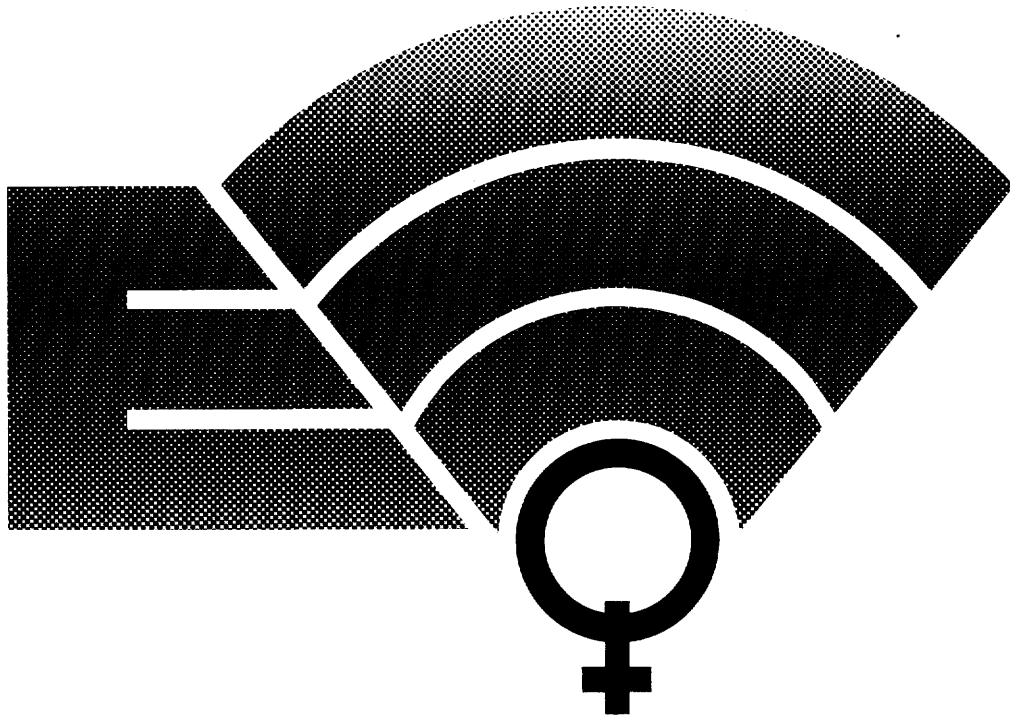


# *Women of Europe*

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Brussels, 19/81

SPECIAL EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT ISSUE



On 10 and 11 February 1981, European Parliament held a lengthy debate on the position of women in the Community. This issue presents the text of the discussion, extracted from the Official Journal of the European Communities.

In publishing this record, "Women of Europe" hopes not only to act as a channel of communication but also to place in its readers' hands an instrument for participation in the democratic life of the Community. The resolution passed by European Parliament is not the end of the debate. On the contrary, it highlights all the work that still has to be done by all the social and political forces within the Community.

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The full text of the debate, except for a few procedural matters, has been taken from the Official Journal of the European Communities. The text in typescript (framed in most cases) is "Women of Europe' editorial comment.

In the text of the Official Journal, the language used by the speaker is indicated by a capital letter or letters (F, DK, I, D, NL, GR). If no letter is inserted, the language used is english.

The amendments have been summarized by Lydia and Marina Gazzo of Agence Europe.

The text of the debate is taken from Annex 1-266 to the Official Journal, while the text of the resolution itself is taken from document C 50, volume 24, dated 9 March 1981.

## SITTING OF TUESDAY, 10 FEBRUARY 1981

ON THE FLOOR OF PARLIAMENT AND IN THE LOBBIES - As soon as the date of the debate was made known, groups were formed and made a date in Luxembourg. For its part, European Parliament's Directorate of Information, in cooperation with the department within the European Commission responsible for providing information to women's organization and the press, sent out invitations to sixty women journalists and the leaders of women's groups. A total of almost five hundred women listened attentively - although with an occasional murmur of comment - to the debate.

So many people came that a special room had to be provided for all the women unable to find a seat in the public gallery. The room was fitted out with a giant closed-circuit television screen.

In the first row of the public gallery sat Mrs. Sadat, accompanied by the Grand Duchess of Luxembourg. The fact that the Egyptian President's wife had expressed the wish to attend this part of the debate was a pointed reminder that progress achieved in Europe is a contribution towards the emancipation of women throughout the world.

On the floor and in lobbies, so many questions were discussed: the European Commission under Roy Jenkins had kept a close and sympathetic watching brief on the preparations for the debate, but would the Commission headed by Gaston Thorn be equally concerned? What about the visit of President Sadat? Would it not eclipse the debate on women in the reports from the press agencies? In the midst of the hubbub, Simone Veil took her place in the presidential chair, and silence reigned ....

IN THE CHAIR: MRS VEIL

*President*

*(The sitting was opened at 9 a.m.)*

**President.** — The sitting is open.

1. *Position of women in the Community*

**President.** — The next item is the report by Mrs Maij-Weggen, on behalf of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Women's Rights, on the position of women in the European Community (Doc. 1-829/80 — I and II).

Also included in the debate is the oral question by Mrs De March and others to the Commission:

Subject: Position of women in the nine countries of the Community

In the light of such provisions and directives on equality as:

- Article 119 of the Treaty of Rome,
- the Council Directive of 10 February 1975,
- the Council Directive of 9 February 1976,
- the Council Directive of 19 December 1978,
- the judgment of the Court of Justice of the Communities of 8 April 1976:

Twenty-two years after the founding of the Common Market, what is the effective position of women as

**President**

regards employment, earnings, vocational training and family, social and health policy in each of the nine countries of the Community?

Does the Commission think that there is a direct link between the inequalities and discrimination which women continue to encounter and the Community directives on austerity, restructuring and European integration inasmuch as they affect sectors employing women?

Lastly, is it not to be expected that the coordination of these austerity policies in connection with the second enlargement of the EEC will result in a levelling-down of these social rights and advantages which women have had to struggle so hard to obtain?

I call the rapporteur.

**Mrs Maij-Weggen, rapporteur.** — (NL) Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, we always begin at 10 a.m. on Tuesdays, which is why all the political groups are holding their meetings between 9 and 10 a.m. today. I wonder whether the groups should not be warned that the sitting has begun . . .

**President.** — I am sorry Mrs Maij-Weggen. The political groups no longer meet on Tuesdays from 9 to 10 a.m. For some time now Tuesday's sitting has begun at 9 a.m.

**Mrs Maij-Weggen.** — (NL) . . . I see, Madam President, but I can assure you that all the groups are now meeting.

Madam President, almost all the groups in this Parliament promised in their political programmes before the first European elections in 1979 to take action to improve the position of women in Europe. We are therefore particularly pleased that after a year of intensive work in our special parliamentary committee we are able to submit to Parliament, the Commission and the Council a report in which a significant proportion of the assurances given by the various groups has been translated into practical proposals, which we are asking this Parliament to approve today. Before going into these proposals, I wish to emphasize that both the resolution and the extensive explanatory statement contained in the report are the result of a joint effort in which admittedly the chairman and the rapporteur played an important part. The report could not have been drawn up without the contribution and cooperation of many Members. I should like to stress this.

The disadvantages suffered by many groups of women in many sectors of our society have resulted in this report becoming a lengthy document in which very many subjects are discussed. Before I take up each of these subjects, I should like to say something about the background to the disadvantages women suffer in our society. The explanatory statement that accompanies the resolution begins with a brief review of women's

work in Western Europe. This review leads to two important conclusions, which you will also find in the preamble of the resolution. It must first be said that the historical and cultural development of Europe has resulted in a division of labour between men and women in which women have been made largely responsible for unpaid work, while men are principally engaged in paid work. This division of labour has left many women in an isolated and disadvantaged position. If, then, the position of women is to be improved, it is essential for there to be a fundamental redistribution of paid employment and unpaid family work between the male and female citizens of Europe.

Secondly, the economic history of Europe teaches us that women act as a labour reserve in the employment market. At times of economic growth women are encouraged to go out to work and at times of economic recession they are sent back to unpaid family work. There is an urgent need for this immoral mechanism of our economic system to be recognized and for social measures to be taken to control these processes. At this time of economic recession women therefore are in even greater need of our support and our solidarity.

In our report we set out firstly to take a close look at the policy the Commission has so far pursued in favour of women. We would begin by thanking the previous Commission and in particular the former Commissioner for social affairs for the initiative they have taken in the last five years: three Community directives, special provisions for women under the European Social Fund. This is no mean achievement. We feel that a satisfactory start has been made on the road to an improvement in the position of women, particularly in the work process. We are less happy with the way in which these initiatives have been followed up in the various Member States. Our investigations, on which the explanatory statement reports, have revealed that not enough has been done, with the result, in particular, that the directives have not contributed sufficiently to the achievement of the objective.

Women workers still earn substantially less, even when they do the same work as their male colleagues. Hundreds of complaints are still received about the unequal treatment of women at work. We therefore propose that the implementation of these directives should be improved by means of better information, compulsory checks and a compulsory registration system. We also propose that a preventive sanction should be introduced whereby Member States not prepared to implement the directives in the proper way will no longer receive credits from the Social and Regional Funds. This is a tough step, but we feel that Member States which are not willing to make the effort to ensure the equal treatment of their male and female citizens should forfeit their right to European solidarity.



**Maij-Weggen**

In the first part of our report we have principally dealt with the policy that has so far been pursued. In the second part we have set out a number of proposals for new Community action. In this we have concentrated on five main points: the social and economic involvement of women, education and vocational training, health care, the position of special categories of women such as migrant women and women working in family firms, and the way in which we can influence the position of women in developing countries. I should like to make a number of remarks on each of these points.

The traditional division of labour between men and women, with women doing the unpaid work, has resulted in the subordination of women in employment and of men in family life. This situation could be substantially improved if working hours were shorter and arranged more flexibly. Shorter and more flexible working hours would enable women and men to combine housework and work outside the home better. This would make for a better distribution of paid and unpaid work. But it would also mean that workers working shorter hours, on a part-time basis, for example, should have the same rights as regards working conditions, social provisions, vocational and in-firm training and promotion prospects as full-time workers. We therefore call on the Commission to draw up a directive on this aspect. It must also be ensured that part-time work is not used as a means of relieving the tension on the labour market or as a short-term economic policy instrument. An alert trade union movement must keep a critical and constructive eye on the process of the redistribution of work.

The *ad hoc* committee also looked into the problems connected with work in the home. We found that the social services engaged in family care are in difficulty in all the Member States as a result of the economic crisis. These services are being abolished or cut back, making the work both of full-time housewives and of working women in the family home more difficult. We consider it unacceptable that the consequences of the economic crisis should be unloaded on to the unpaid workers, on to the family, on to women in this way. And we make an urgent appeal to the Member States to check this process.

The development of modern technology causes the *ad hoc* committee considerable concern. On the one hand, many women are being forced out of occupations which are becoming superfluous as a result of technological innovation, on the other, not enough women are being employed in the occupations being created by modern technology. This is increasing unemployment among women. There is an urgent need to help women to adjust themselves better to the changes in the work process. Better oriented vocational information and training is urgently required. The European Social Fund has already taken welcome

action in this respect. It is particularly important for this action to be extended and for it to be echoed on a large scale in the Member States.

Education and vocational training are an important key where the position of individuals in society is concerned. In the section on the position of women in education we point out that women generally have a lower level of education than men and that the education they do have is also more one-sided. We have put forward many suggestions in our resolution for ways of improving this situation, suggestions concerning lower education, intermediate education and higher, university education, suggestions concerning vocational and in-firm training and permanent education.

I do not intend to refer to all the details, but I should like to stress that there is a need for a policy at all levels and in all sectors of education aimed specifically at improving the level of training of girls and at helping them to choose less one-sided courses. We are aware that the Commission has already developed various activities in this field, and we call on it to intensify and extend these activities as a matter of urgency. To this end, a special conference of the Education Ministers should be convened at an early date to discuss ways of incorporating all the suggestions included in this report in the national education programmes. If this type of conference is held regularly, education policy to the benefit of girls and women can be stimulated and coordinated by the European Community.

The third main theme of our report concerns the health of women. It goes without saying that the health problems women face in their role as mothers play an important part in this. Every day millions of women are confronted with the problems associated with birth control. Although our generation occupies a privileged position in this respect compared with the women of previous generations, there is still considerable uncertainty about birth control. The *ad hoc* committee therefore feels that more research is needed to enable women to use the safest and most reliable means. We call on the Commission to introduce Community research programmes in this area, if only because it is evident that the situation differs widely from one country to another.

The *ad hoc* committee also discussed the question of abortion. We cannot simply pass by a problem that hundreds of thousands of women face every year. Investigations have shown that in countries where abortion is not governed by legislation or where it is completely banned, clandestine abortions still occur on a wide scale, with serious consequences for the women concerned. On the other hand, where there is some kind of superficial legislation, the differences are often

**Maij-Weggen**

such that many women are forced to seek help in other countries. We therefore call on the Commission to urge the Member States to make arrangements that render these emergency journeys, which seriously hamper social care and lead to unacceptable commercialization, superfluous and to ensure that any woman in difficulty in her own country can count on being given the necessary help. In this the emphasis must be placed on prevention and social assistance, an area in which I know many countries are very backward. The resolution also calls in this context for the improvement and harmonization of national arrangements for leave for family reasons, such as maternity leave, parental leave and leave when children are ill. Some Member States have favourable and extensive arrangements in this area, while others hardly match up to the minimum standards laid down by WHO and ILO.

The fourth main subject of our resolution concerns a number of special categories of women. We propose, for example, that a European social statute should be drawn up to cover the large number of women working in family firms. There are millions of women of this kind in the European Community. We call for the recognition of their professional status, a right to vocational training, a right to participate in the activities of professional organizations and above all a right to a reasonable system of social provisions and particularly to replacements when they are sick or pregnant. We wish to emphasize that the many women working in family firms, such as the millions of farmers' wives, make a very important contribution to the social and economic development of our Community.

This group in particular therefore warrants additional attention. Additional attention should also be paid to the large and vulnerable category of wives of foreign workers. These women are amongst the most disadvantaged in our society and therefore need our support. We similarly call for a European social statute for this category, setting out their rights and obligations and offering them protection against all forms of discrimination.

The fifth main subject of our resolution concerns our responsibility towards women in developing countries. The European Community has links with many Third World countries and plays an important role in their economic and social development. The recent UN Conference in Copenhagen revealed that in many cases this development has scarcely improved the position of women. We therefore appeal to the Commission to align its development aid policy and its external economic relations more closely with this category. Economic development must be prevented from resulting in women losing their traditional jobs in agriculture and trade, for example, and the involvement of women in new employment areas must also be encouraged. At the same time, a situation must be avoided in

which these women, many of whom also have a great deal of housework to do, are exposed to long working hours, poor working conditions and deficient social provisions. This must also be said to the Western multinational undertakings active in South-East Asia. Social development aid must be attuned more closely to the basic requirements of the people concerned: good housing, food, clothing, education and medical aid are more important than prestige projects. It is important for our policy towards the Third World to incorporate control procedures so that we can establish what effect this policy has on the position of women in developing countries.

Madam President, I have tried to present to this Parliament the gist of this resolution in as balanced and conscientious a manner as possible. To conclude this introductory statement, I should like to make a personal comment. Many women in our Community are in a particularly isolated and disadvantaged position. For many this situation is harmful to them as individuals, economically, socially and also mentally. But this disadvantaged position also represents a considerable loss for the European Community as a whole. As a result of this position, women form a minority group in all bodies that determine policy: in governments, parliaments, political parties, employers' organizations, trade unions and even the governing bodies of the churches. This means not only that they are unable to exercise sufficient influence over the improvement of their own position but also that their voice is not sufficiently heard in any of the sectors of policy concerned with the development of present-day society.

The European Community faces major problems: the threat to peace, the shortage of energy, economic crises and unemployment, environmental pollution, growing disparities between the rich industrial countries and the poorer developing countries. If these problems are to be solved, the creative involvement of every available talent, the talents of men and women, will be required. If these problems are to be solved, the broad and loyal support of all citizens, both men and women, will be required. To this end, the disadvantages suffered by women should be eliminated, and balanced and just relations between European citizens must be created. That is the aim of this report. We hope that it will also be the aim of today's debate.

*(Applause)*

**President.** — I call the Council.

**Mrs Kraayeveld-Wouters**, *President-in-Office of the Council.* — (NL) Madam President, as a member of the Government of the Member State now holding the

**Kraayeveld-Wouters**

Presidency of the Council and also on my own behalf I should like to welcome the initiative and activities of your Assembly. Your aim has been to provide a new impulse to the contribution the Community can make to the solution of the problems connected with the position of women in our societies. In this context, I would also refer to the World Conference for the Decade of the Woman held in Copenhagen in July 1980. In my present capacity I should like to begin by recalling, possibly unnecessarily, because you are already well aware of what I have to say, the principal contributions the Council has so far made at the Commission's instigation to Community action aimed at achieving the equal treatment of men and women.

I will begin with the measures that have already been taken to introduce into the legislation of the Member States this principle of equal treatment in such important areas as pay, working conditions and social security. The principle of equal pay for male and female workers for the same work as laid down in Article 119 of the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community was regarded as an integral component in the creation and functioning of the common market. On this basis the Council adopted in February 1975 the directive concerning the approximation of Member States' legislation on the application of the principle of equal pay for male and female workers. The Council's aim was to strengthen existing legislation in the Member States by setting standards aimed at the practical application of the principle of equal pay, in such a way that all workers in the Community might enjoy protection in this area. This directive is designed to eliminate any form of discrimination on the grounds of sex in all standards and systems concerning pay for the same work or for work to which the same value is attached. In its resolution of 21 January 1974 concerning a social action programme the Council had already recommended that efforts should be made to achieve equality between men and women as regards access both to the labour market and to vocational training, promotion prospects and conditions of employment, including pay.

To give effect to its resolution, but independently of the Directive on pay I have just mentioned, the Council has adopted two other Directives, known as the second and third Directives, the second concerning access to the labour market and vocational training and the third social security. The particular value of these second and third Directives lies in the fact that they draw attention to both direct and indirect discrimination with regard specifically to the married or family situation. In addition, they stipulate a subjective right for those concerned by requiring Member States to ensure that they can enforce their rights to equality before the courts. The second Directive is designed to ensure the equal treatment of men and women with respect to access to employment, vocational training and higher positions, and conditions of employment.

This means the elimination of any form of discrimination on the grounds of sex, that is the elimination of any direct or indirect discrimination from all legal acts and the practices of both the authorities and private individuals. The third Directive, which concerns the application of the principle of equal treatment with regard to social security, the deadline for its introduction into national legislation not yet having been reached, relates to the statutory social security systems in the following areas: sickness, disability, parenthood, unemployment, industrial accidents and occupational diseases and prohibits discrimination on the grounds of sex.

Apart from these statutory instruments, I must also refer to the other areas in which various types of measures have been contemplated with a view to eliminating obstacles women encounter. As regards education, particular attention was paid at the last Council meeting, held on 27 June 1980, of the Education Ministers of the Member States to the problems involved in giving girls equal opportunities in education and to the relationship between education and work. In this context, it was pointed out that the measures contemplated must be aimed principally at complementing the measures that have already been taken. This concerns the provisions of equal opportunities in education and employment by making specific efforts in education to overcome the outdated stereotypes and encourage girls to choose from among a wider range of occupations and prepare them for this choice. Where adult education is concerned, the Commission has made a start on preliminary studies on basic education and the fight against illiteracy. It is obvious that women in the rural areas of the Community and in the countries wishing to join the Community are among those who are hard hit by illiteracy.

It is also appropriate to say a few words about the contribution of the European Social Fund in the areas of employment and vocational training. This Fund gives priority in certain specific ways to the problems faced by women. Under the Council decision of 20 December 1977, the period of validity of which was recently extended, it is possible for the European Social Fund to be involved in finding solutions to the problems women encounter in the labour market, where these problems concern the vocational training and employment of women over the age of 25 with few or no skills who want to go out or go back to work or who are unemployed.

Apart from these specific measures, it should be pointed out that, within its own framework and limitations, the Social Fund is an instrument which in principle opens the way for effective account to be taken of the problems faced by various categories of women where they come up against various obstacles as young

**Kraayeveld-Wouters**

unemployed people, in backward regions or as migrant workers. This brief summary prompts me to make a number of comments and remarks. Although the Community can take a pride in having developed rights and guarantees for the equal treatment of men and women in the areas I have just mentioned, it cannot, of course, be claimed that this contribution extends to every aspect of the situation as regards the social structures that have been handed down and are characterized by a division of labour and the casting of men and women in set roles.

The report that has been submitted has the merit of explaining these problems comprehensively and placing them in the present economic and social context, offering a full range of possible solutions within that context. The report indicates the roles and responsibilities of the authorities at both Community and national level and also of the social partners and those directly involved, in other words primarily women themselves, but in general all members of society. Apart from the gaps which may still occur in present Community legislation, the report refers to the work that remains to be done to ensure the more effective implementation of the principle of equality. The possibility of finding ways of overcoming the obstacles women face will be the more effective if full account can be taken of the context in which appropriate solutions can be put forward. It seems to me that such an approach fits in with the ability to be guided by clearly translatable indicators. After all, it is principally by discerning the development of the structures of employment that we are able to understand in our own countries the additional obstacles standing in the way of the employment of women.

This is also true of the possibility of tackling the glaring problems raised by certain situations, and I am referring, for example, to the wives of migrant workers, who are confronted with all the aspects of their disadvantaged position. These women have to contend with serious handicaps as regards economic, cultural, educational and training possibilities, to name but a few.

The Council will shortly have an opportunity of taking careful account of the ideas set out in the report, since it will soon have to discuss the report which the Commission has just submitted to it on the application of the principle of equal treatment with regard to access to the labour market and promotion prospects, employment opportunities and the choice in this respect and vocational training as well as equal conditions of employment. This important contribution from your Assembly, to which I pay tribute, will not fail to help with the ultimate development of the Community's efforts and activities to improve the position of women, ensuring a reasonable allocation of roles in our countries, which must be regarded as a

basic principle for the balanced development of our society.

Permit me to add a few personal remarks. From a document your *ad hoc* committee has produced it is evident how important a facet of many policy areas emancipation is. It seems to me extremely significant that opportunities are being developed within the organs of the European Community to give more concrete shape to the beginnings of this policy. In this context, it seems worth recommending the establishment of national plans of action for emancipation, based partly on this report. I would call in this connection for particular attention to be paid to the position of women in developing countries. I willingly endorse the conclusion drawn by the *ad hoc* committee that the improvement of the position of women should form an integral part of the development strategy of the European Community and the ACP countries.

To conclude, I would say that if one thing has become clear in recent years, it is that the emancipation process will remain at a standstill until men become involved. Men will have to be involved in emancipation and will sometimes have to give way a little to create room and opportunities for women. Men must also support and contribute to the policy of emancipation, which must also be directed at men. Emancipation requires a joint effort. I wish all those concerned a great deal of perseverance and creativity.

(Applause)

**President.** — I call the Commission.

**Mr Richard, Member of the Commission.** — Madam President, I should like to thank you for giving me the floor at the beginning of this debate. Equally, I can promise that at this stage I shall be brief.

On behalf of all the Members of the Commission, I would like to congratulate the members of the *ad hoc* Committee on Women's Rights, particularly their chairman, Mrs Roudy and their tireless and indefatigable rapporteur, Mrs Majj-Weggen, for their most excellent report. I should also, if I might, like to congratulate the distinguished minister, speaking on behalf of the Council, for the speech she gave us, which I found stimulating and hopeful at least in intent.

I did not have the challenging experience of appearing before the *ad hoc* committee. Nevertheless, I am fully aware from the dossier of the immense amount of dedicated and painstaking work that has gone into

**Richard**

fulfilling the mandate given to the committee in October 1979. I am also aware — indeed, Madam President, who could not be? — of the extraordinary expectations that have been raised by the work of this committee amongst women throughout the Community. It is perhaps a tribute to the committee and to their work that there are so many distinguished visitors here today to listen to this debate.

My sole purpose in intervening at this stage of the debate is to underline the importance that the Commission attaches to this issue. In our view, it is right that Parliament should be devoting a full day to the discussion of this report. It does, after all, directly concern at least half of the population of the Community.

There are only two points that I would wish to make now, and I will, if I may, reserve my detailed comments on the report until after I have had the opportunity of hearing contributions from the floor. The report is certainly comprehensive. It advocates sweeping social and economic changes. We should be under no illusions at all as to the difficulties which face us in attaining those objectives. The changes needed to bring about equality must be paid for by society. They do not come easily, particularly in the current period of economic recession. Indeed there are some signs of regression in relation to what has already been achieved. The areas where these dangers are greatest will be unemployment, work-sharing and the opening of the labour market to new entrants. Now, more than ever, the Commission will have to see that what it has striven for at Community level is not lost or undermined, so that in the present crisis women are not compelled to pay a higher price than other groups. We have in the past organized our societies in a way that deliberately, almost capriciously, neglected the skills and the potential of half our population.

But, Madam President, we should be under no illusions that rectifying this position will be easy or quick. It will, moreover, be difficult to match the progress made in the 1970s at Community level and in the Member States. I should like to pay tribute to my predecessors, Dr Hillery and Mr Vredeling in this respect. At Community level, the most significant step was the Council Resolution of 1974 on a social action programme, which expressed the political will to ensure equality as regards access to employment. I do not wish to go into detail now about the achievements of the Community to date. They have been adequately described in the document especially prepared for the Parliament last year, and I will, if I may, return to this aspect of the matter later in the debate. I should simply like to stress at this stage that the Commission already has a number of instruments at its disposal. We can, and we should, build from what we already have.

I note that the motion for a resolution contains several proposals for further action. Together with my colleagues from the Commission, I will listen to the debate with close attention. Your suggestions, thoughts and reactions will, I am sure, give us the guidance required to help establish our priorities in the years that are to come.

## 2. *Welcome*

**President.** — I wish to welcome the presence in the official gallery of Mrs Sadat and the interest she is showing in the European Parliament's debate on the position of women in our society.

*(Applause)*

Mrs Sadat has played an important role in improving the position of women in her own country and has also headed the Egyptian Delegation at the United Nations Conference on this topic held in Copenhagen last year.

I also wish to thank Her Royal Highness, the Grand Duchess of Luxembourg, who has just taken her place in the official gallery, for her presence here which is an expression of her interest in the problems entered on the agenda of this sitting.

*(Applause)*

## 3. *Position of women in the Community (continuation)*

**President.** — I call the Socialist Group.

**Mrs Hoff.** — *(D)* Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, in October 1979 the Socialist Group unanimously called for a committee on women's rights to be set up. We were convinced that the European Parliament must pay more attention to the continuous development and acceptance of women's rights in the European Community than it has done in the past. The *ad hoc* committee has now completed its work, and the results we now submit are far from flattering. We owe the committee's chairman, Mrs Roudy, and the rapporteur, Mrs Maij-Weggen, a vote of thanks for the great work they have done and for their attempt to blend the different political views expressed in the committee. My thanks also go to the Commission, without whose help so comprehensive an investigation would not have been possible.

**Hoff**

The explanatory statement accompanying the motion for a resolution shows that the position of European women in present-day industrial society is still marked by an outmoded view of women's role and by the general opinion that women have an allegedly natural task to perform in the home and the family. This results in the allocation of set roles in public life, at work and within the family. In all aspects of life women have to contend with prejudice, disadvantages and discrimination. The adoption of legislation has done nothing to alter this. The motion for a resolution may be just another piece of printed paper, but anyone who takes the trouble to read it will come across demands hitherto unprecedented in intensity and scope in any previous document of the European Community. The 54 paragraphs of the motion for a resolution contain at least as many proposals and demands aimed at improving the position of women. The demands are largely aimed at the parliamentary committees, but also at the Commission and the Council of Ministers. Of central importance for us Socialists in this was the disproportionately high rate of unemployment among women, equal pay, educational questions and social inequality.

Other points, on which other members of my group will be speaking and which also played a part in the discussion, were the problems faced by women working unpaid in small and medium-sized family firms and in agriculture, programmes of research into women's problems and information campaigns which carry our concern outside this House to those actually affected by these problems. The first section of the motion refers once again to the three European equality directives, which call for equal pay for equal work, equal opportunities in employment and equal treatment by the social security services.

Although these directives have set in motion appropriate basic legislation in the Member States, in some cases they have also resulted in an improvement of legislation. But there is still a great deal to be done to ensure that this legislation is actually enforced. It is particularly annoying to find some Member States translating the aims of the directive into reality hesitantly or only in part. The Commission is urged to be more consistent than hitherto in taking appropriate action.

To find a yardstick for the discussion of this subject and to ensure that patience is not lost, it is worth while casting a glance at history. I would to take the example of equal pay, although other examples, such as the right to vote, could be taken. In 1869 the demand for equal pay for men and women was first voiced at the General German Social-Democratic Workers' Congress in Eisenach. Two years later, in 1871, the first German Weavers' Congress adopted a resolution tabled by August Bebel, which called for the admission of women working in the factories and workshops to the trade union on an equal footing and for equal pay for men and women. The situation in France was simi-

lar. In 1882 the programme of the French workers' party was supplemented by a demand for the abolition for all statutory provisions which subordinated women to men.

The Community Directive on the principle of equal pay follows on from this tradition. Today, 112 years later, this demand has become law, but in practice the situation has changed little. Women still have to go to the courts to fight for their right to equal pay. This shows how slowly progress is made with any measures and demands that concern women. This is clear in education and vocational training more than any other sector. Equal treatment and equal opportunities are not simply a legal problem. Although there are legal safeguards to ensure that girls are admitted to all State schools, there are still many factors that favour unequal development. Many school books, for example, still refer to the traditional allocation of roles to the two sexes, there are still different curricula for boys and girls, and the appointment of counsellors and teaching staff is guided by the traditional allocation of roles and above all by the divided employment market. A study made by the Commission on equal education and vocational training opportunities for boys and girls reveals that there is still a need for improvement in the education of girls in all Community countries.

*(Applause)*

Nevertheless, it must be said that there has already been a considerable improvement in the position of girls in primary and secondary education as compared with past generations. In theory, this ought also to put girls in a more favourable position with respect to university education or vocational training, but this is not true. Boys continue to prefer technical courses, girls courses in the social sector. Three times as many women drop out of courses in medicine and the natural sciences and twice as many from courses in economics and the social sciences as men. In the case of vocational training girls continue to opt primarily for clerical and other so-called typically female occupations, especially in administration. In career terms, such occupations are a dead-end. In addition, clerical jobs are particularly insecure as a result of technical advances. From this it can be deduced that this is a major cause of the disproportionately high rate of unemployment among women. The training of girls in the craft and technical trades is not yet far enough advanced.

Nor is there any sign of progress. For example, in 1979 girls were being trained in 106 of the 126 recognized craft trades. In 1970 girls could get a training in only 76 trades, as against 95 in 1976. Nevertheless, the prejudice of firms, parents, schools and even girls themselves still means that the number of girls being trained in this sector remains small. An increase in this number will depend on girls themselves being willing to break new ground. This is also true of all the other

**Hoff**

sectors. As long as women and girls fail to act and take up their own cause, progress will be very slow.

Particularly important in this context is the subject of further education, to which greater attention should be paid. For many women wanting to take up employment again and those in jobs without a future further education is the only path to a new job. In the debate on the position of women in society education is a key issue. It was not for nothing that the question of education and earnings formed the basis of the women's movement last century.

As a supranational organization, the Commission has a special task to perform here. To foster European understanding, it must ensure that the Member States recognize each other's school-leaving certificates and that disadvantages suffered specifically by girls, and particularly by foreign girls and women, are eliminated. The Commission's efforts are still in their infancy, and the Council has so far taken little action worthy of the name as far as the public and Parliament can see. The Council has a great deal of ground to make up. The 138 million citizens of Europe have waited far too long for equal opportunities and justice. The Socialist Group will not back down. We will keep a very close watch on further developments and we will ensure that progress is made.

(Applause)

**President.** — I call the Group of the European People's Party (C-D Group).

**Mrs Lenz.** — (D) Madam President, the question of equal rights undoubtedly has many facets, and I will confine myself to a few general remarks, leaving other members of my Group to discuss individual issues.

There can be no disputing that there have been some changes since last century, when a German author wrote in the best known family periodical of the time, the *Gartenlaube*:

And women stand protected not only by their own husbands, nay, by every stout man.

They may not be molested, they are not allowed to walk the streets alone at night — in other words, everything possible is done to ensure they are not molested and do not feel discriminated against.

But — and this is where the threat begins — this ceases to apply as soon as women leave the protection of men and join them, or rather face them, on an equal footing. Courtesy and assistance now shown to every lady with pleasure are something we can and must no longer expect. Do women want to give all this up? Do they want to exchange the love and care of a man for what is for them an unnatural position and for complete independence, still on the very doubtful

assumption that they are in fact able to occupy such a position and in particular really carry it off. They may try their luck, but they themselves are responsible for the consequences. Ladies, we have voluntarily assumed responsibility for the consequences, and through wars and emergencies men have put us in a position of not only wanting but also having to be able to do this. But at the time we did not know how many obstacles would have to be overcome on the way, and even today, in 1981, the report of the European Parliament's committee, into which Mrs Maij-Weggen has put so much work, is proof of this.

(Applause)

The report is very thorough in examining every area of discrimination against women and proposing solutions. I once counted up for my Group how many committees of this Parliament should be involved in this and I arrived at the figure seven, in other words every other committee of this Parliament should really be dealing with this subject. I will come back to this in a moment.

My Group, the Group of the European People's Party, certainly sees no alternative to women, like men, being given every opportunity to develop fully and to enjoy complete freedom of decision so that they can combine paid work and work in the home. Employment and family duties are equally valuable spheres of activity for men and women. Women should and must be given an opportunity in the present-day working world, but women, like men, must be left more time to shape their family lives. The report therefore refers logically, as we see it, not only to the many labour policy measures, but also to a large number of measures which allow the combination of family life and employment.

The Group of the European People's Party has taken up the cause especially of women helping in family firms and women in agriculture, who frequently have to work longer hours than many female employees and workers in the towns. But we are opposed — and I should like to make this very clear on behalf of my Group — to everything being divided into paid and unpaid work. We are also opposed to pay being taken as the only yardstick for achievement and recognition in society. We must refrain from rigid patterns in this respect.

Ladies and gentlemen, my Group has tabled a motion for a resolution which refers back to the original motion setting up the *ad hoc* committee. As Part I says, the committee was set up to prepare a debate, to establish the bases for a discussion. This process has been completed today. We are conducting this debate here and now. The motion for a resolution states setting up the *ad hoc* committee — and I believe many of us have forgotten this:

Instructs its relevant committees to draw up, on the basis of the results of that debate, proposals to achieve equality

## Lenz

for women in all areas and to forward these proposals to the Council and Commission for their opinions;

My Group feels that this motion for a resolution provides the necessary basis, and we should therefore like to see it referred to the appropriate committees. We should also like the committees to join with the Commission in drawing up a list of priorities within a limited period of three months and to establish which proposals can be implemented first and most effectively. From the outset we have advocated that the policy for women in the Community should be a comprehensive policy and not the policy of a special committee, a single committee of this Parliament. If we make policy for half the population of the Community, we have a duty to establish and implement this policy here. But we must not assume that each individual issue is of equal importance for each country. Working in the home or on a part-time basis has a different meaning depending on whether you are in Italy or in Germany or the United Kingdom. A middle course must be found here, and improvements will undoubtedly have to be made. It is not simply a question of the fate of women working at home in Naples, the lack of future and employment prospects of young girls in Ireland or the poor economic prospects of farms in frontier areas such as the Bavarian Forest. Nor is it simply a question of better working conditions for farmers' wives in Normandy or in Brittany. Incidentally, these examples are interchangeable from one country to another. Nor are we simply concerned with housewives in Greece. We are talking about us all, our families, social relationships and ties, the future of us all, when we speak of the improvement of the position of women in the Community. The Christian-Democratic Group also intends to propose possible solutions in this respect.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Christian Democrats took a particular interest in the protection of expectant mothers and their unborn children in the amendments they proposed in the *ad hoc* committee. This is for us an extremely important matter and, let me make this quite clear, we shall oppose any amendment that attempts to include in this list of measures for easier abortion in Europe.

(Applause)

We have in our countries religious, ethical and cultural traditions which cannot and must not be made to conform. These matters are not least something for which we all are very much responsible as citizens and, for us Christian Democrats, most certainly as Christians.

Solutions must be found to what is undoubtedly the most delicate of all human problems, which must not be regarded merely as a woman's problem. There is no doubt about that. We therefore support any move aimed at allowing responsible decisions to be taken on child-bearing. We should like to see further positive steps being taken, but we do not overlook the fact that

our society is undergoing radical change. I should like to make that clear too.

Research, information and assistance should, in our view, receive special emphasis in this programme.

Ladies and gentlemen, in 1981 we have entered the last fifth of this century, but we are undoubtedly far from thinking in the way I described at the beginning of my statement. And we certainly do not share the view expressed by a present-day authoress that 'they (that is the women's organization to which many of us here belong) underestimate the imminent nature of the male alliance in our institutions. The State, economy, political parties, press and universities are not impartial institutions where the sexes are concerned: one of their basic functions lies in relentlessly creating the male identity for themselves and enabling it to prove itself'. We still share the view, I believe, expressed at an American congress of futurologists at which a feminist called for not only the 20th century but the last five thousand years to be forgotten, in other words the whole of the patriarchy, because in their eyes both capitalism and — as I am now addressing the lady members of the other groups — Socialism are merely perpetuate patriarchy. The future of women, she said, cannot be a future as slaves to men, but so perfect a future that we are at present completely unable to describe it.

No, ladies and gentlemen, we really do not believe that. But we are aware of the lack of opportunities, we are aware of the efforts of many women to do their duty responsibly along with men. We see women in need in the Third World, and we also see the great differences between us in Europe and the women who come to our countries to earn their daily bread and find a home. We also see the many thousands and millions whose work contributes to the prosperity of our national economies and without whom they could no longer exist today. We also see those who, because of a deficient education and social pressure, do not have the opportunity of taking on paid employment. But we also see those who suffer a crisis of conscience when they have to decide between their families and employment, and I believe that many men are also very well aware of these problems today.

We therefore call on everyone here, the Commission, the Council and ourselves, ladies and gentlemen, to decide on the political line to be followed. We cannot allow the Commission, the bureaucracy, to decide whether we should adopt a future course and what this course is to be. We can criticize the bureaucracy, we can keep a check on it, but it is for us to set the political accent, to decide the political line.

And for this reason I should like to make a slight change to the slogan of the futurologists' congress I have just mentioned. This slogan was: Think globally — act locally. What we should be saying here is, I feel:



**Lenz**

Think comprehensively and act realistically. I therefore call on you to support our amendment, which calls for the compilation of a list of priorities, so that we can decide what long-term goals we intend to set for the women of the Community.

And I should also like to thank all the members of the committee. We discussed many different items, and our views often differed, but I should like to make particular reference to the friendly atmosphere in the committee, even though — and I say this quite openly — we were for the most part all women.

(Applause)

**President.** — I call the European Democratic Group.

**Dame Shelagh Roberts.** — Madam President, I should like to join with previous speakers in paying tribute to the work of the chairman and rapporteur of this committee. They have both worked with true dedication and vigour. I express a number of criticisms and reservations about the content of the report, I want to make it clear that it reflects in no way whatsoever personally on either the chairman or rapporteur who I think, as I say, have worked extremely hard in order to prepare for this debate.

But I think a number of us will have criticisms and reservations and indeed I see no purpose in having a debate in this Parliament if all we are going to do is to pat one another on the back and say what a jolly good job we have all done in the *ad hoc* committee. That is not really what the Parliament is here for, and it would be surprising if 434 Members of the Parliament were to agree with every line that is contained in this rather voluminous report.

I certainly subscribe to the objectives which the *ad hoc* committee were set to by this Parliament, namely to identify areas of discrimination against women; areas of inequality where women are concerned within the Community and to propose remedies.

I entirely subscribe to the ultimate aim which would be to bring about a greater degree of fairness and justice for women within the Community and to bring about a compassion which pays regard to the particular problems which women encounter by virtue of being women. I subscribe to those objectives and aims.

But I have tabled, in the name of my Group, a number of amendments, none of which would detract from the substance of the aims and objectives of the committee. I believe that, if adopted by this Parliament, they would make the report more susceptible to practical implementation.

Now it is difficult for us to deal with amendments, Madam President, when none of us have seen the

amendments that any other Group has tabled. But I want to make reference to one amendment which has been tabled by my Group in the name of Mr Forth. It is Amendment No 35 and it relates to deleting the final part of paragraph 1 of the report. I would like to make it clear to the Parliament that I totally dissociate myself from that amendment. I have been asked by my colleagues, Lady Elles and Mrs Kellest Bowman, to say that they also dissociate themselves from that amendment and it would not surprise me if some other members of my Group do so as well when we come to the voting stage.

(Applause)

In examining this report, I have asked myself, firstly, how do we not help the cause of equality in this report? And I put to the Parliament two aspects of this report which I think do not help to further the cause of equality within the Community.

I do not think that it helps to overstate one's case. You simply alienate the sympathy of reasonable people. I think that in stating that the majority of women in the Community are lagging intolerably far behind in almost every sector of society is to overstate one's case. It is demeaning to women; it ignores the invaluable contribution which women make to the life of our Community. It ignores in particular the invaluable contribution which women make to the family within our Community which is after all the foundation upon which our society is built.

(Applause)

I do not think you help to further the cause of equality by trying in a report from a committee whose terms of reference were to deal with the situation of women in the Community to embrace within it the position of women in the developing world. I do not think we can put to rights all the problems of women all over the world in one report. And in embracing the position of women in the developing countries, we seriously weaken the case for doing something for women within the Community. Because where are your priorities if you try to embrace the position both of women in the developing world and of women within the Community? I think one has to reconsider what the objectives of the committee should be. I do not think we ought in this committee to be trying to preach to the developing countries as to what their culture should be. The mandate of the committee, and indeed the title of the report, is the position of women in the European Community. I believe we ought to be addressing ourselves to the areas where discrimination still exists. I think we should be reviewing, as indeed the report does, the progress that has been made in implementing the existing directives, and I think we should be looking to see what further directives are needed in order to achieve our aims and objectives.

**Dame Roberts**

There is another area in which in my opinion, the committee has strayed outside its terms of reference and that is in seeking to try to redefine the conditions in which support is given from the Regional and Social Funds. I was interested to note this morning that the distinguished Minister from the Council of Ministers, although making reference to the Social Fund, did not comment on this particular recommendation. It is my considered view that the Council of Ministers would reject it out of hand and I think it is a pity to have in the report a recommendation which is not going to be taken seriously by so important a body as the Council of Ministers.

We are in the process in this Parliament of trying to increase the amount of spending which goes into the Social and Regional Funds, and a recommendation of this nature would do the opposite. It would hurt those countries within the Community, and particularly the newer countries who are coming in, it would hurt the very people who need help in order that they may move towards a fairer and more just society with equality of opportunity for men and women. I welcome many of the practical proposals contained in this report in the field of education and training and I think that this is the key to equality of opportunity for women. It is a sad fact in my own country that whilst boys and girls have pretty well equal records of ability up to the age of 16, less than half as many girls as boys continue on to higher education. Now that cannot be right. We are not developing the full potential of the girls. Some of the problems arise in the attitudes in the school — I think some of the problems arise from the fact that girls are directed into the sort of subjects for which there is no great career future and therefore it is perhaps thought there is not much purpose in their continuing to receive higher education.

Without any doubt, some of the trouble arises from the attitude of parents who do not encourage their girls even though they may have just as good a potential as their boys — they do not encourage them to continue on to higher education. Some of the difficulties arise from the fact that boys' schooling is directed towards the opportunities that are available in the world. I would like to see the curriculum for boys including some aspects which would help them to share the domestic responsibilities in adult life. Indeed some of my amendments, on behalf of my Group, are directed towards that end. But I do think, as I say, that the practical proposals for education and training are very valuable.

It is also a matter of regret to me that in the United Kingdom 68 % of all married women go back to work after the age of 35, and between the ages of 35 and 54 68 % of all married women are at work; but their opportunities for promotion and retraining do not compare with those of men in similar industries. So I welcome these proposals.

I do not think we should impose burdens on industry, particularly at a time of economic recession, which industry cannot bear. I think we need to look very carefully at the proposals for providing the same benefits for part-time workers as are provided for full-time workers. I also think we need to look very carefully at the proposals for job-sharing. If you cut a job in half you do not in fact increase the employment potential; you just employ two people at a lower standard of living than if you had employed one. In the process you may make particular businesses economically non-viable.

I do not agree with the references in the report to shift work and to the growing incidence of shift work as inimical to the interests of women. On the contrary, I think that shift work, which enables both parents to share in the domestic responsibilities, can be a great help in enabling women to take a job outside the home, and with advancing technology and the new and very expensive machines which that entails, I think we shall see employers wanting to have more shift work to make the best possible use of those machines. I think we should grasp this nettle and not shy away from it and in the process, perhaps, undermine the viability of a particular industry.

There is one respect, Madam President, in which I think that the report gives a somewhat unbalanced view. It does seem to be based on the assumption that every married woman wishes to go out to work. Now, I do not believe that this is the position, I think we should recognize, firstly that when a married woman wants to go out to work, then she ought to be given every opportunity to do so. There ought to be nurseries, day-care facilities, there ought to be parental leave for both husbands and wives to look after the children, as appropriate. I believe that if a woman wants to go out to work she would be a better wife and mother for being able to fulfil those aspirations. But there are many married women who do not wish to go out to work and I think the report should be careful not to give the impression that they are in some way second-class women in the community.

*(Applause)*

They are not! What we ought to be doing is finding ways to improve the economic status of the woman who wants to stay in the home. In my own country there has been a fairly recent substantial improvement in that respect in that all child benefits are now paid to the mother, and that includes the tax allowances that were previously set against the father's earnings. I should like to see further reforms in the field of taxation, in terms of personal allowances which would be available to the wife and mother who wishes to stay at home and thus to improve her economic status in the community.

I welcome the attention which the report gives to health care for women. In the United Kingdom, some

**Dame Roberts**

4 % of all cancer deaths are due to cancer of the cervix. Since 1967 we have had a national programme of screening, under the auspices of the National Health Service, and the statistics have shown that this can reduce the incidence of death by detecting the presence of cancer at a stage when it is still capable of cure. Perhaps I would be inclined to think that 1967 was not soon enough, but at least we have done that and we have reduced the incidence of death from cancer of the cervix.

In the United Kingdom breast cancer accounts for 20 % of all cancer deaths among women and we still do not have a national screening programme in this area. Experiments are under way at present to assess the value of a screening programme, but in my view there is a case for speeding that programme up considerably, and I hope that the member governments and the Commission and Council of Ministers will do what they can in that respect.

I think we ought in this report, Madam President, to limit our aspirations, and I am firmly convinced that more will be achieved if we do limit them to matters which are capable of practical implementation. I should like to see us putting forward a few firm proposals in this report that we could, all of us, confidently badger and pester the Commission and the Council of Ministers to adopt within the lifetime of this Parliament.

*(Applause)*

If we set them an impossible task, we set them innumerable escape holes and loopholes, and I do not want to do that. I believe that the responsibility of the Commission and governments is to lay down the legal framework where appropriate; to make provision in the field of education and social services; to enable us to move towards equality of opportunity within the Community; to encourage and to exhort a change of attitudes on the part of schools, employers and trade unions.

Finally I think that it is the duty of government and Commission to practise what they preach; and one has seen in the latest appointments to the Commission that somebody is not practising what is being preached in the field of equality of opportunity for women. But let us limit our aspirations to what is practical. I believe that we can then move forward to achieve a more just, equitable and more compassionate Community. If this Parliament can say that it has done that by the end of the lifetime of the first directly elected parliament, we should all be proud.

*(Loud applause)*.

**President.** — I call the Communist and Allies Group.

**Mrs Hoffmann.** — *(F)* Ladies and gentlemen, now that it has completed its work, the *ad hoc* committee, even though we do not dispute the personal effort that went into that work, seems to me to have failed in its basic task, which was to prepare this debate on the position of women in the European Community with a view to giving practical help to its development. I feel this is so because throughout its work the majority of its members refused to speak openly and frankly about the lives of the women in our various countries, to analyse the causes, to name those who bear the responsibility for this situation and to propose the necessary solutions.

If we talked about the lives of women in our various countries, we would find ourselves saying that, since this Assembly first sat, unemployment among women has risen substantially, that more than three million women are denied the basic right to work, we would talk about the trend in insecure employment, the rise in prices, low wages — 78 % of women in my country earn less than FF 2 800 a month — about unequal pay, which accounts for 33 % of the total, about inadequate family allowances, the absence of social facilities, the refusal of loans for contraception and the voluntary interruption of pregnancy. To talk about the lives of women is to talk about attacks on health and education, on our agricultural industry, on the independence for our respective countries, the increasingly hard life of women workers trapped in the least skilled and most repetitive jobs and attacks on their dignity and freedoms, in short an increasingly hard life under an inhuman capitalist system which wears out women at work just as it saps their daily happiness. There is no denying that this assessment is a real indictment of the European institutions. Women, like everyone else, owe this worsening of their living conditions to the domination of Europe by big money. That is the principal obstacle to their equality, to a better way of life.

Reading Mrs Maij-Weggen's report, it might be thought that there is no such thing as capital or exploitation. Nevertheless, these words do reflect the reality experienced by millions of women. For women nothing good will come of your policy of austerity and integration, which the Communists alone condemn.

The experience of 22 years of the EEC proves this. It is this policy which prevents the implementation of the Directives, justified though they may be. Far from alleviating the inequalities, it can only aggravate them. You do not have the courage to say this unambiguously: by putting forward a whole range of measures relating to employment, working hours and education, you are preparing to clamp down once more on the living standards of families. To do this, you must remove every obstacle to the exploitation of women, because after all what do we need to know about the lives of working women to realize that equality is achieved by removing from our national legislation rights which have been fought for and won,

**Hoffmann**

such as the ban on night work? Who can claim the contrary here? In France we are experiencing this in the case of various bills on part-time work. It is true of the bill wrongly presented as favouring the equality of men and women at work. In fact, these two bills have the same objective, which is to allow employers to exploit women even more while claiming that they are granting women equal treatment. Let us be quite frank about what the report proposes: legislating on part-time work and harmonizing legislation said to be too protective by doing away with it would mean putting back the clock one hundred years for women.

The new development, on which the report says very little, is that increasing numbers of women — and this is particularly true of France — do not accept the fate you have in store for them: they are fighting against it. They no longer accept the inequalities, the injustices, they want to work in freedom and dignity, to have time to live, they want equality and are crying out for it loud and clear. And they are right to do so. It is a demand that scientific and technical progress can satisfy, but above all this presupposes a political choice, an attack on the superprofits of the capitalists. If women in the Community are to be ensured the right to work, the destruction of our industries must be opposed and any further enlargement rejected. But the text that has been put to you to vote on says nothing about these basic questions. Quite the contrary, by proposing the creation of a European Social Fund for women, you are seeking to speed up the redeployment of the multinationals and to have the tax-payer bear the burden of the credits that will be required. Let me make it quite clear: do not count on our Group to support proposals as dangerous and disastrous for the future of women and of our peoples as this. We call on them to join with us in the fight to put a stop to these proposals and force through genuine solutions. Thanks to the development of technology, the way is also open for work to become less and less hard, to be done in different ways.

That is why we are in favour of the 35-hour week and retirement at 55. We are, after all, deeply attached to national traditions and national independence and we are opposed to the levelling down of legislation on education, health and social security, because we are the true supporters of women's liberation, and we shall go on fighting for a democratic Europe characterized by progress, cooperation and peace.

While attacks on human rights as serious as the ban on access to certain professions in the Federal Republic of Germany and repression in Northern Ireland grow in number, this Assembly continues to refuse to set up a committee of enquiry into this question, as Georges Marchais has proposed.

We advocate genuine cooperation among the nations, based on mutual interest and national independence.

To conclude, I would say that, when the diagnosis is bad, the remedies are incapable of curing the disease and in fact tend to aggravate it. That is what these proposals amount to, the accelerated integration advocated by the resolution by means of a whole range of measures of a supranational nature. No, that is unlikely to make for an improvement in the position of women, and that is why my Group will abstain in the vote on the report and will be tabling several amendments during the debate.

**President.** — I call the Liberal and Democratic Group.

**Mrs von Alemann.** — (D) Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, the work of the Liberal members of the *ad hoc* committee was principally aimed at helping to improve the position of women in the European Community through a new division of labour between men and women. We cannot talk about a new allocation of roles without looking at changes in family life.

In the pre-industrial era the tasks of men and women in employment, the family and education were linked. In the craft trades and agriculture, which accounted for most employment, all difficulties were faced and overcome together. In ordinary society employment and the household split in the industrial age. Out of differences in emphasis in the work previously performed jointly grew the allocation of set roles. This allocation of roles became consolidated in ideas on the value of the various tasks to be performed. The husband alone became responsible for supporting the family and, it might be said, for representing it externally.

With this division, the women's role in the family became more inward-looking. Her mission in life was to be willing to make sacrifices, to show patience, to work untiringly for her husband and children. As a result, the husband lost a great deal of his direct influence over the bringing up of the children, while the wife lost her influence over society. This gave rise to — and I quote — the 'fatherless family and the motherless society'. This is a quotation from a speech made in 1973 by the former Vice-President of the German Bundestag, the Liberal Liselotte Funcke. Since that time there have been some changes in European law, but the allocation of roles has not changed in any way. That is what we are concerned about. Let us change society. For thousands of years the standards have been set by men, but if there is to be balance in our hostile, insecure and restless world, it also needs our standards, the standards of women.

But we Liberals do not want to add yet another model to all those that already exist. I should therefore like to explain just one fundamental idea in Liberal policy on women, which is also the keynote of Liberal responsibility in general, this being the achievement of the grea-

**Wieczorek-Zeul**

can explain to us how it happens that our governments have nevertheless appointed only men as Commissioners. What could be the reason for this? Unemployment among women is, after all, far higher than among men. Perhaps we could have an answer to this question.

**President.** — I am sorry Mrs Wieczorek-Zeul, the debate is not open at the moment.

I call the rapporteur on a point of order.

**Mrs Maij-Weggen, rapporteur.** — (NL) Madam President, I would just like to make a brief remark to Mr Vié. He has compared me with a student, which only goes to show how mistaken he can be about women: I have children who are almost of university age.

**President.** — I call the Group for the Technical Coordination and Defence of Independent Groups and Members.

**Mrs Macciocchi.** — (I) Madam President, I wish to respond immediately to Mr Vié's important speech — important because in a way his voice was the voice of truth raised in this Assembly, reminding us that ours is a minor role, a role of traditional inferiority.

I think it is a good thing that a man has spoken, expressing out loud what many others in this House may think. This corresponds to the present global trend, for I believe that we are witnessing an evolution of woman's status in the world. We are living in a time of powerful women's rights movements. However, with Mr Reagan and John Paul II, a reaction has set in against all the women's demands of the 70s, and the women's movement itself is in the throes of an acute crisis. Women are seeking individual solutions within the intimacy of the family unit, where today there are more possibilities for mobility.

Nevertheless, they are attempting to play a new role as women not only within the family but also within society. When Mr Vié speaks of a home where women have a meaningful position, he is repeating what has been said for centuries, and Saint Augustine said it far better.

Madam President, after having answered Mr Vié on these points, I will go on to say that the resolution we are at present examining suffers too much from the tyranny of political and group hegemony. Our parliamentarians have been too timid; they accepted the role of voluntary servitude which is often assumed by women, especially in political matters. We have been elected by the will of the political parties, and we are obliged to please the leaders of those parties, at least from an intellectual or political standpoint; we must be gentle and understanding towards the whims of party

chiefs and group leaders. Madam President — I turn to you, for you have always understood the difficulties of the woman's political role — there is a system in the European Parliament which — let us be frank — relegates women to a lower level which they themselves accept, a system apparent in a whole series of more or less minor situations, from relationships with officials to the furnishing of cars, etc., etc. In any case, this system is perhaps less important than the bureaucracy which creates and distributes the roles within Parliament — the same bureaucracy which performs this function at the level of important European decisions on political, economic and social affairs. These decisions are male prerogatives, say what you will. I am completely in favour of equality between men and women, but I cannot help asking why, if this equality does in fact exist, the Commission does not include a number of women commensurate with the size of the female European electorate, despite a parliamentary vote requesting a national commitment to this effect. I think we will have to wait ten years or more before this type of representation, which would be a true act of equality and not merely empty words, can become a reality.

To my colleagues I will say that the problem is compounded by their readiness to accept a subordinate position: I urge them not only to escape from the forces of intellectual and political discipline but also to bring with them into the political sphere their unique feminine sincerity. Here as well, inside this Parliament where too often women still see themselves as political minors, I recently witnessed a demonstration of how difficult it is for women to assume personal responsibility for their actions, even though they are elected on an equal basis with men. I am referring to what occurred in connection with my motion for a resolution on the trial of Chiang Ching and her co-defendants at Peking, a political resolution which raises a problem on which we all agree, namely the death penalty. All of us, or at least the majority of us, are against the death penalty. This morning, however, the women who had originally signed the resolution withdrew their signatures, saying that they were afraid to sign, that they were worried about what their Group would say, that they had to consult their Group leaders, and so on. I wonder why we should not condemn the death penalty in China when we condemn it here in the West, where the accused is at least entitled to be defended before a real court; either some sort of racism or barbarism is involved, or my colleagues are merely afraid because the motion concerns not feminism but rather the legitimacy of a mock trial. And yet, this is the way the system functions. How can one expect, therefore, the adoption of a more courageous attitude when it comes to such burning issues as those relating to women? The will to exercise this courage is lacking, and in my opinion, the necessary clarity of ideas as well.

As for the resolution on the trial of Chiang Ching in Peking, I present it alone, Madam President. I do not

**Macciocchi**

present it with melancholy, but rather as an act of courage, stressing once again the need to act decisively in this manner, individually as well as collectively.

Now, in regard to the report, the other element I have noted is an unfortunate cultural vacuum, which leads us to underline — and in a positive way — the value of education and training for women. The report does not mention women's contributions to the highest levels of culture, to the current trends of theoretical thought, to journalism, to the arts, to research. This is tantamount to saying that no prospects exist in these fields, as if here too women, having left domestic life only a short while ago, were expressing only a modest desire for a little female training, for a little education, but not so much as to enable them to appropriate the robes of university professors, or judges, or any of those who have high positions in all the institutions of our European States. I wonder why there is so much diffidence here, and if we are being confronted yet again with a sort of self-censorship.

Among the amendments I presented one is especially pertinent here. It raises the question of a European Prize, a sort of Nobel Prize for women. I suggest, Madam President — if you will support the project — that the Prize be offered beginning in 1983, to a woman who has been active not only in the highest cultural fields but also in all cultural sectors, and even in areas of direct action — towards the Third World, for example.

Regarding the Third World, I do not think that this resolution is strong enough yet to handle the question as it was presented in our debates on world hunger. I mentioned that, out of 122 million children born in 1979, 12 million died from malnutrition in the Third World, and this figure will continue to increase. This makes me wonder whether the problem of maternity — here we cannot speak of voluntary abortions, for in this case abortions are simply a result of extreme poverty — should not be included in a paragraph to be added to the resolution.

Also, the point concerning sexual mutilation is one which, in my opinion, should not be approached from a Eurocentric point of view. I am pleased that Mrs Sadat is present at this debate, for she also attended the Congress at Copenhagen and knows how this question created a schism there. The delegates from the Third World felt that the women from our great and civilized West, so to speak, were too eager to take charge on all feminist questions. I wonder, therefore, whether the reference to this issue included in the resolution should not be modified in the manner suggested in one of my amendments.

**President.** — I call the non-attached Members.

**Mr Bournias.** — (*El*) Madam President, colleagues, I am the second man to speak in this debate and I

regret that I am not able to agree with the previous male speaker and with his unadulterated conservatism. On the contrary, in my opinion the committee's report and the rapporteur's speech have provided us with a full explanation of this social phenomenon and I thank them for their efforts as this subject is one which has attracted the interest of women all over the world for many decades, if not for a century or more. I understand that it was mainly women who were involved in the committee, and today in Parliament it is mainly women, who have spoken. This contradicts Mrs Wouters' statement that we men, in line with current developments taking place in the world, ought to take up this matter and give it our support.

In my country men from the world of science, letters, and trade unionism work alongside women, who have concerned themselves since the beginning of the century with equality of the sexes, in order to help further the development of the numerous achievements made by women over the years. Therefore it is essential that we play an active and positive role in supporting this movement for female equality. I do not think that there is any need for me to add anything to the report, but I can give you some useful information about what has happened in Greece: Since 1955 we have had complete equality between men and women in the public and private sectors, as well as in education. In 1951 we gave women the right to vote and the right to stand as candidates in municipal elections.

In 1952 we gave women the right to vote and to stand as candidates in the national elections. In 1953 women became jurors and notaries. In 1955 women joined the ranks of diplomats and judges, and we are continuing with this policy of complete equality in all matters. Complete equality, of course, does not come about overnight, but this is our programme and our aim. In the public sector there is no discrimination between men and women as regards entrance requirements into the civil service, pay and promotion. Women enlist voluntarily in the security forces and the army, pursue full-time studies, and enjoy all the same legal and economic benefits as men. Finally, since 1980 women have been employed by the harbour authority which is essential for port security in a country of islands like our own.

In wartime these voluntary recruits, who study in various military schools, are subject to compulsory service. I come now to the private sector. Ever since 1975 Greece has approved and gradually implemented the international agreement on equal pay for equal work. I say gradually because unskilled women who work in factories achieved a progressive equalization of their pay between 1975 and 1978. Today the unskilled female worker receives the same pay as the unskilled male worker. As far as skilled female workers are concerned, this process is happening in stages but we already have equality of pay for skilled female workers in, amongst others, the chemical, plastics, and timber industries. We have taken some important

**Von Alemann**

test possible freedom of the individual in any given or changing social situation. This support for human dignity through self-determination represents the first basic difference between Liberalism and every other political line and complexion which is based on the belief that generally valid and generally binding answers to the question as to the purpose and the object of man's existence can be offered or even prescribed from outside and from above by reference to certain religious or secular philosophies — whether they have their roots in Christian or Marxist traditions.

We Liberals in Germany said this years ago in the Freiburg proposition, and it is still true. We do not want to tell anyone how he should live. But we do want to remove the obstacles standing in the way of every woman when she wants to live her life as she personally thinks fit and not as perhaps society or the village or anyone else around her proposes she should live. The basic demand of Liberal policy on women is that women should be given their freedom and that they should have, or again have the opportunity to shape their lives on their own responsibility.

But this demand for self-determination entails not only liberation from restrictions but also the courage to assume responsibility for oneself. It represents opportunity and risk at the same time. Liberal policy on women does not therefore mean a guarantee of prosperity and security at a uniform level but individual freedom of choice with all the opportunities and consequences that that entails. This is a difficult and arduous course. There is no ready made safe route and no generally valid ultimate objective. Evelyn Sullerot once said: with freedom we have gained time, but we have lost some security as regards our role and the tasks associated with it and its advantages. Women have primarily become consumers. The youngest among us were born and brought up as such. Although we have benefited by this change, we have been the targets of economic change rather than its instigators. What has been achieved has not given us women the taste of a victory gained. Evelyn Sullerot put it his way: we have achieved progress but not acquired it. That is correct, but it should not frighten us. Liberals do not want to replace one set of roles with another but to open the way for each individual to be largely independent in shaping his life.

What, then, are the topical problems raised in this report by Mrs Maij-Weggen, on which a committee consisting of two-thirds women and one-third men worked for more than a year and with great diligence? We who were members of this committee tried to find compromises, conscious that we wanted to submit to the House a report which a majority of its Members could approve. We consider that very important. As in the debate on hunger in the world, we Liberals feel that this report must be adopted because it signifies a very important step forward for women in the Community. I do not share Shelagh Roberts' view that

the report covers too much ground because it also refers to women in developing countries.

Ladies and gentlemen, the world looks to our Community. The world expects something from our Community, a Community of wealthy countries compared with living standards in the Third World. We therefore felt we had a moral duty not to adopt a know-it-all attitude by telling women in other countries how they should shape their lives but to try to look critically at the resources and assistance we provide for women and families in the Third World to see whether they are in fact in women's interests.

In the coming months we will have to discuss many of the problems that have been mentioned today. The implementation of the existing directives must be checked and better supervised. We must really find out where equal rights in fact end even though legally they already exist. We must find out how access to employment can be facilitated. This we consider to be one of the central issues, access to employment for women; by which we mean access to all occupations, not only those allegedly designed for women. How can women earn equal pay for equal work if they do not have the same vocational training? I believe this has largely been accepted, in the committee at least.

We should ensure that the resources we of this Parliament have to allocate go where our directives and our resolutions are heeded. One of our most basic rights is surely to allocate resources to places where we have previously made it clear what our views and basic values are. I call on you, ladies and gentlemen, to give this report your critical endorsement. We should try to adopt it tomorrow. My Group would consider it extremely dangerous if this serious report, which for the most part deals with the situation as regards employment, training and health care for women, should suddenly develop into a debate that centres on abortion.

Ladies and gentlemen, I will say here quite openly that we believe paragraphs 35 and 36 should remain in the motion for a resolution unchanged because this report is, in our view, an acceptable vehicle for this. Of course, not everyone finds it ideal. I see Mrs Cassanmagnago Cerretti is shaking her head, but I do believe that the report is generally acceptable, and I would ask you to vote in favour of it tomorrow. My Group is prepared to do so.

*(Applause)*

**President.** — I call the Group of the European Progressive Democrats.

**Mr Vié.** — *(F)* Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, should I apologize for being the first man this morning to speak, on behalf of my Group, on the posi-

Vié

tion of women in the Community? Perhaps some feminists in this Chamber are smiling with commiseration at my natural incompetence. I do not think so, nor do I think that it would be reasonable to expect a cancer specialist to have cancer himself if he is to speak knowledgeably on the subject. Let there be no misunderstanding: I do not mean that women are some kind of malignant growth threatening the human family.

Having said this to anticipate any objection to my incompetence, I am sorry to say to Mrs Maij-Weggen, who I know has put a great deal of work into this report, that in my opinion this is a poor document. It is poor in form and in content.

Allow me to begin with the form of the document. It is less a report than a jumble of ideas. It is the family trolley at the supermarket on Saturday. You find everything in it, useful and useless, indispensable and superfluous, gadgets and essentials. My impression is that the rapporteur set out to place a defender at every foot of the ramparts. I apologize for this warlike comparison, but the report itself has an aggressive slant, referring on several occasions to oppression, a term which I do not much like. And here, I feel, we have the link between deficiency of form and deficiency of content. I very much regret that, in a Chamber where we often listen to speeches on material and technical problems, the one time we have a major subject to discuss, the approach adopted should be so petty, so cramped and so off the point. Off the point and cramped because I feel it arbitrarily simplifies human existence. There are not two kinds of human being, men and women involved in class warfare to gain power — productive power, because that is really all that is involved. There is this very strange human being with its unity and its duality at one and the same time: unity because on a personal basis there is strictly no difference between a man and a woman, and I completely endorse everything the report says on the need for equality at this level. Duality because physiologically there is a fundamental difference men and women, a difference which is the source of everything humanity has desperately sought since it first began: happiness. A difference which is at the root of everything which must be called the poetry of existence, not in the lyrical sense of the word, but in its etymological meaning, that is everything which is creation.

The problem with men and women is that they remain different by fully assuming their dual roles. In each era the way in which satisfaction with life is experienced itself changes. In our own age — whether this leads to happiness or not, that is not the question — work is often included in this satisfaction. Less often perhaps, if we believe the surveys, than the intellectuals would have us believe. It is a fact all the same, and the only major problem is not women's right to work, it is the right to be a woman in a civilization largely characterized by industrial work. And that is by no means the same thing. For all practical purposes, it is in fact the

opposite. The organization of our Community must help women to live, in all their freedom to live. Employment is important for this freedom, but it is incidental compared with the primary objective. It is not far from the truth to say that according to Mrs Maij-Weggen's report women do not achieve their identity as women until their productive capacity is the same as that of men.

It would be easy to say that my criticism is negative and unimportant because it is not accompanied by any precise plan. It is not my fault if the allocation of speaking time in this Chamber is such that my Group has more time to discuss the cutting up of beef carcasses during Question Time than I am allowed to devote to a debate on so important a subject as the infinite complexity of the future of women in the European Community. If I were a teacher, correcting pupil Maij-Weggen's essay, I would therefore put in the margin: 'has not dealt with the subject.'

I am therefore left unsatisfied, and I conclude my speech with the ardent hope that we will not leave it at these truncated prospects. I hope that another time, another day, we will tackle the real problem connected with men and women. The men and women of our Community are not disembodied beings to be manipulated by the statisticians as they will, dividing them into consumers, electors, workers, or at the moment, unfortunately, more often unemployed workers. They are our electors. They are made of flesh and blood and are involved in a personal adventure, hoping that we will fulfill their expectations soon, undoubtedly by offering material solutions, but above all by meeting their basic needs.

In his book *Citadelle*, Saint-Exupéry meditates long, and in splendid language, on the destiny of man and on the problems connected with the construction of the world. The symbolic king who talks with his son says somewhere that his role is, to build for man 'a house in which his steps have a purpose'. What point is there in a house, however functional and modern it may be, if neither the meaning nor the use of a dwelling place are understood? That is what, I feel, we have to construct in Europe: a human house in which life has a purpose. I have not found this purpose of life — and I am quoting from another book by Saint-Exupéry — in this report, and I personally very much regret this.

*(Mixed reactions)*

**President.** — I call Mrs Wieczorek-Zeul on a point of order.

**Mrs Wieczorek-Zeul.** — (D) Madam President, all I really wanted to do was to ask a question. It is undoubtedly true to say that men and women are the same and have the same soul. But perhaps the speaker



**Bournias**

revolutionary steps in Greece in the field of family law. After the 1975 constitution was implemented a committee of experts was set up under the former professor of family law, Mr Gazis, to study this subject and it outlined a plan to give entirely equal rights and obligations to husband and wife in respect of their children. The dowry, an age-old institution in my country, is to be abolished and the housework which the woman does is to be seen as her contribution to the wedding expenses. The woman is to have full parental rights over any illegitimate child of hers. Both parents have equal rights and obligations towards their children. This bill is soon to become law. The area, however, where our progress is most significant is in education. I shall give you a few figures which I want you to note, as these will convince you just how rapid the improvement has been in the field of education in Greece. The percentage of female staff employed in infant schools is 48%, in primary schools 48.2%, in secondary schools 49.2%, in secondary technical schools, which constitute a branch of secondary schools, 17%, in higher technical schools 27%, in vocational schools 42%, in higher general schools 63% and in further educational institutions 38.7%. At one time, colleagues, Greek women used to study either literature, law or sometimes medicine; today they are also entering the professional world of applied science and advanced technology. For example, there are women who study to qualify as ships' captains and wireless operators, and today 400 such women are employed by the Greek merchant navy. This development, as I said, has taken place not just as a result of the efforts of women alone, but also through the help of all those educated men in the professional and political world who wanted Greek women to make progress. And progress they shall. For this reason I assure you on behalf of the party which I represent, New Democracy, that we will adopt and implement whatever is decided and adopted by this Parliament.

(Applause)

**President.** — I call the Ad Hoc Committee on Women's Rights.

**Mrs Roudy, Chairman of the ad hoc committee.** — (F) Like many of my colleagues, I too should like to say a few words to Mr Vié. I am happy to see that he has returned to the Chamber. I was very pleased to hear what he had to say because, although he was, as far as I know, a member of our *ad hoc* Committee on Women's Rights, this is the first time I have had an opportunity to listen to his ideas. And I would have been very sorry not to have heard them. Not that this is anything new for me. We have heard this kind of argument before, dear Mr Vié, but I feel it is rather a pity that you did not come and see us more often. It is rather a pity that we were unable to discuss the subject at greater length. Once again, I do not believe that we

would have learnt much from you, but, who knows, perhaps you would have learnt something from us, as you may now, for example, if you listen to what I have to say. But the ability to listen to others is not something which can be taught.

What I want to say is that in the debate which we are now having and which is the culmination of fourteen months of work, I believe what we should all try to do is to listen and try to understand each other, if possible, not to brush aside this or that argument on the grounds that it does not fit in with everyone's scheme of things, but to try and understand. To understand, firstly, why this Parliament wanted to set up an *ad hoc* Committee on Women's Rights a short time ago. Is it not curious that for the first time there should be this desire for reflection, which has gone on for fourteen months? There is something new behind this: there are a few more women in this Parliament than in the other parliaments. They rightly wanted the first act to consist in thought being given to our position. Those who have followed our work — and it is true that the committee included ten male members, some of whom attended, while others were seen less often, but that is not so important — those who have followed our work will know that we have not been idle for fourteen months. As chairman I feel it is my duty to give you a few statistics, which will not be exhaustive. We have had 11 meetings, all open to the public, so that they could see what we were doing. We have had a public hearing on the position of women in small and medium-sized undertakings and a number of meetings with the Commissioners who agreed to come and talk with us. We thus had the pleasure of listening to Mr Jenkins, Mr Cheysson, Mr Davignon and Mr Natali, and we were able to conduct a genuine dialogue with some of them, in other words we listened to what they had to say to us, and they listened to what we had to say to them, and some of them did not conceal the fact that we had taught them various things which they had not known up to then, which makes it all the more regrettable that the new Commission we have now still does not include a single woman. In a way, therefore, we are being governed by, as it were, a one-eyed body, since there will obviously be a whole range of subjects, a whole aspect of everyday life which our Commissioners — none of whom I see here at the moment — will never be able to consider. The Commission will now be deprived of this additional and enriching view of things, which is essential for a true assessment of every aspect of our lives. This is extremely regrettable. It cannot be said that you speak on behalf of all humanity.

We have done a great deal besides this. We have met representatives of the Economic and Social Committee, we attended on 28 and 29 May 1980 the Manchester Conference arranged by the Commission of the European Communities on the impact of new technologies on the employment of women, and we also attended the United Nations Conference held in Copenhagen. We have produced a questionnaire,

**Roudy**

taken up by Euro-barometer, on discrimination against women, and we have also produced 16 working documents and about 100 notices to members. We have received a great deal of mail, and we have personally experienced the hopes placed in us by hundreds of thousands of women in Europe.

The resolution before you covers no fewer than 11 directives, 6 regulations, 2 enquiries, 6 reports and 22 various measures. These are obviously very specific things, which may nevertheless appear rather petty — I believe that was the word that was used. We apologize, but these are daily facts of life for women.

This text represents a first in parliamentary work. It is the first time that a document of this kind has ever been produced. Of course, there is no point in looking for a literary legal work. The document is a collection, and I would point out — with some pride — that the final version, produced by a drafting committee, has been established from six working languages. Such as it is, it represents a genuine programme of work for the Commission and the Communities.

This resolution is exactly what we need. The Commission has just submitted its report on progress towards the implementation of the second Directive in the Member States. This report, which we have just received, confirms something which our work revealed, which is that, although our Directives represent considerable progress as regards our principles on equal treatment, they have not been implemented in the Member States by a long way. There is still an enormous amount to do, and we know there will be no shortage of work in the future.

I should now like to add a few words on my own behalf. What I have to say is important and particularly serious: it would be a mistake to ignore the fact that this motion for a resolution comes at a time of acute crisis, with women principally bearing the brunt, and this puts the structural nature of the second employment market, the employment of women, into perspective.

And yes, dear Mr Vié, we do still speak for the employment of women. You must forgive us: to be able to live, you must have a wage, and we need it if we want to survive. We are therefore well aware that we live in a world dominated by money and that people really have no right to a say unless they have some economic independence. I did not make the laws. The laws govern us, we are subject to them, we must live with them. The 35 million women in paid employment, representing 35 % of the total working population, therefore represent in our societies a genuine reserve army which is called up or demobilized according to the needs of the economic cycle. Consequently, it is not surprising that, since they are treated as a reserve army as soon as there is a crisis, they represent the weakest link in this army and today account for the majority of the unemployed. In Germany and France

over 60 out of every 100 unemployed workers are women, and this is not the result of mere chance or fate. It corresponds to some kind of established order, some kind of world economic order based on the protection of certain privileged people who trample mercilessly on the minorities or those who are treated as such in our society.

I therefore regard as positive and important the demand made in our resolution for a reduction in working hours for everyone. And that is why I personally very much distrust anyone who talks about part-time work, flexible hours or work at home. Though extremely tempting at first glance, such measures are, in my opinion, traps at a time when work is becoming scarce and when women have an increasing need for a proper living wage, a real occupation capable of allowing them to assume responsibilities. Full-time employment is what they need. They will then make the choices they want to make, but let them not be deprived of the choice at the outset. Let them, I beg of you, decide for themselves. There is no real choice when there are no opportunities, when the way is not wide open before you.

I should like to add, very briefly, a point on which all of us agreed in committee. We deplore the absence of women from the bodies in which the decisions are taken. And, as I said just now, I regret that the Commission does not include any women. It is obvious that while there are few or no women in the bodies where the decisions are taken, the problems and questions they may raise will continue to be overlooked and it will regularly be said, oh yes, we shall have to draw up a special report on these questions we keep forgetting. And committees will be set up and it will be said that they must be mixed, and it will inevitably be found that once again it is the women who do the work. That is in the nature of things, and we cannot do anything about it. It is not our fault if these matters are not dealt with properly anywhere else. Until women are equally represented everywhere, at all levels, there will therefore continue to be a need for special places where these problems are settled. It is in the nature of things, it is not fate, but we cannot do anything about it. If we want to change the system, there is no point in closing our eyes and seeking protection in philosophy or poetry. We must tackle the problems and try to solve them. That is what we have tried to do to some extent, because we feel that the general position of women is not a neutral one. It forms part of a hierarchical order, a power structure, and to change it would be to change all the rules of mankind, which is why so much passion is aroused when it is announced that some of these rules may be changed. It may also be necessary to change mentalities, and Einstein said that it was sometimes more difficult to change a prejudice than to split the atom. It may be thought that the splitting of the atom was not perhaps easy for Einstein. He felt it was even more difficult to change prejudice, and I believe he was right.

**Roudy**

I shall conclude with a few words in explanation of a number of points in the resolution which some people were surprised to find here. I am referring to voluntary abortion, the fight against procuring — the organization for profit of a form of slavery — to sexual mutilation, which many people still confuse with cultural practices and which is to be found today in some countries receiving Community aid.

These areas form part of the living conditions of women in general and should not therefore be overlooked. They have direct or indirect implications for the lives of every one of us, and while the official spokesmen of certain States refuse to discuss them, we have heard what women in these countries have to say, women in Ireland, women in Africa, and we must speak for them here.

This text is a compromise, which means that no one will be satisfied with it, but we have tried to ensure that everyone can find in it something that he is looking for. I do not know if we can all accept it. There will be amendments, and some of us will have to make a choice.

What I can say is that some of us, including myself, feel that this text is really the very least we should do. If we cut it back or weaken it, it will be very difficult for many of us to agree to it. Let us therefore try to ensure this document retains some purpose and that it continues to mean something to the women who expect a great deal of it and that the hopes millions of women have placed in this Parliament are not dashed.

*(Loud applause)*

**President.** — I call Mrs Krouwel-Vlam.

**Mr Krouwel-Vlam.** — *(NL)* Madam President, in the wide field of health care women have always occupied a completely different position from that of men. From time immemorial women have also followed the traditional pattern of roles in health care, being those who wait on, look after and help others. In addition, in their role as mothers, women come into contact more than men in their role as fathers with all kinds of people and institutions involved in health care such as general practitioners, centres that advise on babies and children, hospitals, out-patients departments and specialists. On the one hand, she is an independent woman, on the other, she is the wife of a sick husband and/or the mother of sick children who need her care. In many cases, she is also the one who joins the doctor and various health institutions in looking after sick members of the family.

Women are in many ways deeply involved in health care, as patients themselves undergoing medical treatment, as consumers, in that they still determine the family's pattern of consumption as regards food and

medicines that are not on prescription, as unpaid workers, in that it is above all women who do a great deal of voluntary work in health care, and also as paid workers in many sectors of health care. Now that the wages and working conditions of the largely female staff of all sectors of health care have been substantially improved, we find men taking an increasing interest in these occupations. It is disappointing that, because of the large turnover among female workers in health care, for whatever reasons, the small number of male workers, being more career-minded, have over the years gained control of the managerial posts, particularly in in-patient health care.

Measures must be taken in the area of part-time work and shorter working hours to enable men and women fair shares of the many tasks in the field of health care. The joint assumption of responsibility by men and women can ensure optimum health care in and outside the home and may result in a significant improvement in the position of women.

My Group is therefore very pleased that the report on the position of women includes a section on women in health care and that it refers to ways of putting an end to the disadvantaged position of women. In general, my Group therefore fully endorses what is said in this section.

If the Commission is serious about improving the position of women, my Group expects it to put forward proposals on the following in the near future in view of the urgency of the situation. Firstly, incentives in the form of training and retraining opportunities, giving women good career prospects, even enabling them to occupy senior positions in health care institutions. Secondly, measures to initiate scientific research into the causes of what is known as the housewife syndrome with all its social and economic consequences. The results of such research may lead to practical measures in the form of prevention, assistance and supervision by social institutions. Thirdly, the introduction of courses of education and training to make women more self-confident. They must learn to stand up for their right to information on their own bodies, for example.

In addition, they must learn to speak out when they meet doctors rather than acting as patients with no right to a say.

As regards abortion, my Group is fully aware that the paragraphs in the resolution on this subject represent a compromise among the many different views on what is a very difficult and delicate question. But everyone should realize that the full development and independence of women also depends on their freedom to decide whether or not to have children. It is a grave misapprehension to believe that material facilities in the form of children's nurseries and additional facilities for the parents of large families will reduce the

**Krouwel-Vlam**

number of abortions. The decision to interrupt a pregnancy has deep-lying causes, and it is to misjudge women to believe that the causes are material. It is ultimately for women to decide whether and, if so, when they want to have children. That is their responsibility. Women who become pregnant without wishing to have the right to an abortion under proper medical supervision if they so desire, without financial obstacles being placed in their way. Each of the Member States will have to solve its own problems in this area, because if one or more Member States lag behind, the problem will only be increased elsewhere.

Realizing that this important and sensitive subject must be dealt with as thoroughly as possible, but that clear rules must apply to the female citizens of the European Community, my Group has tabled two amendments to this text, which seek to take account of social developments and what the many, many women in Europe want.

My Group also calls for particular attention to be paid to the foreign women in the Community. They have to contend with very serious problems in their relations with the health care services because of language and cultural barriers. They often live in very isolated circumstances and miss the traditions of their countries of origin, where they usually receive support and good advice from their grandmothers. My Group recommends that a proper medical service include interpreting centres, telephone interpreting services. This is a form of assistance which would require little in the way of financial resources, but could do a great deal to overcome the language problems experienced by foreign patients. In addition, a service of this kind would prevent a situation in which young children, who usually understand the language of the host country, have to act as interpreters between their mother and the doctor, for example, with all the misunderstandings and frustrations this entails. From my own experience I know that girls of 8 or 9 often accompany their mothers to the gynaecologist, for instance, where they have to translate difficult medical concepts and be present during the examination, which may have unfortunate consequences for the relationship between mother and child. Hence our recommendation that interpreting centres be introduced.

Finally, health care is also a political concern. The European Parliament would therefore do well to consider this aspect during this wide-ranging debate on the position of women.

The report is a good one, and my Group will therefore give it its whole-hearted support. We now expect the Commission to propose practical policy measures, so that it is not left at fine words, but something is really offered to the many women in Europe, because, Mr President, women deserve this.

*(Applause from the left)*

## IN THE CHAIR: MR VANDEWIELE

*Vice-President*

**President.** — I call Mrs Gaiotti de Biase.

**Mrs Gaiotti de Biase.** — *(I)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, though this debate concludes the work accomplished by the committee on women's rights, it cannot and should not conclude the task of this Parliament, a task which, in some respects, is now only beginning, based on guidelines and options which constitute the first step in the development of an overall policy on the status of women.

The document on which Mrs Majj-Weggen has laboured so long concludes this initial phase and marks the beginning of the next. Much time and effort were needed to draw up the report, and linguistic problems often made the task more difficult still. The finished product represents an effort made by the various political forces towards mutual understanding and agreement. It is above all, as I have already said, a point of departure, and as such we approved it in committee.

The negative aspects of our work were only those which we had foreseen and which were to a certain extent inevitable: the disproportionate number of women present; their monopoly for the discussion; the fact that the document, because of its breadth of scope, is midway between a philosophical manifesto and a practical proposal, but possesses neither the theoretical density necessary in the former case nor the precision necessary in the latter; the need to exclude questions for which the Community is not directly responsible, despite their fundamental nature — I am thinking in particular of political participation, which our Group sacrificed in favour of the immediate effectiveness of our work. Beyond these limitations, which, I repeat, were unavoidable, the committee presents Parliament with a document whose basic strategy is sufficiently clear both on the points where general agreement was reached and on those formulated through compromise or majority vote. The latter represent an ongoing debate rather than a definitive conclusion.

The report presents some basic options which we share and which we consider a point of departure for further work.

First, the question of women is a central one, and it is explicitly put before this Parliament as a problem of social balance, a need for reorganization after the profound and irreversible changes which have taken place in industrialized societies. The expression 'women's rights' — accurate certainly, but somewhat dated — is inadequate in the face of the challenge of

## Gaiotti de Biase

change, the liberation of energy, the resumption of responsibility which are all themes present in the problem of the status of women. The idea that this problem concerns only half of the European population is a fallacy. It concerns everyone — men, children, the old and the young — just as much as it concerns women themselves.

Second, the economic and employment crisis now prevailing in our society should not be paid for by women, in the vain hope of reproducing the patterns typical of the past. We mean to proceed not according to a philosophy of emancipation, but according to the facts. Even though the unemployment rate for women has been steadily climbing for years, we have no statistical significant data suggesting that today's and tomorrow's women are prepared to renounce salaried work. The lengthening of the life span and of schooling makes every woman a potential worker, while freedom of choice — which is and always has been the traditional slogan of our Group concerning the status of women — is now limited to only a few moments in a woman's life and can be exercised only with difficulty between the years of 18 and 60.

Though victims of the crisis, women are responding to it by exerting pressure on their own behalf in a manner which has no overtones of renunciation. Before the double challenge of aligning social organization with the changes which have already taken place and responding to the economic crisis, we must realize that a true answer can only be found at Community level. Without Article 119 of the EEC Treaty, the pressure brought to bear by women in the separate countries would have been insufficient, and progress towards equality, even as regards the question of free competition, would have been minimal. The problems we must face today are even more 'supranational' in character, and can only be dealt with by a supranational power. For this reason, women are one of the groups most deeply involved in and most firmly committed to the construction of Europe.

During the debate in committee, there was general agreement regarding problems relating the application of existing directives and the obstacles still to be overcome, and I do not feel it necessary to dwell on these aspects now. The principal fact to emerge from the debate was that the legal and egalitarian blueprint forming the basis of Community directives must be further developed in regard to certain fundamental questions.

We feel that the most important of these is a Community directive on maternity and post-maternity leave for women, and family leave for parents when their small children are taken ill. Such leave will undoubtedly give rise to comments on the increase in labour costs. Our society, however, pays huge costs every day in human and economic terms, costs attributable to maladjustment, emotional instability and inner conflict

and arising from the difficulty of making work compatible with family life.

The document calls attention to the proposals concerning the legal status of women in family businesses and on farms, of businesswomen and women exercising trades. We frequently assert that small and medium-sized businesses are the key to overall growth and to a technical evolution which does not result in unemployment. We must therefore develop commercial opportunities and technology, but this will not be possible unless the right of women to share equally in decision-making, profits, and responsibilities is affirmed at the same time.

We also support the Directive on tax equality, though we have presented an amendment on this subject as well, to the effect that this equality should not invalidate the principle of progressive taxation based on family income and family size. During the year's work by the committee, a comparison of the various political philosophies represented in this Parliament crystallized around two issues in particular. The first is the question of work schedules. The text finally decided upon still leaves now for improvement, but it already provides a sound working basis. A very serious problem, on which we will have to make a decision, concerns the nature of the workforce. For some, equality should be guaranteed through rigid and identical regulations, with age differences left out of account. I personally believe that flexibility is not a sin to be shunned, but rather an objective to be respected. A few moments ago Mrs Roudy denied this need for flexibility. I wish that her fellow party member Mr Delors could answer her, for he has produced an excellent text on the *Revolution du temps choisi* which can serve as a reference for Community policy on work schedules, a policy which requires different formulas for the elderly, for the young, for men and women, and for different phases of life.

We also believe that to stress the responsibilities of the family as a primary source of solidarity, as a meeting place between private and public life, as a model — we are addressing the Socialists here — of a society where each one receives according to his needs, is certainly not to set limits to equality for women.

Despite understandings reached on many points there remains a deep-seated source of disagreement which has been particularly evident in regard to the question of abortion. Our rapporteur, anxious to represent all opinions, felt obliged to include in her report the issue of the voluntary interruption of pregnancy, and other members of my Group have rightly raised the questions of conscience which are particularly involved with it. I would like to express my own reservations, based on the position of abortion in feminist strategy and in Community competence. Two centuries of industrialized society have radically changed women's relationship towards maternity. Behind the recent pro-abortion tendencies there is not only — as we women are

**Gaiotti de Biase**

well aware — a kind of individualistic egoism or a need to put an end to hypocrisy: there are also the basic contradictions present in our society. Often this reaction is not so much a rejection of maternity itself as it is the result of anxiety produced by the demanding, restrictive, and excessively burdensome concept held of maternity. We have reduced the mother-child relationship, which in the past was experienced collectively in larger families, to an isolated and separate relationship where mutual dependency can create a feeling of mutual slavery and lead to a reaction of refusal.

As women, we are well aware of all this. As women in politics, however, we have a duty to ask ourselves whether the answer to this problem is really to be found in legalized abortion. Too many political groups have seen in abortion legislation an expedient similar to that still adopted by many men, who free themselves from their obligations by urging their partners to abort. This is a justification which, as long as it stands, allows us to go on ignoring the fact that maternity is penalized in our societies to such an extent that the demographic future of our countries has become a matter for concern. The battle for the status of women is no longer to be fought on the theoretically uncontested ground of equal rights; we must advocate 'positive' maternity, developing male responsibilities and putting an end to isolation. If we do not intervene here, women may make the choice for equality in vain.

There can be no victorious feminist strategy if we do not oblige political forces and social leadership to act in this area. The Community level, which is the level of social change, is the only one where solutions too ambitious for national policies can be formulated. It is only too easy to say that changes in penal legislation are not provided for in the Treaties. The method of governing society by means of permission and prohibition is typical of the individual States. The method of guiding it by increasing and pooling stores of knowledge, by creating material conditions and ideal goals belongs instead to a supra-national community. Far from weakening our resolution, the inclusion of such positive aspects serves to strengthen it the more.

*(Applause from the centre)*

**President.** — I call Miss Hooper.

**Miss Hooper.** — Mr President, much has been said today about the problems faced by women in working life and in the family, and many solutions and suggestions have been put forward. I believe, however, that a most important function of this debate is to inform women fully of their rights, as well as to give the maximum publicity to these rights. Legislation alone is not enough. Law must follow opinion if it is to be observed and benefited from. I see no need therefore

to whip up a militant attitude or to talk fighting talk in order to improve the lot of women by introducing yet more legislation which will not be implemented.

I believe that education and social conditioning are of the utmost importance. Women must be encouraged to come forward. We must point to the fact that women are, in fact, achieving recognition in public life and in positions of authority. The first president of our own directly elected Parliament is a woman, and we certainly recognize that Madam Veil brings great distinction to this role. There are more women in this Parliament than in any other elected parliament in the world, and again in my own country we have a woman Prime Minister for the first time in history. Let us not forget that in many countries of this Community women have had the vote for far less than 50 years. So considerable progress has, in fact, been made. We must therefore concentrate on encouraging women to participate more in all areas, in trade unions as well as in executive and professional jobs.

As evidence of the way in which women are prepared to take advantage of their opportunities once they are fully aware of them, I would like to point to the work and achievements of the Equal Opportunities Commission in the United Kingdom. Mrs Roudy has already referred to the conference organized jointly by the Commission and the Equal Opportunities Commission last year, at which delegates were able to observe how in the five years' existence of this commission it has successfully dealt with complaints on inequality from both sexes and a number of test cases. As women become increasingly aware of what can be achieved, so they increasingly approach the Equal Opportunities Commission for help and support. It is this type of approach which I feel should be encouraged. However, I have no intention of sounding complacent. I believe that, although the principle of equality of opportunity is now largely recognized throughout the Community, in practice we have a policy of benign neglect. It is on this aspect of the matter that I believe we must concentrate in looking at the report and in working out the priorities.

I support therefore the general objectives of the report and the need to devise supplementary measures to implement fully the three Directives already in existence. I will not spend a great deal of time reiterating arguments that have already been made, but in addition to the comments made on the report by my colleague, Dame Shelagh Roberts, I would like to refer to two specific matters. One is the question of quotas. I don't believe that an insistence on having a certain minimum number of women in any particular job is the secret of success. Take the case of the Commission, which has already been referred to more than once. We know that the job of Commissioner was offered to a British woman and also to a German woman, both of whom refused it. Should we therefore force some women to take the jobs? What is the solution? Whatever we do, however, I believe it is not

**Hooper**

quite fair to blame men for our not having achieved success in this particular area.

The second point is the question of the continuation of the life of the *ad hoc* committee. This was discussed at considerable length by the committee, and I think it was generally agreed that to have a separate permanent committee would have the effect of creating a ghetto into which all women's affairs would be channelled; and we don't want that. I believe that women's interests should be considered in all the committees of Parliament and that members of the *ad hoc* committee could best serve these interests by fulfilling their functions seriously on their main committees. Paragraph 54 of the motion for a resolution is therefore a welcome compromise, since it discharges the present committee whilst ensuring that the whole subject of women's rights in the Community will not be forgotten by providing that the committee may be reconstituted in two years' time.

In conclusion, Mr President, I would like to say that I welcome the report and its pursuit of the goals of equal opportunity and greater choice for women. I welcome the opportunity for information and publicity afforded by this debate and I look forward to some positive results which I hope can be summed up by that useful little tag 'equal opportunity to be unequal'.

(Applause)

**President.** — I call Mrs Cinciari Rodano.

**Mrs Cinciari Rodano.** — (I) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I think that the vast amount of work accomplished by the *ad hoc* committee, and by the chairman and the rapporteur in particular, must be fully appreciated. The Italian members of the Communist and Allies Group made an active contribution, offering ideas and proposals, and we are pleased that some of them were incorporated into the report.

It must be recognized that the task of the committee was not an easy one: we believe this is the first time in this Parliament that an attempt has been made to present a complete picture of the position of women in the Community, a position which varies from country to country and from region to region and which includes a multitude of problems.

Secondly, on many basic issues — that of employment, for example — there is no point of reference available; that is, there are no initiatives or programmes by the Commission, for in reality the Commission has no organic policy towards women at all. Even so, not all the Commissioners felt it necessary to meet the *ad hoc* committee. Mrs Roudy was very generous. Even when they did participate in the meetings of the committee, I don't think it can be said that they made an effective contribution to our work. I hope that the new Commission, which will introduce itself to this Assem-

bly tomorrow, will give more attention to problems which concern more than half of the citizens of the Community and whose solution will affect the future of Europe as a whole.

Although we appreciate the effort made by the committee, we are not, however, satisfied with the result. In our opinion, the resolution lags considerably behind the formulas developed up to now by the Women's Movement, certainly as far as our own country is concerned, but also, we believe, in other countries. To face the question of women today in the Community does not only mean to overcome delays, but above all to fight against new contradictions: those which arise from the distorted, inhuman, and unjust development of the so-called advanced nations. It is not a question, therefore, of obtaining sectoral or supplementary provisions for women. It is the mode of life and of production in society as a whole which must be changed if women are to be treated fairly, enjoying the right to work on an equal basis, without renouncing the free choice of maternity. This is necessary in order for women to be able to express themselves and to be represented at all levels and in all areas of social and political life.

The rapporteur stressed the fact that the burden of most non-salaried labour — that is, domestic work — is carried by women alone. We believe that it is not enough to call for a different and better distribution of traditional feminine and masculine tasks within the family. We must have done with identifying the family with domestic labour, with unpaid labour, with what is, in the last analysis, servile labour. It is not even a question, as Mrs Lenz has stated, of a different value judgment on unpaid labour. Servitude is servitude even when it is exalted by poetic themes of feminine self-abnegation. On the contrary, it is necessary to reduce this unpaid labour to a minimum, by means of an extended network of well-connected social services, substituting salaried work for the unpaid work done by women at home.

Secondly, in our opinion the resolution fails to indicate which, in this time of economic crisis in the European West, are the decisive problems for women, the ones which should be dealt with first. We had hoped for a resolution which would analyse the crisis in depth, paying particular attention to the problem of unemployment. It is true that the resolution calls for an employment policy for women, but in reality there are no concrete proposals and the emphasis is laid on part-time work. Some believe that part-time work is eminently suitable for women, and that it represents a means of solving the problems of the crisis. For our part, we believe that it is an emergency solution to be dropped as soon as possible, even though we agree that it should be regulated while it exists. We think that it is again necessary to turn to a systematic policy of capital investment, especially in agriculture. And because there is the belief that even a renewal of development, if it were to occur, would not bring about an

**Rodano**

increase in jobs in the productive sectors because of the introduction of new technologies, we are convinced that the way to increase job possibilities is to extend the network of public and social services directed towards satisfying the ever growing needs in health care, culture, and leisure, including those arising from women's desire to step out of their predetermined and subordinate domestic role.

Thirdly, the resolution makes no evaluation of Community policies. The Italian members of the Communist and Allies Group were anxious that mention be made in the rapporteur's first text of Community policies in general, and not only of the directives for the Social Fund. This was not done, however. It is as if women had only to make their demands and wait for others — men, the Commissioners, the Commission, the Council, whoever it may be — to satisfy them. This again is a subordinate position which I, as a woman and as a Communist, cannot accept.

We have presented some amendments relating to this question. Many of the resolution's proposals are acceptable taken one by one, but they are juxtaposed without any sense of internal order. The underlying premise is an old style vision of equality aimed at integrating women into the existing social order and not at changing the order itself. There are also many inconsistencies. For example, stress is laid on the political rights of women, but emigrant women are still refused the right to vote in administrative elections. Towards the women of the Third World the tone is paternalistic: there is no awareness of the fact that the problems of European women cannot be solved if the relationships between North and South, and between Europe and the Third World are not radically revised.

The section on contraception and abortion could be improved. Abortion, Mrs Gaiotti, is viewed within the framework of a policy on maternity. In any case, it is formulated with excessive prudence and timidity, for abortion laws should not be merely a way for society to appease its conscience. Such appeasement would be possible if legislation prevented abortion, instead of merely driving it underground. In addition, while going into such detail, even in regard to matters outside of Community competence, the report makes no reference to the problem of resources. It is clear however that as long as Community budgets are largely devoted to agricultural expenditure, like the one we have at present, and as long as these expenditures are earmarked for supporting prices and financing surpluses and no further effort is made to develop regional, industrial, and energy policies, nothing significant can be accomplished towards changing the condition of European women.

Finally, although there has been much talk about participation in political life, there are still some who believe that in a resolution on the problems of women there is no place for problems concerning disarmament

or international cooperation. In reality, this resolution represents a compromise picture of various concepts of the question of women. Though the entire committee was agreed that the present status of women was unsatisfactory, in the analysis made of the causes of this condition there is more attention paid to the subjective and individual causes than to the structural ones. As far as solutions are concerned, there are still those — as we have heard here — who believe that the real problem is how to restore women to their domestic and family role. On the contrary, from the mass of European women comes a strong objective impulse directed at the transformation of the Community. Women need a new development. It is no coincidence that they participated in great numbers in the direct elections: they wished in this way to express the hope that the European Parliament would be a force directed at solving their problems, at giving more unity to the Community, not under the banner of profit but in defence of the interests of the workers, the oppressed, and the alienated.

*(Applause from the Communist and Allies Group)*

**President.** — I call Mrs Martin.

**Mrs Martin.** — *(F)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the 130 million or so women in the European Community deserved this debate on their position and their place in society.

We have a duty to react to the division of labour handed down by tradition to men and women. For us it is not a question of dyed-in-the-wool feminism: what we want to do is to put forward practical proposals for ways of reacting to the expectations of those who make up more than one-third of the working population in Europe because, particularly at this time of economic crisis and faced with the anxiety about the future which they share, although women are aware that Europe cannot be built on differences of attitude and arguments between the two sexes, they also know that our ability to meet the challenge we face depends on the opportunities they are offered of choosing their way of life, of assuming responsibilities and of becoming integrated into society. I join with my friends in the Liberal and Democratic Group in hoping that the text of the resolution before us will be tidied up a little so that the priorities are more clearly defined. Nevertheless, we endorse the gist of the document in its present form. And we hope that it will be adopted by a very large majority of this House.

Then all European women, and perhaps more specifically all those who are involved in organizations, associations and trade unions and who, it should be noted, have followed our work with a great deal of interest and attention will know that their struggle is echoed in this Parliament, and I should also like to pay tribute to the rapporteur for the way in which she has acquitted herself of what was often a difficult task.



**Martin**

At this juncture, and before I take up a number of specific points in the report, I should like to say to Mrs Hoffmann and to all the French Communist members how amazed we were by the remarks and criticisms which once again formed the basis of their statement and how much we would have liked to see them putting forward constructive proposals in the committee. But they contributed no proposals, they did not participate in the work of the *ad hoc* Committee on Women's Rights in any way, but of course they were systematic in their criticisms. Mrs Hoffmann, you have been the worthy representative of the French Communist Party I must tell you that for those of us who have in fact spent over a year producing a document of high quality, your statement was completely derisory. What we set out to do with this report was to reassert our will to strengthen the existing Directives, to ensure that equal pay, equal access to employment, vocational training and promotion and equal treatment as regards social protection become a reality.

That is why we have proposed that assistance from the Social and Regional Funds should depend on these Directives being implemented in each country. If this is done, we can hope that the age of fine words and promises is past. But we have given top priority to education and vocational training. We are convinced that, if women are to make up for the time they have lost so that they themselves are genuinely able to choose their way of life, to choose, as it says in this report, between a paid and an unpaid activity, they must first and foremost be given the opportunity of appropriate basic education and vocational training. Equality of opportunities begins at school. And that is why we have specifically proposed that age limits on access to education and to employment should be completely abolished and that half the members of the committees which should be set up to study teaching materials should be women. We also feel the need for a change of attitude everywhere, even within the family, in order to break with the traditional allocation of roles. All women realize that because they bear almost all the family responsibilities, these responsibilities represent one of the most decisive obstacles to their progress in working life. We therefore felt it necessary to put forward proposals for a better allocation of working hours, proposals aimed at ensuring that where women opt for part-time work, they are not handicapped, and proposals aimed at ensuring the family is a joint responsibility. That is the purpose of the introduction of educational holidays for parents.

We also placed a great deal of emphasis on the need for account to be taken of a category of women that has so far been overlooked: those who work in shops, craft trades and agriculture, in family firms, the important contribution they make to the economic and social development of the Community remaining unrecognized. This deficiency must be made good. A European statute must be drawn up to ensure their recognition as separate individuals legally, financially and socially. Similarly, we are very much in favour of

the introduction of Community aid, particularly in agriculture, to the services which find replacements for these women. Only if they can be freed from their daily work, will we enable these women to gain access to education and to participate and assume responsibilities in social life.

I now come to the proposal we have made that the *ad hoc* committee should be transformed into a full committee pursuant to Rule 37 of the Rules of Procedure. After a debate like this, after a report like this, which does no more than lay the foundations and is no more than the start of the real work to be done, it is inconceivable that a halt should be called for two years before stock is again taken, as paragraph 54 of the resolution proposes. If we adopted that course, we would be running the risk, it seems to me, of arriving at the same conclusions. It is inconceivable that suddenly, because it has been so decided, by a wave of the magic wand, things are going to develop by themselves. Nor is it right to say that a standing committee would become cut off and the other committees would refer to it all matters to do with women. That was what some people feared in my country when the post of State Secretary and of Minister for Women's Affairs was set up. But experience has shown that exactly the opposite is the case. If we have a standing committee in this Parliament, the other committees will find problems to do with women being referred to them, because the standing committee will be delivering, whether it is requested to do so or not, opinions on the implications for women of the proposals submitted. Whether they like it or not, these opinions should be considered by the other committees and incorporated in their reports. The Standing Committee on Women's Rights will thus make it possible for the subject to be discussed in the other committees. Any other method, for example working parties or supervisory groups without the same rights, would perhaps result in isolation. Furthermore, any solution not involving the setting up of a standing committee would result in Members who want to take part in this work finding their normal workload increased by additional tasks, the danger being that they could not then do their work properly. If it is to function properly, it is also essential for the committee to have a permanent secretariat capable of organizing its meetings at regular intervals, which is impossible if there is no standing committee. For all these reasons, but also because all women in Europe, whether or not they are committed to the cause, have placed a great deal of hope in us and in our work, and because they would not understand it if we left it at that, I call on all those who have already put forward proposals along the same lines to stick to their guns and to join us so that we have a majority in this Assembly committed to fulfilling the expectations of European women.

**President.** — I call Mr Lalor.

**Mr Lalor.** — Mr President, entering the debate at this stage, I feel very much like one of the fools that

**Lalor**

rush in where angels fear to tread. I want to assure you, however, Mr President, that in this instance I am, I hope, on the side of the angels.

I wish to compliment the rapporteur on her very comprehensive report. It is extremely obvious that she put a tremendous amount of effort and time into both her report and her resolution. I have no difficulty whatsoever in supporting the paragraphs of the motion referring to equal pay, equal treatment, equal opportunity for women. I also feel that her observations and recommendations regarding education and training of both young and more advanced women are very much to be supported. I should say, however, Mr President, that I am unhappy with many aspects of the section on health care. I was extremely conscious of the observations made by Mrs Macciocchi when she attacked my colleague Mr Vié in relation to his, if you like, male protectionism; and I want to say that speaking here on this particular subject, I do not like to feel that a finger may be pointed at me as speaking from an anti-feminist viewpoint. But it strikes me, looking at one of the paragraphs under 'Health care', where one of the recommendations is that the Commission be requested to 'initiate an inter-disciplinary research programme . . . with particular reference to natural methods', that that, I am sure, is intended to affect both the male and female equally, unless there is some inference that one side more than the other derives particular pleasure from it.

My colleague Miss De Valera is far better qualified than I to express the Irish women's view, and she will be doing this on behalf of our Group; but I would at this stage like to join with the only other male (apart from Mr Bournias) who spoke, and that was the Commissioner Mr Richard, in expressing a belated tribute to Dr Hillery, who during his time as Social Commissioner here launched the policy which has opened the door for the volume of progress that has been made up to now towards equality of opportunity. I am glad to note that the rapporteur does give credit for the progress that has been made up to now.

I want to say, however, that not all married women want to go out to work; as Dame Shelagh Roberts explained earlier on. I was rather surprised to note that in such an extremely comprehensive document, comprising 55 paragraphs, the *ad hoc* committee advocates no plan, nor makes any recommendation whatsoever, for any remuneration, wage, payment or compensation, to be provided for the housewife who stays at home and creates and looks after a family. We seem to spend more time taking steps and making recommendations to avoid the creation of the family, but as I see it there is not sufficient attention given to making provision for the home-loving housewife who, having created a family, should be encouraged to stay at home and look after it.

Irish society, in particular, has in the past put an extremely high value on the presence of the mother in

the home and this is still the case. However, I fully accept that we are going through a time of change and young wives themselves, on the one hand, and economic circumstances on the other, are bringing about a major change in this regard. As an Irishman I want to state clearly that I am opposed to the recommendations on health care.

I am worried also about paragraph 35, where the rapporteur says that there may be a tendency for abortion to be treated as a normal practice. I think that the whole bias of the health-care report is to treat and encourage others to treat abortion as a normal practice and this is why I am opposed to it. I am opposed, in addition, to a resolution asking the Commission to press the Council to provide abortion facilities at national level in each of our States.

I think it is unfortunate that Mrs Maij-Weggen's report is too comprehensive, excepting the fact, as I said earlier, that no reference is made to the mother wanting to stay at home and work in the house nor to any provision to encourage her to do so. I think that the health-care section needs to be separated from the rest. I would appeal to the rapporteur to leave it out of the resolution at this stage.

With some minor amendments, I can go along with all of the requirements elsewhere in the report. I have to point out here that I have moral objections to too many aspects of Chapter 4 on health care, and unfortunately, therefore, cannot support the overall resolution.

**President.** — I call Mrs Maij-Weggen on a point of order.

**Mrs Maij-Weggen.** — (NL) Mr Lalor has just said that paragraph 35 more or less means that we would like to encourage abortion. I feel Mr Lalor should read the text again very carefully, because what it says is exactly the opposite. I would recommend Mr Lalor to read these three paragraphs very carefully and not to express an opinion before he understands precisely what they mean.

**President.** — I call Mrs Dekker.

**Mrs Dekker.** — (NL) Ladies and gentlemen, approximately 355 years before Christ Plato recorded in his *Politeia*, or *The Republic*, a discussion with Socrates on the task and place of women in the State. One of the things Socrates said was 'all things in common'. Women should do the same work as men and should therefore be brought up and educated in the same way. The conclusion of this astute discussion was that nature has bestowed its gifts equally on both men and women and also that no one task has been specifically set aside in the State for women as women or for men

## Dekker

as men. Women should even be involved in military service. That was over 2 000 years ago, as I have said. To complete the picture, I must point out that at the end of this dialogue it is said, although no discussion was necessary on this point, that women must be subordinate to men in everything. A question of the onus of proof. Translated into today's language, men never need to prove that they are the equals of women. I do not intend to begin talking about the reverse.

The fundamental object of this debate, although the report does not say so in so many words, must in my view be emancipation, which I would describe as a personal and social process of change and growth, an essential process in which the authorities, including the EEC, have a stimulating and creative role to play. What is needed is the emancipation of human beings, in other words of men and women alike. But women have fallen so far behind socially that high priority must be given to measures aimed at eliminating the backlog. What I miss in this report is any mention of the emancipation of men. After all, their position has a considerable effect on the position of women, and we can therefore hardly disregard it. A future report should therefore look more closely at the part played by men.

From the enormous number of conclusions and recommendations included in the motion for a resolution it is clear that the continuing allocation of set roles to men and women entails disadvantages for women as regards their development, training, incomes, knowledge, power and leisure time. We need only look around us: a woman President cannot make up for the fact that all the Group chairmen and all but one of the Group vice-chairmen and the members of the College of Quaestors are men. I have not yet come across either a women driver or a male typist in Parliament. In 1981 it has again proved impossible to appoint a woman as Commissioner. Despite the equality which, according to the last Greek speaker, exists in Greece, the 24 new Members from the country do not include one woman. This is not, of course, just mere coincidence. I therefore think it a good thing that the motion for a resolution starts at home and calls for an improvement in the position of women within our own institutions.

A great deal of work has been put into this report, primarily by the rapporteur. Its preparation has been a useful exercise. Nevertheless, I should like to make a few comments on the outcome, although I must start by saying that some of my criticisms are due to the fact that all the amendments, several hundred in number, had to be processed at a late stage, with the result that it is only now possible to appreciate the final product. This was principally due to a shortage of time.

As regards the presentation, a clear distinction is not made between short- and long-term solutions, general and detailed requirements are jumbled together and no clear priorities are set. For example, no more than a

few sentences are devoted to the whole question of shorter working hours. This is, in my view, out of all proportion to the five pages of recommendations concerning education and health care. However important these matters may be, the EEC plays a far more limited role in these fields. In addition, the call for shorter working hours is discussed under the heading of part-time work, which is wrong. These are two completely different matters and in some respects they are even diametrically opposed. Shorter working hours each day are essential if there is to be a better division of paid work between men and women.

There must also be a redistribution of leisure time. Research by the World Watch Institute, for example, reveals that increasing employment of women outside the home has not resulted in any noteworthy reduction of the workload within the home, meaning that the woman's working week is on average some 15 to 20 hours longer than that of her husband. Women who go out to work remain housewives whether they are ministers or shoemakers, except that the higher her pay, the sooner a woman can afford help with the housework, which again is often done by women. Encouraging part-time work is, in the short term, the most obvious solution, but it must be ensured that unbalanced measures designed to promote a fair distribution do not result in fresh injustices. At present more than 90 % of women are engaged in part-time work. At this time of economic recession there is undoubtedly a great deal of involuntary part-time unemployment. The report itself indicates the disadvantages of part-time work today. An increase in part-time work must principally be achieved through men.

Mrs Spaak and I have drawn up a working document for the *ad hoc* committee on the new technological advances and the adverse effects they may have on the position of women. The Commission has recently submitted practical proposals for Community activities and programmes in this area. Its findings show that, although these advances may entail disadvantages for women, no policy has as yet been established. I therefore proposed an addition to the motion for a resolution, which was, I am glad to say, adopted by the *ad hoc* committee, calling on the Commission to indicate any adverse consequences for women and to state how these consequences can be offset. It is essential that the advantages resulting from the introduction of new technologies — and there are advantages — also benefit women. Retraining is the key here.

Mr President, on the whole I can endorse the resolution. Of course, compromises are needed here and there. I will mention some of the omissions. Firstly, there is temporary preferential treatment for women. This was mentioned in an earlier version of the resolution, albeit in a somewhat different form from the amendment I have now tabled, in that it called for measures to eliminate the unequal distribution between men and women of involvement in policy-

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and decision-making, plus the temporary application of preferential treatment for women, especially in sectors and at levels where they are clearly under represented. The Directive on equal treatment leaves the way open for preferential treatment. This must be a temporary measure, remaining in force until equal social participation is achieved. A more radical step would be to introduce quotas. This would undoubtedly be an extreme measure, but unfortunately perhaps the only way of achieving what will otherwise take too long. I am aware that this is still a controversial point, and we have not gone to this extreme, but I do see the need for an investigation into the possibilities of adopting quotas. In some Member States action along these lines has already been taken. The French Government, for example, has proposed a quota system for the 1983 local elections.

Another point that is now missing from the motion for a resolution is a call for an addition to the existing directives to cover pensions. I also feel the section covering equal treatment where tax legislation is concerned should include a reference to the basis we should adopt in this respect, namely individual and equal treatment in overall incomes policy. I have also tabled an amendment that calls for better social facilities such as flexible business hours in industry, institutions and shops and for the standardization of school hours and the introduction of continuous school time-tables. The recognition of the economic value of the work done by women in the home and of the voluntary unpaid work they perform is also worthy of attention.

The motion for a resolution also includes my proposal that, where it is claimed that the EEC Directives have not been adequately implemented, there should be a reversal of the onus of proof. Let me explain this. It must be possible to enforce rights if they are to be effective. The Directives provide for the possibility of an appeal. The point of my amendment was that, where an employee complains to the courts of discrimination on the grounds of sex, the employer must prove that there has been no discrimination or that his actions were justified by objective factors having nothing to do with the difference between the sexes.

Belgium's and Germany's Acts implementing the directive on equal treatment already provide for this. When checking the implementation of the Directives, the Commission must also consider the way in which employment opportunities are arranged at national level.

In the Netherlands, for example, the situation is still very unclear. Some Member States already have, or are preparing, general legislation designed to prevent sex discrimination. I do not see any insurmountable obstacles to an appropriate Community Directive. This will enable us to close present gaps in the legislation and also to coordinate existing and often unclear arrangements. I feel that a lack of political will in this

respect is on balance tantamount to saying that the present inequalities should be retained.

To conclude, Mr President, the Commission and Council and also Parliament itself will be principally responsible for following up this motion for a resolution. The report refers to the proposal for a European committee on emancipation. The motion for a resolution discusses this extremely briefly and refers only to the composition of such a committee. Not only do I not welcome the proposed wording of the text, because I feel the emphasis must be placed on expertise, but an opportunity has certainly been missed in that no proposals of any kind are made regarding the committee's mandate and terms of reference.

My proposal in this respect was not supported by a majority of the *ad hoc* committee, the reason being that the *ad hoc* committee had scarcely discussed the subject. Since an emancipation committee of this kind might be a very important instrument in the implementation of the demands and proposals for equality, I find it a great pity that we did not discuss this subject in the *ad hoc* committee.

The discussions on the follow-up to the *ad hoc* committee's activities has not yet been completed. I do not support the idea of continuation in this form. It is more important for all our parliamentary committees to take account of the effects of emancipation. I am therefore more in favour of each committee having an emancipation coordinator, through whom we consult together at set intervals. On balance this would not entail more work than having a separate committee. I am certainly in favour of a follow-up debate being held in a year or two, and there will undoubtedly be a need for other such debates in the future. Our work up to and including this debate is simply a dress rehearsal: the important thing now is that our work should give rise to tangible results.

**President.** — I call Mrs Wieczorek-Zeul.

**Mrs Wieczorek-Zeul.** — (D) Ladies and gentlemen, if the debate we are now having is to have any effect at all, the Members of this House must, I feel, ask themselves what we ourselves can do to change the position of women. I should therefore like to see each one of us thinking about the self-critical question: Is it not still true to say that the careers of male politicians are built on the tacit sacrifices of their wives? Is that not the situation we find in politics almost everywhere? And is not the at least threefold burden on women who go into politics the reason why women are under-represented in politics and in all sectors of the economy?

We must therefore start at home and not simply make demands of others. Starting at home also means taking a look at the pyramid of posts of the European Parliament's own officials. I can give you the following

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figures: in groups A1, A2 and A3 there are 65 men and no women. That is a scandal for this Parliament and it should also lead to a commitment . . .

*(Applause from the left)*

. . . to see that changes are made. That must be one part of the follow-up to this report. At the Commission the situation is, of course, no different. The scandal of this new all-male Commission has been mentioned often enough. Mrs Roberts, I listened to you very attentively, but I must say one thing: when we see this situation, I would say that women have hitherto gone in not for too much overstatement but in fact for massive understatement, and we must really do something to change this. What else has to be done to change the situation in practice? Just consider how this vicious circle of discrimination, sexism, in other words discrimination against the female sex, is also perpetuated in the Commission. Appointments to the most senior posts, A1, A2 and A3, are made only by men, and it is, of course, logical that they should be correspondingly represented among the staff of the Commission. To be sure, we must make demands of others, but we must begin at home. That seems to me to be one of the conclusions to be drawn from today's debate.

The *ad hoc* Committee on Women's Rights also faced the task of combining the problems encountered by women in such a way that our Member States and the Commission itself would be forced to refrain from considering them individually, on a sectoral basis, but at long last to implement an appropriate, integrated policy to the benefit of women. The majority of women in this country and in the European Community — and they form a genuine majority of 130 million — can no longer be fobbed off with additional social gifts by this Commission and under this policy as they have been in the past. Here again, this debate must result in action being taken.

I am really rather surprised that greater emphasis has not so far been placed during the debate in this House on the question of unemployment among women, because I believe this is a central issue. We are a European Economic Community, a body which has the powers, and I will again quote the figures so that this is absolutely clear: women account for 36.8 % of the labour force in the European Community, but while the unemployment rate among men rose from 2.9 to 5.5 % between 1974 and 1980, the corresponding figure for unemployed women, proceeding from the same initial figure, is 7.5 %. In other words, women are disproportionately hard hit by unemployment.

Mrs Majj-Weggen rightly says in her report that there are a number of reasons for this, and she gives them in the report. I feel we should stress once again that we have a general reduction in the total volume of work. Look at the figures: by 1985 a further 6 million people in the Community will be looking for a job, while the

total number of jobs is decreasing because, of course, our governments are confining themselves primarily to monetary policies. The logical conclusion to be drawn from this is that the weakest are being pushed out of the labour market and, of course, that the attempt is being made to get rid of women first.

This social backward movement is accompanied — and this is a criticism I level at a number of male Members — by a transfiguration of the new role of the mother and housewife. I say this to some of those who have spoken here: the same interest groups which in my country, the Federal Republic, for example, fetched and enticed women into industry in the 60s as a willing and cheap labour force now contend that a better place for women is at home with their families. Economic interests are at the back of this. It is not a question of suddenly wanting to enable women to achieve this new self-realization and self-image.

We should make this very clear, Mrs Roberts, even in this House, because we are, of course, having a debate amongst ourselves. No one wants to force women to work, but they should be able to decide for themselves whether they want to work, and the same should apply to men. There should no longer be prescribed roles, forcing men in one direction and women in another. That is what this report set out to achieve.

A second point that is rightly referred to in the report is that one of the reasons for the disproportionately high rate of unemployment among women is that increasing rationalization is taking place in occupations and activities which have hitherto been principally the reserve of women. In my own country 55 % of all women are concentrated in 10 types of work very much threatened by rationalization. The relevant figures are known. What we are also experiencing is a movement of capital, which should be looked at very closely. Women in the industrialized countries are being increasingly forced to compete with the cheaper labour potential of the developing countries, the countries of the Third World, a process which is solely the result of the individual company concentrating on profits and profitability and which is moving certain industrial sectors out of our countries, even though this does not lead to really independent industries, independent development in the developing countries, because their labour force faces a similar situation. I therefore believe — and this is a conclusion to be drawn from this report — that, like the workers of the Third World countries, women must have an interest in the process of world-wide restructuring, the new international division of labour not being left to market forces. If you leave this to market forces, you can do away with women's right to work in the future. Then you will have even higher unemployment figures. One demand is therefore that the European Community should and must at last develop a forward-looking structural policy for the most important sectors of industry. It must submit a structural report which enables the establishment of a genuine economic and industrial policy.

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Another point I wish to mention is that there are a number of initiatives aimed at bringing the process of rationalization under control. As jobs are frequently lost as a result of rationalization, I should like to take up a proposal put forward in this context by a Minister in the Federal Republic. He proposed that a company's contributions to the employees' social insurance fund should in future be related not to the total wages and salaries paid by the company but to its total net product. Where machines eliminate jobs, social insurance contributions should take account of them. That is one of the conclusions to be drawn from an assessment of this kind.

As the volume of available work is on the whole decreasing and as this principally affects women in the sectors in which they have been traditionally employed in the past, we must call for special programmes to help women and for legislation, such as that in Sweden and Austria, aimed, for example, at involving more girls in training, either by means of fixed quotas or by setting certain objectives. We would like to see more emphasis placed on this in Mrs Maij-Weggen's report.

I welcome the fact that this is the first report to say on behalf of the European Parliament that we advocate a general reduction of working hours and a redistribution of labour. After all, ladies and gentlemen, if there is a general decrease in the work available, this is the only way in which we can unite to create work for everyone, including women. I therefore welcome the fact that this has been included in a report for the first time. For my Group this is one of the main pillars of this report, and if it fell, it would affect the balance of the whole report. I should like to make that very clear.

The final point I should like to raise has so far been largely overlooked in the debate. This concerns the position of foreign women working and living in the European Community. They have to work in the worst of conditions. They are among the worst paid. They do the most unpleasant and most monotonous work. Many Member States stipulate a waiting period for women joining their foreign-worker husbands before they are granted a work permit, a period in which they have no legal status of their own since their status derives solely from their husband's residence permit. During this period they are exploited by firms which employ them illegally. As a specific marginal group, they suffer enormous problems over integration. These women, who are the worst off of all women in the European Community and are a result of the European Community, deserve our special solidarity because they have no lobby to represent them. I am therefore particularly pleased that Mrs Maij-Weggen's report calls for a social statute stipulating the rights of these foreign women workers and employees and that we are calling on the European Community to take appropriate action.

To conclude, I should like to say that this report must be followed by action, and I say this to the very few

representatives of the Commission present. Parliament will be discussing this matter again in committee in two years' time. We will check to see what has happened, because there may be reports, there may be printed papers, but we owe it to the women of the European Community, more of whom went to the polls to elect this European Parliament, not only to produce written documents, but also to ensure that they have practical consequences.

*(Applause from the left)*

**President.** — I call Mr Michel.

**Mr Michel.** — *(F)* Mr President, I feel that it would be a good thing for this chorus of female voices to be joined by a few male voices. I find that, while there have been thirteen speakers, I am only the fourth man to take the floor.

To begin, I should like to thank very sincerely the chairman of the *ad hoc* committee, Mrs Yvette Roudy, for the energy and tenacity with which she has directed the work of this committee. The problems raised were extremely numerous and, for some people, extremely controversial. They formed the subject of often delicate and sometimes passionate exchanges. On many basic aspects there was something like a meeting of the minds; on others views continue to differ, and this is inevitable in a pluralist society, and we must remember this and accept each other's views if there is to be mutual respect.

Then, I should like to thank our general rapporteur, Mrs Maij-Weggen, for the report she has laboriously drawn up with great attention to detail and for this resolution, which is unfortunately very long, but which has been submitted to us for consideration with no claim to perfection. I have four remarks to make.

My first remark is addressed to the men here. When we speak of women — not only of their status, but also of their role in the society — it is important to realize that this role is of decisive importance. As I have often said, and I will say it again here, man is formed three times in his life: once by his mother, once by his wife and once by his children. Consequently, the role played by women is of decisive importance even in a developing society. This must be appreciated, since even in the younger generation, if there are changes, I believe that at this level what is basic nevertheless remains unchanged. Women retain their essential role in the formation of men.

The second remark I should like to make is that, although changes are taking place, women, who have for too long been considered 'lesser' beings in our societies, are progressively taking their rightful place, even if they have not yet entirely achieved their goal. We must recognize this. The education of girls on the

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one hand and the integration of women into working, social, economic, cultural and political life on the other entail changes which have by no means been brought to a successful conclusion. All this must progressively become a fact of human life. Women's rights must be recognized with dignity at the level of the individual, of the general public, of the institutions and of the structures. This is far more easily said than done unless it is preceded by a significant change of attitude among men.

The third remark I wish to make concerns the role of the married couple and that of the family. What is today known as the nuclear family, in other words the married couple and the children they have — there being in our countries very few families encompassing more than one generation — still has a basic mission to accomplish. Present-day society is not therefore one in which human beings are juxtaposed, men on the one hand, women on the other, and the children as well. What we have are homes, which are places of affection, of love, where children are born, where they must be able to develop, to mature, to find a niche in which their development is guided and conditioned, a place in which each member of the family shares.

The fourth remark I have to make is that in contemporary society, at national and Community level, it is not therefore a question of replacing this niche in which children develop, but of helping the family to recognize and assume its responsibilities and of supporting the family and assisting it in the tasks it has to perform. Every member of the family, the married couple, parents, children, must be helped to feel their house is a home, the place where they really belong.

Following on from this, I should like to make very briefly five proposals for action. The first is that, if what we have just said is to be achieved, not only must the task of the parents, the respective roles they have to play, be recognized: they must also be provided with the means to play their role. This raises the problem of family incomes, family resources, not only for employees, but also for craftsmen, farmers and all the self-employed. The development of social policy must take account of the family aspect and therefore of the part played by family allowances and social allowances.

My second proposal for action: in this society and in particular in its economic and social organization we face the danger, as a post-industrial society, of finding that, in the final analysis, the social facilities which should be installed are, overall, too costly and that the human being is too expensive to be kept alive, to be born, to be educated, to manage his own affairs. But if children are to be educated, the means must be provided, and for that it is necessary to develop the policy that is required from the point of view not only of resources but also of adequate socio-cultural facilities. In other words, crèches, nurseries, kindergartens, schools and so on.

My third proposal for action is linked to Article 3 and Article 117 of the Treaty, the latter stressing 'the need to promote improved working conditions and an improved standard of living for workers, so as to make possible their harmonization while the improvement is being maintained'. This means that all the proposals formulated in paragraphs 1 to 12 of the resolution should be not only retained but also referred to the appropriate committees so that adequate action can be taken by them. As regards pay, equal treatment and social benefits, this would also comply with what the International Labour Organization has called for. Furthermore, it is right to call for Social Fund intervention to finance vocational training for women, particularly those who are going back to work after completing their tasks as mothers for a period that has kept them away from such work — generally between the ages of 25 and 35.

My fourth proposal for action is more specifically concerned with paragraphs 13, 14 and 15 of the resolution, which refer to the redistribution of work and the reduction of working hours. I emphasize this merely to say that part-time work must be provided not only for women but also for a whole range of young people, adults, elderly people and men, who, for all kinds of reasons, must also be able to enjoy the benefits of shorter working hours. But let us not have fresh segregation by reserving part-time work solely for women. Then, paragraphs 19, 20 and 21 of the resolution, which concern maternity leave, social facilities and the possibility of resuming work after completing family tasks, are also deserving of our attention and in particular of the attention of the Commission and the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment, which is more directly concerned with this area.

As regards immigrant women and women in developing countries, not only do I endorse what the resolution says, but I also feel that all the proposals must be reconsidered with those directly concerned, because it would obviously be pretentious and out of place for us to want to settle the problems that affect them without inviting them to the dialogue.

I conclude, Mr President, with a fifth proposal for action. This is a very delicate problem: the fight against the increasing number of abortions. This subject is covered by paragraphs 35 and 36 of the resolution in a quite delicate way, although certain translations have the paragraphs saying exactly the opposite of what was meant. What we must know and want as responsible members of society is the truth about abortion. There is no victory for anyone, not for the woman, not for the man and even less for the child that remains unborn. Abortion represents a failure for our society — at individual, family and institutional level. We must therefore do our utmost to prevent the sometimes tragic situations which lead to abortion. They are tragic from a material, social, moral and psychological point of view. There is therefore a need

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for legislation, particularly at national level, to create an environment which protects and adequately assists all women, whatever their social position, who experience these tragic situations, because as a general rule they can come to terms with the situation with dignity if they are helped, and the action which must be taken will enable them to respect life. That must be our concern now and in the future.

(Applause)

**President.** — I call Mr Johnson.

**Mr Johnson.** — Mr President, as the last speaker has reminded us, the battle for women's rights must be fought above all in the minds of men. The position of women will never be improved until the way men think about women is radically altered. Now, Mr President, the European Parliament is not a confessional. It is not a place for baking the soul or indeed any other parts of the anatomy, but I have to tell you that the months I have spent as a member of the *ad hoc* committee on Women's Rights under the chairmanship of Mrs Roudy have been an educative process. I have learned a lot and I do believe that this kind of topic is properly of concern to the European Parliament. If we can raise the level of public awareness by reports and debates such as this, I think we will have done a great deal of good.

Women today are under intolerable strain. The more we realize this the more we are likely to seek solutions. Women are asked to be wives and mothers. They have to look after husbands and families. At the same time there are almost irresistible social and economic pressures on them to have jobs. I think the evolution in the role of women is probably the most important social development of this century, and it is right that the European Community should use all the instruments at its disposal to further this process.

The Maij-Weggen Report outlines the most important steps that need to be taken. It is an imaginative document. Some people think it is too imaginative, but that is not my view. It is absolutely crucial that legislation on equal pay and equal treatment be implemented. I warmly support also those sections of the report which deal with better work-sharing between men and women. Why, for example, can we not organize our social and economic lives so that men can actually be more active in bringing up children? Speaking personally as the father of four children, some of them grown up, I would have welcomed provision for parental leave for fathers, as proposed. More seriously, I do realize in retrospect that I could have done much more than I did.

There are apparently some controversial elements in this report, for example, those relating to contraception and abortion. Frankly I find those sections quite

acceptable. Indeed the report would be diminished without them. If the evolution in the position of women has been one of the most significant historical facts of this century, women's ability to control their own fertility has been crucial in this process. I have always believed that knowledge and information about family planning services should be widespread at all levels of the population and that those services themselves should be readily available. And let us be clear that that is not the case at the moment in several Community countries. By the same token I think we must recognize the intolerable damage — mental and physical — that can be produced by illegal back-street abortions where contraception fails. Any pressure which can be brought to bear through Community instruments on those Member States where abortion legislation is still unsatisfactory is, to my mind, wholly justified.

I have never taken the view that the EEC is narrowly concerned with economic policies. It is a dynamic construction. We are trying to build a Europe of citizens — men and women — and we have to be concerned with living and working conditions in the broadest possible sense.

By the same token we cannot focus exclusively on the position of women within the Community. It is not neo-racism or neo-imperialism to suggest that Community aid be also examined, amongst other things, from the point of view of whether or not it helps to improve the position of women in recipient countries. In all the sessions of Mrs Roudy's committee, I attended no single fact struck me more forcefully than the report given in evidence to us that Community money — EEC money, Lomé money — was being used to finance a hospital in Mogadishu where female circumcision was still carried out.

Now, of course, this is a wide-ranging document — it is a wide-ranging subject. We are dealing with half the population of Europe. The present economic situation does not provide us with an excuse for soft-peddling any of the measures proposed in this report on the grounds that the economy as a whole, or individual firms, will not be able to afford them. On the contrary, the present economic crisis is pushing us now into a radical rethinking of the type of economic and social structures we need. It is pushing us towards a revolution, aided by technology, in our working conditions and working attitudes, and I do believe that if we can actually incorporate into that new thinking a proper awareness of the role and potential contribution of women at all levels, we shall produce not just a healthier society but a healthier economy as well.

**President.** — In view of the time we must interrupt the debate:



WOMEN AGAINST THE MAFIA

Led by Vera Squarcialupi, a delegation of Italian women presented Simone Veil, the President of European Parliament, a petition calling for Parliament's support in the struggle by women against the mafia.

Signed by women members of the Communist, Socialist, Republican, Liberal and Proletarian Unity Democratic Parties, the petition denounces "the violent interference of the mafia, which is preventing the implementation of EEC directives on equal pay and access to employment".

A grief-stricken victim of mafia crimes, Rita Bartoli Costa, the widow of Gaetano Costa — the public prosecutor in Palermo who was murdered by the mafia — has written to Simone Veil along the same lines, drawing the attention of Parliament to the mafia's role in supplying drugs. She has asked Madame Veil to visit Sicily at the head of a delegation of MEPs.

6. *Position of women in the Community (continuation)*

**President.** — The next item is the continuation of the debate on the Maij-Weggen report (Doc. 1-829/80).

I call Mrs De March.

**Mrs De March.** — (F) Mr President, the contribution we have to make to this debate is not a gratuitous act, but a serious act and also an act of reflection, designed to bring about some progress. According to our analysis of the situation, the position of women cannot be improved if the class struggle in Europe is ignored.

The motion for a resolution tabled by the *ad hoc* committee rightly underlines how little attention is paid by the European Community to the position of women in Greece, Spain and Portugal. Furthermore, pathetically little space in this report has been devoted to this aspect of enlargement and to its implications for the lives of women, and that, we feel, is not mere coincidence.

There is in the European Assembly a broad consensus embracing all shades of political opinion except the French and Greek members of the Communist and Allies Group, who are resolutely opposed to enlargement and who publicize the implications of enlargement for the lives of the people.

It was not mere chance that our group was the only one to draw the *ad hoc* committee's attention to a study concerning the position of Greek, Spanish and Portuguese women.

We contributed statements and practical proposals to the work of the *ad hoc* committee, contrary to what has been said in this Chamber.

Commissioner Natali, for his part, has said that, by acceding to the Community, the applicant countries accepted what had previously been achieved by the Community and referred to texts and directives aimed at ensuring equal rights for women. I should like to comment on this. The pile of national and Community directives on the equality of men and women contrasts starkly with the slowness with which these directives are in fact implemented. The slowness of the process should be compared with the speed with which Community decisions are taken to sacrifice crucial sectors of the economies of the ten Community countries — examples being the iron and steel, shipbuilding and textile industries and the grubbing up of vines — and the haste with which negotiations on enlargement are conducted. When it comes to destroying a national economic base, to getting rid of human capacities, to blocking national aids, the Commission and governments are quick to implement directives. Time is then an important factor because at the end of the road there is profit for the big companies.

This debate on the rights of women in the Community is not for us or for me an academic debate. We see it in terms of our age, of life, and of the struggles in which women are engaged, above all in my own country. And very little is said about these struggles today, struggles in which we actively join in our regions, to defend the right to work and the dignity of women, to

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force the withdrawal of policies of austerity and integration, which aggravate — and we have the figures to support this — all the inequalities and all the discrimination.

Yes, there is inequality in this respect. And why? Because it is in the interests of a few privileged people who see their governments, represented in this Assembly, taking action to perpetuate reactionary attitudes on unemployment among women, inequality in education and a woman's right to choose or terminate pregnancy. Training, promotion and all the rest of it are the bill to be paid in a world firmly in the hands of big money. Victor Hugo wrote in *Les Châtiments*: 'Without respite, night and day, in the world in which we live/Like grapes men are crushed/And the gold emerges from the press.'

Today's presses are also used to crush women, who account for one third of the working population in Europe but 49.8 % of the unemployed. Where is there freedom of choice? What a loss for the development of human society. What a waste of intelligence, of a source of creativity. Women's right to work comes up against the presses of modern times which are known as restructuring, austerity policies and redundancies, these choices of another age which result in hundreds of thousands of women in Europe facing poverty, humiliation and exploitation and in their remaining economically dependent. That is what really jeopardizes the human adventure to which a speaker referred this morning. We have the figures, the hard facts on the position of Greek, Portuguese and Spanish women. But no one quotes them here. So I will quote some of them.

In Spain women account for 29 % of the working population and almost 4 % are unemployed. In Portugal, unemployment among women in industry amounts to 40 %; 38 % of adult women are illiterate, and in some cases women receive half the salaries paid to men. In Greece, what progress awaits women in agriculture, 42 % of whom work in the field, when the plan is to do away with large numbers of small and medium-sized farms in the years to come? What progress can we expect when it is the multinational companies and the banks that are rushing into these three countries, because the female workforce is open to ruthless exploitation, with differences in wage levels of particular interest for their profit levels. Enlargement, gentlemen, has nothing to do with the interests of the women in our countries or the women in the applicant countries. I would add, since this is referred to in the report by the Council, that women in the developing countries cannot expect to benefit in any way either. Furthermore, the governments of the ACP countries themselves feel that enlargement can only create new obstacles to their development.

We therefore call, in the interests of women, for an immediate stop to these negotiations on enlargement, the most advanced aspect of which just happens to

concern the movement of capital, which is an essential factor. The grubbing up of vines, fruit trees and vegetables, massive imports, that is what we are witnessing in our regions, not to speak of the closure of firms which employ women. All that is contrary to women's interests. But, of course, about all that Mrs Martin, on behalf of Giscardian women, cares little.

In a world which is changing, at a time when nations are gaining their freedom and independence, a time of revolutions, a time when mankind can prevent world wars, one of the most outstanding advances in our history is the movement of women towards liberation. They no longer accept servitude, reactionary attitudes, they choose to continue the struggle to achieve equality in every field. And we are at their side. But the motion for a resolution before us, the outcome of a compromise, contains little of this breath of life, this struggle, this irreversible change.

As the French members of the Communist and Allies Group see it, there will be no improvement in the position of women in the Community without those concepts of which little has been heard this morning: social justice, new freedom, democracy, dignity and respect for every woman and every man. There will be no improvement in the position of women without a resolute struggle for disarmament, peace, cooperation, unless a halt is called to the monstrous waste of the arms race and the plans to site neutron bombs and missiles in Europe. Now is the time for real aid to the developing peoples, to the children who die of hunger in their millions throughout the world. No, I do not think that women lack the courage to win freedom for themselves, because they have the same taste and aptitude for happiness as men. As for us, we have chosen to put on record this line by the poet Aragon: 'Woman is man's future.'

*(Applause from certain quarters on the left)*

**President.** — I call Mr Calvez.

**Mr Calvez.** — (F) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, this is the first time that the position of women has been debated at this length in our Parliament. Our Assembly, or at least many of its Members, is anxious to show the great interest it takes in a number of problems which women encounter every day, problems which must give rise to wider-ranging objectives, for which our Community bears responsibility, the objective of constructing a society with a human dimension as much for women as for men. The speakers who have preceded me have paid tribute to the serious work that has been done by the *ad hoc* Committee on Women's Rights, and I should like to join them in their compliments.

It is today absolutely essential for women to be more closely involved in socio-economic life, cultural life

**Calvez**

and political life and for all the problems affecting the position of women to be discussed objectively. In France, Mrs De March, 200 measures have been adopted this year to reduce and eliminate all inequalities based on sex. That is a positive statement. Can that be matched anywhere else in Europe? A great effort has been made, even if the objectives set in the texts have in fact by no means been achieved. Unfortunately, we all find that adopting legislation is not enough to change attitudes: laws and even Community directives are not always properly implemented despite the evident goodwill of their authors. There are still too many restrictions and too much hesitancy. This must go, and we apply ourselves to this task every day. As we know, even though equality is stipulated in the legislation, it is far from being a fact, and it is by taking continuous action, taking action every day and using our powers of persuasion that we shall overcome the obstacles that lie in our way.

In the few minutes allotted to me, I should like to try to convince this Assembly of the need for the work of the *ad hoc* Committee on Women's Rights to be continued by a proper, standing committee on women, which we would like to see set up pursuant to the provisions of Rule 37 of the Rules of Procedure of our Assembly. The 110 or so amendments tabled to the 55 paragraphs of the motion for a resolution demonstrate the will of our Parliament to establish the wide-ranging policy giving women and men a better opportunity to combine employment and work in the home, and particularly for those women who have voluntarily decided to go out to work or to cooperate with their husbands where the latter are craftsmen, members of a liberal profession or the heads of family firms. And I should like to put various questions to this Parliament: who will ensure the actual implementation of all the measures proposed in the motion for a resolution which has been submitted to us for our approval? What point would the suggestions made in the motion for a resolution have if no action was taken on them and if no checks were possible? The Maij-Weggen report exists. It must be followed up by action that is very much to the benefit of women. But who will make up what might be called a pressure group to ensure above all that the Member States enforce the provisions contained in the directives? Which body will lend an attentive ear to the ideas expressed by European women? Who will be responsible for considering the possible implications of the proposed directives, of the recommendations and regulations on the position of women in Europe that have been put forward by Parliament? Only a standing committee can assume these responsibilities. We have a duty to seize the opportunity and again take the action that will allow solutions to be found to the many problems women face, without waiting until the next elections to our European Parliament in 1984.

And if this Parliament elected by direct universal suffrage really intends to take action to the benefit of women, it must really do something for them. Any

solution but a standing committee would only be evading the issue or an illusion which might prove dangerous when we consider the opposition of several political groups to the setting up of a committee of this kind. Do you believe it is necessary to wait two years before again considering the problems encountered by women in the Community? Would that not be a policy of burying one's head in the sand and refusing to look reality in the face for two years? Two years are both a long and a short time. Is there not a danger that the position of women will worsen in an economic crisis, which as we know only too well, is making it difficult to create jobs? The Liberal and Democratic Group cannot agree to a worsening of the present position of women in Europe.

I will conclude by saying, ladies and gentlemen, that we hope that this Maij-Weggen report will be adopted by Parliament, because it must be remembered that the problem of women's rights is a problem that affects all the Member States and those who will be joining us soon. It is not something which concerns only the regions, development and cooperation: it is a common problem, which has implications at social level. It is a problem which grows as time passes, a problem which has prompted the UN to spend ten years studying it. Parliament would look foolish if it settled for a mere working party, which would break up this very day. Have you thought, ladies and gentlemen, of the effects of Community policy on the development of the position of women? Only a standing committee can contemplate action aimed at eliminating the discriminatory measures that too many women still encounter.

At the end of this major debate we are counting on you, ladies and gentlemen, to set up this committee this week and to endow it with the material means that will allow it to work in satisfactory conditions.

(Applause)

**President.** — I call Miss De Valera.

**Miss De Valera.** — Mr President, my dear colleagues, I wish to thank Mrs Maij-Weggen for her resolution on the position of women in the Community. I welcome her suggestion that the Commission must ensure a genuine Community policy in favour of women, in which national measures will be coordinated and, where necessary, supports provided for the measures envisaged by means of finance from the future Social Fund for Women. It is also of major importance that information on financing from the European Social Fund for projects designed to improve the position of women should be disseminated throughout the Community. I welcome the fact that vocational training for women is given such prominence in this resolution, for if present attitudes towards the role of women in society are to change,

**De Valera**

the first step must be through our educational system. A specific educational policy is indispensable for the creation of equal opportunities for women, and such a policy must play a vital role in the struggle against unemployment of women and young people.

I would just like to turn to some specific points, Mr President. I support the Single Women's Association in my country in its wish to see some recognition being given to those single women who willingly sacrifice their careers and pensions to look after elderly relatives and receive no remuneration for their services, although looking after their relatives at home is a considerable saving to the State. I call on the Commission to support this partly through Community funding. It would also be of great assistance to this category of women if retraining courses were improved and the present upper age limit for entering the courses lifted.

I was disappointed to note that there was no concrete proposal in Mrs Maij-Weggen's report on payment or remuneration for women who wish to work at home. This is a point which was also made by my colleague, Mr Lalor: Rather than downgrading the position of those women who have freely chosen to give up their careers to work in the home, we should acknowledge this great contribution to the community by some form of remuneration to the housewife. Very many young married women in my constituency of Dublin live in large housing estates in areas where the builders and local authorities have put little or no thought into the planning of facilities for the families who live there. I call on the Commission to promote better child-care facilities, especially in over-populated urban areas, by setting up crèches which can be used by working mothers whether they work within or outside the home.

It was with regret that I read paragraph 35 of this resolution, which encourages Member States of the Community to provide abortion facilities, while at the same time drawing up uniform legislation on the voluntary termination of pregnancy in the Community. I, on behalf of my constituents, could in no way support this proposal. It is unfortunate that this section on health care, with particular reference to paragraph 35, was included in this resolution. We, in the Group of European Progressive Democrats, feel that the Commission is not competent to deal with such matters and has no right to propose the harmonization of legislation on contraception and abortion in Member States. As these are exclusively matters of conscience, each Member State may take a different point of view on the basis of its cultural and ethical past. Decisions on such matters must be left to the national parliaments and governments. Personally, I think it a great pity that the question of abortion was raised in the resolution, for it diverts the attention from those questions regarding women's affairs over which the European Parliament has competence. Like my colleague Mr Lalor, I do not agree with this

section on health care, but with the exception of this section, the report is highly commendable and, if implemented, would greatly improve the situation of women in Europe.

**President.** — I call Mr Pasmazoglou.

**Mr Pasmazoglou.** — (*EL*) Mr President, the subject under discussion today in the European Parliament is one of those subjects where the European Parliament's opinion and initiative can have important consequences for all the peoples of Europe. The European Parliament can make a significant contribution to the question of living conditions and to the future of women in all European countries; it can mobilize public opinion, influence the traditional attitudes of our peoples and, finally, influence the decisions taken by the Community's institutions and national governments. Therefore we attach great importance to the debate which is taking place today and we hope that the results of this debate will form the basis for further investigation by one of Parliament's organs which will keep a check on the developments which are being made in all the member countries. More particularly, as regards the subject of the situation of women in Greece, I must say that while there has been progress in recent decades — and in this I refer to all that my colleague of the New Democracy Party, Mr Bournias, said a little earlier — I can categorically state that the results are unsatisfactory. The rate of progress is unacceptably slow and this is borne out by the fact that amongst us twenty-four representatives of the Greek people there are no women in the two larger groups. This is indicative of the way that women are absent from important duties and high offices in our country. But what I want to pay particular attention to is the fact which most characteristically highlights the seriousness of the problem in Greece, namely that the percentage of women who work is only 28 % of the number of women who are of working age, while the corresponding percentage in the Community is 40 %. This means that in order for us to reach a level of employment for women corresponding to the level in most countries of the Community an additional 100 000 jobs must be provided in the coming years over and above the increase in jobs called for to improve the employment situation in Greece. Consequently, we must continue our attempts to bring about progress for women and improve their living conditions. I must point out, however, that there are serious aspects to this issue which are still unsettled.

Amongst these are the reforms needed in civil law. Mr Bournias, my colleague in the New Democracy Party, said that there have been many studies, but the studies and reports, in spite of their being extremely well-founded, have still not materialized into any reforms in the field of civil law, and this delay is a great cause for concern. I also want to add that there has been a substantial delay in ensuring that women receive equal

**Pesmazoglou**

pay for equal work. Likewise, and this is something I want to stress, women's progress in professional careers has been slow and, finally, there have been delays in drawing up legislation for an integrated system of measures to protect women and their rights in the field of maternity. This latter point is a particularly serious matter.

It is essential that all Greek women, and especially Greek peasant women, should be immediately entitled to a maternity allowance and a system should be set up establishing independent rights to social security to which all Greek women are entitled regardless of whether they are peasants or live in the urban areas. I also want to refer very briefly to the comments which Mrs de March made. It is quite true that the situation of women depends to a very large extent on the rate of economic growth, and this brings me to the point where I must remind you that the fundamental aim of the European Community's policy in all spheres is to speed up the development of the less developed areas of the Community. It is quite clear that this policy is of great interest to Greece. For this reason I want to emphasize that it is essential not only that this motion should pass through all its stages in the parliamentary process, but also that there is a need for an effective and strong regional policy throughout the whole of the European Community. I also want to stress the importance of the remarks made by the Commission's representative, Mr Richards, who pointed out how important it is to strengthen and regenerate development in the whole of the Community. General economic and social progress within the European Community provide the basis for us to overcome the serious difficulties facing us in our attempt to bring about equality for women with men in basic social tasks and an improvement in the position of women in all European countries.

**President.** — I call Mr Enright.

**Mr Enright.** — First of all, Mr President, I like to join with my colleagues on the Ad Hoc Working Committee in congratulating Mrs Roudy for the very hard work she put in to chairing that committee, and Mrs Maij-Weggen for the splendid report she produced. I cannot, of course, agree with every single part of that report. In some places I would have gone further; in other places I would not have gone as far. But Mrs Maij-Weggen showed immense patience and immense ability throughout the year and I would like to congratulate her upon that.

I would also like to say that I think the way in which Mrs de March decided that she would dissent from what was being said was quite disgraceful in view of the fact the French Communists appeared very rarely indeed at those meetings. If they are going to make rhetorical statements about progress for the women of the Community, then they really must do the hard

work which is entailed, instead of just making statements. Progress requires work and it requires conscientiousness, and that simply was not present. Had the strictures not come from Mrs de March I would not have mentioned it. However it does seem to me that her position is like that of a whitened sepulchre and that is something I do not accept particularly as it contrasts with the very hard work done by Mrs Squarcialupi on that committee.

However, having said that, Mr President, I would like to come to the main point of what I have to say. That is first of all that, if there is one thing that is absolutely clear in the Treaty of Rome — and this is not always realized in the United Kingdom — it is Article 119. You can have your theological arguments about other articles, but that article is unequivocal and clear. It is little noticed largely because it has a relatively small part in the budget. Yet in the provisions from the three directives which have come from the Commission there has been a tremendous advance for women within the Community. When I came to examine over this last year what the Community had done, what the Community had put into practice in terms of directives and then examined what Member State, and in particular my own Member State, had done, I came to realize for the first time that in fact the Community was well ahead of the individual Member States in this area. I think that is very important to realize this.

Indeed, my own country is currently being taken to the European Court at Luxembourg and in every case women are winning justice. Unlike Enoch Powell, I would not call going to the European Court treachery. I would call it common sense fighting for justice. I thank the Commission for the part that it has played so far.

I would like to concentrate upon one of the directives which is not due to be implemented until 1984 and which is mentioned very prominently in the resolution: equal treatment where social security is concerned. It is there above all that women are disadvantaged, especially in the United Kingdom, in a quite disgraceful way.

First of all the presumption is that wives are financially dependent upon their husbands. That is the assumption in United Kingdom law. Therefore it leaves a psychological disposition which is essentially paternalistic. It is that sort of psychological attitude which we, as men, as well as the women in the Community, must fight against.

Let us just look at a few of the results of this. I hope that the Commission will examine it very carefully and will be prepared to take the United Kingdom to the European Court once again when the directive comes into full force. First of all there is unemployment benefits. In fact even before that there is the whole question of unemployment. Female unemployment rates in my constituency in the city centre of Leeds and in

## Enright

places like Batley, which have seen a rapid decline in the textile industry, are approaching 40 %. Yet this is totally disguised in the way in which we collect our figures. I would put to you that it is not merely morally reprehensible but is sheer moral turpitude.

Where a single mother is out of work for up to a year she can collect unemployment benefit, but once she has been out of work for over a year, she can no longer do so. And therefore many of the expressions that we have in the report that say that we want the man or the woman to be able to choose how they work and who goes out to work are, in effect, nullified by this. Single men do not have this sort of thing happening to them but married women do — there is a clear case of discrimination and injustice here.

I would also say on this particular theme, in regard to the single mother, that if I were to meet, for instance, Miss Hooper and her four children — assuming that she had four children — in the street and I said, 'come along and have a coffee' and bought her supposed children lemonade, then in fact, in the United Kingdom, she would be liable to having that deducted from her benefit. If on the other hand, she came along and saw me, a single parent, with my four children and bought me drinks, then that would not be deducted from mine. This is a clear absurdity.

Although it is only a very small example, it is indicative of a much more serious situation. If we take disablement and sickness — and I must perforce, Mr President, go through these quickly as I see my time is running out — we find exactly the same thing happening. A married man who gives up his job in order to look after his aged parents who are sick and disabled is entitled to an attendance allowance; a married woman who gives up her job for the same reason, no matter how vital that incomes is, is not allowed to have that attendance allowance. Similarly, if a man receives a disability allowance, he receives it at a 60 % rate. If a woman who is married receives it, she receives a rate dependent upon how much housework she can do. She is assessed. So they go round and they look and they see how much Hoovering she can do, and how much mopping; the same does not apply to men.

If we look at retirement pensions we find exactly the same lack of equal treatment. I therefore think it crucial that when this directive comes into full force, the Commission should set about examining its own initiative — not waiting for the Council of Ministers to say we are doing it wrongly, but of its own initiative — what is really happening.

I would now like to say a few quick words about the developing countries: Dame Sheila Roberts said this morning that we should not on any account discuss this since it is outside our terms of reference. It seems to me that that is utterly and absolutely wrong. Under the provisions of the Treaty we should perhaps not have been listening to President Sadat today, and yet it

was absolutely right that we did so. Under the Lomé Convention we agreed that we would discuss this matter with our African, Caribbean and Pacific colleagues, and we also said in the debate on world hunger that this was a crucial area because women have a very important part to play in the economy of the Third World and it is very often European big business which is using and exploiting them. That is quite apart from health considerations, where we can be of substantial assistance.

In conclusion, Mr President, I would like to make a personal appeal to Mr Richard on one particular matter which affects women in the United Kingdom and ask him to use his good offices to ensure an end to this disgraceful state of affairs. I refer to the situation in working men's clubs in the United Kingdom. Where they are affiliated to the Club and Institute Union women are not allowed to be members of their committees or to vote for those committees. You may say that this is unimportant but there are a large number of people who enjoy these working men's clubs, for whom it is an essential part of their social life. It is therefore important that they should be able to exercise control over their social life. But that was one of the exemptions made from the Equality Act by, I must say, our Labour Government under Harold Wilson. It is an anomaly which needs to be removed very rapidly indeed.

*(Cries of Hear, Hear)*

So as men we must fight for justice and the only way we can fight for justice is to adopt this resolution. Once again I congratulate Mrs Maij-Weggen on the excellent work she has done.

*(Applause)*

**President.** — I call Mrs Boot.

**Mrs Boot.** — *(NL)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, for all the women in this Parliament and all the women they represent this is a special day in that the excellent report before us lays the foundations for a broader European policy on emancipation and the beginning of parliamentary control to ensure it is implemented.

We congratulate Mrs Maij-Weggen on her report. The amendments I have tabled are intended to lend legal support to this report. On the whole, the report does after all give preference to the material problems connected with the objectives to be achieved as regards the position of women over the question of the institutional set-up. It thus succeeds in convincing us of the advisability of strengthening the Community's institutional structure as we now know it. I should like to say to Commissioner Richard that the vote of confidence we hope to pass on the Commission on

**Boot**

Thursday will for us also extend to the questions put to the Commission in this report. We are addressing not only the Commission but also the Member States, since it is their duty to take all the general or special measures likely to ensure that obligations stemming from the EEC Treaty or from acts of the Community institutions are honoured.

As regards the fundamental principles of Community loyalty and cooperation among the Member States and the institutions of the Community I would refer to Articles 5, 6 and 7 of the Treaty. Article 7 in particular is of fundamental importance for the elimination of the disadvantages suffered by women, since it sets forth the general principle of non-discrimination on the grounds of nationality. One of the most significant forms of discrimination against women does after all originate from the national administrations of the Member States.

Apart from this general ban on discrimination, the Treaty contains many specific provisions prohibiting discrimination. One of these has gradually become notorious in the eyes of many men. This is Article 119, which sets out the principle of equal pay for men and women. This article prompted the Council to adopt the famous three directives that have been mentioned today. Opinions on this article have undergone a strange evolution. The original economic approach to Article 119 was not regarded by anyone as more than a basis for interpretation. It is the social considerations that have come into prominence. As a result of legislation, the Member States are required by Article 119 to ensure that the principle of equality is applied as a general principle of law. This development also cleared the way for the well-known SABENA decision of 1976, and since that time the three Community directives have been properly enforced. That is true of every Member State, but all too often a trial or Community legislation is needed if further progress is to be made. I will not conceal the fact that this has also been the case in my own country. In 1974 a young woman who had just graduated in international law took the State of the Netherlands to court. Why, Mr President? Because the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had advertised a post, inviting only men to apply. Through the institution of legal proceedings against the State the authorities were forced to change course from that moment on, since they are now required to add the epithet 'male, female' whenever they advertise vacant posts.

As regards the motion for a resolution on the position of women in the Community, I should like to comment on a number of points. First, there is the part that concerns the problem of abortion, paragraphs 34, 35 and 36. My group — and I am now speaking in particular as a Dutch member of the CD Group — feels that these paragraphs do not really belong in a resolution that concerns emancipation. We are reluctant to see the abortion problem presented as an emancipation issue. Although this is a problem which usually has to be solved by women, this is because men

often, very often shirk their responsibility. Inasmuch as the responsibility for abortion is left solely to the woman. You know the slogan: 'Women alone decide.' Men then rightly say after some time, and they do so only too willingly: 'You were so keen on deciding for yourself.' In that case there is no shared responsibility. And that means that here again it is the woman who comes off worse. For us Christian Democrats abortion is too serious a problem to be solved by women alone. We see it as the responsibility of the woman and the man, the girl and the boy, and this is certainly an aspect of emancipation. The decision on whether or not a child is to be born must be taken earlier. The man and woman must know what they want and what measures they must take. For this a great deal of information is needed. Consequently, it will not surprise you to hear that we call for the deletion of the three paragraphs I have referred to. As they now stand, these articles are too one-sided.

We continue to abide by the principle that, as the guardian of the public interest, government should bear in mind the legal protection of both the unborn child and the woman who is in need. There are two sides to be considered. We can agree only to a system of measures which takes due account of both sides, and out of respect for the individual national governments some caution over this problem would not be out of place.

Secondly, I would refer to the position of women who work in family firms in both agriculture and in small and medium-sized businesses. As incomes in these sectors are low, it is often impossible to take on paid staff. The contribution women make is never really expressed in terms of money and is therefore usually underrated. It is high time that the women who make a contribution to society in many unpaid posts derive some economic benefit from their work. I call for particular attention to be paid to this group of women. Replacement services, not only health care but also someone to look after the business, are extremely important for these women. New initiatives are needed to help them financially and with management courses.

Finally, I would recall a statement made by Evelyne Sullerot in 1975, that the future of men also depends on women. If society does not enable women to have and bring up children, they will refuse to have children. It is a hard fact that having children is always to the disadvantage of women. Society is well disposed to the idea of equality in the education of girls and boys wherever possible, but when a woman wants to train for an occupation, the answer is no.

Mr President, I am about to finish. I maintain the view that if a good emancipation policy is to succeed, and legislation will certainly be needed for this, three factors will be of decisive importance: a change of attitude, a change of attitude and a change of attitude.

*(Applause from the centre)*

## IN THE CHAIR: MRS DE MARCH

*Vice-President*

**President.** — I call Mr Forth.

**Mr Forth.** — Madam President, this resolution does no credit to this Parliament at all. It is a classic example of misguided idealism and irresponsibility. The mistake was made when we set up the Ad Hoc Committee on Women's Rights, because once you create an institution or body, it then has to justify its own existence. This is exactly what we have seen in this Parliament over the past year — a group of people who have been asked to justify their existence, who have sat and met many times and are therefore perforce going to come up, as such a group will always do, with a bulky document making utterly unrealistic demands. I therefore move now, amendments to the resolution in my name and in that my colleague, Mr Cottrell.

My objections to the resolution, Madam President, are as follows: first of all, it makes totally unrealistic, costly and irresponsible demands, seeking commitments of resources which either do not exist at all, or which, if we carried out what was asked for, would cause us to cut back on other programmes in the Community.

What other programmes would be cut back if we were to commit resources to what is asked for here? Would it be the disabled? Would it be the Social Fund? Would it be anti-dumping measures? It is surely incumbent on the people who are proposing these things in this resolution to specify where the additional resources would come from or what cuts would be made in other Commission programmes in order to enable these things to be done. If that is not done then it is surely irresponsible to give people the impression that such measures will be taken when we in this Chamber know full well they will not. That is the height of irresponsibility, and that is what I charge the ad hoc committee with today.

If we look, Madam President, at the list of demands made, it is of course utterly absurd. I counted at least 35 demands, starting with paragraph 2(a) 'oblige Member States to prepare statistics...'; paragraph 2(b) 'compel Member States to report every year'; paragraph 2(c) 'national committees to carry out overall assessment...'; paragraph 3 'Commission to carry out a survey...'; paragraph 6 'Commission to ensure implementation...'; down to paragraph 49, 'Commission to report...'; paragraph 50 'Commission to set up consultative committee...' and paragraph 51 'Commission to conduct systematic enquiry...'. One can go right through the entire list of demands made, and what I want to hear from the Commission,

Madam President, is how on earth we are going to find the resources to do even a fraction of these things. If they cannot do them all, then we must be told about the priorities within that list of things that shall and shall not be done.

My second objection to the resolution concerns paragraph 13. It typically makes a sweeping demand for a general reduction in working hours and a redistribution of employment between men and women. What in earth does that mean? What sort of redistribution? On what criteria? Between whom and whom? What effect would that have first of all on employment of men in the Community and secondly on the competitive position of industry in the Community which is already in a very difficult position? These questions have patently not been given any consideration by the committee and they should have been.

Thirdly, Madam President, the resolution demands, as so many from this House do, a plethora of committees, consultative bodies, conferences and other such things to be set up. Surely, we already have a chronic surplus of such things in the Community. We should be seeking to reduce them, not increase them, because they are not in any way going to improve the condition of any one at all.

The resolution seeks to deal with discrimination and prejudice by legislation and directives, and that is the most awful denial of the whole essence of the human condition and human nature. It is utterly absurd to defend to anyone that we are going to alter prejudice and discrimination by passing a rule against it.

The resolution displays, in my view Madam President, the most appalling arrogance, particularly in the light of the fact that it is called 'the position of women in the European Community', it then goes on to try to impose our values and our culture on women throughout the world and outside the Community. I would submit to you, Madam President, that the effect of obliging the ACP delegation to discuss it, could be utterly disastrous for our relationship with our ACP colleagues. If I were one of them I would be grossly insulted. I think it is most insulting for us to take it on ourselves to tell them how to run their society.

Finally, and for me, decisively, unless and until we are given an estimate of the costs of this and of other similar resolutions to enable us to decide on priorities to be taken within the Community, I feel it would be wrong for this Parliament to support anything that is contained in this resolution and I will find it impossible to do so. Thank you!

*(Loud cries)*

**President.** — I call Mr Kappos.



**Mr Kappos.** — (EL) Mr President, on behalf of the Communist Party of Greece I should like to make the point that it is unfortunate that the report does not deal with the problems of women in Greece as it could have presented these problems at an international level. Mr President, there is no disputing the fact that in the capitalist system, and therefore in Greece, women are used as cheap labour fodder. Consequently, the improvement of their position, as well as the improvement and equalization of their pay, is not just a problem for women but also for the whole of the working class and the labour movement. My colleague who spoke this morning painted a rosy picture of the situation of women in Greece. The truth, however, is quite different. There is just one point on which we are in agreement — that in the field of military service women have achieved equality with men, in other words they have achieved equal rights insofar as they have had new unprecedented burdens imposed upon them. However, women do not want this. They want equal rights, peace and disarmament, not military service.

Mr President, it must be clear to all of us that in Greece there is discrimination against women as regards their pay, professional advancement, and their share in the social and political life of the country. Having children is still not recognized as a social task in Greece. Pregnant women are sacked without a second thought in spite of the fact that a law against this was recently passed. Crèches are non-existent and medical care for pregnant women and young mothers leaves a lot to be desired. Family law is still behind the times and reactionary in nature. One only has to remember that there is still the institution of the dowry, and this says it all. For five years now the government has been using delaying tactics over the issue of family law in its attempt to avoid updating it and making it more democratic. Indicative of this attitude is the fact that recently Parliament failed to ensure equal representation for women and representatives of women's organizations on the committee which the new family law is to set up.

Mr President, the fact of the matter is that the situation in Greece is unacceptable. It is comforting to know that the women's movement, and the people's movement in general, is making a determined struggle for the realistic updating and democratization of family law as well as realistic safeguards for women's rights. Still, Mr President, it is clear to us in the Communist Party of Greece that the position of women will not be improved by Greece's accession to the EEC. Indeed, the report acknowledges the existence of a number of serious problems which women in the countries of the EEC are having to face. On the other hand, all the gains which have been made so far have been achieved within the context of the women's struggle and the struggle of the masses, and did not come about as a result of the EEC or its institutions. On the contrary, the struggle of women to deal with their problems will undoubtedly be made more diffi-

cult by Greece's accession to the EEC because this will create new problems for women and the people as a whole. For instance, migration of the rural populace on a large scale into the towns, the closure of small businesses, unemployment, inflation, high cost of living, the strengthening of monopolies, which effectively negate workers' rights, and the negation of democracy at all levels. It is precisely for these reasons that we take the view that Greece's accession to the EEC will make the women's struggle for equality more difficult. Consequently, we are of the opinion that the women's movement in Greece and the Greek people must work together in their struggle against the EEC for Greece's withdrawal from it and for the independent economic, political and social development of Greece.

(Applause)

**President.** — I call Mr Maher.

**Mr Maher.** — Madam President, I too acknowledge the work done by Mrs Maij-Weggen and her committee. It is a very difficult area and I think we should not be too critical when we discuss the very difficult questions they have had to concern themselves with over a number of months. Because my time is limited I will confine myself to a few brief remarks, and I hope I shall be constructively critical.

It surprises me that Mrs Maij-Weggen and her committee gave no indication in the report of any recognition of women's organizations that exist in all our member countries; they are not even mentioned. We have in our countries various women's institutes, organizations set up by the women themselves to provide themselves a service to help promote their interests, and it is a surprising thing that they should have been completely ignored. In my country we have the Irish Countrywomen's Association, which deals with women in the rural regions and we have urban women's organizations, I would recommend strongly that the Community, through the Commission, in any efforts it is making on a common level to improve the lot of women, should make use of these organizations and channel finance through them, if finance is being channelled into our member countries and make use of structures that are there set up by the women themselves. In that way account will be taken of the special needs of women. After all, who can know better than they what is best for them?

I hope, too, that particular recognition will be accorded to the contribution made by women in the sphere of agriculture. It is accepted, I believe, that up to one-quarter of all the food produced in the European Community today is produced by women working in the fields and in the farmyard. Have they ever received recognition for this? Is there ever any payment for it? Does the Commission, when it is

**Maher**

compiling the agricultural prices, take account of the contribution made by women? I do not think so — they are completely ignored, but still they go on. If they ever withdrew their services we could run into a serious shortage of food in the European Economic Community. I think it is totally wrong that women, not only do the domestic chores in their houses and rear a family, but also work in the fields and the farmyards as well, without any recognition, not to mention payment, for their services.

My final point, Mr President, is this, and I must make it strongly: I believe this Parliament would be making a great mistake if through this resolution it forced any member country to accept a rule or regulation which that country feels is diametrically opposed to its interests and the interests of its people. I refer to the very critical and intimate area of abortion and contraception. I think it would be extremely foolish of this Parliament to try to insist on harmonization, if harmonization means that countries have to accept certain rules and regulations because the Community says so. I can solemnly assure you that my country would leave the European Community if it were forced to accept measures which conflict with what we deeply believe in. Unless the people of Ireland decide to accept these measures, then they will not be acceptable to us and will not apply in our country. Unless there are changes, particularly in paragraphs 35 and 36, this resolution as it stands is not acceptable to me.

**Mrs Spaak.** — (F) Madam President, I should like to say something to Mr Forth, who spoke just now. I should like to say to Mr Forth that everything excessive is trivial, and I very much fear that he has made a trivial statement.

I should like to stress the importance and the quality of the work done by the *ad hoc* Committee on Women's Rights and pay tribute to the capacity for work and the perseverance of our rapporteur, Mrs Maij-Weggen, and also to the chairman, Mrs Roudy, who succeeded in ensuring collaboration and encouraging members of the committee to reconcile their points of view. But I am sorry about one thing: the little interest shown in our work. And I look forward, ladies and gentlemen, with impatience to the time when all Members, male and female, are convinced that it is not women who have the problems, but society. Just as we must organize relations among the various components of society, we must solve the problems between men and women, for example, legal inequalities, limited participation in political bodies, the vicious circle of jobs for unskilled women, which are poorly paid and offer uncertain promotion prospects. The progress that has been made is not irreversible. Attitudes have not really changed, and all our efforts must go into this revolution. There is a greater need than ever for vigilance in the present economic crisis, which is hitting women harder than men.

Women must seize the opportunity this economic crisis offers, not submit to it. They must seize this opportunity to reassert that they are the equals of men, that the problems inherent in their status, motherhood and the education of children, for example, must on no account be taken as an excuse for discriminating against them in favour of men.

It is at this time of crisis that we must all reassert our desire for genuine equality. The European Community must keep a particularly close watch on the measures taken by the States in any area with an economic aspect, such as social security and taxation. These measures often result in indirect discrimination against women and evasion of the implementation of the directives. I am sorry to say that the policy of my own country is far from exemplary in this respect. For example, where tax law is concerned, the combination of a married couple's incomes penalizes the wife and imposes a considerable burden on her economic independence. Lastly, under the legislation on economic recovery, again in Belgium, various measures relating to unemployment that have been taken introduce the concept of cohabitation by limiting unemployment benefits and the period of unemployment during which these benefits may be claimed. Quite clearly this is a discriminatory measure, and I even ask myself if such measures do not conflict with the directive on equal treatment.

The Community must continue and step up the campaign of information for women that began during the elections and the election campaign of June 1979 and provide appropriate financial resources. The conclusion drawn in a remarkable document by two Belgian lawyers which forms part of our committee's dossier is that, even where legislation makes provision for them, there is great difficulty in translating reforms into customary practice, particularly because of the ignorance of women. Without information there will be no change of attitude or increase in the political and social participation of women.

Within our *ad hoc* committee Mrs Dekker and I were made responsible for a report on the new technologies. We must ensure that these technologies make it possible for the labour market to be reorganized along fairer lines. They will affect sectors in which women form the majority of the labour force. Training in these occupations must be adjusted and arrangements made for retraining. In these sectors once again, women must be a driving force and accept this new challenge in their own interests.

If this development is to succeed, the employers' cooperation is essential as is that of the trade unions, which have resisted and often continue to resist the presence of women within their institutions. They will have an opportunity to show a change in their attitudes. The Community must act quickly — it has begun to do so — particularly by carrying out practical studies in the sectors which will be affected and the resulting new

**Spaak**

prospects, and it must inform women of its findings and arrange for their participation, make the social partners aware of the problems and join with them in taking action to prevent telematics from having an adverse effect on the employment of women and men. It should, for example, arrange for the promotion of adequate training schemes, in which women must be a driving force, and ensure that the growth of work at home, to which telematics threatens to lead, does not become a new source of segregation in the employment market.

Madam President, I should like to say a few words about the amendment I shall be tabling on the voluntary interruption of pregnancy. I refer to the text of the rapporteur, Mrs Maij-Weggen, where it concerns the right to contraception and adequate information. I completely agree with this paragraph. To Mr Lalor, who spoke this morning, I should like to say that no woman in the world, neither Mrs Maij-Weggen nor those who have tabled amendments, wants to encourage abortion or considers it a positive measure. It is a terrible ordeal, Mr Lalor. Women resort to abortion only in desperation. But the problem exists. Every year hundreds of thousands of women have to undergo this terrible experience in scandalous conditions, and it is hypocritical to ignore the problem. My amendment calls for the recognition of the right — and a right is not an obligation — to voluntary interruption of pregnancy for all women without any social discrimination. We are well aware that well-to-do women can get an abortion with impunity and in excellent conditions in well organized clinics either in the Netherlands or Britain.

We therefore call for all women to be placed on the same footing and for the horror of clandestine abortion to be eliminated. I am not, of course, saying that abortion should be freely available, but it should be possible where there is an urgent need. Who can deny that there is urgent need in the cases arising out of the definition of health laid down by the World Health organization. According to this definition, health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and does not consist solely in the absence of disease or infirmity. It is an irresponsible attitude not to recognize the social and mental dimension of the problem of the voluntary interruption of pregnancy. The interruption must, of course, be carried out in a specially equipped hospital.

The *ad hoc* committee has completed its work. It is obvious that Parliament should not think that, this being the case and possibly after adopting the report before it, everything is settled and we can now pretend the problem is behind us.

I am convinced that our Assembly has a very important role to play in this fundamental development of our society, and we must certainly back up the decisions taken by bringing influence to bear in our national Parliaments. Each of Parliament's committees

must be aware of this dimension, and the women on those committees must be particularly vigilant.

Ladies and gentlemen, Madame President, the European Parliament in which so much hope is placed, has a duty to go beyond the aspirations for which we have served as spokesmen during these debates.

(Applause)

## IN THE CHAIR: MR MØLLER

*Vice-President*

**President.** — I call Mrs Fullet.

**Mrs Fullet.** — (*F*) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to say at the outset how pleased I was to work on this *ad hoc* committee on women's rights and how regretful I am this evening, as I think we all are, that our task has finally been concluded, if a report on women's rights can ever be truly concluded. I hope we will have the opportunity of working together again under such good conditions.

May I be permitted to congratulate our rapporteur, Mrs Maij-Weggen, and our chairman, Mrs Roudy, on the great amount of work they have accomplished. We certainly do not claim that everything is perfect, but an effort was indeed made to tackle the problems surrounding the most important rights which women have as women.

Nevertheless, on behalf of the Socialist Group and on my own behalf, I would like to call your attention to an aspect of these rights which I feel deserves priority: I am referring to contraception and voluntary abortion in the Community countries. Those who have already spoken have expressed various opinions, some of which I share, and others which I consider very backward. I will return to this later. We can no longer ignore this basic problem of women's rights. It should be the first in a long series of choices through which women will assume personal responsibility for their private lives. This freedom of choice is of very recent date, and in some countries it still does not exist. I hope we will deal with the problem without emotion and without hypocrisy, for in reality the right to abortion has belonged only to a privileged minority able to travel to a neighbouring country, while the poorest women were and still are obliged to resort to medically doubtful methods entailing not only inescapable risks but much psychological and moral suffering as well. It is because I think it is easier to mourn babies that were never born than to provide work and a decent standard of living for those that were; because I think, as you do, that the denial of basic rights such as

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contraception and abortion in some of its Member States is unacceptable in this Europe of hope and freedom, a Europe which is becoming an integrated economic zone and tending towards judicial unity as well; it is because of all this that I called for legislative harmonization in the Member States of the Community in regard to contraception and abortion. This should be done on the basis of three principles: women living in the Community make their own decisions; prosecution for abortion should cease; and the voluntary termination of pregnancy should be free. I demand this law in the name of European women, for it contributes most to the right to freedom and without it there can be no civilized society.

How can we ignore the Treaties, which say that we must defend and maintain the well being of the citizens of Europe? How can we speak of the free movement of working women when they are subject to different laws affecting their most profoundly personal decisions: whether or not to have a child and when to have one? I appeal to those of you here today who want to build a Europe where women will have a place for themselves, to those of you who do not want demographic policy to be used as a means of attaining certain economic goals, to those of you who want to grant women their rights before insisting upon their duties, to all of you: be well aware of the importance of the vote you will make tomorrow.

I tell you, but you already know, you cannot help knowing that millions of women abort in secret. The risks are great, the methods dangerous, and the suffering unavoidable. There are many of us here who consider abortion to be the last resort. We do not want it to be lumped together with other methods of contraception. We say to the women of Europe who are watching us today: this directly elected Parliament, this Parliament of hope will give proof of its greatness and its power. Free exercise of the rights of man depends also on the recognition of the rights of women. Addressing myself more particularly to Miss de Valera and Mrs Boots, I ask the following question: if contraception and voluntary termination of pregnancy do not concern women, whom do they concern? If we cannot include these topics in a report on women's rights, I wonder what sort of document would be a suitable place for them? I can see there only a hypocritical example of the way the choice of maternity has been approached for thousands of years. For my part, I know that we cannot cry for those who are not born until we can ensure happiness for those who are. That time is not yet. Thanks to your decision however, ladies and gentlemen, it is perhaps very near.

(Applause)

**Mr Lentz-Cornette.** — (F) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I would first like to thank Mrs Majj-Weggen, our rapporteur, who has submitted to us today a report which is complete, well-organized, and

fully representative of the work accomplished by the *ad hoc* committee on women's rights. Those who in October of 1979 doubted the need to create an *ad hoc* committee on women's rights and to hold a parliamentary debate on the position of women in the Community will yield today to the evidence that the work done by the committee was incontestably necessary. The facts and conclusions arrived at will serve as a basis for the constant improvement of the status of women in the Community, whatever Mr Forth may say. Since speakers from my group have already touched on the general problems, I will turn to a particular aspect of our work, that is, the role of women in the family. I am well aware that nowadays anyone who dares to talk about the role of women in the family lays himself open to the most violent attacks and reproaches. The so-called advocates of women's liberation for whom this liberation takes place only outside of family structures have a tendency to call backward or reactionary — as I heard from a leftist on my right — anyone who speaks up in favour of women who do not pursue any salaried professional activity. For my part, I believe that the emancipation of women does not take place only on the professional, economic, and social levels. It takes place also and especially in the family.

As long as women who work at home, educating their children, organizing family life, and managing the family budget have a lower status and fewer advantages than salaried women, emancipation will not be complete. I am not recommending that women return to the kitchen; I am appreciating at its true value the social function performed by the woman who devotes herself to the family, and here I am in entire agreement with Mr Lalor. The woman who decides to stay with her children performs a social function of the first importance. The woman who accepts her natural vocation as a mother makes as valid a contribution to society as the woman who is professionally active. Psychologists are unanimous in declaring that a small child needs its mother. It needs a fixed point of reference and a stable and durable emotional tie. This function cannot be completely and perfectly fulfilled by a nursery or day-care centre. The mother, and she alone, possesses all the qualifications to fill this educational and above all emotional role. Our Assembly recently held a debate on criminality and terrorism. I firmly believe that the absence of the mother during children's early years, and the emotional vacuum in which our children very often find themselves as a result, is one of the deep-rooted causes of the increase in criminality. This, ladies, is my opinion, say what you will. It is possible to fight criminality and terrorism in parliaments, and it is also possible to fight them in the family.

I said a moment ago that I am not on the side of those who favour women's return to the kitchen; I believe that women have a right to the same professional training as men. I protest against the obstacles which masculine society, on the pretext of male intellectual

**Lentz-Cornette**

superiority, has invented to deny women access to professional life. I say that there is no conflict between women's family and professional functions. Rather, they complement one another. But I also say that I favour a well considered choice between the family and the professional function. In a woman's life, there are, roughly speaking, three distinct phases: first comes the period which precedes marriage, the time of professional training and the first professional accomplishments. Then comes the period when she bears and educates her children, the maternal phase where the interests of the child motivate her temporary retirement from professional life. Finally there is the period when the children are educated, and she can resume, if she wishes, her professional activity. I know that the laws which govern the job market do not favour women who have reached their forties and who wish to return to work. Thought must be given to the solution of this problem. It is again a question of bringing about a change in mentality, as has been mentioned here several times already.

Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to touch for a moment on two problems raised in Mrs Maij-Weggen's report regarding social security. Social security is one of the areas where equality between men and women has remained for the most part a dead letter. I join with the *ad hoc* committee in calling for the immediate application of this directive in all Member States of the Community. Social security does not concern only salaried women; it also concerns women at home, who are very often at the mercy of their husbands. It is necessary to provide, in the next few years, an entire legal and financial programme to ensure social security. Social discrimination between men and women must be eliminated, while avoiding the introduction of a new discrimination between salaried women and women who stay at home.

Our committee held lengthy discussions on the subject of abortion, finally retaining among its conclusions the idea that abortion can only be considered as a last resort. For my part, I believe that abortion is always a drama and a failure, and several of us here have already said the same. It is an individual and social failure. All possible measures must be taken to prevent recourse to this final and irrevocable act. Our committee had good reason to stress the need to reduce the number of abortions. I am convinced that effective measures of prevention and guidance will be able to put limits on this social tragedy. Sexual education and information are particularly important in this respect. Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the discussion we are holding today temporarily concludes the debate on the situation of women. It should not be a conclusion in itself. We have made the necessary analysis and come up with a diagnosis. We have identified the remedies. The real work has only just begun. Now it is a matter of putting our good intentions into practice. For our part, we can do this best in our respective committees, which should study the different aspects

of the question and determine the priorities. Our Assembly has shown Europe that it is determined to improve the status of women. Our permanent committees must proceed with what the Assembly has begun.

(Applause)

**President.** — I wish to draw the attention of the House to the decisions concerning Rules 30 and 31 of the Rules of Procedure on speaking adopted by the Bureau on 26 April 1967 and 22 September 1968 and communicated at the sittings of 11 May 1967 and 6 October 1969. The first part states that, with a view to ensuring a lively debate, speakers should as far as possible refrain from reading their speeches. I should like to remind the House of this. It would make both debates more lively and, in certain cases, shorter if speakers were not tied to their manuscripts.

I call Mrs Maij-Weggen on a point of order.

**Mrs Maij-Weggen, rapporteur.** — (NL) Mr President, I have just told Mr Lalor that a rather nasty mistake has crept into the French text, and I now understand that Mrs Lentz-Cornette has come across the same mistake, which has probably resulted in the criticism she has just voiced on a specific point. The English and French versions contain a sentence which says exactly the opposite of what is meant. The beginning of paragraph 36 should read: 'Feels, however, that abortion must be regarded as a last resort,' whereas the text in these two languages says something like 'Feels that abortion must not be regarded as a last resort'. Mr President, that is a basic political difference. Members should therefore bear in mind that the correct version is that in the five other languages and that the English and French translations are incorrect. A corrigendum will be drawn up, but I would refer all Members reading the French and English versions to the rather serious political mistake in paragraph 36.

**President.** — Thank you Mrs Maij-Weggen, it is a mistake to which I would draw Parliament's attention. Although it is scarcely possible to table an amendment now the mistake can be noted and recorded in the minutes and the final resolution.

I call Mr Seligman.

**Mr Seligman.** — Mr President, my colleague, Mr Forth, accused the Maij-Weggen report of being irresponsible and misguided. He accused it of calling for unrealistic commitments and said it would mean a cutback in other areas of the Community. I dissociate myself entirely from Mr Forth's remarks and I also dissociate Miss Roberts from these remarks. They are chauvinistic and unacceptable. I suppose that, if there was a budget deficit, Mr Forth would be against even

## Seligman

childbirth. So don't let us listen to that attitude at all! The Maij-Weggen recommendations are comprehensive and cover the whole field. I concede it may take a little longer to achieve these ends unless we get the economic recovery that will make this possible and pay for it.

Part II of the Maij-Weggen Report, the explanatory statement, is a first-class document. It is a remarkable document that should be widely read throughout the world. I only criticize Part I, the motion for a resolution, which is much too one-sided. It reflects the needs and aspirations of the career woman but pays much too little attention to the mother whose ambition is to bring up a happy family and for whom motherhood is not just an interruption in her career between the ages of 25 and 35. In fact, motherhood is a word that appears in the resolution only in connection with contraception, which is a means of avoiding motherhood, and that is really a denial of the dignity of motherhood.

The fundamental problem is that the cost of living is now so high that wives are forced to go out to work of course, this leaves the children to fend for themselves. Often they come home to an empty house, and this in turn, as speakers have said, breeds vandalism and hooliganism. So I ask the rapporteur to include in her resolution some new paragraphs stressing the importance of the *mère de famille* as opposed to the career woman. I agree with Miss De Valera and the previous speaker on this. In particular we want tax incentives to make the mother's job in the home easier and to enable her to bring up her children and husband in a good family life. Women must not suffer economically if they decide to do the job of motherhood properly. Nor should they suffer socially or culturally or intellectually for taking up this sacrifice which should be rewarded with praise and recognition. Surely a successful family life is the ultimate fulfilment of many women's lives. Despite what Mr Johnson said, this is a concept which men do not fully grasp.

The second recommendation on the resolution is that education should not be provided only for career women. We should devise some way of providing education in the home and some mental stimulation for mothers who stay at home. Finally, the resolution should make some mention of the fact that re-establishing economic growth in the Community is absolutely essential, so that the standard of living can rise and so that women are not forced by economic necessity to go out to work, against their wills. If you put these amendments in the resolution, it will restore the balance towards motherhood and against the career life for women.

**Mr Zighdis.** — (EL) Mr President, I have been following the debate with a great deal of interest as well as gloom and despondency. The interest is due to the standard of the debate, the despondency to the

subject. What in fact is the subject? It is the fact that we live in a society where half the members do not have the same opportunities as the other half to fully develop their personalities. Let us not beat about the bush. The fact of the matter is that we have condemned women in our society to have fewer possibilities to develop their personalities than men. It is perhaps the biggest failing of our society and a blot on our civilization. I wanted to speak to congratulate the Bureau and the members of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, and especially the rapporteur for the excellent report she presented to us. The comments are objective and the proposals definite. It remains now for the Commission to draw up a list of priorities in order to lead up the process of converting the proposals into positive results. I also consider it my duty, even if my speech does go on too long, to express my gratitude to the *Ad Hoc* Committee, which says that the Commission has a duty to concern itself with the question of women in Greece from the very first months of our accession to the Common Market, since a problem already exists, and now is the best time for the Commission to intervene as it may get results which otherwise might take at least ten years to be achieved. The position of Greek women is not as it was presented by my colleagues in the New Democracy Party and the Communist Party. The two extremes are always prone to exaggeration. We representatives of democratic socialism, the representatives of the Union of the Democratic Centre, which I have the honour to lead, will give you a correct picture. We shall give you all the details so that today, within the family of the Ten, we can tackle together the common problem of equality between women and men.

The Greek constitution provides for equality between men and women, but so far it is a dead letter because, as we approach 1982 when the Civil Code was due to be reviewed and updated, the bill drawn up by the committee, which was set up in 1976 for this purpose, is still not on the statute book. It is still no more than a bill and it is in danger of not being adopted because the present conservative government is afraid of even the most moderate reforms recommended by Professor Gazis. The present family law places women in a subordinate role in the family. The husband has all the major responsibilities. A legal arrangement of this type is unacceptable in our society and times. There is also the institution of the dowry which is an anachronism that is resented by contemporary society. Equally, however, the laws against contraception and abortion are hopeless because they lead to crimes being committed to which we hypocritically turn a blind eye. On the other hand the institutional and legal frameworks concerned with labour, social security, education and political rights have progressed in Greece much further than in many other countries, and even further than in some countries in the EEC. Although it seems that women in Greece have made progress in these areas, the reality is quite different owing to prejudice and the absence of an infrastructure. I shall explain immediately what I mean by this term 'infra-

**Zighdis**

structure' as it is quite simple. There are no crèches, no kindergartens, nor suitable help to allow the working woman to devote herself to her work or profession in such a way that she can carry out her job without distraction. This is the first hurdle. The second is prejudice, the age-old tradition which requires that women work as housewives in their husband's home. In these circumstances employers always find it possible to give no end of excuses for paying women lower wages than men. Women do not reach the decision-making levels in organizations, whether they be in public services or private businesses. There are very few women in Greece who are managers of private businesses. Even in the civil service it is very rare to see a woman become an ambassador or director-general of a ministry, or taking on a really important department. The extent to which women are involved in political life is extremely limited. In the Chamber of Deputies we have only five or six women. We came here as a delegation of twenty-four parliamentarians and there is not one woman amongst us. This is the most outstanding example of the difference between what we say and what we actually do. Nevertheless, colleagues, we should be proud of our Greek women, and we Greek men are. In all of the national struggles, in all the struggles for democracy and in all the social struggles women have been in the front line. We Greek men admire them and turn to them in times of difficulty but, when we should be giving them equal rights with men, we say to them 'it's better if you sit there and take care of us'. The first to try and make Greek men change this attitude were women like Kalliroe Paren, who at the start of the century was one of the most outstanding feminists in the whole of Europe, and Avra Theodoropoulou, who from 1920 onwards carried the banner for women's suffrage and spent the whole of her life, until her death at an advanced age, fighting for the right of all Greek women to vote and to stand as candidates in elections.

Gentlemen, we in the party which I have the honour of leading feel that there is a need not just for fine words but for action as well. For this reason, in spite of the fact that we have given women members the same rights as men, we have set up a special women's organization whose aim is to fight for equality between men and women in Greek society.

Consequently, I am extremely satisfied and pleased to come here and witness, on my first appearance in the European Parliament, problems which concern us in Greece being discussed.

Gentlemen, we who were in favour of Greece's accession to the European Community believed that the cooperation of the Greek people with the progressive peoples of Europe would ensure a better society for everyone. I believe that as a result of this debate a rapid increase in the standard of living not only of Greek women, but also of all women in Europe, will be brought about through the cooperation of Greek women with those women who are struggling in the

other nine countries in Europe. For this reason, Mr President, I shall repeat my request for the Commission to take up the matter of Greek women as soon as possible. This is an area where the direct benefits of Greece's accession to the Common Market can be demonstrated most fruitfully. And if we have women on our side the idea of European unity will have both a logical and emotional basis, and you know that there is no power greater than this combination of logic and sentiment which is now being shown by Greek women who are fighting for equal rights.

**President.** — I call Mrs Lizin.

**Mrs Lizin.** — (*F*) Mr President, we have heard many speeches today, both good and bad. Some have asserted that the family is the ideal social order; others have mentioned poetry — fortunately, up to now we have been spared the 'feminine mystique'. Is it 'poetry' when, at 23, a woman finds herself alone with two children and, if she is lucky, a seamstress' diploma in a region where there are no more jobs? Where is the 'poetry of the family' when someone who, like me, is a magistrate in a small town, and finds herself dissolving as many marriages as she has performed over the same period? Is it 'poetry' when, at seventeen, a girl finds herself a mother without financial resources because there was no-one who dared to show her how to obtain an abortion, or when she must bear the psychological scars of an abortion performed in abominable circumstances? Is it 'poetry' when, as the widow of a small farmer, in addition to your grief you find yourself suddenly classed as a minor before the law, with no right to go on running the farm which you built up with your husband? Is it 'poetry' when both husband and wife are unemployed, obliged to live on a barely adequate income and to be sneered at by those who think of the unemployed as parasites? This is not poetry, but hypocrisy, the kind of hypocrisy which forces men to believe themselves strong and women to behave like dependent minors, the kind of hypocrisy which often speaks in public about the role of the family while trying to draw the veil over prostitution, the kind of hypocrisy which asserts that women must always accept maternity as a happy event.

The report presented to us — despite its many shortcomings — has at least the merit of not indulging in hypocrisy of this sort. It takes into account the concrete realities of the lives of women, and if some consider the list too lengthy, I can only say that the difficulties are many. What are these realities? The economic and social setbacks experienced by all workers in the present readjustment process of capitalism affects women very seriously. Their right to work is compromised to a greater degree than that of men by the changes now taking place. Entire factories — I will use an example in Belgium, the FN — are laying off their unqualified workers — that is, those with a seamstress' diploma — while in the same

## Lizin

factory men are being hired to work machines. Their right to unemployment compensation is being attacked in each of the European countries. Unemployed women are the victims, especially in my own country, of an attempt to strengthen the discrimination which justifies the reduction of their already small allocations on the basis of their family situation, and not on the basis of their right to work. These measures aim at considerably reducing allocations for those who are not 'heads of families,' and are contrary to the directive on social security. Delays in the application of this directive tend to render it ineffective, and our wish, which is contained in an amendment I proposed to Mrs Maij-Weggen's report, is that the Commission propose measures to expedite action on this specific point.

Time is very important today for working women. The crisis does not allow them to wait. The European authorities will demonstrate their concern for the situation of workers, and particularly women workers, by constructing a true employment policy and a sectorial industrial policy. We are engaged in building an economic community, and this is the primary factor which the Commission and the Council must take into account.

I will also speak of a particular category of working women, women in agriculture, whose labour goes unrecognized in European society. Women in agriculture are rarely in charge; they are usually assistants, who, in addition to keeping house, also do work on the farm. Their work is considered to be of negligible economic value. In reality, in each agricultural unit, there is a part — certainly at least half — of the labour which is based on the work of these women. The Socialists, therefore, have proposed measures which were incorporated into Mrs Maij-Weggen's report and which are aimed at providing access to professional training for women working in agriculture, to extend the system of social protection regarding maternity, widowhood, invalidity benefits, and the protection of professional status, by means of a directive concerning company law. In the report we have called upon the Commission to provide funding for replacement personnel so that women in agriculture can have a minimum amount of time available either to obtain training or to devote themselves to defending their rights. To achieve development in the areas we are discussing, however, there are not many choices open to us. Women must demand power; they must choose to involve themselves personally in the fight. The good will of allies must certainly not be rejected: the Commission has been such an ally in many cases and for many years. I would like to give credit here, through the Commission, to Mrs Nonon. The Council, on the other hand, has not shown the same good will.

The Commission could, I understand, continue in this direction in a very concrete way, for a vacant post might very soon permit the designation of a woman

director. I think everyone knows to whom I am referring: Miss Nielsen. Allies, however, even if they include the Commission, can never take the place of a personal will to acquire power. And when one sees the reactions set off in the minds of men, here and elsewhere, by the demand for equality, it is to be feared that one day women will estimate their strength at its true value and at last demand their right to superiority!

**President.** — I call Mr Glinn.

**Mr Glinne** — (F) Mr President, it is with satisfaction and a certain pride as well that I take part in this debate, which is one of the most significant held since the direct election of the European Parliament.

Satisfaction and pride because it is owing to the proposal and the insistence of the Socialist Group that the *ad hoc* committee on women's rights was created. The quality of the work accomplished by the members of this committee, the interest shown in this debate by members of Parliament and particularly by the representatives of European women's groups, the relevance of what has been said here by Socialist and other Members — all this proves that the Socialist Group and the Parliament as a whole judged rightly when they decided a year ago to create the *ad hoc* committee on women's rights, which since that time has met regularly under the chairmanship of our colleague Yvette Roudy.

The particular interest felt by our group in the problem of women's rights should not be surprising to anyone. In fact, feminism and socialism are intimately connected. I would even say, as François Mitterrand did on 5 May, the day of women and of Europe, that feminism and socialism should be inseparable. For us socialists, the battle waged by feminists and by women who are not of socialist convictions should be more than a simple demand for equality between men and women, for that would lead only to equality within a system whose very structures are being re-evaluated. It is at this point that the struggle of women becomes part of the struggle of all socialists, for, as Maria Delourdes Pintasingo very rightly said, 'In women all forms of domination are recapitulated, and for this reason the revolutionary potential of their movement is immense.' Or, again, from the same author, 'The society whose validity is in question is not that of one country or another, or one regime or another, but it is rather a society which already envelops all other societies and within which it becomes impossible for any national group to forge a new destiny for itself.'

Mr President, through its refusal of any type of domination, but also through its international dimension, the struggle of women is, must be, and must go on being the struggle of all socialists.

Ladies and gentlemen, is it necessary to underline here in this Assembly, which has many times sought to



Glinne

defend human rights wherever they are violated, that the liberation of women carries within itself and presupposes all other forms of liberation for human beings, for workers, for those who are still colonized, for the young, etc.? In the poem, *Queen Mab*, Shelley had already written in 1813: 'Can man be free if woman is in slavery?' The liberation of women is connected with the liberation of all human beings. The degrees of freedom enjoyed by women, in every society, is thus the standard for measuring freedom in general. In order to be truly free, women must participate in all forms of social, political, cultural, and economic activity, particularly through access to all forms of training and to all professions. It is necessary to emphasize that integration into the system of production is not sufficient in itself to assure women's liberation, for, obviously, the woman who has a tiring and unsatisfying job on an assembly line is exploited to the same degree as is her male co-worker. The liberation and the struggle of women are irrevocably bound to the struggle of men for another form of work organization, based on an economy meant to serve man. This is why we socialists consider the humanization of work and the reduction of working time to be of the first importance. Such a reduction should not only permit a new distribution of available work but also it should contribute to a better development of both men and women and permit them to better fulfil their family obligations.

On this point, it would be an error to underestimate the economic importance of domestic tasks. It would also be an error not to take into account the importance for children of time spent in the family. It is another error, however, to believe that only women should perform the housekeeping tasks, should bear the responsibility of caring for and educating the children. Paternity involves the same responsibility, the same fundamental duties as does maternity. The mutual respect felt by both members of the couple living together suggests that these duties be shared.

Although we socialists are in favour of the reduction of working time for everyone, men and women alike, we are firmly opposed to the development of part-time work. Such work creates within a company two kinds of workers: full-time workers on the one hand, and on the other workers who do not participate fully in the life of the company and who often have no chance for promotion, while when lay-offs occur they are the first to fall victim to unemployment. Instead of demanding part-time work for some, we ask for the reduction of working hours for all, in order that all men and women who wish to do so can participate in economic life while retaining sufficient free time to devote to the family, to leisure, to socio-cultural activities, etc.

As François Mitterrand said with much firmness and clarity of vision: 'One of the first battles on the European level should be this one: the application in each Member State of the best social and human legislation, a legislation which most favours justice, liberty, and

the conquest of that fundamental law without which there can be no civilized society. We will fight for equal salaries, for the reduction of working hours, for employment, and for the creation of the necessary collective organizations. We wish', he concluded, 'to transform the economic structures and therefore the social structures and the relationships of production which generate slavery, alienation, and the exploitation of men by men and of women by men.' As I said at the beginning, feminism and socialism are truly inseparable.

*(Applause from the left)*

**President.** — I call Mrs Schleicher.

**Mrs Schleicher.** — *(D)* I should like to thank the President for adding another half-hour, even though he previously thought that six hours would be quite sufficient to discuss the problems. But the extensive report and also the motions for resolutions that have been tabled show in themselves that the questions that have been raised here simply cannot be discussed in a very short time and probably cannot be permanently overcome with just one report. The statement that Mr Glinne has just made shows that political opinions differ on how the objectives should be achieved and that woman's freedom of choice to decide which she prefers, work in the home or outside, raises, of course, a number of problems and the goals associated with this cannot simply be achieved by means of a given economic order.

In this context, I should like to refer to the statement by Mrs Wieczorek-Zeul. She believes that the problems women face can only be solved by means of a fair distribution of working time under a planned economic policy. I must say on behalf of my group that we hold the opposite view, that a planned labour market cannot solve the problems. What we believe is that it will be easier to get to grips with the problems by increasing the range of part-time work because, if the labour market is subject to fixed rules and working hours are prescribed, it will be impossible to work more than the set hours when necessary, and in addition, those who might perhaps be interested only in short working hours would not be able to find employment. We believe in the compatibility of the employment of women and work in the home for a given period, when women are needed, and this, I believe, is possible only if there is a wider range of part-time work.

Referring to the Socialists' suggestion that the problems women face can only be solved with Socialist policy, I must say that I do not know any country in the world that has so far managed to solve all the problems, not even those which call themselves Socialist. We hope we can find joint solutions in discussions with men and women. In this respect, I am also grate-

**Schleicher**

ful to the Greek Member who pointed out that, although the 24 Greeks who have now joined our Parliament are very active, they do not include any women. But we can well imagine that after the direct elections in Greece in October we will have Greek women in Parliament, who can then join in the discussions on these problems in the committee.

*(Applause from the centre)*

I presume that this reaction was meant ironically. I am pleased to see that you too have applauded. I should like to revert to a point which I consider particularly important. We have called for the resolution and the report to be discussed thoroughly once again in our committees, because they contain a great deal of inflammatory material, and I therefore feel each committee should once again give detailed consideration to matters falling within its terms of reference, so that it is known exactly what Parliament's opinion is on the details as well.

I am happy that we have had the whole day to discuss this report. I would also like to point out that the Bundestag will probably be devoting a whole day to matters specifically concerning women in March, since we have submitted a report which the Bundestag called for and which will then be debated. I would also point out that we were particularly interested to see how full the gallery has been. Most of these visitors — the majority of them women, of course — have an immediate interest in the subject, and since the direct elections I cannot recall a debate during which a given problem has met with such interest. I thank the public for their interest, but I also hope the reports truly reflect what has been said here, because the women who have come are very interested and because those who were unable to attend because our gallery is not large enough are at least as interested. I therefore hope that our debate has not been simply a debate amongst ourselves, but that it will be carried to the outside and steps will be taken to ensure that everyone knows how we are tackling this problem and what solutions we offer that as far as possible do equal justice to both men and women.

*(Applause from the centre)*

**President.** — I call Mr Clinton.

**Mr Clinton.** — Mr President, I want first of all to pay my tribute to the rapporteur, Mrs Maij-Weggen, and to the chairman and members of the committee, who have worked so hard and put so much research over the past twelve months into the position of women in Europe. This report contains much valuable information and some recommendations which, I believe, will have wide support in this House.

That is not to say, however, that I personally can support everything said in this report, and I am refer-

ring particularly to paragraph 36, which refers to abortion. Now Mrs Maij-Weggen herself has corrected what is said here, but even with the change that she has indicated to the Parliament, it does say that abortion is permissible more or less as a last resort. I want to make my position quite clear: under no circumstances could I go along the line towards abortion, for abortion is hideous murder of the helpless innocent, and it cannot be otherwise described. In the past year-and-a-half, we have had many discussions here in which we expressed our disapproval and our aversion to violence in various parts of the world; yet here we have people who are prepared to campaign for the murder of unborn children. When I hear the casual and callous way in which some Members of this Parliament can even refer to the termination of a pregnancy, when in fact it is this hideous murder of innocent human beings, I am appalled and I cannot understand how anybody could give it any support whatsoever. This matter should not be avoided; I do not reproach the rapporteur for bringing this into her report; for it is a fact of life, and one which must be considered seriously. But it must be considered only to be condemned and condemned out of hand, because it is no solution to the undoubted anguish that people who find themselves in this position feel at such a time. What we should all be thinking of is how to overcome all thought of such a terrible way to deal with the unfortunate situation of an unwanted pregnancy. That is the only way we should look at it; and unless paragraph 36 is changed, I personally will have to vote against the report.

I have no time to deal with a report which I consider very important and extremely valuable, a report which, as I say, contains an immense amount of valuable information. Nobody can deal with it in a few minutes. I just want to say, therefore, that in my view — and I have reared a large family — there is no substitute for the care and the love and the affection provided by a mother in the home. I have every evidence of that. The first thing the children do when they come home is to open the door and shout: 'Mom, mom!'. If she answers, there is nothing in particular that they need but they want to know that she is there. That means their security; and there is no substitute for this, whatever you do to enable women to go out to work. One of the faults I find in this report is that it would make it easier and even attractive for people to go out to work. I think that is most unfortunate. What we should be doing is trying to elevate the importance of the mother in the home and by every means that we can find, to encourage people to remain at home while their families are young and rear them, because I have no doubt in my mind that when both parents have to go out to work, that is the start of delinquency; it is the start of young people going wrong, and God knows where it ends. It is very unfortunate but that is the case and of that I am absolutely convinced.

I know how inadequate my contribution has been to this debate, it was extremely important to me that I

Clinton

should express my view on this. I did not take part in the committee's work. I am sorry now that I was not a member of the committee. I do not think the work on this report would have gone on for fourteen months if I had been: I should have broken it up before that, because I think it is too comprehensive; it contains too much and it would have been much better to confine itself to a smaller number of points that could be pursued and achieve something. I am quite sure that the rapporteur, too, when she is concluding, will advocate priorities which really are meant to be worked on from now on.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mrs Vayssade.

Mrs Vayssade. — (F) Mr President, we have reached the conclusion of a very important and interesting debate. Contrary to what Mr Forth was saying a moment ago, I do not believe that this report was made simply because the committee existed, but rather because in the countries of Europe there are certain problems encountered by women in their daily lives. I believe that our Parliament is now obliged to make some choices if the report is to be anything more than a Utopian document reflecting only good intentions. Mr Forth was right on this point: it is a question of choices to be made if we really want some of the proposals in this report to become the reality of the future feminine condition. In order for this to be accomplished, it is important that in this Parliament we continue to pay close attention to the problems of women, or at least be mindful of the feminine perspective regarding the general problems with which we must deal. In her report, Mrs Maij-Weggen proposed the dissolution of our committee, and that it should be re-formed after two years to evaluate, together with Parliament, the work accomplished in the intervening period. I agree with this proposal, but I think it will only be effective if, during this time, there remains a body in Parliament whose task it will be to check whether what we have put in the report has been remembered by Parliament as a whole, and for this reason we have presented an amendment. The Socialist Group proposes the creation of a supervisory committee, a lightweight structure of only 20 or 25 members, who would meet four times a year at the most — I think that would be sufficient — but who, in following the general work of the Parliament, what goes on in the committees, and the principal debates, could make sure that the problems and rights of women have really been taken into account. I will not speak longer of this, for I think that the Socialist Group has nearly used up its time, but I would like to urge Parliament to follow us in this direction, so that we may have a feminine consciousness on the alert in this Assembly for the entire length of our term.

President. — I call Mr Coutsecheras.

Mr Coutsecheras. — (EL) Thank you, Mr President, I shall be very brief as time is running out, and limit myself to the following facts. In 1979 the Women's Union of Greece, which has close ties with Pasok, carried out a study on women in the Common Market in an attempt to determine what effect Greece's accession to the Common Market would have. Would women receive any real benefits from Greece's accession to the Common Market? The position which the Women's Union of Greece took was that the Common Market, by its very nature, and in view of its aims and objectives, is not interested in promoting even basic rights for women. The six countries on whose initiative the Common Market was formed wanted to create a large market in which they could move freely without being hindered by national protective measures. The basic aim was clear from the start — to strengthen the capitalist structure and to develop production within a capitalist system. The Community is an exclusively materialistic brotherhood which has not been able so far to present itself in a humane light. The Europe of the large industrialists and the multinational groups is only concerned with promoting the economic interests of its member countries. Mr President and colleagues, insofar as the system is based on accumulating capital for profit, the Community is in no position to take an interest, even indirectly, in the struggle for women's liberation, because this would require a reorganization of society which would lead to an increase in production costs. Women's liberation means changing the system and changing society. It is for this very reason that we must struggle at the political level for women's liberation. As regards our strategy within the framework of the existing system our objective is to achieve whatever improvement we can in the situation of women through the cooperation of men and women. Mr President and colleagues, for this reason Pasok will support the proposal and women in Europe may be sure that the women of Pasok will fight side by side with them for reforms without forgetting their ultimate long-term goal, which is to liberate both men and women and to replace the present social system with socialism.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mrs Squarcialupi.

Mrs Squarcialupi. — (I) Mr President, I wished to stress the active role played by Italians of the Communists and Allies Group in the work of the *ad hoc* committee on women's rights. Unfortunately we cannot say we are satisfied with this report because we think that at most it would result in a certain measure of equality without changing society itself, a society which commonly rejects those who are not healthy, strong, and productive and which today rejects even those who are: one has only to consider the nearly 8 million unemployed in the Community countries, to whom must now be added the unemployed of Greece.

**Squarcialupi**

We are now faced with a society and an organization of work which slowly alienates all citizens when the economic powers, the spontaneous and unplanned productive mechanisms, no longer have need of them.

This report shows a tendency to create a sort of trench to shelter women instead of making them active subjects in the improvement of society. It tells women to accept society as it is and it reserves a small place for them.

It is still possible, however, to improve this report by means of amendments. With our amendments we wanted to abolish all ghettos, even if some appear to be positive, like the special fund for women. Instead, we call for the integration of women's problems with all Community policies.

Concerning the family business — a frequent phenomenon in many of our countries — we ask not for a mere law, but for legislative harmonization, so that the feelings of women will no longer be exploited. We ask that businesses become productive so that they may ensure assistance in case of maternity, illness, or old age, without placing a burden on other categories of workers. We offer precise indications for agricultural undertakings concerning infrastructures, administrative structures, and the establishing of industries related to agriculture. With our amendments, we ask for clarity regarding the reduction of working time and we reject the concept of part-time work. Such positions should not be presented as a gift to women, for in reality they only represent a way of diverting their attention from unemployment and exploiting them profitably. Part-time work is just a means of keeping women in a subordinate position at home, in the family, and also on the job.

Our last amendment asks that the problem of own resources of the Community be confronted beginning with the 1982 budget. If we do not solve this problem, none of the things we have requested for women can be realized, for the meager resources at present available to the Community will go on being moved from one sector to another, displeasing large groups of citizens, especially among the weakest. This is a political amendment which we present to a committee which has sometimes shown itself to be very timid when faced with profoundly political proposals.

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Mr President, I will conclude with a reference to what I have heard said here concerning the consequences of women's extra-domestic employment on terrorism. We hear that when women work, when women have an activity outside the home, terrorism and drugs are the result. As an Italian I unfortunately have a certain experience of terrorism and I can assure you that in very few cases do mothers of terrorists work outside the home. We would be obliged to conclude that, since terrorists usually have a father who works, the blame must be the father's, but this is certainly not a thesis we support, for we consider it disgraceful to hide true problems behind false ones.

**President.** — I call the Commission.

**Mr Ivor Richard, Member of the Commission.** — Mr President, with great respect, I have sat here since 9 o'clock this morning, which is ten and a half hours, listening to various Members of Parliament requesting that the Commission should take action in many different fields. It really would seem to me much more sensible if I were to answer their requests at an hour when perhaps they would find it more convenient to be present, namely tomorrow morning, rather than now!

**President.** — With the agreement of the House I propose that Mr Richard should be called to reply to the debate immediately at the beginning of tomorrow's sitting.

I call Mr Enright.

**Mr Enright.** — Mr President, I just wish to say that I agree absolutely with the Commissioner. It seems to me that it is quite disgraceful that people who knew the Commissioner would be speaking tonight are not here. I would suggest that, if a vote were taken of those Members who are now present, we would get an overwhelming decision that the Commissioner should be allowed to speak tomorrow morning rather than now.

**President.** — The debate is suspended.

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## SITTING OF WEDNESDAY, 11 FEBRUARY 1981

IN THE CHAIR: MRS VEIL

*President*

*(The sitting was opened at 9 a.m.)*

**President.** — The sitting is open.

### 1. *Approval of minutes*

**President.** — The minutes of proceedings of yesterday's sitting have been distributed.

Since there are no comments, the minutes of proceedings are approved.<sup>1</sup>

### 2. *Votes*

**President.** — The first item on the agenda is the vote on the *motion for a resolution contained in the Maij-Weggen report (Doc. 1-829/80): Position of women in the Community.*

The Commission has the floor.

**Mr Richard, Member of the Commission.** — Madam President, I am grateful to you for giving me the floor this morning. It seemed sensible at the very late hour last night that we should perhaps reserve the comments of the Commission until one or two people who had asked questions were present to hear the answers.

I am very conscious of two facts, having sat through the whole of this debate. One is that I am male, and secondly that I am a member of a wholly male Commission. I must tell the House, however, that short of resigning from the Commission, there is nothing frankly that I can do about either of those facts. In answer to Miss Hooper, the only thing I can say, in some slight mitigation, is that I was at least appointed by a woman to my present position. . .

*(Applause from the European Democratic Group)*

. . . a woman, who I am sure those who are applauding know I did not vote for!

*(Laughter)*

So that perhaps some of the blame for my presence here should be attributed to her sex as well as my own.

Madam President, we have had a long and detailed debate and obviously it is quite impossible for me to deal with the many questions of detail that were raised. I should like to make one general point at the outset and that is that I undertake to look at those points in detail with my cabinet and with the appropriate services in the Commission. I will write to the

<sup>1</sup> Documents received: see Minutes of proceedings.

**Richard**

individual Members concerned where we have had an opportunity of examining the problems they raised.

This has been, as I say, a somewhat detailed debate and, I fear, a somewhat diffuse one. It has ranged wide; we have covered economic questions, we have covered the position of women in industry and in other sectors, we have covered the role of the family, abortion, contraception, social security, health, education and, indeed, whether anything at all can be done until the final demise of the capitalist system. It seems to me that the debate has lacked coherence, and it has lacked a theme. Perhaps, Madam President, this was inevitable, given the comprehensive nature of the report itself. As a document of reference the report is, I think, of great value. As a programme of action — action which indeed this House would wish the Commission to take — it is, perhaps, somewhat too wide.

I should like to examine, in what I hope is not too long or detailed a way, how with the massive experience of five weeks in my present position I feel the Commission should now approach its task. What I think we have to do is to look at what indeed we can do with the instruments that are at our disposal. There is no point, I think, at the moment in looking at different instruments or different institutions. I think I have to work, frankly, with what I have got.

We have heard many interesting declarations about the problems faced by women in the Community and indeed in the developing nations. Many who spoke stressed the need for something to be done. I rather regret, however, that the debate did not really come to grips with the problem of defining a strategy of action at Community level. The Community, as I said earlier, has certain specific instruments — legal and financial — which are complementary to those which exist at national or local level. Each time we prepare a new initiative in the Commission, we must I think analyse carefully how we can best use our resources and how we can achieve maximum impact. As we all know, the Commission cannot act alone. Not only must we have the sustained support of this Parliament, to ensure that appropriate human and financial resources are available to prepare and carry out action, we must also be realistic about the feasibility and indeed the desirability of intervention at Community level.

Madam President, I think we should prepare for our battles carefully one by one, recognizing our weaknesses and using our strengths. This means a careful selection of priorities within the context of a longer-term strategy. On many issues the Commission's most powerful tool is that of information, and I agree with those Members of Parliament who have stressed the need for information in this field — it is a point that was raised by many speakers — information to ensure that women are aware of their legal rights, information about innovatory action in order to publicize what can be done, information about the women's

movement at all levels to increase the general awareness about the pressure of changes. I am pleased so many references to the need for information activities are in the draft resolution and the Commission will certainly look closely into the best ways of reinforcing our activity in this field.

The legislative potential of the Community institutions are of course a powerful means of action. The basic foundations of a legal framework establishing the principle of equality of treatment are now in place. Much of our work must therefore now focus on exploiting those instruments to the full. And the draft resolution makes many helpful suggestions in this direction.

I should like to inform the Parliament that the report on the implementation of the second equal-treatment directive has just been approved by the Commission and is shortly to be forwarded to the Council and to Parliament.

Also, within the framework of the implementation of that directive, the Commission is carrying out a study on the situation of self-employed women — two studies are also being carried out on the laws protecting women's employment and on the desegregation of employment in banks.

Finally, and also in connection with the second directive, infringement proceedings have been instituted against several Member States for non-compliance with the directive in question, as was also the case for the directive on equal pay.

I will now examine, in the light of this debate, very carefully the possibility of formulating new initiatives with regard to equal treatment in fiscal legislation and in the field of family allowances as referred to in your draft resolution.

*(Applause)*

I was also, Madam President, particularly interested in the discussion regarding part-time work, where again a directive is suggested together with a programme of pilot projects. This is an area where there seems to be already a useful degree of consensus regarding the need for greater protection of part-time workers, whether male or female. Again, I will look at it to see what scope or necessity there may be for further initiatives and legislation in this field.

There is also revival of interest generally in different more flexible forms of work. I believe there is great scope for developing Community action in this field not merely through normative instruments but also through demonstration products at local level. Insofar as I can commit the Commission in advance, may I indicate my intention here and now to produce specific proposals in this area within the next twelve months as you request.

**Richard**

The role of the Social Fund up to now has shown its utility in the field of positive action for women. When the special section of the Fund for Women's Programmes was set up in 1978 it required a considerable promotional effort by the Commission to stimulate demand.

I wonder if I could give the House one or two figures? The total volume of aid requested for 1980, as I have said, reached 71 million units of account. This is likely to increase further to 94 million in 1981: over four times the budget. What is more important to us is the growth in the volume of programmes aimed at preparing women for employment in jobs in which they have been under-represented in the past and new jobs which we want to see kept open to men and women on an equal footing. Such programmes, classified by the Commission as first priority, amounted to about half a million units of account in 1978, 6.5 million in 1979, 14 million in 1980 and will probably exceed 20 million units of account in 1981. The Commission considers that the purpose of the special women's section must be to make a specific effort to help women overcome the obstacles they face as women in gaining equality of treatment in the labour market.

Satisfactory as the overall growth in the volume of applications in the women's section is, the Commission would prefer to see a more even distribution of applications as between Member States. Germany accounted for 78 % of all applications in 1979 and for 65.5 % of the aid that was approved. This is not, as I say, a criticism of the German effort.

They are on the contrary to be congratulated on the size of their response but it is a plea to the other Member States to do more.

Reference is made to new technologies and their impact on the employment of women is most important. There is much talk about new technologies at present and particularly about the need to take account of the implications of microelectronics at all levels of education and training. It is clear that women, particularly in secretarial work, are likely to be affected most severely in the short term. It is therefore also clear that positive action has to be taken on behalf of girls and women in the field of employment and labour-market policy, in industrial relations and at all levels of the education and training system. The Social Fund provides the right financial instrument to promote change in this direction, at least as regards vocational training provisions.

I should like to inform the House that, in drawing up the next set of guidelines for the selection of Social Fund applications, I undertake to ensure that full account is taken of this issue. While it is clear that many training courses for traditional women's occupations need to be updated to take account of the implications of new information technologies, we must take care to ensure that the effect of new guidelines will not actually be to bring about a decrease in the number of training opportunities by the fund designed specially for women.

I am particularly concerned about the field of basic education, whereas your report emphasizes that there seems to be little progress being made to encourage girls to study mathematical, scientific and technical subjects at school and to steer them away from the traditionally feminine professions, which are themselves increasingly threatened. I entirely accept what has been emphasized in the course of this debate, namely that it is education, guidance and training that are the key areas for action to promote equality in society.

I would like to make one point, however, which has not been raised in the course of this debate. That is the question of Community competence in this field. Very often one finds that the argument is not so much about the content of Commission proposals but about the competence of the Commission to make proposals in a particular field, whether that field indeed be social services, health policy or nationality legislation.

Madam President, I am conscious of the fact that time is passing. I am also conscious of the fact that other debates are to take place. I can only say that I found yesterday's experience of listening to this debate fascinating. I have a great deal of sympathy with many of the points that have been raised. As I have been in my present position as brief a time as I have been I hope no one would expect me to come forward with revolutionary proposals at this stage for transforming the position of women in the European Community. What I can do and what I do undertake to do, however, is to look at the debate with sympathy and in detail, to see where I think and the Commission thinks that action can be taken and to try and make the maximum use of our existing instruments in order to promote what we all have at heart, namely a greater equality in treatment for women.

*(Applause)*

Parliament then voted on the Resolution, article by article. A total of 136 amendments to the text were tabled by MEPs. As published in the Official Journal, this part of the debate is difficult to understand, the amendments being listed by their serial number without further explanation. To summarize the procedure, the president of the session notes that there is an amendment, consults the rapporteur - who agrees or does not agree - and then calls for a vote. The actual debate does not start up again until these proceedings have been finished, when MEPs indicate how they will vote on the Resolution as a whole, and why.

The main changes - proposed or agreed - to the recommendations set out in the Maij-Weggen report were:

The Social Fund - European Parliament, in response to amendments suggested by Gloria Hooper and Shelagh Roberts, UK, European Democrats, and by Maria Lisa Cinciari and Vera Squarzialupi, Italy, Communists), deleted the proposal that no single Member State should receive more than 30% of the available resources from the Fund. A new paragraph (Yvette Roudy, France, Socialist) also called for the setting up of medical aid centres for women victims of rape.

Information - Amendments tabled by European Democrats in an attempt to delete the paragraphs on this subject were rejected. On the other hand, an amendment suggested by the same group was adopted: it emphasized that European legislation on women's rights should not force countries with a different social tradition to follow exactly the same model as more advanced societies.

Women and employment The European Democrats tabled an amendment that would delete the paragraphs calling for a general reduction in the working week and the redistribution of employment between men and women, but this was rejected. The text of the Resolution regarding part-time employment was supplemented by an amendment from Cinciari and Squarzialupi to the effect that it should not be viewed as the type of work done by women by preference, but that it should be the province of all workers tied by special constraints.

Social and family services With the adoption of the amendment suggested by Elise Boot (Netherlands, European People's Party), Parliament will not be asking the Commission to issue directives on maternity leave, but merely to bring out a report. In addition (in response to a Conservative amendment), European Parliament notes with concern the heavy burden of work placed on women in gainful employment who also have domestic duties. EEC policy on education should encourage boys to learn to do household chores.



Education and vocational training      Accepting the amendment suggested by Maria Antonietta Macciocchi, Italy, Coordination Group, Parliament added to the paragraph on the meetings of education ministers by calling for the protection of women against all forms of discrimination at university level.

Health      Parliament left the original text regarding the delicate matter of voluntary termination of pregnancies unchanged, rejecting the many amendments tabled, including one from the European People's Party (which feels that abortion should not be considered as a "normal" practice), and others from Antoinette Spaak (Belgium, Non-attached) who stressed the importance of contraception but said that women in distress in all the Member States should be entitled to access to voluntary termination of pregnancy.

An amendment was also proposed by some of the European Progressive Democrats, who went furthest away from the original concept by stating that the Commission has no competence in this domain and has no right to propose the harmonization of law or to impose any ethics of life. Maria Antonietta Macciocchi stressed that women have the right to make their own choice, and Marie-Claude Vayssade and others, speaking on behalf of the Socialists, called for the decriminalization of voluntary terminations and acceptance of financial responsibility for terminations by the community at large.

Special categories and regions      Adopting an amendment submitted by the European People's Party, Parliament decided not to ask the Commission to present a European Social Statute containing measures pertaining to women to its competent committee in a year's time.

Developing nations      The Conservatives tried in vain to exclude the paragraphs on the position of women in developing countries. On the other hand, Parliament accepted Macciocchi's amendment stressing that "Eurocentric" views of the liberation of women should not be superimposed on the customs of these countries.

Women in the European Institutions      European Parliament agreed to the amendment tabled by Maria Antonietta Macciocchi deploring the fact that the new European Commission has no women members.

Women and the universities      Parliament rejected a proposal that a European Prize should be awarded in 1983 to a work by women (in the arts, politics, etc.); Hanja Maij-Weggen considered this to be an élitist stand, something which annoyed Ms Macciocchi. On the other hand, in a Liberal amendment, the proposal was made that universities should be involved in scientific research on the role of women in every sector of society.

Financial resources An amendment tabled by Cinciari and Squarcialupi calling for this problem to be tackled in and after the 1982 budget was rejected by Parliament.

The Ad Hoc Committee's mission Parliament asked its competent committees to consider the list of proposed measures and to submit their own list of priority measures (an amendment by the European People's Party). On the other hand it dismissed a Socialist proposal on the establishment of a monitoring committee, a Liberal proposal for a permanent committee and a proposal by Antoinette Spaak that there should be a smaller working group.

IN THE CHAIR: MRS VEIL

*President*

**President.** — The sitting is resumed.

The list of those wishing to give an explanation of vote has now been closed. I request everyone to be as brief as possible.

I call Mr von Habsburg.

**Mr Habsburg.** — (*D*) Madam President, the fact that I shall be voting against this report does not mean that I reject women's justified demands. On the contrary, I would gladly have given them my support, but the fact is that the document presents views which are unacceptable to a European Christian and which have nothing to do with women's rights. These are fundamental matters of conscience which have nothing to do with politics. Whatever hypocritical euphemisms may be advanced in its favour, abortion is and remains murder — the violation of the right to life.

At a time when there were still genuinely social-democratic parties, Viktor Adler said that a Socialist worthy of the name would always be on the side of the weakest. And what — I ask you — could be weaker than a defenceless foetus? It is, at any rate, more defenceless than the mother who wants to have her pregnancy aborted — it has no vote it cannot speak and it cannot demonstrate. It will be a tragic moment for this House if the party professing 'humanism' votes *en masse* for the death sentence for innocent children but at the same time cannot do enough to reduce the legitimate sentences passed on people found guilty of murder with robbery and sexual crimes.

History shows us that progress and respect for life have always gone hand in hand. In that respect, the teachings of Christ were, in worldly terms too, the greatest step forward mankind has ever taken. Against

that background, the legalization of abortion in many of the countries of Europe is a relapse into barbarism. Of course, there are tragic medical cases in which the doctor is required by virtue of his Hippocratic Oath to decide on the lesser of two evils. Anything that goes beyond that, though — and that is what we are talking about today — is morally totally reprehensible. We may legitimately ask ourselves whether what we want is a Christian-humanistic or heathen-barbaric Europe, and let us not forget that the latter would mean the end of our unique civilization. I at any rate refuse to see the rights and duties of our women, to whom we owe life itself and the greatest of whom was the mother of our Saviour, in the same light as the kind of views which would encourage the murder of innocent children. In the interests of our women, I must say 'No'.

*(Applause from various quarters in the centre and on the right)*

**President.** — I call Mr Ryan.

**Mr Ryan.** — Madam President, were it not for the three most objectionable paragraphs on abortion, Nos 34, 35 and 36, my Irish Christian-Democratic colleagues and I could support this resolution. Today will be a dark and shameful day for Europe if the European Parliament disgraces itself and makes itself look ridiculous — disgraces itself by showing contempt for human life in its weakest and most defenceless form and makes itself ridiculous by purporting to give to the Commission and the Council a mandate which they cannot operate under the Treaty of Rome and also by being inconsistent. It is less than two months since this Parliament asserted the right to life by declaring that it was against the imposition of the death penalty on people convicted of killing their fellow humans. Now it would seem that the Parliament is about to adopt a resolution which in effect would say that you may not kill a convicted murderer but you may kill innocent children

*(Mixed reactions)*

as long as a human being is still in the womb of its mother. That is totally unacceptable. It is, Madam Pres-

Ryan

ident, an affront to the dignity of all individuals and to the rights and responsibilities of families, particularly having regard to the location of the resolution in a report on women's rights. It is an insult to the dignity of the womanhood of Europe. You cannot advance the rights of women by denying the right to life of the most helpless of all human beings the child in a mother's womb. The dignity of human life, the dignity of one sex cannot be advanced by an assault upon human life in its most helpless form, the unborn but nevertheless living child. This purported resolution, which pretends to show respect for the rights of some people, proposes to trample on the rights and responsibilities of others and in particular of national, local and regional communities, to ignore and to regard as not having any right of existence the laws, traditions and customs of other communities if they do not correspond with the majority view of this Parliament. I would remind this House that yesterday we heard from our distinguished guest, President Sadat of Egypt, the Muslim view that morality cannot be relegated to the past.

*(Applause from certain quarters on the right)*

We applauded that view yesterday. Let Christian Europe remember that message given to us by a great person from the Islamic world! Let us not fly in the face of God, in the face of nature; let us respect rights and moral obligations and not seek to impose the majority view of this Parliament on peoples, communities and societies that passionately reject this particular imposition!

*(Applause from the centre and from the right — Protests from the left)*

**President.** — I call Mrs Boserup.

**Mrs Boserup.** — *(DK)* Madam President, I can assure you that I shall not try to match the vehement tones of the previous speakers. I should like to say, with all due respect, that this motion for a resolution contains generalities and shaky and orthodox views which neither I nor my Group can support. My Group has identified itself with women's right to equal treatment in education, in public positions and on elected boards and councils. For that reason alone, our voters would find it difficult to understand any decision on our part to vote for what we have before us now.

We do not believe that any European fund or European action — be it for ten or twenty years — will help those women who are oppressed by virtue of the economic system we live under and the traditions of family life. Let me remind you then that, to my mind and to the mind of my voters and the people of Denmark, what we have before us here is a form of lofty words that we have tried to reach agreement on. He who sets out to be all things to all men finishes up

having nothing to say at all — I at any rate disagree with this motion for a resolution, which I feel completely ignores the aspects which have to do with the capitalist system and the oppression of weak and not very profitable workers, such as women. As far as I and my voters are concerned, women's struggle is all part of the class struggle, and that is something which has been entirely swept under the carpet. I would not deny all the accurate and good aspects of the motion for a resolution, but, in our view, it is a voice from the past and is hopelessly out of touch with what we need today. For that reason, we shall abstain when it comes to the vote.

**President.** — I call Mrs Desmond.

**Mrs Desmond.** — Madam President, on behalf of the Irish members of the Socialist Group I wish to state that we find it regrettable that in the debate this report on the position of women in the Community has been interpreted by some as dealing largely with the question of abortion. The report covers a wide range of issues and makes positive long-term proposals in the interests of women and towards the achievement of equality in our society.

However, we believe that it has gone beyond its mandate. Many of the subjects with which it deals are outside the competence of the Community and belong within the domain of the Member States. We believe it would have been more in the interest of the women of the Community to have restricted the report to those areas where there is Community legislation and Community competence, or a possibility of such developing within the terms of the Treaty. Therefore, Madam President, we supported Amendment No 57 to paragraph 34 and voted against paragraphs 35 and 36 and certain amendments thereto.

We regret that we find ourselves obliged to vote against the resolution as it now stands.

*(Applause from certain quarters in the centre and on the right)*

**President.** — I call Mr Fischbach.

**Mr Fischbach.** — *(F)* Madam President, I shall not vote for Mrs Maij-Weggen's motion for a resolution, because it could give rise to a dangerous misunderstanding on the question of motherhood by choice — i.e. that of abortion.

Of course, Paragraph 36 envisages that abortion should be regarded only as a last resort, but since the conditions for this last resort are not specified, one gains the impression that, in the present draft of the text, abortion or the possibility of abortion is presented not as a last resort but rather as an alterna-

**Fischbach**

tive to positive and preventive measures, or measures to protect unborn children.

Madam President, either one takes a stand, as I do, to protect unborn children — and in that case I do not think abortion can be regarded as a valid alternative — or one is in favour of total liberalization of abortion — and in that case I think the argument for positive and preventive measures or measures tending to dissuade women from abortion loses a great deal of its force.

That is why, in view of the final version of paragraph 36, I shall vote against Mrs Maij-Weggen's motion for a resolution, albeit reluctantly, since that resolution contains a number of suggestions and proposals which are absolutely essential for improving the position of women.

*(Applause from various quarters in the centre and on the right)*

**President.** — I call Mr Lalor.

**Mr Lalor.** — Madam President, I want to join with the other Members of other groups from Ireland who have outspokenly said that we fully subscribe to everything in this resolution under all headings with the exception of the health care heading. I find that, as I already explained in the course of the debate, my group and I have no difficulty whatsoever in going along with the improvements recommended, the requests for further action, the outlining of the provisions for improved educational and vocational training, the measures with regard to special groups and regions and the demands in favour of developing countries.

When it comes to murdering the unborn child, however, we draw the line. We certainly cannot support this resolution. Yesterday I asked the rapporteur if it would be possible for her to withdraw Chapter 4. I speak not only for the Irish Members but for all the Members in my group when I say that we unanimously oppose Chapter 4 of this report, even though we fully support everything else that is being asked of us in the report. All the European Progressive Democrats will be voting against this resolution because of the non-withdrawal of Chapter 4.

There is one other fault that I found yesterday with the report, and it is another reason why I will be voting against. No provision whatsoever, or at most a very inadequate provision, was made for doing something to assist the mother who has created a family and wants to stay at home and perform her duty of properly rearing that family.

However, from an Irishman's point of view the major fault is the failure to withdraw Chapter 4, and because

of that we cannot support the murder of the unborn child.

*(Applause from certain quarters in the centre and on the right)*

**President.** — I call Mrs Maij-Weggen.

**Mrs Maij-Weggen, rapporteur.** — *(NL)* Madam President, I should like to make the point that the motion for a resolution is being misinterpreted time and time again here. The fact is that there are five or six paragraphs about the position of women in the family. There is certainly no mention of compulsory abortion. What the motion for a resolution does say is that we should take positive steps to reduce the number of abortions. In other words, we are being told lies here.

*(Applause)*

**President.** — I call Mr Vié.

**Mr Vié.** — *(F)* Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, as I said yesterday in the speech which I made in the general debate, Mrs Maij-Weggen's report contains many things with which we could have agreed entirely. But when I said that the report was a bad one — and I think my words have been interpreted in far too restrictive a sense — it was precisely because, as previous speakers have demonstrated, it contained a jumble of too many subjects and too many problems. Thus the previous speakers and myself ended up by voting against, sometimes reluctantly; for, in this jumble of subjects there are things which we regard as totally unacceptable both for ethical reasons — I shall not expand on that, since enough has been said on the matter — and for political reasons, since in our view institutional bodies are being asked to deal with matters which do not concern them.

More generally, as I said yesterday, I also regret that the overall approach of this report was, in my view inadequate to deal with one of the most important problems facing not only ourselves, but every generation and every civilization. The problem of the role of women in society is always a vital one, and am sorry that in this case the role of women in the Community has been dealt with in excessive detail rather than in a broad sweep.

I have said nothing which is anti-feminist, and I regret the construction put upon my words yesterday. On the contrary, when I say that insufficient attention has been given to the importance of the problems of women in the Community, that is certainly not an anti-feminist statement.

Vié

To sum up, I am disappointed, for there were so many interesting things which could have been said and done. This report contains some very good points on equality and practical measures, but the confusion of issues is unacceptable, as the ethical, moral and political problems raised in the section on health. We shall therefore not vote for it.

I am sorry that the amendment we tabled, which aimed to eliminate this central problem by deleting the section on health, was not adopted by Parliament. That would have avoided the present complications and perhaps allowed the passage of the greater part of the report, which now runs the risk of not being adopted because of this basic objection.

**President.** — I call Mrs Roberts.

**Miss Roberts.** — Madam President, because, as I said yesterday, I and my group subscribe to the aims, objectives and the purpose for which this committee was set up, in other words to identify areas of discrimination and to propose remedies which would achieve a greater degree of justice and fairness within the Community. I shall vote for the resolution.

There is much in the resolution, now that we have considered and voted on the amendments, with which I disagree and with which my group disagrees. There is much in the resolution which I and my group consider to be widely impracticable. If and when the proposals to achieve those measures should ever see the light of day, I and my group will resist them to the full and we shall endeavour to amend them and to turn them into something that is practical. But having said that, I subscribe to the principle underlying this motion and I shall vote for it.

Some of my colleagues may feel that there are aspects which are so impractical that they cannot share my view. I am conscious of the fact that the motion also contains issues which are a matter of conscience. I do not myself find any difficulty in supporting the paragraphs on health care which appear in this resolution, but my group was advised to allow a free vote, Members vote according to their conscience on those issues. Therefore, I must advise my group to take a free vote and to act according to their conscience on the final vote. Nevertheless, I put it this way, Madam President, to Parliament and to my group: I shall vote for the motion, and I hope that as many of them as do not have grounds of conscience for voting against it will join with me.

*(Applause)*

**President.** — I call Mr Maher.

**Mr Maher.** — Madam President, like so many other speakers I believe that there is a great deal of good in

this resolution, the basic aim being to improve the position of women in the Community and to remove discrimination. There has been so much discrimination in the past and a great deal of discrimination still exists. I think, however, that it is unfortunate that there is at least one area where it is quite clear, I believe, that an attempt was made to impose on the people of member countries certain systems which those people obviously could not accept unless they made a clear decision themselves to accept these systems. I refer particularly to abortion.

I do not think it is very sensible of this Parliament, or any other institution of the European Community, to create a situation where the people of a Member State would feel under pressure to accept a situation which they believe is contrary to their best interests, their culture and their religious beliefs. I do not think this is sensible, and in any event it cannot operate because there is no way the people of Ireland, for instance, are going to be bludgeoned into accepting a system so intimately related to human life that they themselves could not in conscience accept it. It could not operate. There is no way that we could be forced to do it. I think it is a great pity that the amendment to allow the people of the Member States or Member States themselves to take their own decision on this matter was not accepted. If it had been accepted I believe that the resolution as a whole would have been acceptable because it contains so much that is good.

**President.** — I call Mr Sieglerschmidt.

**Mr Sieglerschmidt.** — *(D)* Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, I find it rather difficult to give my support to this motion for a resolution. Not — let me add — because of points 35 and 36, but because of the procedure we have adopted. This morning we were presented with a dossier of close-on 130 amendments and immediately began voting on them. I would contend that, like me, a lot of Members found themselves required to vote on what are very important points without perhaps knowing precisely what was going on.

On any future occasion, then, when we have as many amendments as this on a report as important as this one, I would ask you, Madam President, to leave us at least a few hours between the time the amendments are tabled and the time the vote is taken — I realize, of course, that there have been problems here.

Moving on to the question of abortion, which has caused me too great concern, I am not sure whether I may in fact have voted for certain amendments which I certainly did not want to support. I must reject the idea of ruling out any legal sanctions against abortion. On the other hand, I think it is utterly dishonest to pretend that no abortions take place in countries where there are severe penalties for abortion — as if

## Siegler Schmidt

people were not aware in what medical and social conditions these abortions are carried out.

(*Cry of 'Very true!'*)

Madam President, when it came to the vote in the German Bundestag, I was unable — in all conscience — to vote for the legislation legalizing abortion up to the twelfth week of pregnancy. I did not, however, vote against, because I thought the legislation was at least better than what had existed before.

(*Applause*)

I would therefore ask you all, Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, to think again about whether, in these circumstances, you cannot give your support to the entire report, the other aspects of which are hardly contentious.

**President.** — I must, however, point out that at least a hundred amendments were tabled last week and debated within the political groups and the *ad hoc* Committee itself. The only lesson that can be drawn from these difficulties is that we should no longer agree to postpone the deadline for the tabling of amendments. At any rate, that is what I shall propose to the Bureau.

I call Mr Estgen.

**Mr Estgen.** — (*F*) Madam President, I do not intend to deliver a political sermon. I am not in that sort of mood, for the motion for a resolution has thrown me into a state of emotional conflict and a dilemma which I know many of my colleagues share. We pay tribute to the great efforts made by women, by the *ad hoc* Committee and also by the rapporteur to provide us with this report and this motion for a resolution, in a spirit of universal conciliation. And there are so many good things in this motion that I would have liked to be able to vote unreservedly in favour of it. I am not one of those who reject the whole motion because of a few points with which they do not agree. But, even so, there are in this motion for a resolution basic issues which are a matter of conscience for each of us. And it is precisely because of this question of abortion about which so much has already been said, that I find it impossible to vote for this motion, since for me and many others abortion, with all the psychological problems involved, represents a personal failure on the part of the woman and the couple, and a failure of the social and educational efforts of society. As I have just said, it is a matter of conscience. I would have to abandon my claim to be a Christian here and now if I were to accept the text in its present form. It is therefore with great regret that I am compelled to vote against the motion, for — I repeat — it contains so many good points that I would have liked to support, and indeed I have supported in the votes on the various parts; but I cannot vote for the whole.

**President.** — I call Mr Del Duca.

**Mr Del Duca.** — (*I*) Madam President, although I am in favour of the report's broad social guidelines, I find it impossible to vote for the motion because it contains elements which are contrary to my Catholic beliefs. In any case, I do not think the subjects dealt with in the paragraphs on the termination of pregnancy fall within the province of this Parliament. I am also a doctor, and I am therefore in daily contact with sick people expressing the desire to be healthy, the desire to live. In my view, abortion is above all a cowardly act carried out against a being who does not yet have the ability to speak and to plead for life like any other human being. I am opposed to the death penalty, in whatever way it is inflicted. It is for these reasons that I shall vote against this motion.

(*Applause from the centre — Protests from the left*)

**President.** — I call Mrs Le Roux.

**Mrs Le Roux.** — (*F*) Madam President, progress in the situation of women can only be made in a Europe of social progress, democracy and peace. We are not on the way to achieving social progress. Moreover, as a result of the plans for industrial restructuring, women are being thrown out of work *en masse*, and the situation of working women has deteriorated further. The agricultural policy followed is causing family holdings to disappear every day, while female farm workers are not entitled to the same benefits as other working women. The enlargement of the Community to include countries where women still suffer from very backward conditions will enable the multinationals to profit from this situation of inferiority. I have also noted that, while the Commissioner preferred not to mention this delicate subject, Parliament confirmed, by its votes, its consensus in favour of enlargement despite our opposition, our warnings and the opposition of the people to these plans which threaten the interests of working women.

Finally, there cannot be any social progress as long as the gap between scientific progress on the one hand and the methods available to women to control their fertility on the other, continues to widen. In a Europe of democracy, women do of course want more and more control over their own destiny. And there is still a considerable gap between a fair degree of participation — which women wish increasingly to achieve — and the reality, especially for the least favoured amongst them.

To turn to the Europe of peace, I would like to echo my friend Danièle De March in saying that there cannot be progress for women without a determined struggle for peace, disarmament and cooperation. As long as the world's wealth is used to design and

**Le Roux**

construct missiles and bombs, there will be children dying of hunger. The French Communists and Allies cannot possibly be satisfied with this debate. In spite of our proposals, the motion for a resolution does not even take into account the real situation of women in the Community and the applicant countries. The rejection of our amendments, which aimed to harmonize social legislation by bringing it all up to the highest level, and especially the rejection of the amendment on the reduction of working hours to 35 per week, is very significant. But it does not surprise us; it can be easily explained. The women in this Parliament, like their male colleagues, are governed by their political affiliation; the majority of this Parliament has never sought to implement measures to ensure equality and happiness. We observed this once more this morning, in connection with the right of women to choose whether to have children or not and the methods of making that choice possible. Therefore, we cannot associate ourselves with the hypocrisy of all these good intentions, which blur the basic causes of inequalities. We shall abstain, and, together with working women, we shall continue to fight alongside all the democrats and progressive forces in our countries to transform these good intentions into real equality, social justice, and happiness for women, men and nations.

*(Applause from the extreme left)*

**President.** — I call Mrs Gaiotti de Biase.

**Mrs Gaiotti de Biase.** — *(I)* Madam President, despite its many limitations, this report contains a number of proposals concerning the situation of women which represent a firm basis for Community policy and which I cannot but support. However, the last part of paragraph 35 and the first part of paragraph 36 are becoming the decisive points of the motion for a resolution. They are ill-drafted points, which I reject, and at the same time vague and ineffective. Yesterday the Council of Ministers clearly stated that the introduction of these points showed only that in some quarters there was a desire to carry on an ideological and superficial battle over women's rights instead of a practical political battle. It is perhaps not by chance that these points were supported by many who oppose the extension of Community powers. This debate and this series of statements are now proving how counter-productive for women's interests these ideological and abstract battles are.

I did everything I could in committee to avoid this negative result, and I did so in the interests of women. I think there is one thing we can still do, and that is to send back to committee a resolution which is now arousing only opposition from all quarters of Parliament.

For my part, if it is not referred back to committee, I shall vote in favour in spite of everything, with the

intention of helping to ensure that Paragraph 35 does not take on a political weight which, on account of its vague and superficial character, devoid of political or practical significance, it does not merit, I can do so with a clear conscience, for my views on these matters are too well-known for any misunderstandings to arise.

*(Applause from some quarters on the extreme left)*

**President.** — I call Mrs Hoff.

**Mrs Hoff.** — *(D)* Madam President, the Socialist Group will be voting for the motion for a resolution because it contains a number of very promising points, for instance, regarding unemployment among women in the European Community. I would commend this chapter to the attention of all those who seem to be concentrating on the section dealing with health care. This morning, for the first time, we had a decision regarding a general reduction in working time, and we believe that the work available must be shared around fairly, which means that the women in the European Community must get their fair share.

As regards the question of abortion, which is so much in the foreground here, I should like to point out that the motion for a resolution says that abortion must be treated only as a last resort. I believe we must bear in mind the emergency nature of this problem in our discussions. The complaint that the motion for a resolution still contains too many demands merely shows that there is still too much unfairness in the Community, and that this will have to be got rid of.

*(Applause)*

We Socialists are surprised at the attitude of the Group of the European People's Party, because it was precisely that Group which tabled an amendment in the committee as a proposed compromise solution. Do not forget what we decided this morning. Our amendments went much further, and if you insist on falling back behind your rapporteur's compromise proposal, you should not be surprised if doubt is cast on the credibility of your Group as a whole.

*(Applause from various quarters on the left)*

Your sanctimonious attitude in this debate is a slap in the face for every European woman's right to self-realization and equal treatment.

*(Applause)*

What we have witnessed here is an attempt to establish a pregnancy psychosis whereby abortion is deemed to be murder and all the good and promising things in this motion for a resolution are simply swept under the carpet. That is no way of discharging our duty to the

Hoff

people of Europe. Parliament has a duty to retain its credibility, and I would ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to read through paragraphs 35 and 36 once again with great care. I believe that what we have heard today on the subject of abortion simply misses the point these paragraphs are making.

*(Applause from the left)*

I would ask you to vote for the motion for a resolution for the special reason that this subject has now for the first time taken on a European aspect, and we have a duty to take action in this field.

*(Applause from various quarters)*

**President.** — I call Mrs von Alemann.

**Mrs von Alemann.** — *(D)* Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, it is with a sense of intense bitterness that I have asked for the floor once more to say how depressing I find it that 14 months' work on the part of a group of men and women who genuinely wanted to improve social conditions in the European Community should now suddenly be dragged into a discussion which is unfair and in which, above all, the facts are being twisted.

*(Applause)*

I should like to ask those gentlemen who have spoken in this debate to tell us precisely where we are supposed to have given our approval to abortion. What we are saying is that imprisonment is not a suitable means of stamping out abortion once and for all. There have always been abortions. Where precisely are we supposed to be passing what amounts to a death sentence on unborn children? How can you possibly make such incredible claims? Women Members of this House have tried hard to reach a consensus. In the committee we voted by 14 to 1 for the motion for a resolution, with 6 abstentions. How can you accuse us of something that no woman should be accused of?

*(Applause)*

We want to see this motion for a resolution adopted. We have been prepared to make compromises wherever it was at all possible. I would appeal once again most fervently to this House to adopt this motion for a resolution. It is not true that we are in favour of abortion. Just take another look at the final section of paragraph 35. Women in distress are still having to seek help in other countries. Where do you think German women went for their abortions before § 218 of the German legislation was amended? To the Netherlands and the United Kingdom of course! Where do you think French women went for their abortions? Again, they were forced to go abroad. Are you just not prepared to recognize the facts? Do you not

realize what a problem this is and what it means to women?

*(Applause)*

Do you think it is easy for women to have an abortion? Do you really think that such a thing is easy for a woman with a sense of responsibility — and women do have a sense of responsibility. Just try to imagine

another country to seek help. Which of those men who spoke earlier referred to women at all? They were concerned only with the murder of unborn children. But what about the risks run by women who have to resort to back-street abortions and lose their lives as a result?

*(Applause from the left)*

On behalf of my Group, I would urge you to vote for this motion for a resolution because we have taken so much trouble to meet you half-way.

*(Applause)*

**President.** — I call Mr Bersani.

**Mr Bersani.** — *(I)* Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, I should like to explain why I shall be voting against this motion. My objection is a general one. It is always a mistake to try to include delicate and complex moral questions in such broad economic and social topics.

It is not possible to strike a compromise over questions of principle — neither now nor in the future. We feel that it was a mistake to include the issues outlined in paragraphs 34, 35 and 36 in a document which, on the whole, is laudable; as can be seen from the voting, I too have consistently voted in favour of its individual sections.

In this specific case, the motive behind these paragraphs is to affirm — in a vague and superficial fashion, as Mrs Gaiotti De Biase said — the principle of binding statutory provisions. But these would have the effect of undermining another principle, and one which constitutes a supreme law for the whole of mankind: the safeguarding of life from its very beginnings.

Although we do not lack sympathy and understanding, we can only — or, I should say, I can only — repeat what I said to my colleagues of the time in our national parliament: we cannot possibly agree with this, *non possumus!* Let us not have any misunderstandings here; we must of course obey the law and conform with its provisions, but no, we cannot support the demands contained in this section of the motion. You cannot blame our Group, but this has ended up



**Bersani**

by dominating a document which, as I said before, we all consider to be generally laudable. Nevertheless, it contains these statements which, whether you like it or not, cast a menacing shadow over mankind's aspirations for freedom and triumph . . .

*(Protests from the left)*

We shall probably be in the minority, ladies and gentlemen, but that does not matter. Our role here is not just to bear witness; it is my opinion that we are here to make a statement of principle. Sooner or later this principle will win through, and it is only on this basis that I believe we will one day emerge from our present slough of despond. But we will not help the human race to find the right path by compromising moral values.

*(Applause from the centre and the right)*

**President.** — I call Mr Papaevstratiou.

**Mr Papaevstratiou.** — *(EL)* Unfortunately we note that this most serious and important motion is in danger of not being adopted on account of the subject which has cropped up and to which so many Members have referred at length. I shall therefore be very brief. I would appeal to the *ad hoc* Committee on Women's Rights and to the rapporteur to make it clear that the termination of pregnancy will only be allowed in cases where the woman's life is in danger and with the authorization of the doctor in charge. If this is done, there is no doubt that this important motion for a resolution will receive the votes of a large majority in this House.

**President.** — I call Mrs Maij-Weggen because I do not believe that paragraphs 35 and 36 say what you think they say.

**Mrs Maij-Weggen, rapporteur.** — *(NL)* Madam President, I shall be very brief. Please forgive me for being somewhat emotional, but at least I have not indulged in hysterics like some of the Members. The motion for a resolution states quite clearly that abortion should be treated only as a last resort. I am sure all of us know what last resorts tend to be like. If a woman's physical or mental well-being is at stake, abortion must be permissible. This may be tantamount to choosing the lesser of two evils, but that is what life is sometimes like, and that is precisely what this motion for a resolution is aiming at.

*(Applause from various quarters)*

**President.** — I call Mr Seligman

**Mr Seligman.** — Madam President, I shall be very brief. I have listened to a lot of men saying they cannot accept the Maij-Weggen Report because of their conscience. What right have we men got to dictate to women in this matter?

*(Applause from various quarters)*

What right have we men got to deprive women of the choice to decide for themselves whether they want to bring unwanted children into the world? We have not got that right, so I am going to vote for the whole report and I ask people who are troubled by their conscience to abstain.

*(Applause from various quarters)*

**President.** — I call Mr Blaney.

**Mr Blaney.** — I, like many others, find a great deal in this report with which I agree and have agreed during the voting. I wish to join with my colleague, Mr Sieglerschmidt, in deploring the manner in which so much of such importance is thrown at the Members of this House in a voting procedure that in fact is confusing, to say the least of it. However, my firm belief and conviction is that women have been, are being and may continue to be exploited in various ways. While the content of this report does in many respects go quite a long way in showing how exploitation and discrimination could and should be ended, nevertheless I would feel that, in many respects, it has not gone far enough.

I agree with those speakers who decry the fact that little, if any, recognition has been given to the role of the woman in the home, that she is neglected, continues in this particular document to be forgotten, that women, as some other speaker has said, working on farms, particularly in the disadvantaged and remoter areas, are being exploited and discriminated against and that there is little in this report to change that situation in any way.

But despite that and despite those omissions, I find myself in general agreement with the excellence of the report and its recommendations except in regard to Chapter 4, paragraphs 34, 35 and 36. While this is a matter that can and has been dealt with by many speakers, in some cases in rather emotional terms, I would merely suggest that, in dealing with the rights of women, we should first of all have regard to the fact that in the matter of abortion we are ignoring the rights of the child. It is a mistake that this matter should have been brought into a report which in many other respects is desirable, necessary and, if anything, does not go far enough in trying to rectify the situation of exploitation and discrimination against women over the generations.

**Blaney**

I find myself, like many others, in the regrettable position of agreeing with the report generally but having, unfortunately, to vote against it.

**President.** — I call Mr Romualdi.

**Mr Romualdi.** — (*I*) Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, following the advice of the 'Adelaide Ristori', an association which has been campaigning for women's rights in Italy for years, my colleagues and I had agreed to vote for this resolution. But now that we have voted on the amendments, we feel we must refute the statements on abortion, which is such a tremendous human and social problem. We intend to show our opposition to it during the forthcoming referendum campaign in Italy.

For this reason we are not able to vote for the resolution, even though we had in fact intended to support it — with some reservations because it does aim at improving the position of women, above all at work and also where their social welfare and all their civil and political rights are concerned. We must aim for equality, but we cannot believe that such equality should worsen the position of women by obliging them to go beyond the limits of their duties and natural functions. For when we consider the human condition of both sexes, we recognize that it is those very aspects of women which are the highest expression of our civilization, and its safeguard for the future. That is why women are our partners and the true heroines of this glorious adventure which we call life, despite its all too frequent trials and tribulations. But abortion on demand, granted indiscriminately to all and sundry, is a brutal condemnation and denial of life.

**President.** — I call Mrs Dekker.

**Mrs Dekker.** — (*NL*) Madam President, to save time, I had originally intended not to make a declaration of vote. However, in view of certain things that have been said, I have now decided to do so after all, and I am now speaking on behalf of Mrs Spaak too. Certain speakers have accused those Members who are in favour of legalizing abortion — not in favour of abortion, you will note, but of legalizing abortion — of being murderers. But what about some concern from Mr Habsburg and his colleagues for those women who, as a result of illegal abortions, are either killed or so badly mutilated that they can never again bear children? Mrs Von Alemann was quite right to raise this point in her contribution just now.

Nor do I recall hearing any of those speakers refer to the question of paternity and men's responsibilities in this respect. It is a striking fact that those shooting their mouths off here are in the main men whom I have never seen in the *ad hoc* committee, who made

no contribution to the discussion on what should go into this report and who have taken no interest in our work.

(*Applause from the left*)

They belong mainly to an age group who, normally speaking, cannot expect to have any more children, and the same goes for those politicians . . .

(*Applause and laughter*)

. . . Madam President, I said 'normally speaking'. The same goes for those politicians who are concerned with this subject at national political level, in various Member States in which the legalization of abortion has become, politically speaking, a hot potato.

Women of the potential child-bearing age group — and that can be narrowed down more precisely — are rather thin on the ground in politics. The political aim I am advocating — and here I am not speaking on behalf of Mrs Spaak — is that abortion must be left purely and simply up to the woman concerned. That is my very firmly-held conviction. The reason why we believe this to be such a fundamental point is that any restriction placed on this principle will jeopardize the woman's own responsibility and dignity.

I am not making the case for abortion. No right-thinking person could be in favour of such a thing, but what I am advocating is the right of women to make their own decisions.

Madam President, although I am not wholeheartedly in favour of the passages in the motion for a resolution which deal with this point, this will not prevent me from voting for the resolution as a whole: firstly, because the passages in question are not unacceptable either and secondly, because there is no chance, for the time being, of finding acceptance for a more radical standpoint in either direction.

(*Applause from various quarters*)

**President.** — I call Mrs Kellett-Bowman.

**Mrs Kellett-Bowman.** — Madam President, there is a very great deal in this report of which I strongly approve; but, as many speakers have said, it has gone well beyond its terms of reference, which were to enquire into discrimination against women and seek to achieve a greater degree of fairness towards them. Alas, it went far beyond its mandate into the domain of Member States, in particular in paragraphs 34, 35 and 36 on abortion, against which I voted but which unfortunately were passed. A colleague of mine referred to the women's right to choose if she wants to bring unwanted children into the world. She chooses, Madam President, at the time of conception, and I

**Kellett-Bowman**

might point out to him that unwanted pregnancies are not the same as unwanted children: I myself had a very much unwanted pregnancy just before standing for Parliament, but she is a very much loved child today.

*(Applause from the centre and from the right)*

It is with the greatest regret, therefore, that although the motion contains a very great deal of value which I hope will come forward in another report, because of my belief in the sanctity of innocent human life I cannot support this report.

*(Applause from the centre and from the right)*

**President.** — I call Mr Fanti.

**Mr Fanti.** — *(I)* Madam President, I should like to give an explanation of vote on behalf of the Italian Communists and Allies.

We set great store by the setting up of this *ad hoc* committee and, as the months have gone by, members of my Group have tried to make a sustained and, I believe, valid contribution to its work so that a broadly uniform conclusion could be reached. Now that all the work has been completed, however, I regret to have to say that yet another opportunity has been wasted by the European Parliament.

We should like to make one general criticism: The motion for a resolution tries to cover too much and runs the risk of skimming over all the problems as a result. It seems to me that the position of women is not yet included as a natural and integral part of all Community policies.

Among the problems which have been tackled here, we agree with some points in the section on social welfare, while there are others to which we are opposed, as we pointed out during the voting on the amendments. On the other hand, we approve of the controversial chapter on health care, including the paragraphs which refer to the voluntary termination of pregnancy.

We have listened with due respect to the problems of conscience evoked by several members of the EPP Group with regard to this question. But personally I have no qualms about saying that I am sorry the position argued by Mrs Gaiotti de Biase could not be adopted by the EPP Group as a whole. It is a pity that the Group did not manage to avoid a split in its ranks on this occasion, as some members were unable to resist introducing principles of dogma into a political debate.

To conclude, we regard this work — both the discussion and the finished resolution — as the beginning of

a new role for the European Parliament, because it represents a reference point for all the women's movements which have been campaigning in Europe for so many years. That they feel this to be true, moreover, is confirmed by the presence of so many of their representatives here today and their participation in this debate.

For these reasons, and with these reservations, therefore, we are in favour of the motion for a resolution.

*(Applause from the left)*

**President.** — I call Mrs Martin.

**Mrs Martin.** — *(F)* Madam President, we were most disappointed by the rejection of our amendment together with any other which provided for the committee's work to be continued, and we still think that our work will not be understood by all the men and women who have followed its progress. Be that as it may, we will vote for this resolution which, although it is a compromise, contains so much that is positive in our eyes that it should be adopted by an overwhelming vote on the part of this Assembly.

I should just like to say, both as a woman and as a European, how deeply sorry I shall be if the outcome of this debate is as I anticipate, and all the more so for this reason: if you read carefully the points concerning the termination of pregnancy — which seems to be the main stumbling block here — it should be quite clear to you that the report is only in fact trying to take account of a situation which already exist and is trying to find a solution to desperate situations. Of course, nobody is in favour of abortion. In conclusion, I appeal to all those who want to reject this resolution to think very carefully about the consequences and what our image will be in the eyes of the many European women who have come here, if, having raised so many hopes, we disappoint them now.

**President.** — I call Mrs Macchiocchi.

**Mrs Macchiocchi.** — *(I)* Madam President, both I and the majority of my Group shall be voting in favour of this motion for a resolution. We have listened carefully to the discussion over paragraph 35 and the attitude of some members reminds us of that painting by Rembrandt in which several doctors are seen bending over the body of a man. In our case, the body is that of a woman; here we have a whole army of highly intelligent and capable men trying to make up their minds as to whether a woman's pregnancy should continue or not. Rembrandt's painting displays a keen sense of irony in showing the absolute power of the doctors leaning over the body stretched out on the operating table. Well, I have been struck by a similar irony here

**Macchiocchi**

today on hearing all these gentlemen holding forth about women's bodies — even if they are guided by a sense of moral purpose — as if these bodies belonged to them.

We, on the other hand, intend to reaffirm what we have said before: we support a woman's right to choose. It is therefore up to each woman to make this very basic choice, and I say so as a mother myself. Each woman must decide whether to bring one or more children into a society whose limitations she knows and in full consciousness of the struggles she will have to endure to guarantee that her children have a future safeguarded by society as a whole. Paragraph 35 reveals a sense of balance in this matter and I think it was quite out of place of certain members to raise their voices on the grounds of their religious beliefs against those who are willing to tackle what is a basic problem of contemporary European society and a central concern to all those women who have been invoked here today. We claimed that we wanted to draw up a resolution in the interests of European women, which is why, for the first time ever, we have seen the public gallery crowded with women today. Let us not disappoint them, ladies and gentlemen; the European Community is already so unpopular among women! They have appealed to us for help and we should not respond by frustrating and trampling on their hopes. For these reasons, I — and I believe, other members of my Group — shall be voting in favour of the motion for a resolution.

**President.** — I call Mrs Lenz.

**Mrs Lenz.** — (D) I should like to say on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party that I deplore the fact that we have had a debate of this kind here today.

From the very beginning, we have issued warnings in the *ad hoc* committee not to pursue this subject in this direction. In our proposed amendments, we have tried to water down points 35 and 36 dealing with abortion under certain conditions, because we realize that these matters have created profound ethical and religious problems in our countries. The legislation on this subject differs from country to country, and we have always advised against seeking to harmonize this legislation. These are points we have made loud and clear, and the only personal reply I have to make to one of the previous speakers is that we have always made it clear that we have gone as far as we possibly could in view of what we personally thought we could support.

The various explanations of vote made by members of our Group show clearly that these questions of conscience go particularly deeply in our Group, and we cannot do justice to the range of opinions by engineering a bloc vote. I would ask you to remember that the declarations of vote given here are personal

statements which we must respect. Everyone in our group is free to vote as his or her conscience dictates. In our view, the importance of the sanctity of life cannot possibly be stressed too much, and we cannot debate the rights and wrongs of it in this form. We regret that doubt has been cast on the report and the months of very hard — and, in many respects, excellent — work put in by our rapporteur by these points and also that a good example of what can be done by all the women Members of this House pooling their efforts to formulate a comprehensive policy on the position of women in the European Community has now been jeopardized. In view of the unemployment problem, the educational and training problems and the threats to the status of the family, we had expected some important pointers from this motion for a resolution.

I should like to make it clear on behalf of my Group that we are for freedom of decision and for the free development of the human personality, but we are also for the joint responsibility of men and women for human life, which is so often mentioned in our debates on human rights. Like all the other Groups in this House, we want to see an end to discrimination against all women in the family and in employment. We want to find solutions to these problems; after all, many of our voters are women, and we are aware of their problems and are just as keen as anyone else to give them social security and equal opportunities. I am sorry to have to say that, in view of the distortions brought about by the points I have just mentioned, a lot of the members of my Group feel bound to vote against the motion for a resolution. A minority will be voting for the motion, and some will be abstaining.

*(Applause from the Group of the European People's Party (CD Group))*

**President.** — I call Mr Pannella on a point of order.

**Mr Pannella.** — (F) I am sure that you are well aware and that your conscience could tell you that you have deliberately allowed other people to speak before me, even though they asked for the floor after I did. I do not think that you can take away someone's rights in this House just because you don't like the look of him, Madam President. I therefore wish to give an explanation of vote, just like everybody else!

**President.** — Mr Pannella, you will be allowed — along with others — to speak later. I gave the floor to Mrs Macchiocchi, even though she wasn't on the list of speakers, because she told me that this omission was due to a secretary's mistake . . .

**Mr Pannella.** — (F) I could quite well give the same excuse. It only goes to show that getting permission to speak depends on whether you like the look of

**Pannella**

someone. It's worse than trying to get a drink in a crowded bar!

**President.** — I call Mrs Roudy.

**Mrs Roudy.** — (*F*) Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, I will keep my comments short as all the points have already been made and noted by those present. I should just like to say that there was a time when I dreamed of a great resolution, brimming over with enthusiasm, boldness, purpose and courage, in favour of women's rights. Well, it would appear that I'll have to wait for another opportunity because dreams are one thing and reality is another. What is the reality? The fact is that we can hardly call ourselves progressive in this Parliament. So, we have done what we could and the resolution closely reflects the character of this Parliament, which is capable of taking little steps forward from time to time, but never great strides.

Confronted by this tentative image of a Parliament which does admittedly take liberties with the Treaties from time to time, one may well hesitate to judge, and some people are indeed hesitating now. Even I hummed and hawed for a while, but after hearing speeches which must be without parallel for their vehemence, dishonesty and hypocrisy, I must say that my mind is now made up.

I want to congratulate Mrs Maij-Weggen for having the forbearance to sit through all these speeches (*Applause*) and to impress on her that she must not allow herself to be discouraged by the facile and somewhat cowardly arguments voiced by the defenders of a moral order which I, for one, regard as inhumane and outmoded. Whatever you do, don't give them the satisfaction of wounding you with their remarks, for they do them no credit! I shall therefore be voting for this resolution and I think that we should all do so for a very simple reason, namely, that it will benefit many women.

I should just like to remind Members that, although many voices have been raised against the motion, there have also been many for it. I am thinking of the messages from Ireland and the thousands of petitions received recently by our colleague and friend Mrs Yvette FUILLET; she has been bombarded with petitions from women begging her to do her utmost to obtain approximation of the laws relating to the voluntary termination of pregnancy. By acting in this way we knew that we were making a positive response to appeals from women whose voices would otherwise never have been heard, and who are unable to be here today for obvious reasons. The proposals contained in the resolution are in fact very modest, so no one need fear that they are going to spark off a revolution!

As far as the voluntary termination of pregnancy is concerned, which has become an obsession with some

people, and used by them to create panic among others, I suggest that you take another look at the text; all it says is that steps should be taken so that women are no longer obliged to resort to this expedient, and calls for

decisions at national level such as to obviate the need for journeys of this type which make any form of social aid impossible and lead to unacceptable commercialization . . .

It may be assumed that such commercialization is not regarded as a bad thing by some countries. Nevertheless, is it really revolutionary to request that any woman who finds herself in difficulty can obtain the necessary assistance in her own country?

To sum up — and these are my last words on the subject — let us vote in favour of this motion for a resolution in the knowledge that it is a small step forward. We shall have opportunities at some other time to discuss the protection of life and we shall see what our positions are then. But for the moment, I ask you to vote for this resolution; it is far from revolutionary, but it is helpful. We will try to do better the next time . . .

*(Applause from various quarters)*

*(Parliament adopted the resolution)\**

**President.** — I call Mr Pannella for an explanation of vote.

**Mr Pannella.** — (*F*) Madam President, I voted in favour of this resolution not merely because of its overall worth but because it has once again brought us face to face with views which I personally would label inhuman.

It is quite monstrous, Madam President, that anyone should put forward religious arguments, even Catholic ones, in support of certain attitudes when for nineteen hundred years it was forbidden to baptize anything which was not manifestly human in appearance.

For 1 900 years the Church withheld baptism from any being which was not patently identified as human. For this reason, Madam President, I feel that the repeated attempts to place the life of the fertilized ovum or the embryo on the same plane as that of the human being are blasphemous. I am very sorry for Mr Bersani, who feels that on behalf of foetuses everywhere he cannot vote in favour of this resolution on women when, in my opinion monstrously, he and his party each year approve military spending which means that 20 million people who are, or could be, baptized are condemned to death. This is a truly monstrous way of looking at

\* By roll-call vote requested by the Socialist Group; see minutes of proceedings.

**Pannella**

life, not just in its social aspects but from a moral point of view as well. These are the reasons, Madam President, which led me to vote in favour of this resolution.

**President.** — The sitting will now be suspended until 3 p.m.

The House will rise.

**AFTER THE DEBATE**

This, then, was how the debate went. Now it is up to everyone, man or woman, to arrive at his or her own conclusions.

The major problems tackled in the final Resolution will be brought up again in the months to come when they are considered by the European Parliament Committees, each within its own sphere. This means that MEPs as a whole will be involved in the work that is to be done now. They will undoubtedly be receptive to suggestions, comments and feedback; citizens, both male and female, will want to act personally or through their organizations to ensure that the review of the position to be drawn up by a further ad hoc committee in two years' time will reflect as many advances as possible.

In the words of Mr. Richard, a member of the European Commission, "Very often information is the (European Commission's) most powerful weapon and I share the view of those parliamentarians who have stressed the need for information in this case. It is a point, moreover, which many speakers have emphasized: there must be information so that women will ignore nothing of their rights under the law, a campaign to publicize new ventures and possible action, information on the women's movement, at every level, so that every woman will be made more aware of the pressure for change. I am glad that the draft Resolution returns so often to the need for information; the Commission will assuredly consider the best ways of redoubling its efforts in this respect."

Wednesday, 11 February 1981

## RESOLUTION

## on the position of women in the European Community

*The European Parliament,*

- having regard to its resolution of 26 October 1979 on the creation of an *Ad Hoc* Committee on Women's Rights <sup>(1)</sup>,
- having regard to its resolution of 19 June 1980 <sup>(2)</sup>,
- having regard to the Commission's working document for the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Women's Rights on 'Community action to assist women: stocktaking and guidelines' (SEC (80) 1227),
- having regard to the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Women's Rights (doc. 1-829/80),
- having regard to the fact that the joint declaration by the European institutions on human rights of 5 April 1977 also covers women's rights <sup>(3)</sup>,
- having regard to Articles 100, 119 and 235 of the EEC Treaty,
- having regard to the Council Directive of 10 February 1975 <sup>(4)</sup>,
- having regard to the Council Directive of 9 February 1976 <sup>(5)</sup>,
- having regard to the Council Directive of 19 December 1978 <sup>(6)</sup>,
- having regard to the resolution of the Council of Education Ministers of 13 December 1976 <sup>(7)</sup>,
- having regard to the Council Decision of 20 December 1977 concerning the European Social Fund <sup>(8)</sup>,
  
- whereas the historical development of civilization in general and the advent of modern industrial societies has so far failed to eradicate the age-old subordination of women and has often given rise to new forms of alienation and new imbalances;
  
- whereas this situation is unacceptable not only because it limits the individual rights of women but because it adversely affects the overall balance of society in terms of the relationships between the collective and individual levels of society, as far as the organization of responses to needs, relationships between the generations and the division of responsibilities between men and women are concerned;
  
- whereas the removal of all forms of discrimination against and oppression of women is a necessary prerequisite for the establishment of a fairer and more advanced social order

<sup>(1)</sup> OJ No C 289, 19. 11. 1979, p. 56.

<sup>(2)</sup> OJ No C 175, 14. 7. 1980, p. 43.

<sup>(3)</sup> OJ No C 103, 27. 4. 1977, p. 1.

<sup>(4)</sup> OJ No L 45, 19. 2. 1975, p. 19.

<sup>(5)</sup> OJ No L 39, 14. 2. 1976, p. 40.

<sup>(6)</sup> OJ No L 6, 10. 1. 1979, p. 24.

<sup>(7)</sup> OJ No C 308, 30. 12. 1976, p. 1.

<sup>(8)</sup> OJ No L 337, 27. 12. 1977, p. 14.

Wednesday, 11 February 1981

and hence for the improvement of the living and working conditions of the citizens of the Community in accordance with the wishes expressed in the preamble of the Treaty of Rome;

- whereas the present economic crisis with high unemployment and inflation has a particularly severe effect on women as potential workers or as the recipients of social benefits and social services;
- whereas this reveals the structural nature of unemployment among women and threatens the progress achieved up to now in the matter of equality between men and women;
- considering that this situation necessitates a fresh overall response by the Community in the monetary, industrial, energy, agricultural and services sectors in order to introduce policies to combat recession and restore balance at regional level and to restructure social expenditure in the interests of efficiency and solidarity;
- drawing attention to the United Nations' ten-year plan for 1975 to 1985 which is aimed at improving the situation of women and which was evaluated and updated by the Copenhagen Conference in July 1980;
- whereas the proposals that follow provide guidance for the achievement of women's rights and will be given exhaustive consideration in the appropriate parliamentary committees,

#### I. IMPROVEMENT OF EXISTING COMMUNITY MEASURES

##### 1. Directives

1. Takes a favourable view of the efforts made by the Commission through the action and the initiatives it has taken in the field of information, albeit with limited resources, to help European women, notably when the European Parliament was elected by direct universal suffrage, but notes that the aim laid down in Community directives of eliminating all forms of discrimination and oppression is far from being realized; and considers therefore that further action is needed in this respect;

2. Urges the Commission to present proposals to supplement the following Directives as indicated:

(a) *Directive on equal pay:*

- a provision which obliges the Member States to prepare coordinated statistics in which the specific structural problems relating to the employment of women are clearly defined and on the basis of which an assessment can be made of how far the aim of the Directive has been achieved,
- a Directive on equal treatment for male and female workers in the Member States' fiscal legislation taking into account the relationship between family income and the number of dependants.

(b) *Directive on equal treatment:*

- a provision which clearly defines the professions exempted from the Directive,



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- a provision designed to compel the Member States to report to the Commission every two years on how far the objective of the Directive has been achieved,
- a provision to harmonize such protective legislations as may still exist in the Member States;

(c) *points relating to these two Directives:*

- a provision instructing national committees, on which the two sides of industry in particular would be represented, to prepare an overall assessment and report on how the implementing measures for these Directives are respected by the Member States and to assist women who take cases to the relevant legal authorities in accordance with the provisions of these Directives;

(d) *as regards the Directive on social security:*

- Is concerned at the procedures and slowness in implementing the Directive on equal treatment in the field of social security, Article 8 of which specifies that it must be implemented by the Member States by 1984; therefore requests the Commission to carry out a survey on the nature and scope of the progress made in each Member State and to present a report on this matter to the relevant committee of the European Parliament within one year;
- Considers that the provision in the Directive on equal treatment in the field of social security which allows the Member States to continue granting women derived rights from their husbands must be regarded as transitional (pursuant to paragraph C of Article 7);
- Considers that these derived rights must be applied to men and women during this transitional period;
- Regrets that this Directive does not provide for equal treatment in the field of family allowances;
- Urges the Commission to present two additional proposals to this effect;

3. Criticizes the Member States' method of transposing Directives and requests the Commission to continue to take proceedings against Member States which are not fulfilling their obligations under the Directives;

Considers it essential to include a provision requiring the Member States, in the matter of appeals brought before the national courts, where an appeal is made on the basis of the Community Directives, to reverse the burden of proof for the benefit of women;

4. Requests the Commission to ensure that the implementation of the Directives on equal pay and equal treatment — and of the social security Directive from 1984 onwards — is an essential precondition for the granting of support from the Community's regional and social funds;

## 2. Social Fund

5. Notes with satisfaction that application for finance from the European Social Fund for projects designed to improve the position of women over the age of 25 wishing to return to working life have increased substantially since January 1980, but expresses its concern at the

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marked differences between Member States as regards access to these funds and therefore asks:

- the Commission and the Member States to organize a large-scale information campaign in order to make the citizens of the Community more aware than hitherto of the facilities offered by the European Social Fund;
- the Commission to submit in time for the European Parliament's debate on the budget a report on the nature of the subsidized projects and on the distribution of funds between individual projects and countries;
- the Commission to ensure that the Social Fund Regulation is amended to permit the part-financing of institutions that afford women the freedom to attend vocational training courses and, in particular, the building and running of crèches near to training centres;

6. Notes that the high and increasing number of unemployed women in the Member States of the European Community makes it necessary to draw up common proposals to combat unemployment among women and calls upon the Commission to prepare a positive plan to improve the position of women in which national measures will be coordinated and, where necessary, support provided for the measures envisaged by means of finance from the future social fund for women;

7. Considers that the Community resources which in the past have been used for pilot projects largely relating to the employment and training of women in general to be augmented by more specific measures, and wishes, in this context, to see reception centres set up where women who have been the victims of sexual or other forms of violence can receive the medical, social and legal assistance they need;

8. Expresses its appreciation of the action taken by the Commission in respect of equality of opportunity for young people of both sexes and deplores the fact that, despite approval by the Council in 1976 and 1980, the Council of Ministers has given no evidence of the importance it should attach to this area — given the infrequency of its meetings and the serious cuts in appropriations for this heading in the 1981 budget;

### 3. Information

9. Requests the Commission to arrange for national information campaigns with the aid of television, radio and the press on Community measures and directives aimed at promoting equality between men and women and on the action taken on them by the Member States;

10. Requests the Commission to step up information — and to provide adequate funds and staff — on Community actions for women and to increase the political awareness of women in the Community;

## II. FURTHER ACTION

11. Believes that the role of European legislation in the area of women's rights should not be to coerce nations with different social traditions to follow exactly the pattern of the most sophisticated or furthest advanced, but to encourage Member States to create conditions in which it is possible for women to choose whether or not to take up employment in full freedom and with the same opportunities as those available to men;

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12. Notes with great concern that the rising unemployment in the Member States of the Community is felt primarily by women, young and old alike, and considers that this problem should be tackled bearing in mind the following specific causes:

- the increasing number of women looking for jobs for social and cultural reasons, which must be regarded as irreversible,
- the traditional fragility of female employment resulting from its concentration in the weakest sectors, the tendency to consider it as reserve labour and the pressure of inherited stereotypes,
- the gap between the level of education for women and technological progress,
- the position adopted by trade unions in defending jobs which has favoured workers already in employment;

13. Considers that the Community must undertake a wide-ranging policy to put an end to legal inequalities between men and women, to eliminate the obstacles for the full development of their personalities by guaranteeing to each individual the freedom to attain his or her own aspirations and to combine family tasks and a role in society according to his or her own choice and considers that the Community should act not only to combat juridical and legislative inequalities in respect of women but should also remove the structural obstacles which are preventing effective implementing of the principles laid down in the EEC Treaty, in particular Article 119, and in the three Directives;

Requests therefore the Community not to confine itself, in respect of women, to the adoption of specific directives and to action by the European Social Fund (provided for in the Council Decision of 20 December 1977) but to implement a wide-ranging policy in the agricultural, industrial, social, regional, development cooperation and external relations sectors in order to promote:

- the possibilities available to women and men to combine their family and employment roles;
- the improvement of the participation of women in political, social and economic life and in production activities;
- the elimination of every form of legal discrimination in society and in the family context in order to ensure equal legal status for women by granting them their own rights and not derived rights;
- the introduction of social services and the adoption of all measures which would help put an end to the present distribution of roles according to sex in society and in the family and facilitate an equitable distribution of tasks and responsibilities between men and women;
- equal opportunities for women as regards access to training and occupations;
- health protection for women, with particular reference to the right to responsible and freely chosen motherhood and the right of infants to benefit from the support of society prior to birth;
- improvement of the position of migrant women, women employed in family businesses and women in sparsely-populated rural areas;

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- a greater awareness of the position of women in developing countries and practical measures (conditions) in the allocation of funds in connection with development aid.

### 1. Combating unemployment among women

14. Asks for a general reduction in working hours and a redistribution of employment between men and women, to enable women to participate more fully on the labour market. This reduction in working hours should relate primarily to daily working hours in order to facilitate a better division of efforts between partners in the household, in the raising of children and in active employment.

### 2. Problems relating to part-time work

15. Considers that social and economic participation by women in the labour market might be substantially improved by introducing a greater variety of working hours in the paid employment sector, enabling male and female employees to choose between a large range of part-time jobs;

16. Urges that all social and financial disadvantages of part-time employment be eliminated and that the right to the same working conditions, social benefits, occupational and industrial training and promotion prospects be granted to part-time employees; calls upon the Commission to work out proposals meeting these requirements and to present those proposals within one year in the form of a Directive to the responsible committee of Parliament; insists that part-time work should not be treated as a form of work intended primarily for women but for all workers — both men and women — who have particular requirements (students, handicapped, retired persons etc.) and that, in all cases, part-time workers should benefit from the same rights as other workers;

Hopes that shorter working hours will not be used as an instrument to increase artificially the flexibility of the labour market, to pursue conjunctural policies or as a way of increasing workloads, thus making discrimination against women even more serious and calls upon the Commission to take account of this in its proposals concerning the redistribution of working time;

Notes, moreover, that there must be no discrimination against part-time employees in the granting of earnings compensation in the event of general reductions in working hours so that the development of part-time employment cannot be misused as a way of evading the need to reduce working hours for all employees;

17. Requests the Commission to draw up a report on work at home executed mainly by women in certain Member States, the different systems of remuneration, the existing health regulations and social provisions and the possibility of harmonizing the relevant laws of the Member States;

18. Notes with great concern that the rate of shift working in the Community is increasing and points out that shift work is an obstacle to an equitable division of efforts between men and women in the home and in the care of children;

19. Calls on the Commission to draw up in conjunction with the appropriate committees of the European Parliament a proposal for certain pilot projects on part-time working and

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the reduction of working hours, on which the Dublin Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions should draw up a report to Parliament after two years:

### 3. Social and family services

20. Notes with concern that many married women who work outside the home are in effect required to do two jobs — paid work outside the home and unpaid domestic work at home — and consequently work hours which would be unacceptably long by the standards of any national legislation;

21. Considers therefore that part of the Community's education policy should be devoted to encouraging the provision in all Member States of instruction for boys in skills (e.g. cooking, child care) which would in time encourage and enable men to share in domestic work responsibilities;

22. Considers that the specific employment curve of women which shows that a large number of women disappear from active employment between the ages of 25 to 35 can be modified by revising, improving and harmonizing the regulations which, in the different Member States, govern maternity leave, parental leave, leave for family reasons (sick children, etc.) and calls on the Commission to prepare a study of the present position relating to leave on family grounds in the Member States to provide guidance for a future proposal on harmonization in this area;

23. Notes that social services for the family are in a state of crisis in all the Member States because of escalating costs, the difficulty of meeting all requirements, the dangers of growing institutionalization and dehumanization of relationships and a substantial weakening of family ties;

24. Points out that we must reject all temptation to make married couples and families, that is to say in practice women, bear the consequences of the social crisis and therefore calls on the Commission:

- to promote and support (partly through Community funding) the development by the Member States of an extensive network of social services for children, old people and the handicapped, with a view to alleviating the most arduous aspects of housework and in so doing to encourage the creation of diversified facilities for children which take account both of the needs of children and of the requirements of parents exercising professional and social activities;
- to promote arrangements for more flexible hours for public transport, establishments and shops and the adjustment of school timetables with the application of continuous working hours in schools;
- to encourage surveys and research into new forms of aid (such as cooperatives, voluntary services, involvement of users in decisions relating to social services) which can guarantee women and the family real support in discharging the abovementioned tasks by encouraging a sense of responsibility and links between families.

### 4. New technologies

25. Asks the Commission and Council in relation to the effects of new technologies on the employment of women:

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- to make both sides of industry, undertakings and trade unions, aware of the specific problems encountered by women following the introduction of new technologies;
- to cooperate with both sides of industry in order to inform women of the prospects offered to them by telematics;
- to initiate in cooperation with both sides of industry and with the possibility of assistance from the Social Fund:
  - (a) measures to promote the training of women in areas of work where the prospects of employment are best;
  - (b) measures to adapt training traditionally acquired by women to telematics;
  - (c) measures intended to teach women how to teach others in the new fields;
- to ensure that the development of work at home, which will be one of the consequences of telematics, does not become the source of a new form of segregation on the employment market;
- Asks the Commission, in the case of policy developments concerning new technologies, to state in concrete terms what will be their effects on the position and the employment of women and at the same time to state how consequences that might be prejudicial to women may be avoided or otherwise dealt with.

#### 5. Fair representation of women

26. Requests the Commission to bring about the abolition of age limits for access to a profession and to conduct regularly in the Member States surveys on the improvement of the situation of women on the employment market with particular reference to the distribution of women and men between the various categories of active employment and the various levels of employment and to report to Parliament on these matters every two years;

27. Deplores the continued under-representation of women in employers' and trade union organizations and other professional organizations, and requests that where the Commission, in drawing up draft legislation of particular interest to women, finds that women are unrepresented on its consultative committees, further opinions should be sought from women's interest groups or specific experts.

### III. EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING

28. Endorses the Commission's view that a specific education policy is indispensable for the creation of equal opportunities for girls and affirms that the coordination and intensification of educational policy measures at Community level will play a decisive role in the struggle against unemployment of women and young people;

29. Considers that, in the overall context of a general adjustment of the educational systems in the ten countries to the present situation, the following objectives are of great general or specific importance for women at all levels:

- the development of mathematical, scientific and technical education;
- the development of language tuition;

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- education of young people of both sexes to participate in decision making and in the work process through direct experience;
- education of young people of both sexes to acquire knowledge of the institutional and economic machinery of the European Community;
- education of young people of both sexes to take responsibility in daily life, in choices relating to consumer activities and in family tasks;
- education and critical awareness of problems relating to the role of the sexes in the post-industrial society;

and calls upon the Commission to coordinate in an overall approach the various actions already undertaken in these sectors and to strengthen that action, in cooperation with the Council of Europe's programme of 'preparation for life'.

30. Considers that an appropriate policy to this effect is needed at all levels and in all fields of education, based on the following priorities:

(a) *as regards students:*

- active encouragement of coeducation in primary, secondary and advanced education;
- active encouragement of a fair ratio of boys to girls at all levels of education and in particular in secondary schools and institutes of advanced education;
- active encouragement for more girls to attend educational and professional training courses in technical, economic and mathematical fields and for more boys to attend courses in household skills and child-care, having regard to the important need to bring about a change of attitude in families, especially of parents, through the use of local and regional media (radio, press, television);
- greater participation by girls in university and advanced professional courses, especially in those countries where the number of girls attending advanced education courses has hitherto been far too low;

(b) *as regards teaching staff:*

- a better distribution of male and female teaching staff throughout education;
- an active policy of appointing female heads of staff in schools;
- in-service training courses for teaching staff on the problems raised by the backward position of women in society and the role which education plays in this connection;

(c) *as regards scientific research:*

- study of the overall attainments of boys and girls in all sectors of education and of the structure of transition to the subsequent level of education and to working life;
- study of the effect of school hours on the professional activity of the parents of schoolchildren;
- study by special committees, half of whose members shall be women, of the stereotyped and discriminatory nature of teaching material so as to enable teaching staff to select positive teaching materials of a high standard;

31. Calls upon the Commission to arrange, in agreement with the Council and the social partners, a programme for improvement of the position of women and young people in training, particularly professional training, with the priority objective of ensuring more

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active participation by women and girls in training and occupational training in all sectors and at all levels, through:

- (a) incentives for companies;
- (b) measures to provide further training and retraining for women who return to work after periods of absence for family reasons;
- (c) abolition of age limits for participation in courses of education;
- (d) social services, even of a temporary nature, to enable female workers with family responsibilities to attend courses;

32. Calls on the Commission to draw up a programme, by agreement with the Council and the two sides of industry, for the improvement of the position of women and girls in the field of further training, permanent training based on the following priorities:

- granting of more generous training leave facilities both for women in paid employment and for women engaged in domestic work;
- development of further training courses for women who wish to maintain a link with working life during a period of occupational inactivity;
- development of information and motivation courses for women who wish to return to work after a period of domestic work;
- development of further training programmes for working women in jobs threatened by rationalization measures and for unemployed women;
- prohibition of the setting of upper age limits on participation in professional and industrial training courses for this category of women;

33. Calls upon the Commission to have special regard to the problem of equal opportunities for girls in the context of the following Community programmes:

- training in agriculture,
- alternating vocational training,
- training for new occupations,
- exchange of students and workers;

34. Requests the Commission to convene in the near future a special conference of education authorities and other specialists from the Member States of the European Community in order to determine ways of incorporating the abovementioned priorities into national educational policy as swiftly as possible and the contribution that the European Community can make in this connection and calls for the press, radio and television to be involved in the work of such a conference;

35. Appeals urgently to the Council of Ministers of Education to meet at least once a year in order to facilitate coordination and evaluation of the European policy on the improvement of the position of women and girls in education to protect them throughout their career in higher education and academic studies, against all the discrimination which affects women, particularly at university level.

#### IV. HEALTH CARE

36. Welcomes the greater efforts being made to promote cooperation between the Member States in the field of health care as regards information and training in matters of health, preventive measures and research, and calls for an intensification of such cooperation by



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means of new joint initiatives including a programme geared to action in the field of health on the principle of 'Prevention is better than cure';

- calls on the Commission, now that the freedom of establishment of doctors and paramedical staff has been achieved, to take initiatives to ensure a type of training which takes account of the specific problems of women and to strive to ensure a more equal relationship between women and doctors;
- requests the Commission together with the Member States to examine to what extent and in what form the United Nations' health action programme has been implemented in the countries of the Community with particular reference to the following:
  - (a) participation by men and women in health promotion activities and in the elaboration and application of health care measures at local and national level;
  - (b) active participation by women in framing health policy measures designed to give women more practical experience in matters of health care;

37. Notes that, owing to their role as mothers, women are confronted with specific problems for which training in matters of health, preventative measures, aid and research are necessary;

- considers that motherhood by choice is one of the most important features of the new role of women, but takes the view that considering the present scientific understanding of birth control and of the risks involved with the most commonly used contraceptive techniques on the one hand and economic, cultural and psychological factors on the other such a choice is far from fully guaranteed;
- requests the Commission to initiate an interdisciplinary research programme with the following goals:
  - coordination and encouragement of research currently in progress to extend knowledge of conception and contraceptive methods for men and women (with particular reference to natural methods), their effectiveness and the physiological and psychological side-effects of methods currently practised;
  - coordination and encouragement of experiments and surveys concerning the present and the prospective situation as regards sex education for young people and adults and advice on marital and family matters;
- calls upon the Commission to exclude discriminatory provisions against women from Directives on health protection at the work place, thus ensuring equal protection for male and female workers;

38. Deplores that, because of this situation, the number of abortions practised as a means of birth control is constantly increasing and that:

- on the one hand in countries where there is no legislation on the voluntary termination of pregnancy, clandestine abortion remains the rule and often has serious consequences for women (and for their physical and psychological state of health);
- on the other hand, in those countries where legislation in this matter does exist, the specialized hospital facilities are often inadequate and there may be a tendency for

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abortion to be treated as a normal practice and one which is in itself sufficient to solve the problems experienced by women in this area;

notes nevertheless that the relevant legislation in the Member States varies so widely that women in distress frequently have to seek help in other countries, and requests the Commission to press the Council for decisions at national level such as to obviate the need for journeys of this type which make any form of social aid impossible and lead to unacceptable commercialization, and to ensure that every woman who finds herself in difficulty can obtain the necessary assistance in her own country;

39. Considers, however that abortion must be regarded only as a last resort, calls upon the Commission to set up a programme to reduce the number of abortions, in particular by:

- early provision of adequate information for young people;
- a broad and suitable range of reliable means of contraception;
- full recognition of the needs of single parents and special provisions for parents of large families;
- appropriate provisions for day nurseries.

#### V. MEASURES WITH REGARD TO SPECIAL GROUPS AND REGIONS

40. Takes the view that, owing to their circumstances certain groups of women require additional assistance and calls on the Commission to adopt specific measures in favour of migrant women, women employed in family businesses and women living in sparsely populated country areas;

41. Calls upon the Commission to envisage the possibility of including in a European statute for foreign workers, provisions for the wives of foreign workers based on the following principles:

- granting of a work permit in the host country accompanied by all the normal conditions of employment and social benefits,
- accommodation in the host country pursuant to the legislation applicable to nationals of that country,
- training and tuition in the language and culture of the host country and the right to re-training and further training in order to ensure adequate levels of occupational skills,
- adequate medical cover in particular for contraception, pregnancy and maternity,
- facilities enabling satisfactory links to be maintained with the population, the language and culture of the country of origin so as to create the conditions necessary for reintegration into society on return to the country of origin;

42. Requests the Commission also to look into the difficult position of women from the European Community who are married to workers of a different nationality and are unable to pass their nationality on to their children, and to undertake an enquiry into the nature and extent of these problems and to consider whether a European arrangement could be drawn up to solve them;

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43. Takes the view that the large group of women working in family businesses makes a very important contribution to the social and economic development of the Community, and is concerned to note that their legal, financial and social position is in many cases deficient, and calls on the Commission to draw up a European statute for such women based on the following principles:

- the right to have their occupational status recognized and to participate, legally and financially, on an equal footing with the husband in the business where they are employed as a member of the family;
- the right to training and education in the specific aspects of the business concerned in order to acquire the necessary professional skills;
- the right to full participation in specialized professional organizations at all administrative levels;
- the right to a fair system of social provisions, particularly as regards family helps and replacement in the business during the last six weeks of pregnancy and the first six weeks of motherhood, and in the event of disablement or illness, the right to a fair amount of leave and the right to a separate old-age pension;

44. Points out that the phenomenon of women working in family businesses without pay is particularly to be found in the agricultural sector where working conditions and pay are at present extremely poor, and urges the Commission to bear this in mind when drawing up proposals for the reform of the common agricultural policy;

45. Asks the Commission and Council to propose and adopt a Directive permitting the financing of replacement services in agriculture intended to enable women working in agriculture to be free to undergo training and participate in social life;

46. Points out that in the Community regional disparities have worsened and that in the depressed areas exclusion from productive life, the widespread phenomenon of black work and the lack of social services are having an adverse influence on the life of women;

- calls therefore for more emphasis to be given to the position of women in defining the specific needs of each region in the context of the forthcoming ERDF reform;
- calls further for the three Community funds (EAGGF, ERDF, Social Fund) to be used in a coordinated manner in the less-favoured regions for integrated intersectoral measures intended to improve the position of women by creating jobs where female labour is abundant, providing education and training possibilities, developing services necessary to working women while establishing more direct contact with local and regional authorities;

47. Points out that the European Community has up to now given little attention to the position of women in Greece and the applicant countries, Spain and Portugal, and requests the Commission to report as soon as possible on the situation of women in Greece, Spain and Portugal, the said report to cover at the very least the matters dealt with in this resolution.

## VI. DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

48. Is aware of the close link between the present situation of women and the general problem of their exclusion and inferior status which is particularly apparent in the developing countries;

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- refers to the resolution which it adopted on 18 September 1980 <sup>(1)</sup> in which it recognizes the essential tasks performed by women in the developing countries in the production and distribution of agricultural products and expresses the wish that the development programmes take greater account of the social, population, training, health and family aspects of the fight against hunger;

49. Notes that European policy with regard to development aid and external economic relations has not yet taken sufficient account of the position of women in the developing countries and calls on the Commission to take account of the following factors in its policy with regard to the Third World:

- great restraint in applying western cultural principles particularly as regards employment and family relationships and allowance for the fact that in most developing countries the number of single women and female heads of families is far higher than in western countries;
- the need to protect female employees who in many cases still have considerable family duties to perform from unreasonably long working hours, low wages, and unsatisfactory working conditions and social provisions;
- measures to ensure that women do not lose their traditional occupations for example in agriculture and commerce and at the same time are provided with employment opportunities in new areas of employment;
- promotion of a policy to improve basic needs (housing, food, clothing, education and medical aid) by making them priorities under development aid;
- the adoption as an immediate and fundamental objective of measures to combat illiteracy;
- special attention to the situation of women as regards health care by providing support for the provision of medical services in remote areas and support for the training of female medical staff and by supporting efforts to combat customs which are very harmful to women such as sexual mutilations, while taking care not to impose on the customs and traditions of the developing countries European-centred views of women's liberation which are meaningless and unacceptable — as was demonstrated by the hostile position adopted at Copenhagen by Third World women delegates — unless accompanied by a profound social transformation to allow the women of the Third World self-determination and the freedom to adopt new customs;
- encouragement of the involvement of women and women's organizations in the developing countries in all existing and future development projects and provision for evaluation procedures on the basis of which the effect of the projects concerned as regards improving the position of women can be determined;

50. Considers it necessary for the Commission also to give attention to the situation of women in certain countries which do not belong either directly or indirectly to the European Community, more particularly countries where owing to economic structures women are discriminated against from two angles, i.e. that of sex and that of race (apartheid);

51. Calls for the matters referred to in the previous paragraphs to be placed on the agenda for one of the forthcoming meetings of the ACP/EEC Consultative Assembly.

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<sup>(1)</sup> OJ No C 265, 13: 10. 1980, p. 37.

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## VII. OTHER RECOMMENDATIONS

52. Considers that the offices existing at present in the Commission of the European Communities to handle women's problems in the Directorate-General for Employment and Social Affairs and in the Directorate-General for Information must be strengthened;

— Considers that in the other Directorates-General concerned an official should be given responsibility for examining the work of these Directorates-General from the angle of their possible implications and consequences for women and for coordinating their work with other women's agencies so as to ensure that the efforts made by the European Community to obtain equal rights for women are reflected in its own services;

— Points out that the ratio of men to women employed as officials in the institutions of the European Communities reflects the unequal ratio of men to women employed in the Community itself and requests the Commission to submit a report to Parliament within six months on the employment situation of the female employees of Community institutions together with adequate proposals for improving this situation;

— Calls upon all the organs of the European Communities (Commission, Council, Parliament, Court of Justice, Economic and Social Committee, Court of Auditors, European Investment Bank) to report at an early date on the situation regarding the employment of women within their establishment and to set up a system enabling the promotion of women in all categories to be improved;

53. Deplores the absence of a woman representative among the 14 Members of the new Commission, in spite of the vote by Parliament which adopted a clear position in calling on the governments to appoint to the Commission a number of women proportionate to the female electorate in Europe;

54. Supports the idea already expressed by the Commission to set up a consultative committee on women's rights and considers that the national emancipation committees, national women's organizations and the social partners should be represented on such a committee and requests the Commission to submit practical proposals to this end in the near future;

55. Asks the Commission to conduct a systematic inquiry into the practices of procuring and trafficking in human beings for the purposes of prostitution and to carry out a study of ways of harmonizing the suppression of such activities within and between the 10 Member States;

56. Proposes that, to support and assist European policy to improve the position of women, universities should participate in scientific research into the role of women in all social sectors and that special activities relating to the position of women be arranged by the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training in Berlin and by the Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions in Dublin;

57. Is convinced that the present structure of the Community budget makes a genuine Community policy in favour of women impossible and requests the Commission to ensure adjustment of expenditure on the policies referred to in the resolution;

calls on the Council to cooperate in this connection with a view to setting up a special European fund for women of a duration of no less than 10 years;

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58. Decides that the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Women's Rights as of now be discharged of its duties but that it be reconstituted in two years' time with the task of initiating a new Parliamentary debate on the basis of a progress report showing the extent to which the proposals contained in this resolution have been put into effect;

Invites its appropriate committees to consider this exhaustive catalogue of questions relating to specific problems and discrimination affecting women, and to draw up, within three months, a list of priority measures;

Calls upon the Commission to respond rapidly and effectively to the urgent problems, and to submit proposals for the adoption of a long-term policy in this field;

59. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Commission and the Council.

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#### A DETAILED REPORT ON THE DEBATE AND VOTING

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At the request of the department responsible for information for women's organization and press, Ms Françoise Remuet-Alexandrou has produced a packed report on the debate and voting. The sources of amendments, the work of women MEPs, the influence of nationality and membership of political groups at the time of the vote by roll call, the cohesiveness of political groups and also the refusal of some of the MEPs to go along with the majority in their own groups: all these and other features of the two-day debate are observed and noted.

One factor noted, for example, is the very active role played by women during discussions: 96 out of 126 amendments were tabled by one or more women; 12 amendments out of the 126 were tabled by male MPEs; all the amendments submitted by male MEPs were from the European Democratic group and all by MEPs from the United Kingdom. Other amendments were presented by "mixed" groups, but with a majority of women signatories (201 women signatories out of a total of 310).

The report is in French and it will not be translated. This outstanding piece of research is available for those interested; it may be consulted on the spot, or a photocopy will be sent in response to a written request to be forwarded to:

European Commission  
Directorate General Information  
Information for Women's Organizations and Press  
200 Rue de la Loi  
1049 Brussels

FINAL VOTING :FOR : 173AGAINST : 101ASTENTIONS : 24

<u>For:</u>	SOC	PPE	ED	COM	L	DEP	COI	NI	TOTAL
B	6	-	-	-	2	-	-	2 (1)	10 (1)
DK	3 (1)	-	2	-	2 (1)	-	-	-	7 (2)
D	22 (6)	2 (1)	-	-	4 (1)	-	-	-	28 (8)
F	15 (4)	1 (1)	-	1	9 (3)	-	-	-	26 (8)
IRL	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
IT	7	1 (1)	-	21 (5)	1	-	3 (1)	-	33 (7)
L	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
NL	8 (3)	9 (2)	-	-	2	-	-	1 (1)	20 (6)
UK	12 (4)	-	20 (3)	-	-	-	-	-	32 (7)
G	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	15
Total	81 (18)	13 (5)	22 (3)	22 (5)	20 (5)	0	3 (1)	12 (2)	173 (39)

Against :

B	-	7	-	-	-	-	1	-	8
DK	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
D	-	25(2)	-	-	-	-	-	-	25 (2)
F	-	5	-	-	-	2	-	-	7
IRL	3 (1)	4	-	-	1	4	1	-	13 (1)
IT	-	21(1)	-	-	-	-	-	4	25 (1)
L	-	3(1)	-	-	-	-	-	-	3 (1)
NL	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
UK	-	-	16 (3)	-	-	1	-	-	17 (3)
G	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Total	3 (1)	66(4)	17 (3)	0	1	7	2	5	101 (8)

ABST.

B	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	2
DK	-	-	-	1 (1)	-	-	-	-	1 (1)
D	-	3(1)	-	-	-	-	-	-	3 (1)
F	-	-	-	6 (2)	-	4 (1)	-	-	10 (3)
IRL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
L	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
UK	-	-	8 (1)	-	-	-	-	-	8 (1)
G	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	0	4(1)	8 (1)	7 (3)	1	4 (1)	0	0	24 (6)

The figures in brackets ( ) are the number of women's votes out of the total number of votes cast.

THE AD HOC COMMITTEE ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS

In its resolution passed on 26 October 1979 (published in Official Journal C 289, 19.11.1979, p. 56), European Parliament decided to set up an ad hoc committee on women's rights with the task of preparing for a parliamentary debate on the position of women in the European Committee, in cooperation with the Commission of the European Communities, and using an outline report drawn up by the Commission.

At the request of the ad hoc committee, the enlarged Bureau of European Parliament gave the committee its authorization (on 17 January 1980) to draw up a report on all the questions included in its terms of reference by the 1979 parliamentary resolution, as part of the preparations for the debate.

During a meeting on 22 January 1980, the committee appointed Mrs Hanja Maij-Weggen as general rapporteur. Discussions were chaired by Mrs Yvette Roudy, with the aid of Mrs von Alemann, Miss Roberts and Mrs Squarcialupi.

At its meeting held on 21 January 1980, the ad hoc committee decided that its meetings should be held in public unless otherwise decided.

The committee then met eleven more times between February 1980 and January 1981, reviewing the main issues relevant to the position of women in the European Committee. A sub-committee was set up to draft the resolution, which met on 16 and 17 December 1980.

A delegation from the ad hoc committee on women's rights attended the United Nations Conference in Copenhagen on women's status, from 14 to 30 July 1980.

Commission members Roy Jenkins, Etienne Davignon, Henk Vredeling, Claude Cheysson and Lorenzo Natali were among those attending the meetings, as was a delegation from the Economic and Social Committee.

On receiving the European Commission working document on EEC action for women on 5 September 1980, discussions with the Commission were held on a draft resolution prepared by Mrs Maij-Weggen, the general rapporteur.

At the ad hoc committee's request, the enlarged Bureau of European Parliament authorized it to hold a public hearing on "women in small and medium sized concerns and in agriculture" and on "women and social security". The hearing was arranged in Milan on 20 and 21 October 1980.

The ad hoc committee on women's rights approved a questionnaire, concerned mainly with the forms of discrimination encountered by women at work as covered by Community directives. On request, with the full support of the then President of the Commission of European Communities, Mr. Roy Jenkins, this text was used as a basis for a survey, the results of which were made known on 9 December 1980. The report on the sample survey was published by the European Commission under the title of "European Women in Paid Employment; their perception of discrimination at work". A summary was published in Supplement no. 5 to "Women of Europe".



Based on many different working papers drawn up by members of the ad hoc committee, a draft report was produced by Mrs Maij-Weggen, the general rapporteur.

At the meetings held on 19 and 20 January 1981, the ad hoc committee adopted the proposed resolution by 14 votes, with one vote against and 6 abstentions.

A list of the full members and alternate members of the ad hoc committee on women's rights

<u>Full members</u>	<u>Alternate members</u>
<u>Socialist Group</u> (S)	
Mr Enright	Mr Balfe
Mrs Fullet	Mrs Gaspard
Mrs van den Heuvel	Mr Glinne
Mrs Hoff	Mrs Krouwel-Vlam
Mrs Lizin	Mr Linde
Mr Ripa di Meana	Mrs Salisch
Mrs Roudy	Mrs Vayssade
Mrs Wiczorek-Zeul	Mrs Weber
<u>European People's Party Group</u> (PPE)	
Mr Del Duca	Mr Beumer
Mrs Gaiotti de Biase	Mrs Boot
Mrs Lenz	Mr Klepsch
Mrs Maij-Weggen	Mrs Lentz-Cornette
Mr Michel	Mrs Moreau
Mr Narducci	Mr Nordlohne (who died on 29.1.1981)
Mrs Schleicher	Mr O'Donnell
Mr Simonnet	Mrs Rabbethge
<u>European Democratic Group</u> (ED)	
Miss Brookes	Mr Battersby
Miss Forster	Mr Dalziel
Miss Hooper	Mrs Kellett-Bowman
Mr Howell	Mr Normanton
Mr Johnson	Mr Spencer
Miss Roberts	
<u>Communist and Allies Group</u> (COM)	
Mrs Cinciari-Rodano	Mrs Caretoni
Mrs De March	
Mr Ferrero	
Mrs Hoffmann	
Mrs Squarzialupi	

Liberal and Democratic Group (L)

Mrs von Alemann  
Mr Calvez  
Mr Combe  
Mrs Martin

Mrs Pruvot

Group of European Progressive Democrats (DEP)

Mrs Chouraqui  
Mrs Dienesch  
Mr Vié

Mrs Ewing  
Mr de la Malene

Group for the Technical Coordination and Defence of Independent Groups  
and Members (I)

Mrs Macciocchi

Mrs Bonino  
Mrs Castellina  
Mrs Hammerich

Non-attached group (NI)

Mrs Dekker

Mrs Spaak

Regular reports on the work of the ad hoc committee on women's rights have appeared in "Women of Europe" since issue 11/79, published in September/October 1979. It has been discussed in the section entitled "In European Parliament", issues 12/79, 13/80, 14/80, 15/80, 16/80, 17/80 and 18/81.

The addresses of the ad hoc committee members were printed in issue 13/80, January/February 1980.

Index des noms des orateurs.

Alemann (von), Mechtild	D	L
Bersani, Giovanni	I	PPE
Blaney, Neil	IRL	CDI
Boot, Elise	NL	PPE
Boserup, Bodil	DA	COM
Bournias, Leonidas	Greece	New Democracy
Calv�ez, Corentin	F	L
Cinciari-Rodano, Maria Lisa	I	COM
Clinton, Mark	IRL	PPE
Dekker, Suzanne	NL	NI
Del Luca, Antonio	I	PPE
De March, Danielle	F	COM
Desmond, Eileen	IRL	S
De Valera, Sile	IRL	DEP
Enright, Derek	UK	S
Estgen, Nicolas	L	PPE
Fanti, Guido	I	COM
Fischbach, Marc	L	PPE
Forth, Eric	UK	ED
Fuillot, Yvette	F	S
Gaiotti de Biase, Paola	I	PPE
Glinne, Ernest	B	S
Habsburg, Otto	D	PPE
Hoff, Magdalene	D	S
Hoffmann, Jacqueline	F	COM
Hooper, Gloria	UK	ED
Johnson, Stanley	UK	ED
Kappos, Konstantin	Greece	COM
Kellett-Bowman, Elaine	UK	ED
Koutsocheras, Ioannis	Greece	S
Kraayeveld-Wouters,	NL	Council of Ministers
Krouwel-Vlam, Annie	NL	S
Lalor, Patrick	IRL	DEP
Lentz-Cornette, Marcelle	L	PPE
Lenz, Marlene	D	PPE
Leroux, Sylvie	F	COM
Lizin, Anne-Marie	B	S

Macciocchi, Maria Antonietta	I	CDI
Maher, Thomas	IRL	L
Maij-Weggen, Johanna	NL	PPE
Martin, Simone	F	L
Michel, Victor	B	PPE
Pannella, Marco	I	CDI
Pesmazoglou, Ioannis	Greece	Kodysi
Pruvot, Marie-Jane	F	L
Richard, Ivor	UK	Commission of the European Communities
Roberts, Shelagh	UK	ED
Romualdi, Pino	I	NI
Roudy, Yvette	F	S
Ryan, Richie	IRL	PPE
Schleicher, Ursula	D	PPE
Seligman, Madron	UK	ED
Sieglerschmidt, Hellmut	D	S
Spaak, Antoinette	B	NI
Squarcialupi, Vera	I	COM
Vayssade, Marie-Claude	F	S
Vió, Daniel	F	DEP
Wieczorek-Zeul, Heidemarie	D	S
Zighdis, Ioannis	Greece	Edik

Political Groups in European Parliament

CDI	Group for the Technical Coordination and Defence of Independent Groups and Members
COM	Communist and Allies Group
DE (ED)	European Democratic Group
DEP	Group of European Progressive Democrats
LIB (L)	Liberal and Democratic Group
SOC (S)	Socialist Group
PPE	Group of the European People's Party (Christian-Democratic Group)
NI	Non-attached