que Mme Regner, pour votre soutien quant à la nécessité, dans certains domaines, de règles contraignantes. Je ne crois pas, moi non plus, dans certains domaines, à l'autorégulation, qui a d'ailleurs montré ses limites, si je puis dire, en matière de régulation financière.

Constance Le Grip a évoqué les priorités de la Commission et de la commission IMCO: le marché unique, la diversité, l'indépendance, les informations communiquées aux actionnaires, la transparence. Nous sommes d'accord avec toutes ces priorités, vous les trouverez bien dans notre plan d'action. Je voudrais rappeler aussi, à plusieurs d'entre vous, à Mme Bauer, à Mme Costello et à Mme Regner, que tout ce que nous proposons s'inscrit bien dans le cadre global de la régulation et des leçons que nous tirons, semaine après semaine, de la crise financière.

Cette crise n'est pas terminée, nous n'avons pas fini d'en tirer toutes les leçons et, si vous regardez bien l'agenda qui est le mien – le président Karas le connaît bien – et que je vous propose, semaine après semaine, nous nous employons à tirer toutes les leçons des insuffisances, des défaillances et, parfois, des comportements irresponsables. Je pense que la bonne gouvernance de l'entreprise fait partie des leçons que nous devons tirer de cette crise.

Mme Thein a posé une question particulière sur la spécificité de la structure dualiste avec directoire et conseil de surveillance, que nous connaissons bien. Cette spécificité n'existe pas dans tous les pays; cela dit, certains problèmes existent bel et bien quelle que soit la structure. Ainsi, le manque de diversité ou le manque de transparence concernant les

rémunérations existent quelle que soit la structure dans laquelle on se trouve. Le livre vert n'avait pas pour but de traiter toutes les questions mais de lancer la discussion, et cette question a été posée dans le livre vert. Nous allons donc maintenant, à partir des études d'impact, faire des propositions.

Voilà, je voudrais, Mesdames et Messieurs les députés, vous remercier. En écho aux propos que tenait tout à l'heure Mme Mazej Kukovič, je voudrais saluer le fait que tous les députés qui se sont exprimés ont souligné la nécessité d'une bonne gouvernance, d'une gouvernance améliorée, qui offrirait plus de transparence, plus de diversité, plus de responsabilité, plus d'engagement à long terme.

C'est dans cet esprit que la Commission va travailler, à la lumière du rapport de M. Bodu, et qu'elle ira peut-être aussi plus loin dans certains domaines, en suivant ses propres lignes, pour ce qui est des propositions que nous ferons dans les prochains mois.

3-286-000

**Sebastian Valentin Bodu**, *Raportor*. – Vreau să salut în primul rând gruparea regulilor de guvernare corporatistă într-un pachet de drept corporatist. Este o idee perfectă, pentru care vă mulțumesc, domnule comisar Barnier.

Cu privire la reprezentarea femeilor, vreau să vă spun că există viziuni diferite în Parlamentul European, respectiv „să lăsăm lucrurile așa cum sunt”, „să adoptăm cote flexibile, voluntare” sau „să adoptăm cote fixe, obligatorii”. Eu vreau să vă propun, domnule comisar Barnier, să conlucrăm pe următorul aspect, care să pună capăt discuțiilor succesive, pe diferite rapoarte care tratează de fapt alte subiecte, alături de subiectul eventualelor cote ale femeilor în consiliile de administrație. Așadar, vă propun ca înainte de a primi propunerea legislativă a Comisiei către Parlamentul European, noi, aici, în Parlamentul European, să ne pronunțăm pe un raport distinct, care să aibă un singur punct: participarea femeilor în consiliile de administrație.

3-287-000

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

Die Abstimmung findet am Donnerstag, 29. März, um 11.30 Uhr statt.

### ***Schriftliche Erklärungen (Artikel 149 GO)***

3-287-500

**Sandra Kalniete (PPE)**, *in writing*. – I support the report which would be a big step towards gender equality and the promotion of women in economic decision-making. It calls for the elaboration and implementation of legislative measures, including quotas to increase female representation on corporate boards to 40 % by 2020. There have been discussions on whether the principle of gender quotas contradicts the principle of high professional qualifications in corporate appointments. I strongly believe that respect for gender equality and high professionalism go hand-in-hand. I am confident that responsible companies are able to appoint to their boards more women whose professional qualifications are higher than those of candidates found through the 'old-boys networks'. Figures show that progress in the area of corporate leadership has been extremely slow, despite national, European and international commitments to equality between women and men and despite the legislative and voluntary measures some countries have taken.

Women's representation on the boards of Europe's largest companies is still lower than 3%! I hope that this resolution will help to improve this shameful statistic.

3-287-750

**Monica Luisa Macovei (PPE),** *in writing* . – I share the rapporteur's opinion that the Commission's Green Paper does not adequately address matters such as conflicts of interest, stakeholders' involvement or directors' independence. The Green Paper itself relies on a study susceptible to bias: the draftsman, Mr Jacques de Larosière, Chairman of the High-Level Group on Financial Supervision in the EU, presented the study to the Commission in February 2009, at which time he was also an advisor to the president of a giant financial institution, BNP Paribas. This case demonstrates how light-heartedly the current framework of corporate governance assimilates potential conflicts of interests. The paper also fails to adequately address the role that compliance departments should develop in the context of social corporate responsibility objectives. Stricter rules at EU level should be developed to ensure that reports under the 'comply or explain' approach are thoroughly drafted and sufficiently informative. I encourage a remuneration policy based on transparency, where the disclosure of directors' remuneration is mandatory. Directors' remuneration should reflect the long-term viability of the company concerned. I consider that European rules on corporate governance should apply to all companies having an economic impact beyond a set threshold, regardless of whether or not they are listed.

3-287-875

**Bogdan Kazimierz Marcinkiewicz (PPE),** *na piśmie* . – Uważam, że niezwykle istotne w kontekście ram ładu korporacyjnego w przedsiębiorstwach europejskich jest zapewnienie stabilniejszego i przejrzystszej sektora. Naturalnie w dobie kryzysu każda korporacja jako priorytet traktuje swoje wyniki ekonomiczne, chcąc przetrwać na coraz trudniejszym rynku. Niemniej jednak moim zdaniem nie powinniśmy zapominać o czynniku ludzkim, ponieważ zapewnienie wysokich standardów, zarówno społecznych, jak i etycznych, jest czynnikiem wpływającym na większą wydajność przedsiębiorstwa, z którym pracownik zawsze pragnie się utożsamiać.

Zastosowanie proponowanych przez sprawozdawcę rozwiązań może zdecydowanie wpłynąć na poprawę funkcjonujących na rynku europejskim korporacji. Propozycje wprowadzenia pewnych warunków jakościowych w zarządach, jak choćby podkreślenie posiadania przez jego członka szerokiego i zróżnicowanego spektrum umiejętności, a w szczególności kompetencji, wpłynę na sprawniejszy rozwój korporacji. Natomiast sugestia większego wpływu akcjonariusza na funkcjonowanie korporacji poprzez rozszerzenie jego roli może dokonać rewolucji w wymiarze jakościowym działających korporacji.

3-288-000

**Sirpa Pietikäinen (PPE),** *kirjallinen* . – Arvoisa puhemies, hyvät kollegat, naisten ja miesten yhdenvertainen edustus johtoasemissa tulee taata kiintiöin, mikäli vapaaehtoiset toimet eivät tuota tulosta. Tasa-arvoasioista vastaava komissaari Viviane Reding haastoi vuosi sitten eurooppalaiset pörssiyhtiöt sitoutumaan vapaaehtoiisiin toimiin naisten määrän lisäämiseksi yhtiöiden johdossa. Vain 24 yhtiötä vastasi kyselyyn, ja viime vuoden aikana naisten osuus yhtiöiden johtokunnissa kasvoi vain hitusen: 11,8 prosentista 13,7 prosenttiin. Redingin aloitteen toimimattomuus osoittaa selvästi, etteivät vapaaehtoiset toimet riitä lisäämään yhdenvertaisuutta yhtiöiden johdossa.



Reding ilmoitti vuosi sitten, että mikäli vapaaehtoiset toimet eivät riitä, tulee ryhtyä sitoviin toimiin. Parlamentti antoi viime vuonna tukensa Redingin aloitteelle ja niinpä sen tulee nytkin vaatia järeämpiä toimia yhdenvertaisuuden lisäämiseksi. Parlamentti äänestää EU:n yritysten hallinnointi- ja ohjausjärjestelmää koskevasta kehyksestä, jossa tulee vaatia selkeitä tavoitteita sukupuolten yhdenvertaisuudelle. Yhtiöiden johdossa tulee olla edustettuna toista sukupuolta 30 prosenttia vuoteen 2015 ja 40 prosenttia vuoteen 2020 mennessä. Nykyvauhdilla tähän tavoitteeseen päästään vasta tämän vuosisadan loppupuolella.

Yhdenvertaisuus päätöksenteossa on paitsi tasa-arvo- myös laatukysymys. Mitä suuremmasta joukosta päättäjät valitaan, sitä monipuolisempia ja laadukkaampia ovat päätökset. Tämä pätee niin poliittiseen päätöksentekoon kuin yritysjohtoihinkin.

3-288-500

**Marina Yannakoudakis (ECR), in writing .** – I have an old cookbook at home and at the end of every recipe it says ‘salt and pepper to taste’. And sometimes I think that this is Parliament’s approach to legislation. The EU financial transaction tax is a salty treat for Members, which they shake so vigorously on to so many reports that I am worried about their blood pressure. This report has been spiced up with the House’s other favourite condiment: quotas for women in the boardroom. Why should a perfectly reasonable report which promotes good corporate governance, which underpins jobs and growth in the EU, be peppered with unreasonable references to boardroom quotas? Quotas are intimidation not motivation, to say nothing of the way in which they patronise women. We need voluntary targets to persuade more company chairmen to appoint women to their boards, not bullying from Brussels. I am not suggesting that women should stay in the kitchen with their salt shaker and their pepper pot, but I hope that Members will soon realise that they are over-seasoning many of the reports which pass through this House.

#### **24. Ausführungen von einer Minute (Artikel 150 GO)**

3-290-000

**Der Präsident.** – Als nächster Punkt folgen die Ausführungen von einer Minute zu wichtigen politischen Fragen gemäß Artikel 150 der Geschäftsordnung.

3-291-000

**Zuzana Roithová (PPE).** - Pane předsedající, chci se vyjádřit k jedné události, která zase po roce zasáhla náš kontinent. Jde o přechod na letní čas. Komise i studie, které jsem hledala, potvrzují, že žádné hospodářské či energetické úspory změna času Evropě nepřináší.

Naproti tomu si mnoho lidí na změnu stěžuje. Pro citlivé lidi působí přechodně i určité zdravotní potíže. Už před 10 lety si podle průzkumu polovina Evropanů střídání času nepřála.

Proto se obracím znovu na Evropskou komisi, aby se zrušením střídání času v Unii začala aktivně zabývat. A vás, kolegové, informuji, že vznikl výbor, který hodlá v rámci občanské iniciativy zahájit sběr 1 milionu podpisů pod petici, jejíž název i cíl je „Only one time“. Každý, kromě europoslanců, se může připojit k výzvě mého kolegy, českého senátora Petra Šilera.

3-292-000

**Corina Crețu (S&D).** - Summitul de la Seoul dedicat securității nucleare este un moment important, care vine după catastrofa de la Fukushima de anul trecut. Energia nucleară a fost o opțiune la un moment dat promițătoare. Ne-am asumat însă doar o parte din costurile ei. Fukushima ne obligă să decidem dacă vom investi cu prioritate în noi tehnologii de generare mai puțin periculoase.

De asemenea, e marea problemă a gestiunii deșeurilor radioactive, care va ocupa atenția multor generații de acum înainte. Aceste deșeuri sunt periculoase și pentru că pot constitui o armă în mâna unor grupuri teroriste. De aceea gestiunea combustibilului uzat poate deveni un coșmar, fără o cooperare internațională.

Summitul de la Seoul ne amintește și un eșec, cel al neproliferării. Coreea de Nord este o astfel de țară care a nesocotit acordurile internaționale și s-a dotat cu armă nucleară. Iranul îi calcă pe urme, iar răspunsul comunității internaționale trebuie să fie mult mai convingător decât până acum, pentru a determina o schimbare în conduita acestor țări.

3-293-000

**Cristian Silviu Bușoi (ALDE).** - Doresc să salut alegerea domnului Nicolae Timofti, magistrat, în funcția de președinte al Republicii Moldova, după 917 zile de interimat. Nu a fost un lucru ușor, ținând cont de inflexibilitatea opoziției și de modul special de alegere a președintelui în Republica Moldova, nemaîntâlnit în nicio altă țară europeană.

De când a preluat guvernarea, Alianța pro-europeană a făcut progrese notabile în modernizarea țării și în apropierea de Uniunea Europeană. Odată cu alegerea noului președinte și, astfel, cu instaurarea unei stabilități politice, îmi exprim speranța că aceste eforturi se vor intensifica. Îmi exprim, de asemenea, speranța și că reformele Republicii Moldova vor fi răsplătite de Uniunea Europeană prin sprijin politic și financiar, prin regim liberalizat de vize și, de ce nu, atunci când condițiile politice o vor permite, prin statutul de membru cu drepturi depline al Uniunii Europene.

3-294-000

**Christian Engström (Verts/ALE).** - Mr President, I find it remarkable and disturbing that I, as an elected Member of this Parliament, must rely on the international media to learn about important developments about the ACTA Treaty.

This was the case with the Commission's decision to refer the ACTA Treaty to the ECJ. According to Article 218 of the TFEU, the European Parliament is to be kept continuously and fully informed about important developments. I urge the President of this Parliament, as well as the Conference of Presidents, to raise the issue in writing and ask for clarification as to why the Commission seems to think it is above the Treaties.

3-295-000

**João Ferreira (GUE/NGL).** - Senhor Presidente, dez meses depois da assinatura do pacto de agressão do FMI e da União Europeia, Portugal está mais dependente, menos democrático, a economia está em recessão e os portugueses estão mais pobres. É isto que a Troica veio considerar um sucesso na avaliação feita recentemente. Gente que fica sem casa, sem emprego e sem subsídio, sem abono de família, sem dinheiro para a educação, para a saúde, para a alimentação, para os transportes, para a luz, para a água.

É isto que a Troica considera um sucesso, a liberdade do patronato explorar e despedir quando lhe convenha, é isto que a Troica considera um sucesso. Mas foi tudo isto que os trabalhadores portugueses demonstraram rejeitar no passado dia 22. A greve geral que fizeram, além de uma notável afirmação de coragem, firmeza e combatividade, foi uma poderosa condenação desta Troica e das receitas que de forma mentirosa nos dizem ser inevitáveis. Não são! Vão demonstrá-lo mais uma vez a manifestação de jovens trabalhadores e a manifestação em defesa do poder local democrático, ambas no próximo dia 31. As lutas pela rejeição deste caminho multiplicam-se, ampliam-se e convergem.

3-296-000

**Elena Băsescu (PPE).** - Regret nespus de mult incidentul tragic petrecut săptămâna trecută la Toulouse. El dovedește o dată în plus, dacă mai era nevoie, că extremismul, xenofobia și intoleranța fac victime. Astfel de atitudini există, din păcate, în tot mai multe țări din Europa.

Mohamed Merah nu era un străin în Franța, un imigrant, cineva venit din afară, cum ar fi de exemplu o persoană de etnie romă din Europa de Est. Dimpotrivă, era cetățean francez. Cei care cred că imigranții sunt vinovați de tot ce se întâmplă rău în țara lor vor începe probabil să înțeleagă că se înșală. Iar după această tragedie și alți colegi din Parlamentul European vor înțelege atitudinea est-europenilor din urmă cu două săptămâni, când s-a dezbătut site-ul anti-imigranți români, polonezi și bulgari al PVV. A trebuit să se întâmple o tragedie pentru a realiza încă o dată în plus că intoleranța ucide.

3-297-000

**Sergio Gutiérrez Prieto (S&D).** - Señor Presidente, el modelo social europeo del que tanto presumimos no se cimienta solo en nuestro sistema de pensiones, educación o sanidad, sino también en una forma de entender los equilibrios entre empresario y trabajador en el seno de las empresas.

La reforma laboral que ha aprobado el Gobierno de España, sin diálogo y sin consenso, rompe con ese modelo social y nos aleja de los objetivos de la Estrategia Europa 2020, tanto en lo que se refiere a la creación de empleo como en lo que se refiere a la calidad del mismo.

Una reforma laboral por sí sola no crea empleo; lo hace el crecimiento económico. Lo que sí hace una ley laboral es definir en qué condiciones entran los trabajadores en las empresas, en qué condiciones permanecen en ellas y en qué condiciones salen de las mismas.

Y con esta reforma, gracias a la que el 80 % de los trabajadores quedarán desprotegidos porque no estarán sujetos a convenios colectivos, los trabajadores podrán ser despedidos por una bajada de los ingresos de las empresas o se podrán modificar unilateralmente sus horarios, lo que queda claro es que los trabajadores entrarán en el mercado de trabajo con mayor precariedad, permanecerán en él con más miedo y saldrán del mismo con menos indemnización.

Por eso, esta reforma, que atenta contra el modelo social europeo y que apuesta por la competitividad de la economía española solo en relación con las condiciones de los trabajadores, se merece una huelga general como la que hay convocada mañana en España en defensa de este modelo social.

3-298-000

**Giommaria Uggias (ALDE).** - Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, questa è l'immagine di Rossella Urru, la ragazza sarda rapita in Algeria il 23 ottobre insieme a due colleghi spagnoli durante una missione di cooperazione per aiutare gli abitanti più disagiati del Maghreb.

Rossella è una ragazza che ha dedicato la sua vita a una nobile occupazione, vale a dire aiutare le persone bisognose. La famiglia della ragazza, l'Italia e noi tutti attendiamo con trepidazione il suo rilascio e il rilascio di tutti i cittadini europei ostaggi e sequestrati. Rossella è una giovane cittadina europea testimone dei nostri valori ed è per questo che deve tornare a casa. È per questo che chiedo ai servizi esteri e alla nostra rappresentante per i servizi esteri Lady Ashton di moltiplicare gli sforzi diplomatici e fare in modo che Rossella possa riavere la sua libertà e tornare a casa.

3-299-000

**Νικόλαος Σαλαβράκος (EFD).** - Κύριε Πρόεδρε, πριν λίγες ημέρες μερικοί πανηγύρισαν τη σωτηρία της Ελλάδος και της Ευρώζωνης. Η Τρόικα που επιτηρεί την Ελλάδα - ναι, αυτό συμβαίνει - όταν ήλθε, όμως, στο Κοινοβούλιο εμφανίστηκε επιφυλακτική για το μέλλον της χώρας, προανήγγειλε καταιγίδα για τους μισθούς και τις συντάξεις των πολιτών και υπαινίχθηκε ότι τα επίπεδα αμοιβών πρέπει να φτάσουν τα 150 έως 200 ευρώ το μήνα, "βούτυρο στο ψωμί της αριστεράς". Ασαφείς οι αναφορές για την ανάπτυξη και κανένα μέτρο σχετικά με τη στήριξη των μικρομεσαίων που θρηνούν στην Ελλάδα, με αποτέλεσμα 68.000 λουκέτα το 2011 και η ανεργία να ανέρχεται πάνω από ένα εκατομμύριο άτομα. Προφανώς, η ανάληψη προσέγγιση παραβλέπει τη διάλυση του κοινωνικού ιστού στην χώρα και τη φτώχεια που έφερε η οικονομική συνταγή. Οι αναταράξεις στην κοινωνία της Ελλάδας και των άλλων χωρών του Νότου που αντιμετωπίζουν τα ίδια προβλήματα δεν ενδιαφέρει κανέναν -δυστυχώς - σ' αυτήν την Ένωση.

Συμπεράσματα: Αποτύχαμε στη διαχείριση της κρίσης κύριε Πρόεδρε· είναι σημαντικό να καταλάβουμε ότι η κρίση δεν αφορά μερικές μόνο χώρες και πρέπει επομένως να αντιμετωπιστεί ως παγκόσμιο και ευρωπαϊκό φαινόμενο.

3-300-000

**Слави Бинев (NI).** - Г-н Председател, манипулирани избори, вътрешен министър - на шеф на предизборния щаб, началник на Централната избирателна комисия, назначена от управляващите, купени гласове, медиен комфорт за правителството, комунист - шеф на полицията и генерал - начело на държавата, осемдесето място за свобода на словото от „Репортери без граница” и първо място по корупция. Това не е страна от третия свят. Това е страна – членка на Европейския съюз. Това е България.

Смятам, че ако новата комисия „Антимафия” не е просто декоративна структура, първата ѝ задача трябва да е арестът на съучастниците на премиера, между които председателката на ЦИК - Медарова, виновна за фалшифицирането на изборите, чиито имоти са повече от тези на Бил Гейтс. Банкери като Цветан Василев, финансиращ медийни империи, които се използват като наказателни бригади, престъпни концесионери като „Дънди Прешъс”, новите олигарси, с които премиерът играе карти, футбол и вършат мръсната му работа, както и монополистите - хора, готови за затвора, които лесно се манипулират. Но на първо място в този списък е именно генерал Борисов.

3-301-000

**Csaba Sógor (PPE).** - Mindannyian tisztában vagyunk vele, hogy Európa népeinek békés együttéléséhez elengedhetetlenül szükséges a kölcsönös tisztelet és megértés, egymás kultúrájának és szimbólumának ismerete és elfogadása. Még inkább fontos ez abban az esetben, ha két nemzeti közösség egyazon országban, esetleg ugyanabban a városban él. Ez a helyzet a romániai Marosvásárhelyen is, ahol a román és a magyar közösség nagyjából fele-fele arányban alkotja a város lakosságát. Ebben a városban jelenleg azonban az etnikai arányok ellenére egyetlen olyan általános iskola sincs, amelyet magyar történelmi személyiségről neveztek volna el. Mindegyik oktatási intézmény egy román személyről kapta a nevét.

Egy nemrégiben indult szülői kezdeményezésre a város egy magyar nemzetiségű volt polgármesteréről szeretnék elnevezni egy intézményt, a kezdeményezést azonban minden eszközzel akadályozza az iskola vezetősége, és a helyi képviselőtestület román többsége is. Azt gondolom, hogy ebben a helyzetben is azokat az elveket kellene követnünk, amelyek Európa népeinek békés együttéléséhez is elvezettek. A kölcsönös tisztelet és megértés, amelynek csak az első lépése lehet, hogy egy többnemzetiségű városban a szimbólumok szintjén is érvényesülni hagyjuk a többnyelvűséget.

3-302-000

**Nessa Childers (S&D).** - Mr President, the recent Mahon Tribunal legal inquiry in Ireland, which lasted 15 years, has found that former Irish Commissioner, Pádraig Flynn, took substantial corrupt payments from property developers for his personal benefit. Pádraig Flynn was Ireland's European Commissioner from 1993 until 1999. He has now disgraced Ireland's good name in Europe. He should no longer receive his sizeable pension from the European Commission.

Under the Commission's own code of conduct, a former Commissioner has at all times a duty to behave with integrity and, if not, can be deprived of his right to a pension. These rules should now also be enforced retroactively. Now more than ever the EU must be seen by the Irish people to be on the side of the ordinary citizen.

3-303-000

**Marian Harkin (ALDE).** - Mr President, right now Ireland is implementing austerity measures to bring our fiscal deficit under control but concurrently we are being asked to shoulder the cost of bailing out our banks. This will cost us EUR 47 billion – for just one bank – from four and a half million people; the largest bank bailout in history.

We made the initial mistake of guaranteeing our banks and then the ECB insisted that Irish taxpayers would take the hit for speculative bondholders. That same ECB is now saying that on top of our extremely difficult fiscal correction we must pay EUR 3.1 billion by 31 March this year and for many years to come. That type of payment will bring us to our knees and is asking the impossible. It will send our debt-to-GNP ratio spiralling to 150% and condemn the Irish economy to years and years of stagnation.

So how can we ever hope to pay back our debts? The debt must be restructured. The IMF agree; virtually all independent economists agree; and it is time for the ECB to stop dragging its heels and acknowledge that Ireland needs measures which will provide some prospect of survival.

3-304-000

**Jacek Włosowicz (EFD).** - Panie Przewodniczący! Chciałbym powiedzieć o odrzuceniu przez Polską Krajową Radę Radiofonii i Telewizji wniosku fundacji Lux Veritatis o przyznanie miejsca katolickiej telewizji Trwam na cyfrowym multipleksie. Pragnę zwrócić uwagę na brak poszanowania równych zasad konkurencyjności podmiotów na rynku w Polsce i dyskryminowanie mediów ze względu na ich katolicki charakter.

Otóż z akt postępowania koncesyjnego wynika, iż na 4 ostatecznie przyznane na multipleksie koncesje 2 otrzymali nadawcy programów muzycznych, co stanowi rażące złamanie zasady realizacji otwartego i pluralistycznego charakteru radiofonii i telewizji. W uzasadnieniu wydanej decyzji Krajowa Rada Radiofonii i Telewizji pomimo tego podkreśla unikalność ich oferty, natomiast żaden z podmiotów, którym przyznano koncesję, nie posiada w swojej ofercie programu o charakterze religijnym. Aktywa trwałe i obrotowe i suma bilansowa telewizji Trwam są wielokrotnie większe od konkurencyjnych stacji, które otrzymały te miejsca. Fakty te wskazują jasno na łamanie podstawowych praw Unii Europejskiej dotyczących wolnych i niezależnych mediów. W związku z tym uważam, że zarówno Parlament, jak i Komisja mają obowiązek zająć się tą sprawą.

3-305-000

**László Tórkés (PPE).** - Elnök úr! A román nacionál-kommunista rezsím Ceaușescu vezényletével 1959-ben szüntette meg az önálló magyar felsőoktatást. Az új tanügyi törvény tavaly óta viszont lehetővé teszi, hogy az erdélyi magyar ifjúság három multikulturális egyetemen, önálló magyar karokon tanuljon. A Marosvásárhelyi Orvosi és Gyógyszerészeti Egyetem román vezetősége már közel egy éve szembeszegül a törvénnyel és a posztkommunista, sovinszta román pártok támogatásával akadályozza az önálló magyar egyetemi kar felállítását. A magyar tanárokat megfélemlíti, Brassai Attila professzort pedig, aki tavaly novemberben, Strasbourgban nyújtott tájékoztatást a törvénytelen egyetemi állapotokról, fegyelmi büntetéssel szankcionálta. Kérem Martin Schulz elnök urat, a Parlamentet és a Bizottságot, hogy védelmezzék meg a marosvásárhelyi magyar tanárokat és támogassák az Ungureanu-kormány törvényes intézkedéseit a magyarellenes választási kampányeszközökhöz folyamodó utódkommunista politikai erő obstrukciója ellenében.

3-306-000

**María Muñoz De Urquiza (S&D).** - Señor Presidente, mi país estará mañana en huelga general en protesta contra la agresión social que supone la reforma laboral impuesta y no negociada por el Gobierno.

Una agresión contra los trabajadores en paro porque no generará empleo y facilitará el despido, una agresión contra los trabajadores jóvenes a quienes condena a la precariedad, una agresión contra las mujeres trabajadoras ya que impide la conciliación familiar y profesional al permitir que los empresarios modifiquen unilateralmente el horario de trabajo y al acabar con el permiso de lactancia.

En definitiva, la reforma laboral es una agresión contra el acervo social europeo que debería preocupar al conjunto de Europa y a este Parlamento.

Por ello, entendemos perfectamente los motivos de los trabajadores españoles, de las mujeres y de los jóvenes para hacer mañana una huelga general.

3-307-000

**Czesław Adam Siekierski (PPE).** - Panie Przewodniczący! Parlament już wiele miesięcy temu wzywał do rozszerzenia wysiłków anty kryzysowych o sferę działań pobudzających gospodarkę. Przyjęcie paktu fiskalnego powinno być symbolicznym końcem etapu cięć i ograniczeń. Teraz potrzebne są działania zwiększające konkurencyjność, tworzące nowe miejsca pracy, co w perspektywie średniookresowej powinno przywrócić wzrost gospodarczy w Europie.

Priorytetem dla tych działań powinien być oczywiście rynek wewnętrzny. W końcu tego roku będziemy świętować 20-lecie rynku wewnętrznego. Nadal jednak istnieje ponad 150 przeszkód do jego pełnego urzeczywistnienia, do jego pełnego rozwoju. Użytecznym narzędziem w procesie powrotu na ścieżkę wzrostu będzie w pewnością nowy unijny budżet na lata 2014-2020, który musi dysponować przynajmniej równym poziomem środków jak obecna perspektywa finansowa. Nieuzasadnione są stwierdzenia niektórych państw – płatników netto, że w czasach kryzysu budżet unijny należy zmniejszać. Wręcz przeciwnie – istnieją dowody na to, że na poziomie unijnym jesteśmy w stanie wypracować większą wartość dodaną niż w przypadku indywidualnych działań państw.

3-308-000

**Phil Prendergast (S&D).** - Mr President, the Irish Minister for the Environment and Local Government is re-examining the structure of the local action groups implementing the rural development programme. There has been talk that the local action groups will be integrated into the local authorities.

While no concrete proposals have been announced, in my experience any proposal to integrate the local action groups into the local authority structure would be both legally problematic and ineffective. Such a move would override the LEADER programme's bottom-up approach based on the independence group's best ability to identify and respond to needs on the ground.

I fail to see how a bureaucratic structure such as a local authority would suit it. Moreover partial integrations such as the integration of enterprise functions into the local authorities would disrupt the coherent approach envisaged by the rural development programme. The Commission should strongly discourage any such move by national authorities in relation to the rural development programme.

3-309-000

**Kristiina Ojuland (ALDE).** - Härra istungi juhataja! Homme võtame vastu siin järjekordse resolutsiooni Valgevene kohta. Kuid mulle tundub, et enam ei ole mingit vahet, kas me otsustame siin midagi või ei otsusta, sest Lukašenkale on see kõik nagu hane selga vesi.

Kui me vaatame tänaseid sündmusi, siis täna öösel arreteeriti taas kolm Valgevene opositsioonijuhti, kes olid teel Minskist läbi Moskva Brüsselisse. Need inimesed on Aleksandr Otroštšenkov, Sergei Kaljakin ja Aleksander Lebedko. Nad arreteeriti umbes 200 kilomeetri kaugusel Minskist Moskva poole. Neid nähti viimati Orša linnas miilitsajaoskonnas. Ja praeguseks ei tea neist keegi mitte midagi. Nende mobiiltelefonid on välja lülitatud ja inimesed on lihtsalt kadunud.

Eesti keeles on niisugune huvitav ja tore ütlemine, et joodikut parandab ainult haud. Ja seda mõtet parafraseerides tahaksin küsida, mis parandab ühte totalitaarset riigijuhti?

3-310-000

**Konrad Szymański (ECR).** - Panie Przewodniczący! W dniu dzisiejszym na terenie Parlamentu miało miejsce publiczne wysłuchanie w sprawie okoliczności katastrofy w Smoleńsku przed dwoma laty. Dwa lata temu na terenie Rosji miał miejsce tragiczny wypadek lotniczy, w którym zginął prezydent Polski – razem 96 osób, w tym elity polityczne i najwyżsi zwierzchnicy wojska. Pomimo upływu dwóch lat okoliczności tej tragedii do dzisiaj nie zostały wyjaśnione. Były czynione próby, prośby, apele o pomoc merytoryczną i polityczną w rozwikłaniu tej bolesnej, tragicznej sprawy.

Mamy nadzieję, że Unia Europejska – w imię ochrony wartości nadrzędnych, a taką jest prawda – udzieli pomocy i wesprze różne wysiłki w celu posunięcia tej sprawy do przodu. Istnieją poważne problemy w uzyskaniu dostępu do dowodów oraz do wraku samolotu, który ciągle znajduje się na terenie Rosji. Mam nadzieję, że pomoc nie przyjdzie za późno, a prawda ujrzy wreszcie światło dzienne.

3-311-000

**Radvilė Morkūnaitė-Mikulėnienė (PPE).** - Manau, kad Europos Sąjungos sėkmė priklauso ne vien tik nuo ekonominių dalykų bet ir nuo to kaip mes vieni kitus pažįstame. Kalbu apie istorinių patirčių supratimą.

Prieš šešiasdešimt trejus metus, kovo 25–28 d. sovietiniai okupantai Lietuvoje, Latvijoje ir Estijoje įvykdė kruopščiai suplanuotą masinių trėminmų operaciją. Per kelias dienas į tremtį Sibire gyvuliniais vagonais buvo išsiųsta apie 95 tūkst. trijų Baltijos valstybių gyventojų. 75 proc. iš jų – moterys ir vaikai.

Tuo metu 1949-aisiais metais, kuomet Europa tiesėsi nuo II-ojo pasaulinio karo padarytų žaizdų, statė naują savo gyvenimą, kitoje Europos dalyje vyko žiaurumai, masiniai trėmimai, persekiojimai ir įkalinimai. Šitaip buvo siekiama sunaikinti tuos žmones, kurie buvo pakankamai drąsūs, kad kovotų su teroro sistema, kuri buvo Sovietų Sąjunga.

Šiandieną džiaugiuosi, kad Europos Parlamente turėjome galimybę paminėti šį reiginį ir labai manau, kad labai svarbu yra išlaikyti tas programas, kurios finansuoja istorinio vieni kitų pažinimo programas.

3-312-000

**Silvia-Adriana Țicău (S&D).** - Punerea în aplicare a strategiei economice a Uniunii Europene necesită luarea unor măsuri hotărâte de stimulare a creșterii și a creării de locuri de muncă. La nivelul Uniunii Europene sunt necesare eforturi suplimentare pentru realizarea pieței unice și în special pentru a finaliza piața unică digitală până în 2015.

Subliniez rolul important al industriei în ceea ce privește creșterea economică, competitivitatea, exporturile și crearea de locuri de muncă în Europa, ca promotor al productivității și al inovării. Identificarea domeniilor industriale în care Uniunea Europeană poate fi competitivă pe plan internațional, asigurarea competențelor și calificărilor necesare, precum și asigurarea infrastructurii industriale și a materiilor prime necesare ar trebui să devină prioritare pentru Uniunea Europeană și pentru statele membre. Numai investind în cercetare și inovare și într-o politică industrială ambițioasă și ecoeficientă, Uniunea poate asigura atât crearea de locuri de muncă pe teritoriul Uniunii Europene, cât și competitivitatea sa pe plan internațional.



3-313-000

**Inés Ayala Sender (S&D).** - Señor Presidente, yo querría expresar la solidaridad con los trabajadores y trabajadoras y los representantes de los sindicatos en España, que están a punto de comenzar una huelga general para luchar, precisamente, contra la injusticia que supone una reforma laboral que intenta no solamente recortar derechos fundamentales de trabajadores y trabajadoras sino que también afecta de manera radical a lo que viene siendo el diálogo social, la concertación social, que ha sido defendida, precisamente, por la Unión Europea como una de las fórmulas, de los instrumentos de mayor democratización de las relaciones sociales y laborales.

Por lo tanto, querría, desde este Parlamento, enviar un saludo y el apoyo a estos trabajadores y trabajadoras en su lucha contra esta injusticia.

3-314-000

**Der Präsident.** – Dieser Tagesordnungspunkt ist damit geschlossen.

**25. Tagesordnung der nächsten Sitzung: siehe Protokoll**

**26. Schluss der Sitzung**

3-317-000

*(Die Sitzung wird um 22.20 Uhr geschlossen.)*