

Czwartek, 10 listopada 2022 r.

**PEŁNE SPRAWOZDANIE Z OBRAD 10 LISTOPADA 2022 R.**

(2023/C 213/02)

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## PEŁNE SPRAWOZDANIE Z OBRAD 10 LISTOPADA 2022 R.

**VORSITZ: OTHMAR KARAS**

*Vizepräsident*

### 1. Otwarcie posiedzenia

(Die Sitzung wird um 9.03 Uhr eröffnet)

### 2. Sprawiedliwość rasowa, niedyskryminacja i przeciwdziałanie rasizmowi w UE (debata)

**Der Präsident.** – Als nächster Punkt der Tagesordnung folgt die Aussprache über den Bericht von Evin Incir im Namen des Ausschusses für bürgerliche Freiheiten, Justiz und Inneres über Rassengerechtigkeit, Diskriminierungsverbot und Vorgehen gegen Rassismus in der EU (2022/2005(INI)) (A9-0254/2022).

**Evin Incir, rapporteur.** – Mr President, colleagues, first and foremost I want to thank all the shadow rapporteurs for the very fruitful and successful discussions and agreements reached. I am happy that we will be able to say to all the people of our Union that they matter and that democratic political groups here in this parliament care. I am proud to be able to say that we are on the right side of history and that we do not look away when people are facing human rights violations because racism is not an opinion: it is a crime; it is a human rights violation.

Colleagues, exactly 84 years ago, the night between 9 and 10 November 1938 embodies racism in its worst form, anti-Semitism. If we close our eyes and listen very carefully, we still hear echoes from a dark chapter in our European history, a period of our history that we must do everything in our power to ensure never repeats itself. We owe the victims of the horrific Holocaust to never forget. We are obliged to act. The EU is built on the notion that nobody is free before everybody is free. Our Union exists as a counter force against hate and all those striving for polarisation and trying to divide our communities. To those undemocratic forces I want to say we will do everything to ensure you are forever consigned to the dustbin of history.

Friends, the former Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme's words from 1965 are still relevant today. He said: 'We like to think of ourselves as open minded and tolerant, but it is yet not that simple. Prejudice does not need to be anchored in some hideous theories. It has much simpler origins. Prejudice always has its roots in everyday life. It grows in the workplace and in the neighbourhood. It is an expression of one's own failure and disappointments. It is, above all, an expression of ignorance and fear: ignorance of other people's uniqueness; fear of losing a position, a social privilege, a pre-emptive right. A person's skin colour, race, language and place of birth have nothing to do with human qualities. Grading people with such standards is in stark contrast to the principle of the equal value of people.'

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Friends, we still face a reality today in the EU where our people are victims of racism, discrimination and harassment. Reports of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights highlight that discrimination and harassment is a daily reality all over the European Union. Minorities face racism in the EU every day. In the five years preceding the respective surveys, 41% of Roma, 45% of persons with a North African background, 39% of sub-Saharan Africans, 60% of Roma and travellers and 25% of Jews felt discriminated against because of their ethnic or immigrant backgrounds. Harassment due to ethnic or immigrant backgrounds was common for one in four Muslim respondents. Of these individuals, nearly half suffered six or more incidents during the year prior to the study.

Racism is a threat to our European democracy and violates human rights. Racism and discrimination kills, deprives people of their fundamental rights, and deprives society from fully enjoying the competence and experience of all our citizens. It is time to go from words to actions. It is time to implement the motto of the European Union: 'United in Diversity'. It's not only about uniting the states and countries: it is about uniting our people to ensure that we end all the discrimination, hatred and violence that they are facing every year, every month, every week, every day.

**President.** – Thank you very much for your introductory speech, rapporteur. I now warmly welcome our Commissioner, Helena Dalli.

**Helena Dalli, Member of the Commission.** – Mr President, honourable Members, the report that we discuss today is an important initiative of the European Parliament. I thank you for acknowledging the work of the European Commission in tackling racism and for highlighting the importance of continuing our concerted efforts and mainstreaming our work in legislation, policy-making, funding and practice.

Discrimination on the grounds of racial or ethnic origin is prohibited in the European Union. The European Commission is acting to address the high rates of experiences of racism at 29% in access to work, 23% in access to housing, 12% in access to education, and 22% in access to goods and services, and the worrying incidences of racist harassment at 24% and racist violence at 3% over a 12-month period.

This severely affects racialised communities and ethnic minorities across our Union. This is why our work programme for 2023 states that the Commission will continue its work to ensure effective protection against discrimination on grounds of racial or ethnic origin. This work is to be seen in the context of the implementation of the EU anti-racism action plan presented two years ago. This action plan takes a horizontal approach covering all different forms of racism and sets out measures that cover a comprehensive range of policy areas. The acknowledgement of the structural dimension of racism and the significance of intersectionality is at the base of the action plan.

In this context, the EU anti-racism action plan emphasises the importance of mainstreaming the fight against racism into all EU policies. The Commission's Task Force on Equality plays a key role in this respect. The European Union has a strong legal acquis and mandate to fight racial and ethnic discrimination, with legislation covering all areas of life and addressing hate speech and hate crime.

Last year, the report on the application of the Racial Equality Directive concluded that Member States must provide greater attention to the implementation of the directive in relation to protection against victimisation and the application of effective, proportionate and dissuasive sanctions.

In this respect, we are preparing a proposal for a law strengthening equality bodies that will be presented before the end of this year. Amongst others, the new standards will cover the equality bodies' mandate, their powers, independence and their resources, importantly.

Racist and xenophobic hate crime and hate speech are prohibited, as you know, under Union law. The framework decision on combating racism and xenophobia obliges Member States to criminalise public incitement to violence or hatred based on race, colour, religion, descent, or national or ethnic origin, and to ensure criminalisation of the racist and xenophobic bias motivation when committing a crime.

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Extensive efforts have been made to ensure enforcement of legislation through targeted support to Member States and their law enforcement agencies. The Commission takes the proper transposition and implementation of this legislation, of course, seriously, through dialogue with Member States and where needed by initiating infringement proceedings.

In December 2021, the Commission continued pushing for legislative progress and proposed to extend the current list of EU crimes to hate speech and hate crime. The EU is deeply concerned with the rising rates of this form of crime. Yet legislation is, of course, only part of the answer and policy efforts need to complement it. Education is key for addressing racism.

The Commission is committed to supporting Member States in identifying good practices, lessons learned and success factors in building inclusive and equitable quality education. At its last two meetings this year, the Working Group on equality and values in education and training within the European Education Area, consisting of experts appointed by EU Member States, discussed different ways to address discrimination in and through education and training, including stereotypes, prejudice and hate speech.

The Erasmus+ programme already supports projects to raise awareness among young Europeans of the importance of respecting each other in our diversity. Since 2014, more than 2 800 projects, supported by the programme across Europe, have dealt directly with the fight against racism. The EU anti-racism action plan also foresees strengthened participation of civil society organisations working with racialised groups.

To this end, the Commission set up a permanent forum of anti-racism civil society organisations to participate in the consultative processes and support the Commission in the implementation of the action plan. Besides, the new Commission Coordinator for Anti-Racism also interacts with many other stakeholders like Member States, the European Parliament and academia to strengthen policy responses in the field of anti-racism.

Supplementing this work, the European Commission has adopted two specific approaches addressing the challenges faced by Roma and Jewish people. The adoption of the EU Roma strategic framework in 2020 and the unanimous adoption of the Council recommendation on Roma equality, inclusion and participation in 2021 marked important milestones in the fight against antigypsyism. They strongly encourage Member States to increase their efforts to combat antigypsyism. The Commission is planning to issue a first report assessing the national strategies for Roma equality, inclusion and participation this year.

In addition, with anti-Semitism worryingly on the rise, the Commission adopted the first ever EU strategy on combating anti-Semitism and fostering Jewish life, in October of last year. We are working to prevent all forms of anti-Semitism and combat violent extremism and terrorism targeting Jews and to foster a European society aware of Jewish life, culture and history, past and present and where Jews feel safe.

Member States are invited to develop national action plans against racism and racial discrimination by the end of this year addressing their specific domestic realities while linking to the European mainstream strategies and action plans. To date, 16 Member States either have a stand-alone action plan or have integrated measures on combating racism as an integral part of more general national human rights action plans or other instruments and strategies. A report on the implementation of the national action plans against racism is due by the end of next year.

Equality data disaggregated by racial or ethnic origin are of great importance, of course, as we all know, and this in building effective policies to tackle discrimination. In this context, the Subgroup on Equality Data are made up of representatives from EU Member States and Norway also, the European Commission, Eurostat and FRA help Member States improve the collection and the use of equality data. It has produced key policy documents to step-up efforts such as the non-binding guidelines on improving the collection and use of ethnic and racial equality data presented at the roundtable on equality data held earlier this year.

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As to the Commission personnel policy, last year data on the diversity of the Commission staff was for the first time collected via a dedicated, voluntary and anonymous diversity and inclusion survey. Its results are paving the way for evidence-based internal policies and measures under the human resources strategy. A dedicated diversity and inclusion office has been created to oversee the development and implementation of all relevant actions and human resources.

And, finally, the citizens, equality, rights and values programme now has a budget of EUR 1.5 billion, more than double than in the previous cycle. It specifically focuses on the protection and promotion of Union values by providing support to civil society organisations active in this field. Racism and discrimination have no place in our Union of equality. We can and we must put an end to this scourge through joint and comprehensive action across the European Union.

**Seán Kelly, on behalf of the PPE Group.** – A Uachtaráin, Madam Commissioner, we must listen to those affected and recognise that racism, xenophobia and discrimination are still prevalent in the EU across all Member States. Research from the European Union Fundamental Rights Agency has shown that racism comes in various forms, and unfortunately, harassment and discrimination remain a harsh reality in the daily lives of ethnic minorities and marginalised groups across Europe.

The EU has taken action through its anti-racism action plan, and many sports organisations, including my own, the GAA in Ireland, have introduced programmes such as Show Racism the Red Card. It is vital we do not lose momentum in the fight against racism. The EU needs to develop a comprehensive approach to tackle all forms of racism and discrimination and to ensure that measures to combat racism are implemented effectively.

European values and freedoms should pertain to all people of every race and ethnic group. Our motto has always to be 'equality, not superiority'. Let's show racism the red card.

**Juan Fernando López Aguilar, en nombre del Grupo S&D.** – Señor presidente, comisaria Dalli, este debate sobre la justicia racial y la estrategia y el plan europeo contra toda forma de discriminación y racismo está muy bien traído, al igual que la ponencia de nuestra compañera Evin Incir.

Usted lo ha dicho, el racismo no tiene ningún lugar en Europa y hay un plan europeo contra el racismo y la discriminación 2020-2025 que incluye un coordinador antirracismo; hasta el momento arroja el preocupante balance de que solo doce Estados miembros han presentado sus planes y tenemos un número muy considerable que aún no ha mostrado ese compromiso.

El otro día debatíamos en el Parlamento Europeo el crecimiento de la extrema derecha y uno de sus rasgos más distintivos: el discurso del odio que conduce al crimen de odio. Por eso, quiero señalar que, además de invertir los fondos necesarios para sostener este plan, es imprescindible que se cumpla el compromiso de —sobre la base jurídica del artículo 83— incorporar a la lista de los eurodelitos el crimen de odio. Crimen de odio: delito europeo incorporado al Código Penal de todos los Estados miembros.

**Maite Pagazaurtundúa, en nombre del Grupo Renew.** – Señor presidente, el racismo está prohibido en Europa, pero existe. Por eso estamos aquí. Y no sabemos si los Estados hacen todo lo que pueden. Creemos que no.

El odio social se dirige hacia personas que forman parte de colectivos vulnerables a causa de sus odiadores y definidos principalmente por sus odiadores. Les retiran la individualidad y los diferencian por raza, lengua, ascendente étnico, ideológico, lo que sea.

Se ataca a personas reales sobre la base de prejuicios. Y los que construyen al enemigo basándose en la intolerancia y el prejuicio se consideran a sí mismos víctimas. Es así como se justifican y actualizan la excusa para seguir odiando. Esto es muy importante en esta Cámara porque tenemos una responsabilidad sobre esos discursos. Así justifican la deshumanización del que no les gusta y piensan que ejercen la legítima defensa, pero es falso: son prisioneros de esos prejuicios.

Por ello, no solo legislando se pueden atajar estos comportamientos, pero también es necesario legislar y es necesario que los Estados actúen. Lo ha dicho Juan Fernando López Aguilar: solo doce Estados miembros han presentado planes. Y la Directiva horizontal contra la discriminación está bloqueada en el Consejo desde 2008, señorías. La Decisión para ampliar los delitos de odio es un imponente y sigue bloqueada. Y Chequia no responde.

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**Romeo Franz, im Namen der Verts/ALE-Fraktion.** – Herr Präsident, sehr geehrte Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Heute schreiben wir Geschichte. Zum ersten Mal setzen wir in diesem Parlament einen so starken Schwerpunkt auf den Kampf gegen strukturellen Rassismus und Diskriminierung von Minderheiten.

Mit diesem Bericht fordern wir nachdrücklich, die eigentlichen Ursachen von strukturellem Rassismus und Diskriminierung endlich anzugehen. Der Kampf gegen Rassismus muss endlich in der EU angegangen werden. Dafür setzen wir einen wichtigen Meilenstein.

Mit meinen eigenen Augen habe ich in den Wäldern von Lwiw in der Ukraine gesehen, wie Rassismus und Diskriminierung Menschen verhungern lässt. Ich konnte nicht glauben, dass Menschen – darunter eine große Anzahl von Kindern – unter diesen Bedingungen in Europa leben mit einer Lebenserwartung von circa 40 Jahren. Die Reisen in die Ghettos von Tinca in Rumänien oder Kjustendil in Bulgarien, wo massiver Antiziganismus Bürgerinnen und Bürger zu Menschen zweiter Klasse macht, haben mich sehr geprägt. Doch Lwiw war kaum zu beschreiben. Dieses Ausmaß an Entmenschlichung durch Rassismus ist grausame Realität, die durch den Krieg noch verschlimmert wird.

Wir, das Europäische Parlament, dürfen die Schande der Entmenschlichung nicht weiter tolerieren. Nur so können wir unsere Menschlichkeit bewahren. Und dafür setzen wir heute ein Zeichen.

**Gilles Lebreton, au nom du groupe ID.** – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, le racisme et l'antisémitisme sont inacceptables. Chacune de leurs manifestations doit être sanctionnée avec la plus grande sévérité. L'universalisme républicain français et les valeurs de l'Union exigent que les individus soient tous traités de façon égale, indépendamment de leur origine ethnique et de leur couleur de peau. L'égalité de l'homme et de la femme est aussi un principe fondamental, qui doit être défendu sans faiblesse. Toute discrimination, toute violence à l'égard des femmes doit être combattue et réprimée. Les pratiques barbares comme le mariage forcé ou les mutilations génitales doivent être éradiquées et non pas tolérées sous prétexte de respecter des traditions ou des religions.

Le rapport Incir a le mérite de rappeler ces grands principes. Il est hélas dommage qu'il gâche tout en cédant aux outrances du wokisme. Rien n'y manque. Il dénonce pêle-mêle, je cite, le «racisme structurel et institutionnalisé», les «discriminations intersectionnelles», la «violence policière envers les groupes racialisés», les «stéréotypes négatifs aux connotations raciales des médias» et même les «préjugés structurels des systèmes judiciaires», ce qu'il résume dans la formule choc de «justice raciale».

Je dénonce ces accusations ignobles, qui jettent le discrédit sur les États membres de l'Union et notamment sur mon pays, la France. Non, chers collègues, la France n'est pas un État raciste. La justice y respecte pleinement le principe d'égalité. Quant à la police, je rappelle qu'elle travaille sous son contrôle et que chaque faute personnelle d'un policier est réprimée pénalement. Soyons fiers de notre civilisation. Regardons-la en face sans la défigurer.

**Assita Kanko, namens de ECR-Fractie.** – Voorzitter, ik sta achter de poging van Evin Incir om het probleem van racisme te benoemen en aan te pakken. Het verslag bevat een aantal zeer belangrijke elementen, waaronder een alinea over vrouwenrechten, en met name vrouwenbesnijdenis, huwelijksgevangenschap en eerwraak, waaraan ik heb bijgedragen.

Desalniettemin schiet het verslag op een aantal vlakken tekort. Zo krijgen de Europese instellingen hierin een te grote rol toebedeeld op een gebied dat aan de lidstaten toebehoort. Voorts wordt de politie eenzijdig bekritiseerd, terwijl onze politie- en justitiële diensten juist hard werken om de samenleving te beschermen.

Een punt dat mij persoonlijk sterk raakt, is het racisme van lage verwachtingen. Om racisme daadwerkelijk aan te pakken, moeten we ambitieus durven zijn voor iedereen. We zijn immers meer dan onze kleur of ons geslacht. We mogen niet geloven dat we minder kunnen omdat we een kleur hebben.

**Malin Björk, för The Left-gruppen.** – Herr talman! Rasismen och diskrimineringen är strukturell i våra samhällen, inte ett undantag. Några exempel på detta är migrations- och flyktingpolitiken. Flyktingar och migranter görs till syndabockar och görs i extremhögerns berättelse till rotens till allt ont. Icke-vita mäniskor lämnas till havs utan att få komma i land och söka skydd i Europa. Det är förödande. Det kostar mäniskoliv – och det är racism.

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Vi har också en diskriminerande arbetsmarknad där rasifierade mäniskor utnyttjas. Uppehållstillstånd och familjeåterförening knyts till din anställning och gör att arbetsgivare kan utnyttja rasifierade mäniskor runtom i Europa. Det är racism.

Vi har polisvåld och vi har rasprofiling. Ni har säkert alla sett det. Det är racism.

Rasifierade kvinnor utnyttjas på prostitutionsmarknaderna runtom i Europa, utan att någon verkar tycka att det är ett problem att det är just de här kvinnorna som ska köpas av vita män. Det är racism.

Högern tillsammans med extremhögern för en politik som utarmar arbetarområden i mitt land, Sverige. Bostäder, skolor, utbildning – allting rustas ner när det egentligen måste rustas upp. När sociala problem uppstår skyller extremhögern på mäniskors kultur och mäniskors etnicitet och på mäniskors invandrarbakgrund. De gör det till svart eller vitt. Det är också en form av racism.

Den antirasistiska kampen för oss i vänstern är också att bygga ett jämlikt samhälle. Vi ställer inte mäniskor mot varandra. Vi bygger ihop samhället. Vi satsar på alla. Och medlemsländerna och EU måste göra mer. Politiken ska motverka hat och hot. Politiken måste få ett stopp på den strukturella diskrimineringen – och politiken måste bygga ihop. Det är vår uppgift. Det är vår uppgift.

**Mislav Kolakušić (NI).** – Poštovani predsjedavajući, poštovani kolege, poštovani građani Europske unije. Rasizam i diskriminacija su u posljedično - uzročnoj vezi s ilegalnim imigracijama. Kada vam ilegalni imigrant uđe u vašu državu, kršeći sve propise te države i pristane raditi za duplo manje novaca od građanina i starosjedioca Europske unije. Kako će se osjećati ta osoba koja je ostala bez svog radnog mjesta zbog nekoga tko je, ne poštujući i kršeći sve propise te države, ušao u nju.

Ako vam netko provali u kuću i uzme nešto vaše, naravno da ga svaka normalna osoba neće poštovati. Ista je situacija i ovdje. Moramo zaustaviti ilegalne migracije i nećemo imati problema sa rasizmom i sličnim situacijama.

**Peter Pollák (PPE).** – Vážený pán predsedajúci, som rád, že Európsky parlament pomenúva, priznáva existenciu praktík inštitucionálneho rasizmu. Sú to praktiky na strane orgánov, ktoré majú v Európskej únii chrániť, vzdelávať či rozvíjať. Neprimerané násilie počas policajných zásahov proti Rómom či iným menšinám, segregácia a neoprávnené umiestňovanie rómskych detí do špeciálnych škôl s mentálnym postihnutím, diskriminácia v oblasti zamestnávania či zdravotnej starostlivosti, nedostatočný prístup k základným potrebám, ako je pitná voda či kanalizácia. To sú len niektoré prípady, ktoré odrážajú realitu dnešných dní, ktorá je často založená na diskriminácii, na etnickom či rasovom princípe. Musíme si uvedomiť, že všetky tieto praktiky nielenže podkopávajú dôstojnosť ľudu, proti ktorým sú namierené, ale aj maria všetky naše snahy o prosperitu a blahobyt, ako aj vzájomnú súdržnosť a bezpečnosť. Žijeme v časoch mnohých výziev. Ak však chceme tieto výzvy ustáť a posunúť sa vpred, tak rasizmus v našich spoločnostiach jednoducho nesmie byť v žiadnom prípade tolerovaný, a to v záujme nás všetkých.

**Marc Angel (S&D).** – Mr President, let me start by thanking Evin Incir for this excellent report on racial justice. And it is right that the report mentions cases of double standards and discrimination at the EU borders based on skin colour, including recently against some people fleeing Russia's war in Ukraine. Therefore, the call for equal treatment at the European Union's borders is so important. And this is not only a call of the European Parliament, but also to citizens during the Conference on the Future of Europe, and the Migration Working Group demanded this.

I want to thank Commissioner Dalli for the Commission's commitment to the Union of Equality. The European Parliament is an ally supporting all the Commission's equality strategies, be it the anti-racism action plan, the gender and LGBT equality strategy, the EU Roma strategic framework, the disability strategy. We are also an ally when it comes to intersectional discrimination, and it is therefore important not only to address intersectionality in documents and in speeches, but also in EU legislation. And here I urge the Council, which is unfortunately absent today, to stop banning intersectionality. To fight racism and discrimination in the European Union, we need our Member States on board.

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**Hilde Vautmans (Renew).** – Voorzitter, racisme en discriminatie op grond van ras of etnische afkomst zijn voor miljoenen Europeanen een dagelijkse werkelijkheid. Er zijn zo veel mensen die slecht worden behandeld vanwege hun huidskleur of godsdienst. Zo ook mijn kinderen en man, vanwege hun donkere huidskleur.

Als moeder en politica maak ik mij dan ook grote zorgen over de opmars van extreemrechts in Europa. Zij herinnert mij eraan hoe diepgeworteld racisme en discriminatie zijn in onze maatschappij, hoe individuen erdoor worden ontmenschijkt, hoe mensen erdoor in monsters veranderen en hoe dodelijk haat kan zijn.

Wij moeten opstaan en dringend actie ondernemen. In Europa is geen plaats voor racisme. Het is niet onze afkomst die telt, maar onze toekomst.

**Alice Kuhnke (Verts/ALE).** – Herr talman! Racism och diskriminering är en verklighet som präglar människors hela liv – deras uppväxt, deras skolgång, deras möjligheter och deras vardag. Men rasismen drabbar inte enbart enskilda individer. Den drabbar oss alla, hela samhällen och hela länder. Rasismen står i vägen för utveckling.

Det finns de som lever och agerar i tron att racism inte är något problem. De har fel. Det visar all forskning och all vår historia. Att låta rasistiska ideer få inflytande i ett lands politik, vilket sker i EU, bland annat i Sverige, är dumt. Det är en kortsiktig, dyrköt vinst för några få. Racismen är destruktiv. Den förgör. Därför kommer vi att fortsätta att bekämpa den, överallt och hela tiden.

**Tom Vandendriessche (ID).** – Voorzitter, volgens het verslag behoort racisme tot de kern van onze unieke Europese beschaving en is het ingebakken in onze samenleving, en zelfs in wie wij zijn. Hierdoor ontstaat een waar “blankenprobleem”: onze universiteiten, onze bedrijven en onze cultuur zijn te blank en te zwarte gevangenissen, criminaliteit of werkloosheid zijn de schuld van de blanken.

Er is slechts één echte vorm van structureel en systemisch racisme, namelijk positieve discriminatie. Hierbij wordt de oorspronkelijke Europese bevolking structureel en systematisch gediscrimineerd op grond van huidskleur en worden Europeanen tweederangsburgers in eigen land. Dit wordt inclusie en diversiteit genoemd, maar er is niets positiefs aan. Dit is racisme tegen blanken en dit druist in tegen onze Europese waarden.

Alle burgers moeten gelijk zijn voor de wet.

**Patryk Jaki (ECR).** – Panie Przewodniczący! Jak zwykle, Szanowni Państwo, w sprawozdaniu o walce z dyskryminacją wśród wielu słuszych postulatów promujecie prawdziwą dyskryminację. Mianowicie na przykład, odwołując się do sprawozdania o praworządności – rzekomej –, gdzie, jak Państwo bardzo dobrze wiecie, jest wprost napisane, że to, co mogą robić w wymiarze sprawiedliwości jedne państwa, inne państwa nie mogą. Sami piszecie, dlaczego – dlatego że mają gorszą kulturę i gorsze tradycje.

Co to jest, jak nie rasizm? Pytam, co to jest, jak nie rasizm? A dyskryminacja finansowa całego narodu, Polski, pod wymyślonymi zarzutami, tylko dlatego, że ludzie wybierają tam inaczej? Że ludzie są bardziej konserwatywni, bronią tradycyjnych wartości, bronią Boga, wolności religijnej, prawdziwej definicji płci? Tylko dlatego są dyskryminowani.

Proszę państwa, jeżeli chcecie walczyć z prawdziwą dyskryminacją, to atakowanie narodu za inne poglądy jest tego absolutną i wypełniającą definicję. Dlatego, zanim będącie potępiać innych, najpierw warto zwrócić uwagę na siebie.

**Nicolas Bay (NI).** – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, depuis maintenant des décennies le prétendu antiracisme est devenu une véritable religion, destinée à culpabiliser les Européens et à leur faire accepter ce qu'aucun autre peuple n'accepte nulle part sur la planète, c'est-à-dire une immigration massive, anarchique, dont les flux s'amplifient et contre laquelle il est désormais interdit de s'exprimer.

Nous sommes priés de nous pousser et de faire de la place aux nouveaux arrivants, priés de laisser notre histoire être insultée, priés de laisser notre mémoire être effacée, priés de laisser nos peuples être remplacés. Et pendant ce temps, qui est-ce qui bénéficie de la mansuétude des juges, y compris après des dizaines d'interpellations par la police? Qui a droit à quatorze deuxièmes chances? Qui est toujours excusé par les médias et par la gauche? Qui bénéficie de la discrimination positive à l'embauche? Qui a droit à des quotas raciaux à la télévision ou au cinéma? Ce sont bien sûr ces minorités dont vous parlez tant.

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Tandis que certaines minorités ethniques, sexuelles ou religieuses ont droit à toutes les attentions, que leurs revendications, y compris les plus incompatibles avec l'intérêt général, sont promues et valorisées, il existe une catégorie qui n'a droit à rien, à part le droit d'être culpabilisée, de s'autoflageller: c'est l'homme européen, blanc, chrétien et hétérosexuel.

**Cyrus Engerer (S&D).** – Mr President, it's incredible the hate that comes out of certain speeches. Two years ago, this parliament declared that 'Black lives matter' but, let's be frank, even judging by the three previous speeches, do 'Black lives matter' in our politics, in our policies and in our implementation of them? Are persons of colour, minorities and others only remembered in our thoughts and prayers?

Right now, authorities have the power to discriminate through laws, and we are tired of this systematic racism and discrimination embedded in policies, and ineffective remedies. Big statements are very attractive, but lack of action is deadly. What about the prediction of criminality in minorities due to their immigrant background? This is a human rights violation.

Let us introduce concrete follow-ups to ensure effective implementation. Governments must give the support that many NGOs struggle to give – yet they still do it. Let us ensure equal treatment, distribution of wealth, and let us be the ones to initiate a model of real inclusion and dialogue between citizens.

Colleagues, we do not need preachers and speakers; we need decision-makers and game-changers to address the systemic roots of institutionalised racism – also in this European Parliament!

**Samira Rafaela (Renew).** – Mr President, we live in a world where digital surveillance has become common. CCTV and face recognition are part of our daily lives, whether we want it or not.

However, we fail to understand and address how these already uncomfortable circumstances can become very dangerous for members of racialised groups. There is ample evidence that artificial intelligence tools heavily discriminate against black people and people of colour in general, and women of colour in particular.

After all, AI is built by humans and deployed in systems and institutions that have been marked by entrenched discrimination, from law enforcement to housing, to the workplace, to our financial systems. And this racial bias is even in the data used to train the AI data that is often discriminatory or unrepresentative for people of colour, women and other marginalised groups and can rear its head throughout the AI's design, development, implementation and use.

Therefore, I want to state that the monitoring of racial bias as proposed in this report is not enough. We need a clear directive that specifically states that institutional racism is unlawful. Only then we can make sure that victims of unlawful discrimination get justice.

**Pierrette Herzberger-Fofana (Verts/ALE).** – Monsieur le Président, le racisme est une réalité qui affecte une vie entière. Il est contraire à notre plan d'action, que nous avons adopté afin d'abolir toute forme de discrimination au sein de l'Union européenne.

De nombreuses organisations de la société civile nous ont fait part des discriminations dont sont victimes les personnes issues des minorités. Les inégalités de traitement sont toujours plus grandes entre les différents réfugiés qui pourtant fuient la même guerre d'Ukraine: l'intégration et l'accueil dans les pays hôtes sont ainsi refusés aux personnes d'origine africaine tout particulièrement. Des milliers de personnes réfugiées sont confrontées à des procédures administratives lourdes et à une politique migratoire européenne discriminatoire. Certains d'entre eux ont fait état de sévices, et les femmes nous ont confié qu'elles avaient enduré des violences sexuelles durant leur fuite. Cela est inacceptable.

La nationalité, la couleur de la peau, la religion ou encore l'orientation sexuelle ne doivent pas être des critères de sélection, qui sapent la dignité humaine. La mise en œuvre de la législation antidiscriminatoire de l'Union européenne et un soutien financier aux groupes qui combattent le racisme sont nécessaires.

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Par ailleurs, une collecte de données – par l'intermédiaire d'un sondage par exemple – justifierait notre action. L'Union européenne doit garantir les valeurs humanistes, qui sont la base de la démocratie et de l'état de droit, dans une approche intersectionnelle.

**Susanna Ceccardi (ID).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, è vero, il razzismo in Europa esiste. Esiste nelle periferie abbandonate, dove i poveri si fanno la guerra per avere un sussidio o una casa popolare. Una battaglia tra gli ultimi, dove chi partecipa non gioca per vincere ma lotta per sopravvivere. È il razzismo del mondo dei vinti.

Esiste però anche un altro razzismo, più subdolo. È il razzismo delle zone a traffico limitato, quello dei radical chic; il razzismo del centro che discrimina i razzisti di periferia; il razzismo di quelli con la macchinetta elettrica da 40 000 euro contro quelli che inquinano con la macchina nel 2005 a diesel che non possono cambiare; il razzismo contro quelli che non hanno il vocabolario inclusivo di chi ha studiato nelle scuole esclusive.

Voi che parlate di «includere» e avete esteso un cordone sanitario nei confronti dei colleghi, qui dentro, che non la pensano come voi. Questa relazione è piena di parole incomprensibili da chi vive ai margini. Loro non vi capiscono e voi non li capite.

Non voteremo questa relazione non perché non condividiamo la lotta al razzismo, ma perché non ne condividiamo l'ipocrisia.

Pier Paolo Pasolini diceva: «Il razzismo è l'odio di classe inconscio». E aveva ragione.

**Laura Ferrara (NI).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, razzismo e pratiche discriminatorie nell'Unione europea rappresentano, per chi ne è vittima, un grande ostacolo al conseguimento di diritti e di opportunità, compromettendo gravemente la dignità umana, il benessere e la sicurezza personale.

Minoranze e gruppi sociali, comprese le persone LGBTQI, continuano a subire diseguaglianze socioeconomiche che incidono in ambito lavorativo e nell'accesso a servizi essenziali riguardanti salute, istruzione, alloggio e giustizia.

A 14 anni dall'adozione della decisione quadro sulla lotta al razzismo e alla xenofobia, non tutti gli Stati membri hanno recepito correttamente le disposizioni per criminalizzare le condotte generate dall'odio e dall'incitamento all'odio. La legislazione europea si sta evolvendo per contrastare tali fenomeni dilaganti anche online, ma ciò non basta.

Il piano di azione dell'Unione europea contro il razzismo dovrebbe avere obiettivi misurabili e meccanismi di follow-up. Cultura e mezzi di informazione dovrebbero avere un ruolo prioritario nel combattere pregiudizi e stereotipi razziali, così come nella promozione dell'uguaglianza e dell'inclusione sociale.

Un'Europa unita nella diversità si costruisce senza intolleranza e discriminazioni.

**Theresa Muigg (S&D).** – Herr Präsident, sehr geehrte Kommissarin, liebe Kolleginnen, liebe Kollegen! Auch ich möchte mich als Erstes bei Kollegin Evin Incir für diesen Bericht bedanken.

Das Thema Rassismus und die damit verbundene Diskriminierung, werden im politischen Diskurs häufig zu eindimensional beleuchtet. Rassistische Gewalt und Diskriminierung sind keine individuellen Einzelfälle. Sie sind auch nicht großteils harmlos, und sie dürfen auch nicht instrumentalisiert und umgedeutet werden. Die tatsächlichen Auswirkungen von struktureller und systemimmanenter Diskriminierung sind Realität, und sie werden von rechten Parteien als Grundlage von Ausgrenzung und Spaltung verwendet.

Wir befinden uns in einer Zeit des Umbruchs: Die Nachwirkungen der Coronakrise, die Auswirkungen des unmenschlichen Kriegs – sie werfen Schatten auf die nächsten Jahre.

Es ist jetzt umso wichtiger, dass wir uns gegen jede Form von Ausgrenzung aussprechen. Es ist jetzt der Moment, auf europäischer und auf nationaler Ebene Handlungsschritte zu setzen. Denn wie ernst wir alle mit der europäischen Vielfaltsidee umgehen, wie ernst wir sie nehmen, werden wir daran messen lassen müssen, wie wir als Gesellschaft damit umgehen, wenn sie angegriffen wird – immer und überall.

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**Pietro Bartolo (S&D).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, signora Commissaria, da qualche giorno la voce dell'odio contro i migranti si è arricchita di nuovi vocaboli: «sbarchi selettivi» e «carico residuale». Non in riferimento a merci difettose o carne avariata da rispedire al mittente ma per definire i naufraghi, persone a cui veniva vietato di sbarcare in un porto sicuro.

Parole odiose, che assumono un significato ancora più grave se pronunciate da un ministro della Repubblica italiana. Parole che incitano all'odio e alla discriminazione, che contribuiscono a consolidare il razzismo strutturale e istituzionalizzato.

L'Europa è a un bivio. Se vogliamo prendere la strada dei valori e dell'uguaglianza, allora dobbiamo condannare, senza se e senza ma, tutti i comportamenti discriminatori e radicati anche all'interno delle istituzioni e dare seguito a questa risoluzione, e ringrazio la collega Incir, che traccia un binario su cui procedere, un percorso fatto di cultura e politica, formazione e diritto, perché le razze non esistono. Esiste solo il genere umano.

#### Spontane Wortmeldungen

**Maria Grapini (S&D).** – Domnule președinte, doamna comisară, stimați colegi, tema este extrem de importantă pentru umanitate: ură, rasism.

Din punctul meu de vedere, făcând parte dintr-un partid umanist, social-liberal în țara mea, cred că omul trebuie pus în centrul oricărei acțiuni a noastre, a Consiliului, a Comisiei, a Parlamentului, a tuturor.

Dar mă întreb, Consiliul European nu discriminează țara mea, o națiune întreagă, că nu intră România în Schengen, deși înlăturate condițiile, deși Parlamentul a votat? Ce exemplu poate să dea Consiliul European atunci când folosește dublă măsură? Ce exemplu poate să dea Comisia când folosește dublă măsură? și ce exemplu poate să dea Parlamentul atunci când sunt eurodeputați care, iată, și în dezbaterea de astăzi, au stigmatizat o țară întreagă nedând exemplu pozitiv?

Eu aparțin unei majorități, dar mă simt discriminată alături de cetățenii din țara mea, chiar de Consiliul European. De aceea, politicile de discriminare, de eliminare a rasismului și a urii trebuie pornite de aici pentru a da un exemplu cetățenilor și pentru a considera că orice om este important, indiferent de religie, de națiune, de culoare.

**Ana Miranda (Verts/ALE).** – Senhor Presidente, a resolução sobre o aumento do neofascismo, da violência neofascista na Europa alertou que vários partidos europeus são abertamente fascistas e xenófobos, incitando ao ódio e à violência na sociedade europeia, como a extrema direita deste Parlamento que acabámos de escutar.

Senhores eurodeputados, ser racista é ser cobarde. Lula, o Presidente eleito do Brasil, diz que o racismo é uma doença e que, como presidente, lutaria contra o racismo; que é importante ter discursos antirracistas em política. O racismo mata, abusa, põe a culpa no outro, paga menos por igual trabalho, usa e abusa, discrimina, usa e maltrata o institucional.

O racismo é um problema europeu. Na Espanha, um em cada quatro jovens admite comportamentos racistas nas redes. Educar para combater o racismo é a nossa obrigação.

**Mick Wallace (The Left).** – Mr President, I do not see how we can address the deeply serious topic of racism in the EU with any credibility as long as the EU's High Representative for Foreign Affairs publicly espouses some of the most racist sentiments uttered in public for many years.

The billions of people who live where Europe has invaded and butchered millions, plundered and committed genocide, overthrown and murdered revolutionaries, backed brutal dictators, imposed murderous sanctions; where the very same EU institutions that Borrell says distinguish us and them have used financial imperialism to keep brutal colonial power structures in place.

When those who live under the boot of the global capitalist system heard Borrell's now infamous 'gardeners in the jungle' comments, they knew exactly what he meant. They recognised the racism and brutality that Europe was built on and sadly, a mentality that hasn't gone away.

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**Juozas Olekas (S&D).** – Gerbiamas pirmininke, gerbiama Komisijos narė. Rasizmas yra ir gėda. Sveikinu Komisijos nusiteikimą testi darbą dėl rasinio diskriminavimo panaikinimo. Europos žemynas, išgyvenęs Holokaustą, negali leisti bet kokio diskriminavimo lyties, orientacijos, odos spalvos ar tautiškumo pagrindu. Dabar Europa kenčia ir nuo brutalios karienės Putino agresijos, bet be karienės agresijos, mes matome didžiulę propagandą, Putino propagandą, nukreiptą prieš ukrainiečių tautą. Kai kurios kraštutinės desinijosios jėgos bando naudotis socialine neapykanta prieš karo pabėgėlius ir skleisti tą propagandą. Gerbiama Komisijos narė, manau, kad mes turime ir toliau stiprinti savo pajegas, nukreipitas prieš diskriminavimą, ir tą daryti kasdieniame savo darbe, bet taip pat daugiau skirti dėmesio edukacijai, kad mūsų jaunoji karta suprastų, kad visi Europoje galime gyventi taikiai ir vieningi.

(Ende der spontanen Wortmeldungen)

**Helena Dalli, Member of the Commission.** – Mr President, thank you honourable Members, as we have heard this morning, racism remains too present I would say in European society and it must be addressed at all levels of governance through different measures and by effectively consulting with relevant stakeholders. I thank Evin Incir and the European Parliament for this important report and for remaining a key and attentive partner in the European Commission's efforts to fight racism and to deliver a Union of equality for all.

Let us continue our work upon the fundamental principles and values of our European Union to protect its people, to grow stronger, and to shape a better future for generations to come, the European Commission's efforts to fight racism and to deliver a Union of equality for all. Let us continue our work upon the fundamental principles and values of our European Union to protect its people, to grow stronger, and to shape a better future.

**Evin Incir, rapporteur.** – Mr President, I'm not surprised that the far right here in the Parliament gave their intervention and just left this room. This shows what they stand for, and I'm not surprised that the far right are talking against this important report that demands action to end the human rights violations, to end racism that still exists in 2022 in our Union.

It is actually their horrific ideology we are talking about today, an ideology that must be consigned to the dustbin of history. In Hungary, in July, Prime Minister Viktor Orbán made an abhorrent speech criticising the mixing of European and non-European races. Last week, in France, a far right MP was temporarily suspended from the Assemblée nationale after shouting go back to Africa when a black MP was speaking during the debate on migration. The leader of the Sweden Democrats in Sweden has said that Muslims are our biggest foreign threat.

This shows that racism is here and now and present. The EU was built to prevent these kinds of views from winning ground. The EU was built to prevent these people from repeating history. Colleagues, I expected the far right not to be here today or that they would only have their interactions and leave, but I didn't expect that the Council wouldn't be here with us today, and that is very shameful.

I want, however, to thank Commissioner Helena Dalli for being with us today and showing leadership in the Commission against these heinous violations of human rights and crimes that are taking place in our Union. I'm happy that we have the first ever anti-racism action plan in place in the EU. However, it needs to reach or be prolonged to post-2025 and it right now lacks proper follow-up mechanisms and measurable targets. We need to strengthen it.

It is a shame that only 12 Member States in the European Union have national action plans against racism in place. They are to be in place before the end of 2022, but only 12 have until now adopted them. And I also want to recall the long-standing call by the EP for the adoption of a horizontal anti-discrimination directive that has been blocked in the EU since 2008.

And finally, colleagues, structural problems require a structural solution. Let's now move from words to actions. Let's implement the motto of the European Union – United in diversity – fully.

**Der Präsident.** – Die Aussprache ist damit geschlossen. Die Abstimmung findet heute, Donnerstag, 10. November 2022, statt.

Schriftliche Erklärungen (Artikel 171)

Czwartek, 10 listopada 2022 r.

**Andrus Ansip (Renew), kirjalikult.** – Tehisintellektil põhinevatel süsteemidel on suur sotsiaalne ja majanduslik mõju, kuid need võivad viia ka inimõiguste rikkumiseni ning süvendada struktuurset diskrimineerimist ja ebavõrdsust. Uued tehnoloogilised ja õiguslikud arengud suurandmete algoritmilises analüüsis ja selle kasutamises tekitavad rändekontrollis ja õiguskaitses suurt ennetava politseitegevuse ohtu, mis mõjutab ebaproportsionaalselt teise nahavärviga inimesi, kuna see taasesitab meie ühiskonnas juba olemasolevaid eelarvamus. Algoritme ei tohi kasutada diskrimineerival viisil. Leian, et sotsiaalmeediaplatvormid on viimastel aastatel oluliselt tõhustanud võtlust rassismi ja diskrimineerimise vastu, kuid seda võtlust tuleb jätkata.

**Pedro Marques (S&D), por escrito.** – A palavra é feia, má e desagradável quando é dita. Ainda assim, achei que o uso da palavra repugnante por parte do meu grupo político foi uma boa escolha. Porque quando falo de racismo, essa é uma das primeiras palavras que me ocorre: repugnante. E estamos no momento em que devemos refletir sobre o que se passa à nossa volta: no que lemos, vemos e ouvimos, por exemplo acerca de migrantes e refugiados, especialmente quando não são brancos. No que significa ouvir um Primeiro-Ministro de um país da UE criticar a «mistura» de raças europeias e não europeias. No que significa um Deputado de extrema-direita, da Assembleia Nacional francesa, gritar «volte para a África» quando um outro Deputado, negro, usava da palavra.

Fica aqui registada a minha posição: o racismo é absolutamente repugnante e, neste Parlamento Europeu, tem de ter tolerância zero.

### 3. Wspólny wysoki poziom cyberbezpieczeństwa na terytorium Unii (debata)

**Der Präsident.** – Als nächster Punkt der Tagesordnung folgt die Aussprache über den Bericht von Bart Grootenhuis im Namen des Ausschusses für Industrie, Forschung und Energie über den Vorschlag für eine Richtlinie des Europäischen Parlaments und des Rates über Maßnahmen für ein hohes gemeinsames Cybersicherheitsniveau in der Union und zur Aufhebung der Richtlinie (EU) 2016/1148 (COM(2020)0823 – C9-0422/2020 – 2020/0359(COD)) (A9-0313/2021).

**Bart Grootenhuis, rapporteur.** – Mr President, dear Commissioner, dear colleagues, it is with pride I stand before you here today in Brussels, the result of two years, almost two years, of fierce debates, hundreds of consultations with so many stakeholders from around the world. It resulted in the best cybersecurity legislation this continent has yet seen.

And today, we are not just voting on that legislation that significantly enhances Europe's cybersecurity – it makes it a safer place to work, do business and live. We are also introducing a new mindset in Europe, a new phase in our common European digital future. From pioneering to professionalisation, from cybersecurity as a niche subject to making it *Chefsache* – a good German word. The CEOs matter, and that goes for Commissioners and also for ministers. And most important, from reactive information-sharing after an incident, which is still important, to proactive prevention and actively stopping new accidents from occurring.

Europe has suffered enormous costs of being attacked on an almost industrial scale, yet still we invest 41% less than our American businesses and the sharing of information in the cybersecurity community from which I stem, has been hampered. This legislation is reversing that. But meanwhile, because of the encouragement of the Kremlin, Russian hackers, criminal ransomware groups are trying to weaken economic wellbeing and economic structures. With the support of Beijing, many dozens of hacker groups try to steal our intellectual property and trade secrets to weaken our economies and strengthen theirs.

Many of this is not directly seen with the eye or is in the media that often. It often happens that companies do not wish to go public, but it happens every day and that's why we ask critical infrastructure to invest. That's why we make a sound legal basis for information-sharing between governments, businesses, experts and countries outside the EU.

And for those who think this is expensive, remember that the American credit rating agency Moody's recently valued the NIS2 and said it's credit-positive for doing business in Europe.

Czwartek, 10 listopada 2022 r.

Although this is the best cybersecurity legislation this continent has yet seen, let us not congratulate ourselves too much. Here's what still needs to be done. First, if ransomware is an instrument of, let's say, foreign policy of the Kremlin, then technical controls like this legislation will not stop Russia. We have to indict the hackers, track them, make sure when they travel, they get incarcerated behind bars. We need diplomatic and counterintelligence offensives as well.

Secondly, yes, the NIS2 asks, demands that Member States put forward an active defence cyber posture. It means that, in practice, cybersecurity centres will have to cooperate with internet service providers to block malicious domains when people accidentally click on it, because it does happen.

Thirdly, supply chain security. Yes, within the NIS2 there is a good possibility for reviewing risky software and hardware vendors. But we need new legislation to protect us. When countries with an offensive intellectual property theft programme directed against us and their companies enter our markets, we need legislation.

Fourth, our sub-sea infrastructure. The NIS2 marks optic fibre cables below sea as vital infrastructure, but the plans to protect it are hardly sufficient yet. In the Defence and Subcommittee and Industry Committee, we will put forward new plans to do just that.

Last but not least, colleagues, let me also take this opportunity to say that the last European cybersecurity vendor – endpoint security antivirus – that we have is European, and let's keep it that way, Commissioner.

I would like to thank all the shadow rapporteurs present here for their constructive political work on this file. The staff – I will buy you a drink afterwards! But let me just mention the most important people that have to be mentioned today in this plenary room: the cybersecurity community to whom this work is dedicated. I came to Brussels to make cybersecurity legislation, to create a safe place to work and to do business. That safer place is mainly the result of the hard work of those many cybersecurity professionals out there. And to all you computer nerds out there: we hear, we see you, we are keeping you enabled to do your business. You keep us safe, we see you and we support you.

Now, let's vote today on this important legislation and thanks for the good cooperation, everyone.

#### PRESIDENZA DELL'ON. PINA PICIERNO

Vicepresidente

**Margrethe Vestager**, Executive Vice-President of the Commission. – Madam President, honourable Members, it's a wonderful start for this debate, as we just heard from the rapporteur. The debate today about the NIS2 Directive, I think it is an important debate and I want wholeheartedly to thank the European Parliament for taking the topic of cybersecurity so seriously. So let me start by congratulating indeed the rapporteur, Bart Grootenhuis, his team and the shadow rapporteurs for this rigorous and very thorough work, and also for your constructive approach during the entire legislative process, because it has allowed, I think, a very successful conclusion on this important file in a swift manner.

The politically agreed text shows the determination of the European Parliament, of Member States, to deliver an ambitious and future-proof European framework for cybersecurity, where Europe can lead by example. The implementation of the directive will be key in effectively addressing the challenges brought by rapid digital developments and the constantly developing number of severe cyberattacks. The agreed directive will reinforce the applicable security and incident-reporting obligations for companies while expanding the scope. I think that is really important that new sectors become part of it and also that new types of services ensure a coherent and harmonised cross sectoral approach to cybersecurity. So we will have the streamlined legal obligations for essential, important entities in our single market. I think also in the run-up to the celebration of the 30 years of the single market, this marks a milestone to make sure that this single market that increasingly becomes a digital single market has the necessary cybersecurity provisions.

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And NIS2 introduces the possibilities of a coordinated EU supply chain risk assessment based on the very positive experiences that we have had with the 5G toolbox. And here I want to call on your support, because we still need to encourage the few Member States who have not yet adopted necessary restrictions on high-risk suppliers, because they ought to do so without delay. It's not sufficient to pass legislation. It is needed to put legislation into effect and is a matter of urgency.

And following that, also let me underline the importance of this directive in view of the latest geopolitical developments. We have seen recent attacks on critical infrastructure in the Union. The legal transposition of the directive –well, that will take its agreed time. But the Commission believes that we should front-load, as much as possible, the benefits already now on a voluntary basis, because people who attack us, they do not wait for transposition of a directive, if they even understand or appreciate that legal wording. So we need to see action as fast as possible. And this is what we have proposed for now a draft Council recommendation on the security of critical infrastructure.

Of course, we do hope that Member States share our sense of urgency. As I see it, the European Parliament and the Commission have a common approach to this and a sense of urgency to make sure that we are well protected. Because the thing is that there is No European defence without cyber defence. It doesn't exist.

We have seen it with the Russian attack on the Viasat satellite. Here you can deeply effect military forces by attacking civilian infrastructure. The cyber defence policy, therefore, will put forward new instruments reinforcing our collective ability to address cyber threats from early detection of possible attacks to deterring future threats. Because I completely agree with the rapporteur, this agreement on the NIS2 Directive is a major achievement, but we need to push forward as fast as possible on next urgent matters.

So we will propose to increase cooperation on three main fronts: cooperation between Member States' military, cooperation between civil and military, and cooperation between the private and the public sector. We cannot protect ourselves without cooperating on it. And we will also propose to use EU instruments and policies with dual use, such as our investment in cyber research and innovation, or on skills that can benefit military actors as well.

The Commission welcomes warmly the vote today on the agreed NIS2 text. It maintains the overall ambition of the original proposal and we are convinced that this text will enable us to raise the growing and pressing cyber-security challenge towards our economies, towards our societies, and make it obvious that protecting is cheap: facing the risk, paying for the attacks, these costs would be astronomical.

**Markéta Gregorová**, rapporteur for the opinion of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. – Madam President, dear colleagues, Commissioner – really difficult to go after this amazing speech, by the way – thanks to this legislation the number of essential and important entities we will need to protect just in my country, the Czech Republic, will be around 6 000. Currently we protect 350. Now imagine other Member States. The scope and enforceability of this regulation is unprecedented and is a success. In a world where ransomware attacks increased by 600% last year and where cyber teams in Ukraine just so protected 1 million households from an attack on their power grid, I don't have to talk about the importance of cybersecurity. It has never been clearer and I am proud we react.

Let me also express pride that open source and end-to-end encryption are finally getting the recognition in our fight they deserve. I do hope this House won't go against itself in the future.

**Morten Løkkegaard**, ordfører for udvalget om det Indre Marked og Forbrugerbeskyttelse – Fru Formand! Fru Kommissær! Forleden var den gal igen. Et stykke kritisk infrastruktur, De Danske Statsbaner, DSB hedder det, blev angrebet af cyberkriminelle. Angrebet betød, at den danske togtrafik var lammet i op til syv timer. Og det her angreb er jo desværre ikke enestående. Cyberangreb er blevet hverdagskost i Europa. Hospitaler, elforsyning, vandværker, alle er i fare. Derfor er det forslag, vi stemmer om i dag, - opdateringen af EU's regler for cybersikkerhed - et meget, meget vigtigt skridt, som også ordføreren og kommissæren har været inde på. Men lad os være ærlige, det er jo først nu, det virkelige arbejde begynder. Testen skal laves nu. At få gennemført loven i medlemslandene. Kommissær, du er selv inde på det; det er medlemslandene, der skal føre det her ordentligt ud i livet. Jeg vil på det kraftigste opfordre alle medlemslande til at sørge for, at lovgivningen gennemføres så ambitiøst som muligt. For lad os være ærlige, vi ved jo godt, at implementeringen ofte er dér, hvor skoen trykker. Det er dér, at alle de gode hensigter, som vi kommer med, ikke kommer fuldt ud til udfoldelse. Vi skal alle med, ikke bare statslige styrelser, men myndigheder helt ned på lokalt plan. Vi skal have virksomhederne med, som råder over den kritiske infrastruktur. Pointen er vel, at vi aldrig bliver stærkere end det svageste led i kæden. Og det skal vi være bevidste om, specielt nu. Så der skal følges op på den bindende opgave, at vi løfter cybersikkerheden lige meget i alle medlemslandene. Kære venner, lad os nu se at få det gjort. Tak for ordet.

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**Jakop G. Dalunde**, rapporteur for the opinion of the Committee on Transport and Tourism. – Madam President, dear colleagues, Commissioner, the growing threats posed by digitalisation and the surge of cyberattacks underline that the weakest link is often the one from which a chain reaction can happen, and in an economy increasingly dependent on the digital domain, this can have catastrophic results on our society. We need to increase our collective readiness and ensure that a high common level of cybersecurity is attained across our Union.

In this proposal I welcome the strengthening of the security requirements, reporting obligations, the more stringent supervisory measures and stricter enforcement requirements, including harmonised sanctions across the European Union, and in this work we Greens focused on interoperability, transparency, open source and encryption. On these issues we made some important steps forward, but there is more work to be done to ensure that we are fit for fighting the cybersecurity challenges of tomorrow.

**Eva Maydell**, on behalf of the PPE Group. – Madam President, colleagues, rapporteur, I think we find ourselves today in the face of a full-blown hybrid warfare in Europe.

Just in 2020 alone, cybercrime cost the global economy around EUR 1 trillion and this figure continues to rise astronomically day by day. This is why cyber resilience is no longer a topic we can pay lip service to. Without it, Europe's economy and security will simply crumble.

This updated directive, I believe, is an important step towards better preparing Europe's defences. It must mark the beginning of our journey towards effective cyber resilience, not the end. I believe this is a piece of legislation of an ever-growing jigsaw puzzle and not a silver bullet necessary by itself.

We need the resources, we need the skills, but also the political will to ensure intentions become a reality. We also need all Europeans, businesses, governments and individuals to work together.

And, last but not least, with the growing appetite of some global players such as Russia, that are trying to rewrite the rule-based order and attack our critical infrastructure, I believe cybersecurity is also about protecting our democracies. Failing to do so will simply hand the keys to the backdoor of our democracies to countries like Russia, Iran or China.

**Eva Kaili**, on behalf of the S&D Group. – Madam President, dear colleagues, European businesses and governments every day need to deliver essential services to citizens in a safe and trusted manner.

In the face of increased exposure, escalating cyber warfare campaigns fuelled by geopolitical tensions and wars, but also mounting pressure of private and public entities to prevent, deter and respond to such sophisticated threats, NIS2 represents an important breakthrough for our European digital strategy. The cost, indeed, as you said, is going to be unbearable, even astronomical, not just for our economy, but also for our democracy.

Geopolitical tensions actually from the war and attempts to compromise our essential services like healthcare, they make the political agreement today, and thanks to the rapporteurs for the work that was achieved and also presented. These are proof of the ambition to set stronger risk and incident management measures, harmonise reporting processes and actually futureproof national strategies to basically include also, by widening the scope, public administration entities.

So the NIS2 Directive modernises our rules to secure critical services for society in the economy and provides us with a basis for increased cooperation at all levels actually in the digital transformation. So a major step forward for our resilient digital Europe. Thank you all and thanks to the rapporteurs for the work we achieved.

**Maite Pagazaurtundúa**, en nombre del Grupo Renew. – Señora presidenta, comisaria Vestager, muchas felicidades y gracias, Bart. Estamos trabajando contra reloj para que nuestras normas estén a la altura del momento histórico.

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Los cambios tecnológicos implican nuevos y peligrosos riesgos y la nueva Directiva es absolutamente necesaria, porque se nos ha quedado vieja la anterior. Ahora bien, vamos a completar la Directiva con el Reglamento aplicable a instituciones y organismos europeos y, después, faltará aplicarlo y que funcione eficazmente.

Para eso, la ciudadanía tiene que entender los riesgos, lo que nos jugamos si este escudo no funciona. Nuestra economía está en riesgo, nuestros sistemas sanitarios lo pueden estar, nuestra protección como consumidores puede estarlo, pero también lo están, como se ha dicho hoy aquí, nuestra seguridad y la estabilidad de nuestras democracias. Garantizar unos elevados niveles de ciberseguridad servirá para defendernos de las amenazas, conflictos y guerras híbridas en las que estamos envueltos.

Nos toca hacer mucho, nos toca abrir los ojos y decir algo que es muy importante. Supongo que existe en todos los idiomas: más vale prevenir que lamentar.

**Rasmus Andresen, im Namen der Verts/ALE-Fraktion.** – Frau Präsidentin! Angriffe auf Sicherheitsbehörden, kritische Infrastruktur wie Energie-Pipelines, Parlamente und aber auch sehr viele Unternehmen. Auch bei uns in Norddeutschland sind immer mehr Unternehmen betroffen: Unternehmen mit Millionenumsätzen, aber auch soziale Einrichtungen wie Werkstätten für Menschen mit Behinderungen.

Cybersicherheit wurde viel zu lange ignoriert. Mitgliedstaaten waren lange nicht bereit, gemeinsam zu handeln. Das Ergebnis ist, dass wir leider sehr verwundbar sind – seit Jahren. Jetzt ist Cybersicherheit aber kein Thema mehr für Nerds, sondern ein sehr wichtiges grundsätzliches Thema, was uns alle angeht. Und die NIS-2-Richtlinie ist eine ambitionierte Richtlinie, um gemeinsame Standards und Anforderungen für Cybersicherheit zu schaffen.

Wir brauchen im Fall von Cyberangriffen schnelles reporting an die zuständigen Behörden. Und wir begrüßen auch ganz besonders, dass wir es geschafft haben, uns darauf zu verständigen, den Anwendungsbereich auszuweiten auf die öffentliche Verwaltung, auf soziale Medien und auch auf Telekommunikationsunternehmen. Auch die Aufnahme von Verschlüsselungskriterien und Open Source als Stärkung von Cybersicherheit hat es in die Richtlinie geschafft. Und das ist wirklich sehr zu begrüßen.

Es gibt ein Thema, das uns als Grüne weiter Sorge bereitet, und das ist, dass bei der Registrierung von Internet-Domains zukünftig auch ein Verifizierungsprozess stattfinden soll. Das hat aus unserer Sicht wenig mit Cybersicherheit zu tun, aber sehr viel damit, dass Freiheitsrechte in Gefahr kommen können. Wir haben diesen Punkt immer sehr kritisch begleitet, sind in dem Punkt mit dem Ergebnis nicht zufrieden, werden aber insgesamt natürlich für die Richtlinie stimmen und bedanken uns für die sehr gute und vertrauensvolle Zusammenarbeit. Ich glaube, wir kommen beim Thema Cybersicherheit einen wichtigen Schritt weiter.

**Paolo Borchia, a nome del gruppo ID.** – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, signora Commissaria, innanzitutto faccio i complimenti al relatore per il buon lavoro svolto.

La trasformazione digitale della società e dell'economia ha ampliato e differenziato la gamma delle minacce, creando nuove sfide che richiedono risposte rapide e innovative. Il numero di attacchi informatici continua ad aumentare, con incursioni sempre più sofisticate sia dall'esterno che dall'interno dell'Unione.

Il gruppo ha lavorato al rafforzamento delle garanzie e degli incentivi per le piccole e medie imprese, elemento che poi è stato incluso nell'accordo.

La direzione più adeguata è quella che va verso la riduzione degli oneri amministrativi e burocratici e verso il miglioramento delle segnalazioni degli incidenti legati alla sicurezza informatica, garantendo soprattutto un sostegno adeguato a tutte le micro e piccole imprese che rientrano nell'ambito di applicazione della direttiva.

Resta il problema del deficit di competenze, sulle quali serve intervenire e naturalmente in tempi rapidi.

**Evžen Tošenovský, za skupinu ECR.** – Paní předsedající, vážená paní komisařko, kolegyně, kolegové, jsem velmi rád, že dnes bude schválena směrnice NIS 2 jako velmi důležitý element posilování kybernetické bezpečnosti. Posíláme tím další zprávu dovnitř i ven Evropské unie, že Evropská unie bere tuto oblast vážně a další legislativu již přitom máme rozjednánu. Myslím tím samozřejmě obdobu NIS pro unijní instituce a agentury a Akt o kybernetické odolnosti produktu. Kybernetické hrozby mají stále stoupající tendenci, a tak musíme postupně vykryt všechna slabá místa. Všichni sledujeme, co se odehrává na bojištích, ale bohužel tato válka běží i v tom kybernetickém prostoru.

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Velké poděkování patří Bartovi, našemu zpravodaji, za výbornou spolupráci a hlavně za velmi dobrý kompromis dojednaný s Radou. Nemyslím si, že to je kompromis, je to snaha najít společnou řeč. Kompromis někdy bývá negativní. V tomto případě si myslím, že se podařilo najít skutečně velmi dobré řešení. Konečnými vítězi zde budou firmy důležité pro naši společnost a ekonomiku, které budou odolnejší proti kybernetickým útokům, ale také národní kybernetické úřady a týmy CERT lépe připravené doma pomáhat a dohlížet napříč Unií a jejichž úkolem bude efektivněji spolupracovat.

Myslím si, že se podařilo najít rozumnou hranici, pokud jde o firmy, které budou pod NIS 2 spadat, i pro požadavky na opatření, která by měly přijímat. Bude pár let trvat, než si celý ekosystém sedne samozřejmě, a pro všechny zapojené subjekty to bude bezpochyby znamenat zvláštní úsilí a prostředky, ale také velkou školu života. Ale rozhodně se to vyplatí a jsem přesvědčen, že do budoucna toto je dobrý základ, ze kterého vycházíme.

**Marisa Matias, em nome do Grupo The Left.** – Senhora Presidente, quero também começar por agradecer ao relator o trabalho que foi feito. É indiscutível a importância da cibersegurança num mundo cada vez mais interligado e onde as nossas relações são cada vez mais dependentes do mundo digital. A cibersegurança é uma garantia fundamental e termos a capacidade de defesa e de resposta conjunta é uma urgência.

Os ciberataques passaram a fazer parte das nossas vidas diárias, sejam eles pessoais, mas, sobretudo, em relação a entidades e organizações das quais dependem a nossa segurança e as nossas garantias. E isso põe em risco também o nosso bem-estar, a nossa democracia, os nossos dados e a nossa privacidade.

As medidas apresentadas são importantes e são passos que são dados no bom sentido. No entanto, gostaríamos de ter visto propostas mais concretas em algumas áreas, nomeadamente para melhorar a proteção, a formação e o conhecimento quer dos consumidores, quer dos trabalhadores neste mundo digital.

Gostaríamos também de ter visto uma maior preocupação com os constrangimentos que enfrentam as entidades, especialmente aquelas que estão nas regiões rurais ou mais remotas.

E, por fim, gostaríamos de ter visto uma maior proteção aos dados pessoais e à privacidade. De todas as formas, quaisquer que sejam os passos curtos ou mais largos que se dão nesta proposta são bem-vindos, porque nós precisamos mesmo de ter capacidade de resposta conjunta.

**Maria da Graça Carvalho (PPE).** – Senhora Presidente, Senhora Vice-Presidente, Caros Colegas, os ciberataques são uma ameaça crescente para todos nós, especialmente à luz da transformação digital da nossa sociedade. Nos últimos quatro anos, o número de ocorrências aumentou mais de dez vezes.

No meu país, Portugal, já foram visados grupos de comunicação social, operadoras móveis, companhias aéreas, entre outros.

A diretiva que agora discutimos visa melhorar a capacidade de resposta de entidades públicas e privadas que fornecem serviços essenciais, nomeadamente introduzindo a obrigação para os Estados-Membros de melhorarem as suas estratégias nacionais em termos de cibersegurança e também de aumentarem a coordenação entre si no caso de incidentes graves.

É, ainda, pedido aos Estados-Membros que tenham em especial consideração a proteção das pequenas e médias empresas em matéria de cibersegurança. Este é um problema de todos, até porque a maior vulnerabilidade de um Estado-Membro pode ter efeitos em toda a União.

Precisamos, por isso, de agir rapidamente e em conjunto.

**Carlos Zorrinho (S&D).** – Senhora Presidente, Senhora Vice-Presidente, a cibersegurança é uma questão transversal a toda a União Europeia. A aplicação de um padrão comum de resposta é a fórmula racional para atingir os objetivos que pretendemos.

A abordagem da nova diretiva e neste excelente relatório tem uma importância estratégica vital para a União, para os seus Estados-Membros, para as empresas e para as organizações em geral. É verdade que os cidadãos europeus também têm cada vez mais consciência que só uma resposta comum da União lhes pode assegurar níveis elevados de segurança e de confiança.

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A implementação do novo quadro regulamentar reforça as garantias de segurança e supervisão, combinando uma abordagem baseada no risco e na proporcionalidade, incluindo sanções harmonizadas em toda a União Europeia.

Reforçar os requisitos de segurança através de melhor comunicação, menos burocracia e mais transparéncia é um caminho adequado para tornar cada ator mais responsável e mais capacitado para aumentar a sua própria ciberproteção.

Contribuindo assim todos, desta forma, para que a Europa desenvolva, em sintonia com os seus valores comuns, um ecossistema digital capaz de responder aos complexos desafios que tem que enfrentar no domínio da cibersegurança.

**Izaskun Bilbao Barandica (Renew).** – Señora presidenta, señora comisaria, voy a apoyar este informe porque reforzar una normativa armonizada, precisa y potente para potenciar la ciberseguridad nos ayudará a prevenir enormes amenazas, a estimular los procesos de digitalización y a incentivar inversiones que crecen al amparo de la seguridad y las certezas, tanto materiales como legales.

Creo que mejorar las definiciones de lo que consideramos sector esencial e importante a efectos de ciberseguridad es una muy buena idea. Igualmente, son aciertos el tratamiento que se dispensa a las instituciones de investigación y educativas, la mejora en la comunicación de los incidentes y un intercambio sincero, sistemático y permanente de conocimiento.

Por último, quiero apostar por los incentivos positivos, que son tan importantes como las sanciones para sensibilizar a la ciudadanía. La formación desde edad temprana en riesgos y conductas seguras, test gratuitos que blinden la configuración de las herramientas básicas y campañas intensivas deben impulsarse.

**Johan Nissinen (ECR).** – Fru talman! Cyberhot blir alltmer gränsöverskridande. Samarbete är en viktig del för att hantera det. Ingen enskild stat kan garantera cybersäkerhet utan internationellt samarbete, utbyte av information och erfarenhet från andra. Vi behöver mer *benchmarking* som möjliggör att stater lär sig genom jämförelse med andra.

En sådan positiv och inspirerande konkurrens mellan stater gör i slutändan alla starkare. Det är det enda alternativet till en annars låg, genomsnittlig och centraliserad EU-standard som i praktiken är full av kompromisser, ineffektiv byråkrati och som framför allt riskerar att motverka sund konkurrens mellan stater.

Jag välkomnar denna debatt och undrar hur vi ska kunna konkurrera med Kina och USA i längden om vi alltid satsar på en *one size fits all EU-approach*, full av kompromisser. Det är hög, inte lagom, cybersäkerhet som leder till värdeskapande.

**Cristian-Silviu Bușoi (PPE).** – Madam President, dear colleagues, dear Executive Vice-President, I would like to start by thanking and congratulating our rapporteur and our whole team for the ability to negotiate this file since adoption in the ITRE Committee some time ago, and to thank the European Commission for the good initiative.

Yes, a common level of cybersecurity in the EU is crucial for the functioning of the internal market, and yes, NIS2 needed to widen its scope significantly to include sectors that previously were not considered essential or important due to the mostly increased challenges of cybercrime, espionage or sabotage. And we need to implement this without fragmentation. We need to strengthen the security requirements, address the security of supply chain administrations, streamline reporting obligations, and introduce more stringent supervisory measures and stricter enforcement requirements.

Of course, all this means investments, and the Commission needs to accept that investment in infrastructure is needed and Member States need to be supported with that. That's why the ITRE Committee will stand for more funds for the implementation of the directive and for the EU Cybersecurity Agency, ENISA.

**Christel Schaldemose (S&D).** – Fru Formand! Kommissær Vestager! EU skal helt i front i den digitale udvikling. Det sikrer nemlig vækst, velstand og velfærd. Men med digitaliseringen, så følger også nye udfordringer. Vi er blevet mere sårbare over for digitale trusler. Som for eksempel, som vi også hørte Hr. Løkkegaard sige, så er vores land Danmark forleden blevet ramt af et hackerangreb, som satte store dele af togtrafikken i stå. Og eksemplet er desværre ikke enestående. Dagligt udsættes europæiske virksomheder og myndigheder for hackerangreb. Vi er nødt til at opruste i kampen mod de digitale trusler, som kommer fra alverdens Putin'er. Ikke mindst, når det kommer til vores kritiske infrastruktur. Og det er lige præcis det, vi gør med Nice II-direktivet. Med direktivet bliver der stillet helt konkrete krav til virksomhedernes IT-sikkerhed, til sikkerheden omkring forsyningsskæder og til leverandørforhold. Og det er helt

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nødvendigt. Opbakningen til digitaliseringen er nemlig i fare, hvis ikke vi giver borgerne, virksomhederne og forbrugeren vished for, at cyber- og informationssikkerheden i EU er helt i top. Tak for ordet.

**Billy Kelleher (Renew).** – Madam President, cyber-terrorism is a very real threat to both our economy and our society. Firstly, I'd like to congratulate and thank Bart Grootenhuis, my colleague, for his excellent work today and keeping cybersecurity at the top of the political agenda in my Group and in this Parliament.

If people are in any doubt about what cyber-terrorism is, I would like to remind people that on 14 May 2021, there was a massive cyberattack on the Irish health services. It has cost our health services to date about EUR 120 million, and to put IT systems in place to ensure that we have integrity in our health systems with regard to cyberattacks it will cost at least another EUR 700 million.

But it was an attack on citizens; it was an attack on people. Irish citizens will die because of delayed diagnosis in radiology departments, delayed outcomes and in terms of treatments as well. So this has cost lives already. So we have to be very conscious that we are not talking about some abstract form of cyber threats. We are talking about real threats to real people that are being carried out by nefarious actors, both in terms of countries and criminal organisations throughout the world. So we must be vigilant and we must always be prepared and ready, and consistently improve our cybersecurity in both financial services, but in every other aspect of public services in Europe.

**Pilar del Castillo Vera (PPE).** – Señora presidenta, señora vicepresidenta, las instituciones europeas vienen realizando un esfuerzo continuado en materia de ciberseguridad.

La creación, hace dos años, del Centro Europeo de Competencia Industrial, Tecnológica y de Investigación en Ciberseguridad es un buen ejemplo de ello. Ahora la Directiva SRI 2 da un paso más y, ¿cómo lo da? Al abordar la seguridad de las cadenas de suministro, al reforzar la coordinación entre las autoridades nacionales y al simplificar también las obligaciones de las empresas.

Los retos en materia de ciberseguridad son, por otro lado, tan dinámicos como la propia digitalización. En el año 2025, habrá más de 75 000 millones de objetos conectados, lo que exige mejorar la capacidad de prevención y vigilancia de manera continuada. Es necesario intensificar la coordinación y la cooperación en todos los niveles (nacional, europeo, internacional) y, por ello, hay que aprovechar la oportunidad de reforzar la coordinación con los Estados Unidos a través del instrumento del Consejo de Comercio y Tecnología (TTC).

**Angelika Niebler (PPE).** – Frau Präsidentin! Frau Vizepräsidentin der Europäischen Kommission! Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Zunächst ein herzliches Dankeschön an unseren Berichterstatter Bart Grootenhuis für seinen exzellenten Bericht und auch an die Kolleginnen und Kollegen in den Fraktionen, die alle an diesem Dossier mitgearbeitet haben.

Wie wichtig das Thema Cybersicherheit ist, zeigt ja ganz aktuell die hybride Kriegsführung Russlands mit Computerangriffen und massiven Desinformationskampagnen.

Wir müssen unsere kritische Infrastruktur schützen und unsere Unternehmen – die kleinen wie die großen – besser unterstützen, damit sich diese auch gegen Cyberangriffe, gegen Sabotage, gegen Spionage gut zur Wehr setzen können.

Es ist gut, dass wir in der Europäischen Union eine Strategie gegen Cyberangriffe haben. Und die Richtlinie, über die wir heute Mittag abstimmen werden, ist ein ganz wichtiger Baustein in dieser Strategie.

Cybersicherheit ist eine Gemeinschaftsaufgabe. Es gelingt nur, uns da besser, effizienter aufzustellen, wenn wir zusammenarbeiten – Unternehmen, Verwaltung, Sicherheitsbehörden. Das wollen wir mit dieser Richtlinie erreichen.

Ich begrüße es, dass wir mit der Richtlinie eine neue Meldepflicht für Cyberangriffe einführen, dass es eine enge Frist von 24 Stunden gibt, binnen derer notifiziert werden muss, dass es zu einem Cyberangriff gekommen ist.

Nur wenn wir auf europäischer Ebene engmaschig schnell zusammenarbeiten, haben wir wirklich eine Chance, die Cybersicherheit für unsere Bürgerinnen und Bürger und unsere Unternehmen zu garantieren.

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Danke an alle, die geholfen haben, dass wir diese Gesetzgebung heute auf den Weg bringen.

**Deirdre Clune (PPE).** – Madam President, this directive seeks to improve levels of cybersecurity across the European Union and it's a welcome response to some of the most consequential cyberattacks which Ireland and Europe have faced in recent years, threatening our information and communications technology and supply chains. And Commissioner, as you said this morning, you've outlined that this is a particularly timely directive given that we're marking 30 years of our single market, which is a key milestone for the European Union. Our digital single market is in need of protection, and this cybersecurity law will oblige more organisations and sectors to take measures and to assist in increasing the level of cybersecurity in Europe.

In May 2021, the Irish health system suffered a major ransomware attack, causing all of its IT systems nationwide to shut down. It caused chaos for the systems; importantly, it was a very stressful and difficult, challenging situation for the patients. So this directive will strengthen our safeguards now and help bolster against future attacks. So this law will now protect citizens, protect businesses, and ensure that organisations protect themselves against the serious consequences of a cyberattack. And thank you to the rapporteurs for their work.

**Henna Virkkunen (PPE).** – Arvoisa puhemies, komission varapuheenjohtaja, lämmintä kiitos kaikille kollegoille, jotka ovat työskennelleet tämän tärkeän verkko- ja tietoturvadirektiivin, NIS2:n, parissa. Tämä on erittäin tärkeä osa lainsääädäntöä.

Tiedämme, että kyberturvallisuus on hyvin keskeinen osa kokonaisturvallisuutta yhteiskunnissa. Ja nyt kun olemme vauhdittaneet digitalisaatiota, ihmiset, palvelut ja monet kriittiset toiminnot ovat siirtyneet verkkoon, olemme entistä haavoittuvaisempia. Siksi on tärkeää teknisesti varmistaa, että prosessit eri jäsenvaltioissa ovat kunnossa näillä tärkeillä toimialoilla, joista tässä puhutaan: energia, liikenne, terveydenhuolto ja digitaalinen infrastrukturi. Tarvitsemme tietyn yhteiset prosessit ja minimistandardit, kuinka varmistamme sen, että olemme varautuneet kyberuhkiin ja -hyökkäyksiin.

Seuraavaksi meille tulee käsitteilyyn laitteiden ja ohjelmistojen kyberturvallisuutta koskeva lainsäädäntö Euroopassa. Erittäin tärkeää lainsäädäntöä niin ikään, mutta vähintään yhtä tärkeää on nyt kiinnittää huomiota osaamiseen tällä alueella. Tiedämme, että kolmasosalla työssä käyvistä Euroopan alueella ei ole riittäviä digitaalisia taitoja. Eritiisesti kyberalan asiantuntijoista on todella kova pula jo nyt, joten koulutukseen tällä alueella on tärkeää investoida kaikissa jäsenvaltioissa, niin perustaitoihin kuin asiantuntijatyöhön.

*Procedura «catch the eye»*

**Maria Grapini (S&D).** – Doamna președintă, doamna comisară, sunt de acord cu ceea ce ați prezentat aici. Acum, la 30 de ani de când sărbătorim piața unică, voi vorbi din perspectiva pieței unice, dar și a cetățeanului.

Sigur că nu există o piață unică sigură dacă nu avem și o politică de apărare cibernetică.

Problema pe care eu o văd acum că o avem, este că cele 27 de state sunt în stadii diferite de digitalizare, pentru că nu putem să desprindem politica de apărare cibernetică de digitalizare, și cum putem aplica acest slogan, nimeni nu este lăsat în urmă, în practică? Cum putem să ajutăm statele membre care nu au încă digitalizarea la nivelul la care trebuieu încât să poată să intervină în acest lanț de apărare cibernetică? Își cred că aici trebuie să ne gândim la dirijarea fondurilor țintite, pentru a putea să avem într-adevăr lanțul complet, pentru că o singură verigă, dacă lipsește, evident că apare acest atac cibernetic care duce la insecuritate și pentru cetățean, și pentru companii și, în ansamblu, pentru Uniunea Europeană.

**Morten Løkkegaard (Renew).** – Fru Formand! Jeg tager ordet igen, fordi jeg lyttede med stor interesse til, hvad kommissæren fortalte os om de nye initiativer på cybersikkerhedsrådet fra Kommissionen. Og jeg synes, at det måske var passende her i debatten lige at få præciseret og måske uddybet, hvis kommissæren vil gøre det, hvad det mere konkret handler om? Vi hører jo rygter, og vi er meget nysgerrige. Og herunder selvfølgelig også, om de nye initiativer kræver ny lovgivning? Og i givet fald, hvad det er, vi skal til at kigge på efterfølgende med hensyn til eventuel ny lovgivning. Det kunne være dejligt at få lidt mere uddybende at vide om. Tak.

*(Fine della procedura «catch the eye»)*

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**Margrethe Vestager, Member of the Commission.** – Madam President, thank you very much for this encouraging and also insightful debate. I hope that those who listen, they say, oh my God, maybe we should give up in digitisation since it's so dangerous.

On the contrary, what we are doing today is to make sure that we can get all the benefits from digitisation. We can fight climate change. We can get health benefits. We can get easier from A to B. We can fight pollution in our cities. We can make sure that agriculture is as efficient as possible without harming the soil. The digital opportunities for bettering our lives and increasing the livelihoods at they are enormous – if we make sure that it's safe.

And I very much appreciate the question here posed lastly, because not everyone is at the same level of digitisation. Some are newcomers. Some have long experience. Here, I think we are, to very large degree, helped by the recovery and resilience plans of every country because digitisation is a high priority both when it comes to the rollout of infrastructure and the skills to be provided. But, of course, now when we have the legislation necessary to make sure that it's all made safe in the same go. So hopefully those who have the potential to leapfrog, they will do that with cybersecurity in mind.

What we do today is only the beginning. As it was just mentioned, today we are presenting a European cyber security and defence package. It is military mobility. We have the first generation of action plan here. Next generation will ensure that in digitisation of all the paperwork that is still needed for military personnel and equipment to move, so that it can be smooth and swift. That we will also look at the fuel supply chain. You just saw what happened in Ukraine. When fuel is lacking, then there is not much mobility. And, of course, insisting and accelerating that infrastructure is built so that it can support heavy duty military vehicles be that bridges, be that be roads.

And then, of course, on the cyber security part of the package to make sure that we reinforce the cooperation and that we make sure that when civilian infrastructure is dual use, that we use our resources so much better.

So far, no new legislation is foreseen, but a lot of activities that would be ongoing for Member States to enable this and for a Commission use of funding that has already been set up.

The encouragement today, I think, comes from the fact that everyone here has seen this as a major step but as a beginning. Because now there is a legal framework, now there's work to do for Member States and for the new sectors in particular. And I hope that everyone has listened to this debate and seen how the representatives of European citizens insist that it is a top priority for this to be safe.

We have seen the attacks on the Irish health sector, which was just, I think, very timely mentioned. This is absolutely crucial because it is a question of literally life and death.

We will do what we can to frontload what is now being decided by Parliament and the Council because we have seen that this is a matter of urgency. And, with that, I would like to thank everyone who has spoken today and, of course, the rapporteur in particular for being able to gather this support so that we could pass this important legislative text so swiftly.

**Bart Grootenhuis, rapporteur.** – Madam President, dear Commissioner, my commitment in the first term to buy drinks for all shadow rapporteurs and the excellent staff has been reinforced by this debate. So you owe me one!

I have two comments to make for the Green Party and especially the Pirate Party. They fear that the free and open internet is at stake. Well, let me just mention two things here. First, on my personal – my personal – journey to regulate root-level DNS servers, my personal journey was to get that out of scope, and we've managed: no regulation, no government controls of the root-level DNS. So be happy with that.

The second thing is that the internet will be free, but if hackers hire anonymous infrastructure, then we want to know with what bitcoin address did you do it, what session cookie was placed, what IP address was used, what domain was used. We want to know those technical terms so we can track you and defend ourselves.

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The only thing I'd like to mention again to them is that it's not just public information: it's only there for legitimate access-seekers, and it means that cybersecurity experts and law enforcement get this information, but also journalists, and journalists are important. Why? This democratises the debate. Journalists can verify cyberattacks, verify what has happened. And democratising the debate on cybersecurity is one of the goals that we have also here in this Parliament.

Last but not least, this is the best legislation we've yet seen in this continent. We go from a passive stance to an active stance. We're shaping our digital environment in our atmosphere and therefore our digital future.

I will leave you with one thought, which is food for thought. With the attack on Colonial Pipeline in the US, the malware, the malicious software, would not have gone live if the computers would have had Russian language settings or Russian time settings. Just remember that this is not just a technical problem, this is also a geopolitical problem, a problem for diplomacy, a problem for counter-intelligence. So the NIS is a good step forward. We're not there yet. Russia will not stop with this legislation. We need to do more. That's why I encourage the Commission with the new plans they came with today, we will work on it together. Thank you, and let's vote.

**Presidente.** – Ringrazio il relatore e i colleghi e le colleghes che hanno partecipato a questo dibattito molto interessante.

La discussione è chiusa.

La votazione si svolgerà oggi.

La seduta è sospesa per alcuni minuti e riprenderò tra pochissimo con le votazioni.

#### Dichiarazioni scritte (articolo 171)

**Λουκάς Φουρλάς (PPE), γραπτώς.** – Χαιρετίζουμε την οδηγία για τα μέτρα για υψηλό κοινό επίπεδο κυβερνοασφάλειας σε ολόκληρη την Ένωση και πιστεύουμε πως αντικατοπτρίζει το μεταβαλλόμενο τοπίο των απειλών για την κυβερνοασφάλεια. Σαφώς θεωρούμε πως υπάρχουν ακόμη περιθώρια βελτίωσης, καθώς οι ευρωπαϊκές αστυνομικές δυνάμεις αντιμετωπίζουν προκλήσεις που σχετίζονται με την απότομη αύξηση των περιστατικών κυβερνοεγκλήματος. Ταυτόχρονα, νέες απειλές όπως ο υβριδικός πόλεμος αλλά και οι εκστρατείες παραπληροφόρησης/fake news, καθιστούν την ανάγκη για πιο αυστηρό θεσμικό πλαίσιο επιτακτική. Θεωρούμε πως η οδηγία αυτή αποτελεί ορθό βήμα προς την εναρμόνιση της εσωτερικής αγοράς και τη βελτίωση της κυβερνοασφάλειας στην ΕΕ.

**András Gyürk (NI), írásban.** – A mai kor globális technológiai kihívásaira egy egységes, erős nemzetállamok közötti, kölcsönös tiszteletre építő Európai Unió képes a leghatékonyabb válaszokat megadni. Ehhez az ezen elvekre építő jogszabályi keretre van szükség. A módosított kiberbiztonsági irányelv (NIS 2) ebbe az irányba tesz egy lépést, illetve javítja Európa felkészültségét a kibertérből érkező újtípusú fenyegetések elhárítására.

A javaslat egryszt, a tagállami és vállalati sajátosságok tiszteletben tartása mellett, kiterjeszti a kiberbiztonsági kockázat-kezelési intézkedéseket és bejelentési kötelezettségeket többek között az energiaszektorra, a közlekedésre és az egészségügyre is. Ezek a minden nap élethez nélkülözhetetlen ágazatok. Védelmük a különféle kibertámadásoktól megkerdőjelezhetetlen fontossággal bír.

Másrészt a NIS 2-irányelv tiszteletben tartja a tagállami hatásköröket is. A határokon átnyúló kibersenyegetések kezelésére minimumszabályokat állapít meg, és mechanizmusokat alakít ki a tagállamok illetékes hatóságai közötti hatékony együttműködéshez. Különösen fontos, hogy a javaslat megfelelő garanciákat tartalmaz az arányosságot illetően és nem terjed ki a nemzet- és közbiztonság, a bűnuldözs és az igazsagszolgáltatás területeire.

Végül, az új kiberbiztonsági irányelv egyik fontos eredménye a szakértői tanulásra vonatkozó önkéntes koordinációs programok meghozatala. Ezek növelni fogják a kölcsönös bizalmat, és a különféle jogyakorlatok elsajátításának lehetőségeit is. Mindez pedig tovább emelheti a kiberbiztonság szintjét Európában.

**Karol Karski (ECR), na piśmie.** – Głosowany projekt drugiej dyrektywy w sprawie bezpieczeństwa sieci i informacji (tzw. dyrektywa NIS2) to krok w dobrym kierunku w celu zagwarantowania odpowiedniego poziomu cyberbezpieczeństwa w Unii oraz w państwach członkowskich. Jest to szczególnie istotne w kontekście coraz częstszych oraz poważniejszych w skutkach ataków cybernetycznych, które zagrażają sprawnemu funkcjonowaniu wszystkich sektorów gospodarki oraz administracji, w tym sektorów krytycznych, jak na przykład szpitali czy urzędów administracji państowej. W odpowiedzi na te wyzwania NIS2 rozszerza obecnie obowiązującą dyrektywę oraz ubogaca jej treść poprzez m.in. rozszerzenie zakresu dyrektywy o nowe sektory, a w szczególności włączenie do niej administracji publicznej, która w

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obecnej sytuacji geopolitycznej może być wyjątkowo podatna na cyberataki, oraz wprowadzenie podziału podmiotów na te o statucie „kluczowym” (energetyka, transport, zdrowie oraz infrastruktura cyfrowa) oraz „ważnym” (usługi pocztowe, elektronika, pojazdy samochodowe). Z zadowoleniem przyjmuję zaproponowane w dyrektywie wprowadzenie mechanizmu szerokiej współpracy pomiędzy państwami członkowskimi w Unii w sprawie incydentów transgranicznych czy tych obejmujących wiele państw Unii jednocześnie (czyli tzw. mechanizm współpracy CyCLONe).

Ponadto dyrektywa zwiększa również rolę grupy współpracy w procesie kształtowania strategicznych decyzji politycznych oraz ułatwia wymianę informacji między organami państw członkowskich. Z uwagi na fakt, iż obecnie coraz więcej cyberataków ma charakter ponadnarodowy, pogłębiała współpraca odpowiednich organów w tym zakresie jest niezbędna.

**Urmas Paet (Renew), kirjalikult.** – Euroopa Liit peab oma ettevõtteid, valitsusi ja ühiskonda vaenuliku kübergevuse eest kaitstsma. Liikmesriikidele hakkavad küberjulgeoleku valdkonnas kehtima rangemad reeglid ning ühtlustatakse ELis kasutatavaid karistusi. Uue õigusaktiga kehtestatakse rangemad küberjulgeolekunöuded riskide juhtimisele, aruandlusele ja info jagamisele. Muu hulgas puudutavad uued reeglid intsidentide ohjamist, tarneahelate turvalisust, krüpteerimist ja nõrkustest teatamist. Samuti kohustatakse senisest rohkemaid üksusi ja sektoreid enda kaitsmiseks meetmeid võtma. Näiteks hakkavad uued sätted kehtima sellistes elutähätsates sektorites nagu energiatehnika, transport, pangandus, tervishoid, digitaristu, avalik haldus ja kosmosetööstus. Reeglid peavad olema ettevõtete jaoks selged ja täpsed. Uute reeglitega kaitstakse lisaks olulisi sektoreid, nagu post, jäätmekäitus, keemiasektor, toiduainetööstus, meditsiiniseadmete, mootorsöidukite ja masinatööstus, elektroonika ja digiteenused. Uue õigusakti kohaldamisalasse kuuluvad köik loetletud valdkondades tegutsevad keskmise suurusega ja suured ettevõtted. Ühtlasi luuakse õigusaktiga mitmesuguste ametiasutustele ja liikmesriikide jaoks tõhusam koostöö- ja infojagamisraamistik ning Euroopa nõrkuste andmebaas.

**Edina Tóth (NI), írásban.** – A digitális környezet hatékony védelme komoly kihívás, hiszen egy gyorsan és folyamatosan változó környezetre kell megfelelő szabályozást kialakítani. Az európai polgárok életük egyre nagyobb részét töltik az online térben: ez egyszerre a munka, a hivatalos ügyek, valamint a személyes kapcsolattartás színtere is. A koronavírus-járvány kezdete óta ez fokozottan igaz, ráadásul a világjárvány időszaka során nagyon sok intézménynek, szervezetnek szinte egyik napról a másikra kellett átállnia a digitális működésre.

Fontos, hogy az Európai Unió polgárai számára a digitális téren is magas szintű védelmet biztosítunk, ezért nagy örömmel üdvözölöm ezt a jogszabályt. Tekintettel a digitális térről határokon átnyúló jellegére különösen fontosnak tartom a hatékony végrehajtást és a tagállamok közötti magas szintű együttműköést annak érdekében, hogy a jogszabályban előirányzott célok maradéktalanul megvalósulhassanak. Bízom benne, hogy a jogszabály gyors és kézzelfogható eredményeket hoz majd.

(La seduta è sospesa alle 10.58)

**PRESIDENZA: ROBERTA METSOLA**

President

#### 4. Wznowienie posiedzenia

(The sitting resumed at 11.03)

**President.** – Colleagues, I have one sombre announcement to make, for which I would ask for your attention.

Dear colleagues, it was with great sadness that I learned yesterday about the passing of our former colleague Werner Schulz. We have lost a pioneer of German unity and a committed defender of European democracy and freedom. On behalf of the European Parliament I send my sincere condolences to the family and friends of Werner Schulz.

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I understand, Terry Reintke, you would like to take the floor.

**Terry Reintke (Verts/ALE).** – Frau Präsidentin! In der Tat, gestern, am 9. November, diesem denkwürdigen Tag deutscher und europäischer Geschichte, ist unser ehemaliger Kollege Werner Schulz bei einer Gedenkveranstaltung im Schloss Bellevue überraschend aus dem Leben gerissen worden.

Wir erinnern Werner als einen Streiter für Bürgerrechte, beginnend in der früheren DDR, aber dann auch auf seinem Lebensweg. Er war ein Streiter für die wehrhafte Demokratie, für eine kritische Zivilgesellschaft und für Menschenrechte. Werner war ein Freiheitskämpfer, ein überzeugter Europäer, ein scharfer Kritiker Putins und vehementer Verteidiger der Ukraine. Ich glaube, das sollte uns allen zu denken geben.

Wir werden Werner sehr, sehr schmerzlich vermissen, gerade in diesen Zeiten. Aber sein Wirken wird für uns alle, auch hier im Europäischen Parlament, unvergessen bleiben.

**President.** – Thank you very much, Ms Reintke.

## 5. Głosowanie

**President.** – The next item is the vote.

(For the results and other details on the vote: see minutes)

**5.1. Umowa między UE a Ukrainą w sprawie drogowego przewozu towarów (A9-0263/2022 - Marian-Jean Marinescu) (głosowanie)**

**5.2. Umowa między UE a Mołdawią w sprawie drogowego przewozu towarów (A9-0262/2022 - Marian-Jean Marinescu) (głosowanie)**

**5.3. Zawarcie porozumienia w sprawie zmiany list szczegółowych zobowiązań w ramach Układu ogólnego w sprawie handlu usługami (A9-0257/2022 - Bernd Lange) (głosowanie)**

**5.4. Subsydia zagraniczne zakłócające rynek wewnętrzny (A9-0135/2022 - Christophe Hansen) (głosowanie)**

— Before the vote:

**Christophe Hansen, rapporteur.** – Madame la Présidente, chers collègues, pendant trop longtemps les entreprises européennes, soumises à un contrôle rigoureux des aides d'État, ont dû entrer en concurrence avec des entreprises étrangères qui avaient un accès sans entrave aux subventions étrangères. L'instrument sur lequel nous nous apprêtons à voter donne à la Commission le pouvoir d'agir contre ces offres gonflées par de l'argent issu de gouvernements étrangers. Il protégera la compétitivité européenne et évitera la fuite des savoir-faire et de l'innovation européens. Ce ne sont pas là des discours creux: un récent exemple allemand me vient d'ailleurs à l'esprit, à ce sujet.

Une fois cet instrument en vigueur, il sera difficilement imaginable que la vente d'une participation stratégique dans une infrastructure européenne aussi essentielle que le port de Hambourg à une société d'État chinoise se fasse sans que la Commission examine de plus près l'origine des liquidités avancées. Le moment choisi pour cette accusation n'est peut-être pas un pur hasard. Il reflète plutôt la crainte de l'instrument que nous nous apprêtons aujourd'hui à mettre en place. Grâce à l'insistance du Parlement quant au dialogue avec les pays tiers, bilatéralement et dans ses forums multilatéraux, ce règlement placera un outil supplémentaire dans la main de la Commission pour lutter contre la marée montante d'une course mondiale aux subventions qui s'avère destructrice.

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Cet instrument ne sera toutefois rien sans ressources humaines consacrées à sa mise en œuvre. C'est pourquoi, outre le fait que je vous remercie, Madame la Commissaire Vestager, pour l'excellente collaboration qui a été la nôtre sur ce dossier, je vous demanderais également de veiller à mettre en place suffisamment de ressources pour que cet instrument n'en soit pas uniquement un sur le papier, car nous avons vraiment besoin de ressources humaines pour le faire vivre et le rendre efficace.

Si nous voulons sérieusement protéger l'égalité des chances dans une économie ouverte, il est temps de joindre le geste à la parole.

**Margrethe Vestager, Executive Vice-President of the Commission.** – Madam President, honourable Members of the European Parliament, I would warmly like to thank the rapporteur, Mr Hansen, for his excellent work in the INTA Committee on this report. Also, all the shadow rapporteurs of the associated committees, Ms Yon-Courtin for ECON and Mr Doleschal for IMCO.

This is an important piece of legislation. It is much needed as an addition to our toolbox to make sure that businesses have a level playing field, that they compete on their merits, on their ideas, on their innovation, on how they serve their customers. Because this is how the single market should work.

Now we have a tool to defend fair competition, to work against subsidies, and I think it's a very good example of how Europe can work together to deliver ground-breaking legislation.

The trilogues: they have shown that we have a common goal and that we can achieve great results and that we can achieve them swiftly. I think that is what makes the admiration of the European democracy increase – that we can deliver when we do it in common. I think, even more so now when we are in the process of preparing the celebration of the 30 years of the single market, the timing of having this instrument is just excellent. Thank you very much for the cooperation and for the swift adoption of this proposal.

## **5.5. Dyrektywa o sprawozdawczości przedsiębiorstw w zakresie zrównoważonego rozwoju (A9-0059/2022 - Pascal Durand) (głosowanie)**

## **5.6. Finanse cyfrowe: akt o operacyjnej odporności cyfrowej (DORA) (A9-0341/2021 - Billy Kelleher) (głosowanie)**

— Before the vote:

**Gunnar Beck, im Namen der ID-Fraktion.** – Frau Präsidentin! DORA ist eine lobenswerte Initiative, denn sie soll unseren digitalen Markt gegenüber Terror und hybriden Angriffen resistenter machen.

Doch es ist wichtig, unsere kritische Infrastruktur nicht nur vor solchen Bedrohungen zu schützen.

Um diese Lücke zu schließen, möchte ich Sie bitten, über die Änderungsanträge der ID-Fraktion zum Gesetz zur digitalen betrieblichen Resilienz abzustimmen. Denn der europäische Digitalmarkt sollte auch für IKT-Dienstleister, die von Drittstaaten kontrolliert werden, geschützt werden.

Trojanische Pferde brauchen wir gerade in diesen Zeiten nicht. Deswegen bitte ich Sie um Ihre Mitarbeit.

(Parliament rejected the request)

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**5.7. Finanse cyfrowe: zmiana dyrektywy o wymogach dotyczących operacyjnej odporności cyfrowej (A9-0340/2021 - Mikuláš Peksa) (głosowanie)**

**5.8. Wspólny wysoki poziom cyberbezpieczeństwa na terytorium Unii (A9-0313/2021 - Bart Grootenhuis) (głosowanie)**

— Before the vote:

**Patrick Breyer, on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group.** – Madam President, in accordance with Rule 53(3) and (4), on behalf of the Greens/EFA Group I request that the order of votes on this file be changed and our request for separate votes be put to the vote today before the provisional agreement. We understand that the House will have to vote on this request and we ask for a roll-call vote. This is to allow for a separate vote, notably on the proposed mandatory identification of all internet domain registrants.

(Parliament rejected the request)

**5.9. Rozdziały REPowerEU w planach odbudowy i zwiększenia odporności (A9-0260/2022 - Eider Gardiazabal Rubial, Siegfried Mureşan, Dragoş Pîslaru) (głosowanie)**

— After the vote on the Commission proposal:

**Siegfried Mureşan, rapporteur.** – Madam President, dear colleagues, in accordance with Rule 59(4), I would like to request that the matter be referred back to committee for interinstitutional negotiations.

(Parliament approved the request for referral back to committee)

**5.10. Pełne stosowanie przepisów dorobku Schengen w Chorwacji (A9-0264/2022 - Paulo Rangel) (głosowanie)**

**President.** – Congratulations, Mr Rangel, well done Croatia. This is a historic vote and a historic moment. Congratulations.

**5.11. Mianowanie przewodniczącego Jednolitej Rady ds. Restrukturyzacji i Uporządkowanej Likwidacji (A9-0259/2022 - Irene Tinagli) (głosowanie)**

**5.12. Mianowanie członka Jednolitej Rady ds. Restrukturyzacji i Uporządkowanej Likwidacji (A9-0258/2022 - Irene Tinagli) (głosowanie)**

**5.13. E-sport i gry wideo (A9-0244/2022 - Laurence Farreng) (głosowanie)**

**5.14. Sprawiedliwość rasowa, niedyskryminacja i przeciwdziałanie rasizmowi w UE (A9-0254/2022 - Evin Incir) (głosowanie)**

— Before the vote on the motion for a resolution as a whole:

Czwartek, 10 listopada 2022 r.

**Assita Kanko (ECR).** – Madam President, my name is Assita Kanko indeed, and my life was full of seemingly impossible things. If I had listened to all those who said things were impossible, I would not be with you here today as a colleague. Imagine if I had listened to those who told me the path I wanted was too difficult and that I should aim lower. Imagine if I believed them and accepted the low expectation adapted to my case. Then I wouldn't be here. Then I would have not gone to university. Then I would have zero ambition and accept being a victim simply because I am black. Being black is not a problem. It's just a detail. That's why I would like to ask you to support this oral amendment, so that people like me can have bigger dreams:

'Warns against the racism of low expectations and woke misconceptions that deny people their individual autonomy and instead push people into imagined minorities and majorities and see only racism when human interaction is often much more complex; calls to see people as persons and not to reduce them to one aspect of their identity.'

(Parliament declined to put the oral amendment to the vote)

**Pierrette Herzberger-Fofana (Verts/ALE).** – Madame la Présidente, je souhaiterais prendre la parole. Je suis aussi une femme noire, comme M<sup>me</sup> Assita Kanko, notre collègue, et je suis horrifiée de ce que je viens d'entendre. Ce n'est pas du tout correct, ce qu'elle vient de dire. Ce n'est pas vrai. Le racisme existe. Nous sommes confrontés à ce racisme en permanence. C'est inadmissible!

**President.** – That concludes the vote.

(The sitting was suspended at 11.30)

## VORSITZ: EVELYN REGNER

Vizepräsidentin

## 6. Wznowienie posiedzenia

(Die Sitzung wird um 11.33 Uhr wieder aufgenommen)

## 7. Wyjaśnienia dotyczące sposobu głosowania

**Die Präsidentin.** – Als nächster Punkt der Tagesordnung folgen die Erklärungen zur Abstimmung.

### 7.1. Finanse cyfrowe: akt o operacyjnej odporności cyfrowej (DORA) (A9-0341/2021 - Billy Kelleher)

#### Mündliche Stimmerklärungen

**Seán Kelly (PPE).** – A Uachtaráin, bhí áthas orm vóta a chaitheamh ar son na tuarascála a d'eagraigh mo chomhghleacaithe Uí Ghearrailt agus Ó Céileachair as Éirinn ar an rialachán leasaitheach tábhachtach seo. Tá an gníomh um Athléimneacht Dhigiteach Oibríochtaíl tábhachtach lena cinntíú go bhfuil na coimircí is gá i bhfeidhm i sholáthar seirbhísí airgeadais chun cibiriomsaith agus rioscaí eile a bhaineann le TFC a mhaolú. Is fiúrchtontúirtí iad cibiriomsaith sa lá atá inniu ann. Tharla ceann in Éirinn anuraidh nuair rinneadh ionsaí le bogearraí éirice ar Fheimeannacht na Seirbhise Sláinte. Bhí tionchar fadréimseach agus fadtréimhseach aige sin chun freagairt ar an ualach mór airgeadais a bhí ar íocóirí cánach ina dhiaidh sin. Is céim sa treo ceart í reachtaíocht a chinnteoidh go gcosnaítear ár ríomhchórais.

Czwartek, 10 listopada 2022 r.

## 7.2. Wspólny wysoki poziom cyberbezpieczeństwa na terytorium Unii (A9-0313/2021 - Bart Grootenhuis)

### Mündliche Stimmerklärungen

**Seán Kelly (PPE).** – Madam President, I voted in favour of this report. Higher EU ambition on cybersecurity and in protecting critical infrastructure is vital. Recent incidents have revealed the fragility of the EU's infrastructure and emphasised the danger of cyberattacks, including the sabotage of the Nord Stream gas pipelines and last year's massive cyberattack on the health system in my own country.

European critical entities are more interconnected and interdependent, which makes them stronger and more efficient, but sadly also more vulnerable. In the case of an incident, a common level of cybersecurity in the EU is crucial for the functioning of the internal market. We must take the necessary steps to harmonise our internal market and improve cybersecurity throughout the EU.

I was pleased to vote in favour of this report, like many others in the Parliament.

**Clare Daly (The Left).** – Madam President, the cyberattack on the HSE in Ireland last year was a traumatic national event; an assault on public health and an urgent reminder that the more digitised our societies are, the more vulnerable they are to network intrusion. Cybersecurity, of course, is the rapporteur's field, and nobody would fault his understanding of the technical issues or in terms of increasing resilience and his determination.

But we had concerns about the correct balance between privacy and security here. And for that reason, we abstained. We also have to take on board the point, the economic paradigm that we live under, which systemically under-funds our public services such as health services, expects them to choose then between adequate IT and saving lives. And that obviously isn't a fair choice.

We can't have proper cybersecurity if we don't pay for it. Technical fixes only go so far. Second-rate funding and investment in the public sector means second-rate protection for our IT systems and our citizens' data in them. This has to stop.

**Eugen Tomac (PPE).** – Doamna președintă, cred că Uniunea Europeană are obligația de a-și proteja cetățenii în fața infracțiunilor informatici și am observat în această perioadă, când Rusia duce mai multe războiuri pe mai multe fronturi, inclusiv atacând infrastructura critică a Uniunii Europene în repetate rânduri prin atacuri cibernetice.

Tocmai de aceea, cred că este esențial să consolidăm cadrul legal la nivel european pentru asigurarea securității cibernetice.

De aceea, am votat cu toată convingerea și cred că este absolut necesară o reglementare riguroasă, care să ne garanteze un mediu digital sigur și demn de încredere și care să le garanteze tuturor cetățenilor europeni servicii esențiale pentru funcționarea pieței digitale unice și a infrastructurilor critice, pentru că este absolut important să evităm orice atac ostil din partea unor actori statali.

**Stanislav Polčák (PPE).** – Paní předsedající, já jsem přesvědčen, že je důležité, abychom se skutečně zaměřili na ochranu naší základní kritické infrastruktury. Ty útoky, které přibývají, jak jsme slyšeli z řady členských států, se nezaměřují na státní instituce, ale naopak míří na zdravotnické služby, na zdravotnická zařízení. Míří na naše podniky, na krádeže dat duševního vlastnictví. To všechno bude realita 21. století a my musíme být připraveni na ochranu našich podniků, našich občanů. A jsem velmi rád, že toto nařízení bylo podpořeno. Já jsem jej také podporoval. Je důležité si srovnat, že pouze 41 % výdajů, které dávají Spojené státy americké na kybernetickou bezpečnost, dáváme my v Evropské unii. To se musí zvýšit. Musíme nepochybňovat zvýšit i počty hlášení incidentů podle tohoto nařízení. Některé incidenty nejsou hlášeny. Jsem rád, že se v tomto balíčku nastavila dobrá poloha toho, jak se mají hlásit a v jaké lhůtě.

Czwartek, 10 listopada 2022 r.

### 7.3. Rozdział REPowerEU w planach odbudowy i zwiększenia odporności (A9-0260/2022 - Eider Gardiazabal Rubial, Siegfried Mureşan, Dragoş Pîslaru)

#### Mündliche Stimmerklärungen

**Seán Kelly (PPE).** – A Uachtaráin, I thank my colleagues for this timely report. The mobilisation of funds through the RePowerEU chapters of the Recovery and Resilience Facility, will provide Member States with much-needed financial support to achieve our energy diversification goals.

Russia's brutal invasion of Ukraine and the ensuing energy crisis in Europe has shown that we must end our dependency on Russian energy supplies and ramp up homegrown renewables. In Ireland, one million homes have the roof space and orientation suitable for the installation of up to ten solar panels. This could translate into 8 % of Ireland's renewable energy targets. We take this opportunity to harness the potential of renewable technologies. The benefits from a climate and energy security perspective would be immense. I thank my colleagues Mr Mureşan, etc., for the good job they have done.

**Eugen Tomac (PPE).** – Doamna președintă, planurile naționale de redresare și reziliență, create ca răspuns la pandemia de coronavirus și consecințele pe care le-a produs această pandemie, au produs consecințe pozitive în rândul statelor membre.

Însă nu doar criza de sănătate a lovit Uniunea Europeană. Avem criza de securitate declanșată de Federația Rusă și mai avem o criză a energiei care, la fel, a fost declanșată de către Kremlin și cu scopul de a șantaja Uniunea Europeană.

Avem nevoie de mecanisme noi prin care să susținem statele membre pentru a susține cetățenii să facă față acestor scumpiri fără precedent și, evident, pentru a crea mecanisme noi de protejare a pieței interne și, evident, soluții care să ne permită să fim independenți total energetic pe viitor, să nu mai depindem nicio clipă de sursele energetice care provin din Federația Rusă.

**Ангел Джамбазки (ECR).** – Г-жо Председател, възпържах се от подкрепата на този доклад заради неговото съдържание. Многократно чухме тук за това, че има повишени цени, за това, че енергията е скъпа. Защо е скъпа енергията? Заради гласуванията в тази зала. Защото години наред систематично хората, които гласуваха в тази зала, правеха едно-единствено нещо: правеха така, че токът да е по-скъп, горивата да са по-скъпи и животът на гражданите да е по-скъп.

Защо го правеха? Бяха водени от една зеленистка, климатична, алармистка утопия и истерия. Твърдях, че не може да има добив на собствен газ. Твърдях, че не може да има производство на електрическа енергия от атомна енергия и направиха така, че нарочно цените на енергоносителите да бъдат високи. Тук никой друг не ви е виновен, нито Русия, нито Китай, нито другите държави. Виновно е гласуването в тази зала. В тази зала бяха повишени цените и сега същите хора ни казват, че трябва да се борим с външните зависимости – тези, които направиха Европейския съюз изцяло зависим от външни енергоизточници. Това е глупаво.

### 7.4. Pełne stosowanie przepisów dorobku Schengen w Chorwacji (A9-0264/2022 - Paulo Rangel)

#### Mündliche Stimmerklärungen

**Eugen Tomac (PPE).** – Doamna președintă, consider că este un vot istoric, este un vot extrem de important pentru Croația. L-am dat cu toată convingerea, pentru că îmi doresc foarte mult ca în acest an Croația, România și Bulgaria să-și atingă acest obiectiv de etapă de integrare mai profundă în Uniunea Europeană.

Uniunea Europeană întotdeauna și-a depășit problemele ce țin de crizele interne atunci când a luat decizii curajoase, fie prin extindere, fie prin mai multă integrare, și cred că Croația, Bulgaria și România trebuie să se integreze în acest an în spațiul Schengen, pentru că aşa putem ajuta și statele aflate în imediata noastră vecinătate, expuse acestor amenințări venite în mod constant din partea Federației Ruse.

Czwartek, 10 listopada 2022 r.

Îmi doresc foarte mult ca Croația să se bucure, la fel ca toate celelalte state, de libera circulație, pentru că este un drept prevăzut în Tratat.

Este o obligație a Consiliului să ducă mai departe această implementare, pentru că, din păcate, România și Bulgaria de mai bine de 11 ani, sunt blocate în Consiliul Uniunii Europene pe nedrept.

**Vlad Gheorghe (Renew).** – Doamna președintă, am votat astăzi pentru ca Croația să intre în zona Schengen, pentru că croații, românii, bulgarii au dreptul și trebuie să intre în Schengen.

Și nu știu dacă vă dați seama, dar avem această discuție despre granițe, despre ziduri, la 33 de ani după căderea Zidului Berlinului. Și trebuie să ne aducem aminte că timp de 50 de ani, jumătate din Europa a fost despărțită, jumătate din Europa a fost plină de granițe și de bariere. Și noi știm foarte bine, atât români, cât și croații și bulgarii, cum a fost asta. Și cred că acum, în 2022, discutând despre granițe și bariere, ne facem de rușine. Pentru că Europa unită nu este o Europă cu granițe.

Și am un singur mesaj pentru Consiliu și pentru cei care încă se mai opun la intrarea tuturor țărilor în zona Schengen: dăramăți acest zid acum!

**Clare Daly (The Left).** – Madam President, I actually was a shadow on this file and I want to put on record that the mess that went on behind the scenes around this file makes it very, very hard for me to shake the feeling that Parliament has been steamrolled into this process, which has been riddled with procedural irregularities at every step of the way.

The violence, the abuse, the lies from Croatia and the Commission – all of them have been swept under the rug. What we have is a few little gentle calls to deal with human rights, but let's be honest about this, both Croatia and the Commission have form in this regard. Both of them have brazenly lied about human rights violations. Both of them have showed zero interest in tackling them, in zero interest in accountability.

For God's sake, Croatia even slandered the Committee for the Prevention of Torture after their monitoring visit and tried to suppress their report! And we think they're going to change their spots?

I believe in free movement for everybody, but I also believe in human rights and accountability, and until we have that I had to vote against this file.

**Ангел Джамбазки (ЕСР).** – Г-жо Председател, подкрепих този доклад не само защото Хърватска е изпълнила всички условия и заслужава да бъде част от Шенгенското пространство, а и защото искам да напомня на тези държави членки, които продължават да нарушават правилата. Абсолютно лицемерно, двулично и нередно е те да спират по свои икономически причини Румъния и България от членство в Шенгенското пространство, защото те нарушавали договорите. 11 години България и Румъния изпълняват категорично всички изисквания на Шенгенското пространство.

Преди няколко дни български граничен полицай загина в престрелка на турската граница с турски контрабандисти, защитавайки тази зала тук. Преди два месеца други двама полициани загинаха отново в преследване с контрабандисти и на хора и трафиканти на мигранти, но България и Румъния все още не са част от Шенгенското пространство. Защо? Защото държави като Холандия преследват своя личен интерес. Тук има лобисти на големите транспортни фирми, които натискат България и Румъния да не бъдат приети, за да може техните фирми да работят и техните фирми да печелят повече пари. Това е лицемерно. И това е двулично.

**Stanislav Polčák (PPE).** – Paní předsedající, já jsem tuto zprávu podpořil, protože jsem přesvědčen, že Chorvatsko patří do našeho schengenského prostoru. Nepochybň v každé zemi najdete v určité míře příklady porušování lidských práv. To se stalo a stává opravdu v každé zemi v různém rozsahu intenzity porušování. Ale jsem přesvědčen, že Chorvatsko splnilo základní podmínky, které přináší naše pravidla. Už v roce 2019 to bylo konstatováno Evropskou komisí. A také se těším na to, že ustanou ty příště fronty, které nás dělily od vstupu na chorvatské území. A myslím si, že to je dobrá zpráva pro evropskou rodinu, že se prostor svobody a práva rozšiřuje o další zemi. Chorvatsko je pro nás velmi důležitou zemí, která může daleko lépe chránit náš společný evropský prostor, naši vnější hranici.

Czwartek, 10 listopada 2022 r.

## 7.5. Sprawiedliwość rasowa, niedyskryminacja i przeciwdziałanie rasizmowi w UE (A9-0254/2022 - Evin Incir)

### Mündliche Stimmerklärungen

**Clare Daly (The Left).** – Madam President, I was really happy to support this report, its very strong language on the intersection between oppressions and the ethos that the fight against any racism is against all racism.

In that regard, I find it very concerning that the communication on anti-Semitism last year from the Commission called on Member States to adopt the IHRA working definition of anti-Semitism, a controversial and flawed document which has been criticised by hundreds of Palestinian academics and journalists because it allows for the conflation of anti-Semitism with criticism of Israel and is used to prevent Palestinians from speaking about their own oppression.

As they say, the fight against anti-Semitism shouldn't be turned into a stratagem to delegitimise the fight against the oppression of Palestinians, the denial of their rights and the continued occupation of their lands.

Our report rightly calls for zero tolerance for EU support for projects inside or outside the EU that directly or indirectly promote xenophobic or racist views. Therefore, I call on the Commission to recognise the consensus that exists, that Israel's treatment of Palestinians meets the definition in international law of the crime of apartheid, and therefore to review Israeli participation in EU programmes and EU support for projects that might give rise to complicity in Israel's apartheid regime.

**Ангел Джамбазки (ECR).** – Г-жо Председател, за разлика от колегата, гласувах абсолютно убедено против този доклад, защото този доклад не е нищо друго, освен едно лицемерно, едно двулично измъкване и закачане на една значка.

Когато тази зала разбира и вижда, че в Битоля, в Охрид се развива истински расизъм, истинска ксенофобия, истинска омраза на основата на националния произход на местните българи там, тази зала мълчи и се прави, че не е чула, не е видяла и нито лук е яла, нито лук е мирисала.

Това е нередно. Това е двулично. Това е абсолютно лицемерно.

Когато сръбските власти спират отбележването на Деня на Западните покрайнини и продължават тяхната незаконната окупация, ние пишем и казваме: „Хора, това е истински расизъм, това е истинска ксенофобия“, а някой си там прави някакви измислени декларации, за да му е чиста съвестта и да се направи на повече, повече и повече човеколюбив от останалите. Колегата каза преди малко, че не може да има избиране кой расизъм е по-лош, кой е по-добър. Или осъждаш проявата на такива действия или не осъждаш. Не може да се правиш на сляп с едното око, не можеш да не видиш неща, които се случват под носа ти в държава, която иска да бъде кандидат за член на ЕС. Това е просто позор.

**Stanislav Polčák (PPE).** – Paní předsedající, já jsem tuto zprávu z vlastního podnětu podpořil. Jsem přesvědčen, že jakákoli rasová diskriminace je v Evropské unii nepřijatelná. Je nepřijatelná kdekoliv od úrovně státu počínaje přes diskriminaci z důvodu rasy na pracovišti. Je nepřijatelná samozřejmě i v soukromí, v médiích, kdekoliv. Jsem překvapen růstem např. antisemitismu v rámci Evropské unie. Myslím, že je to velmi alarmující. My máme zakotveno jako základní pravidlo v našich základních dokumentech rovnost před právem, před zákonem a je důležité, aby rasová diskriminace byla považována za jednu z těch nejohavnějších diskriminací, která může existovat. Nechci je srovnávat, ale opravdu pokud je někdo posuzován předpojatě jenom podle toho, jaké je barvy pleti, tak je to ohavné. A jsem rád, že jsme se zaměřili na podporu organizací, které tuto rasovou diskriminaci potírají, samozřejmě na akční plány v jednotlivých státech, které mají proti rasové diskriminaci být přijaty. Toto všechno jsem rád podpořil.

**Die Präsidentin.** – Damit ist dieser Tagesordnungspunkt geschlossen.

Czwartek, 10 listopada 2022 r.

## **8. Zatwierdzenie protokołów posiedzeń bieżącej sesji i przekazanie przyjętych tekstów**

**Die Präsidentin.** – Wir kommen nun zum Ende unserer Sitzung. Die Protokolle der heutigen Sitzung und der gestrigen Sitzung werden dem Parlament zum Beginn der nächsten Sitzung zur Genehmigung vorgelegt. Wenn es keine Einwände gibt, werde ich die in der heutigen Sitzung angenommenen Entschlüsse den in diesen Entschließungen genannten Personen und Gremien übermitteln.

## **9. Kalendarz następnych posiedzeń**

**Die Präsidentin.** – Die nächste Tagung findet vom 21. bis 24. November 2022 in Straßburg statt.

## **10. Zamknięcie posiedzenia**

*(Die Sitzung wird um 11.57 Uhr geschlossen)*

## **11. Przerwa w obradach**

**Die Präsidentin.** – Ich erkläre die Sitzungsperiode des Europäischen Parlaments für unterbrochen.