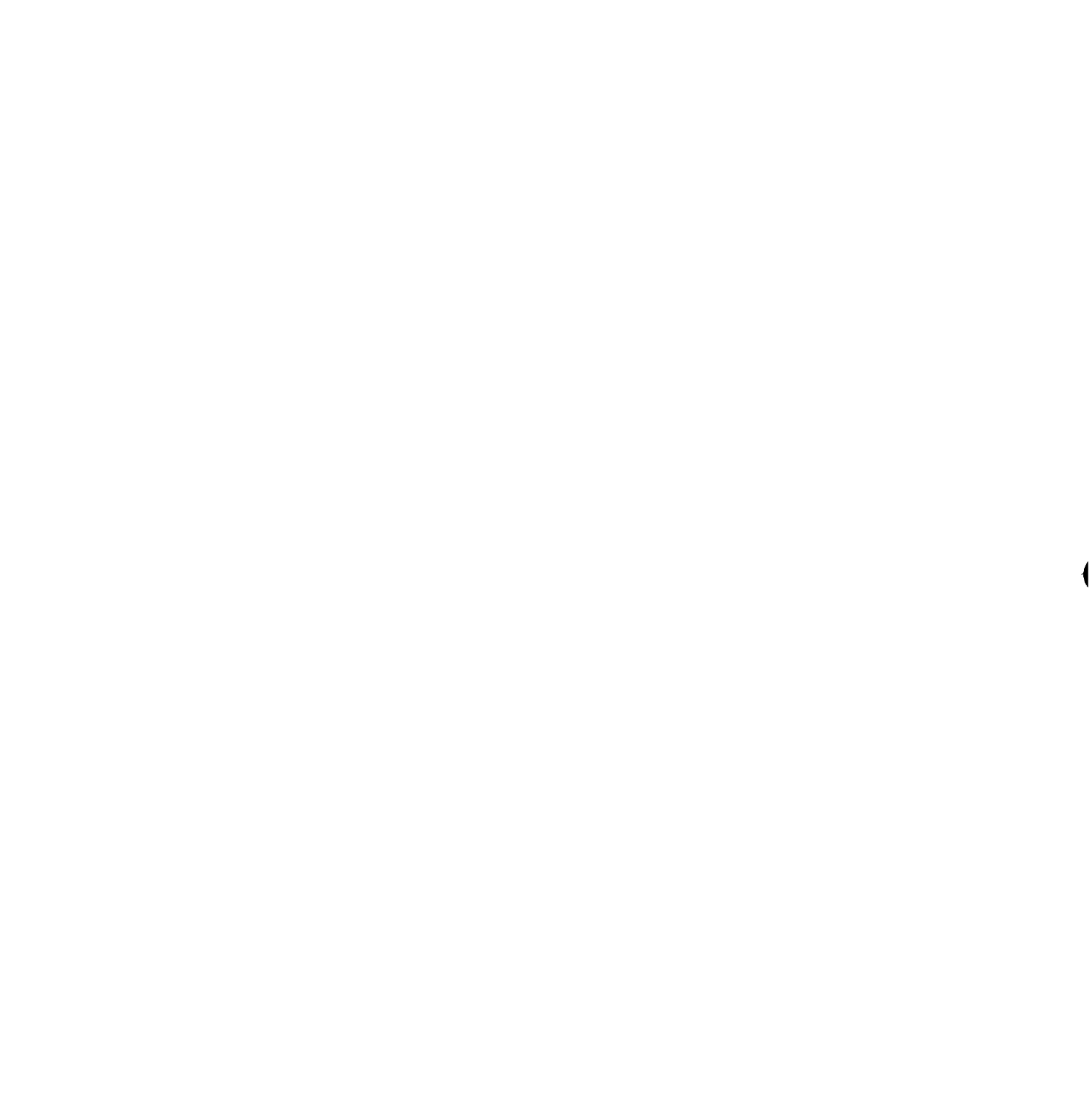


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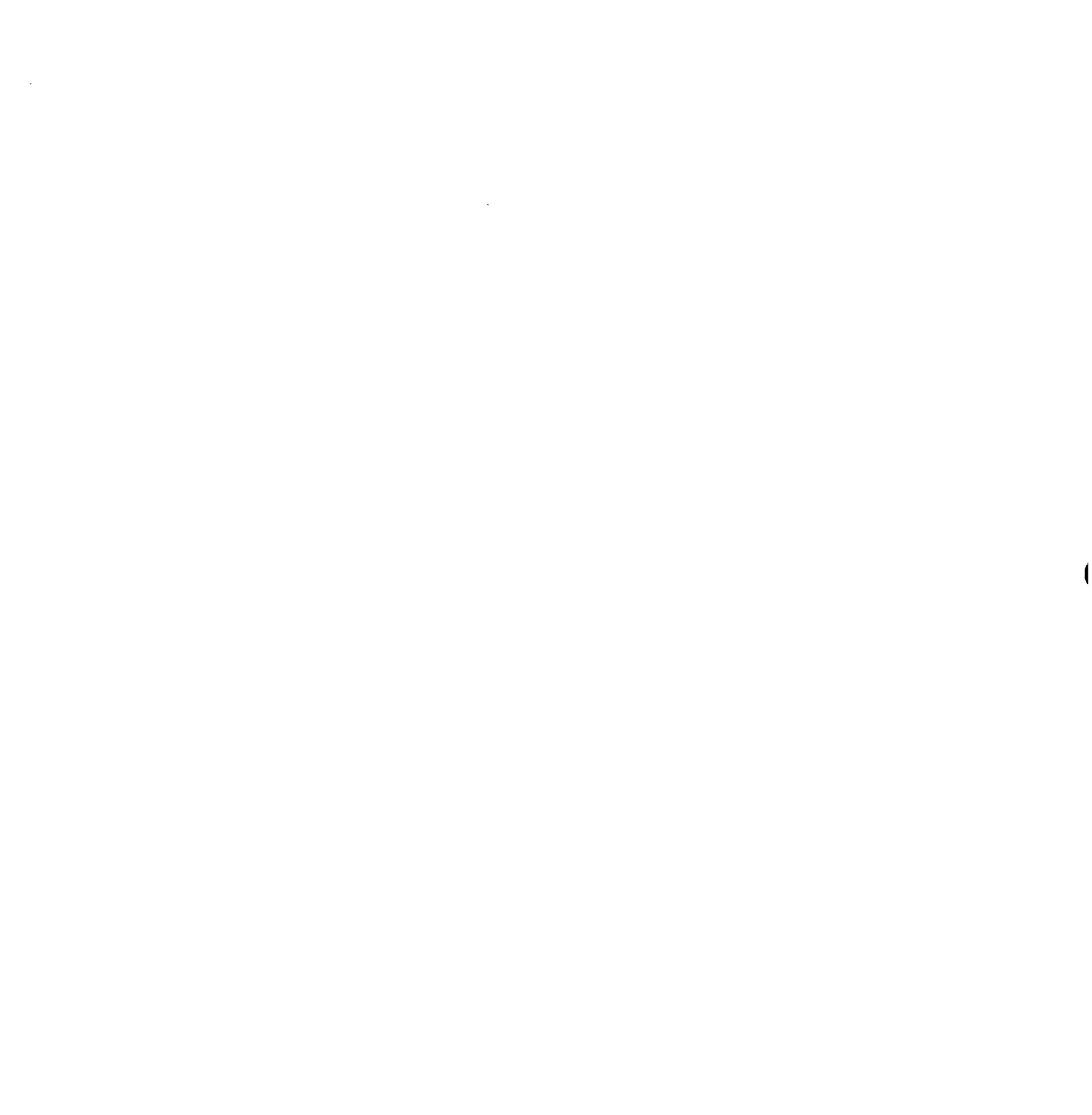
**and
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The European Parliament

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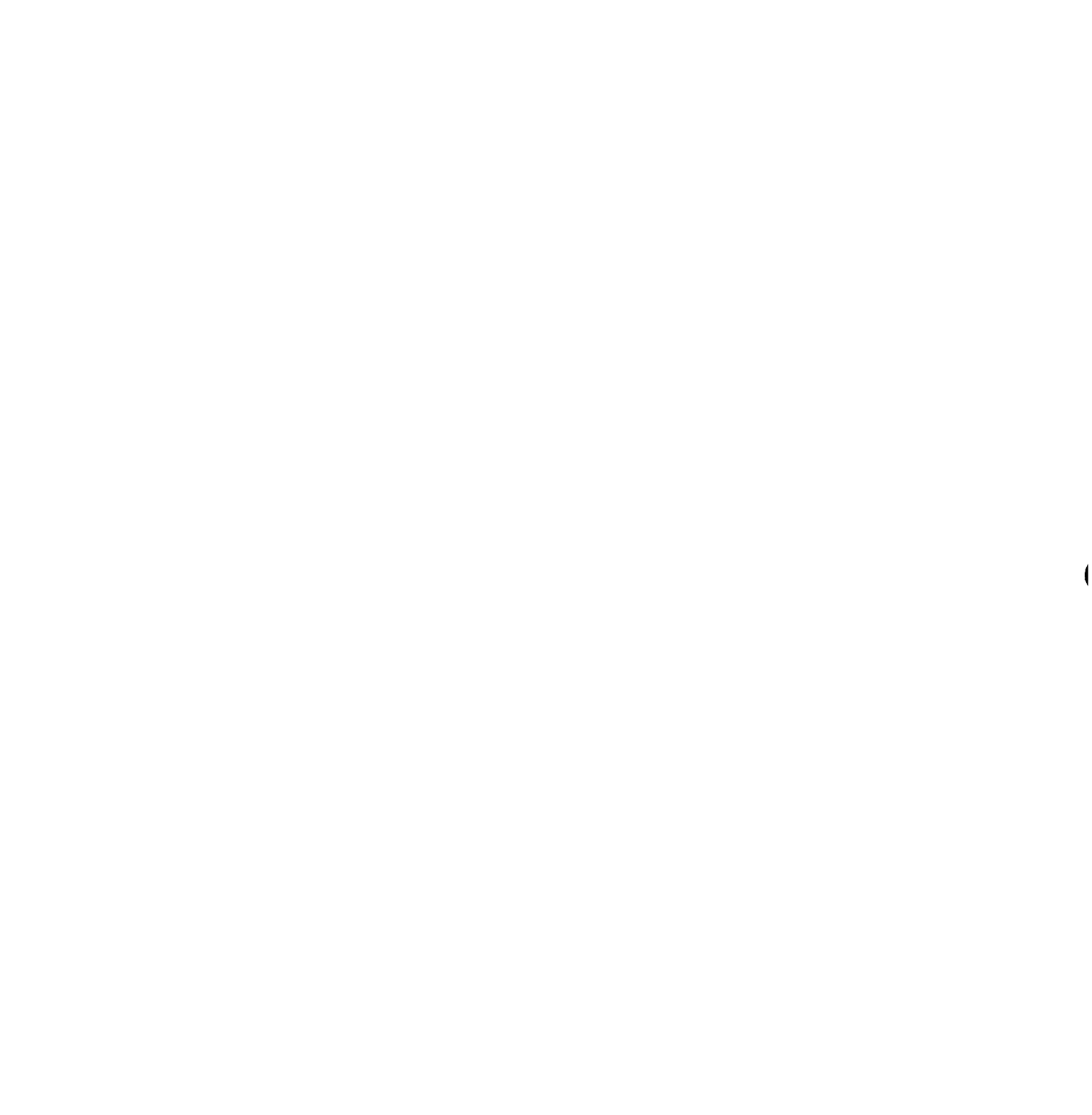
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This brochure is one of a series intended to illustrate the European Parliament's view of the main policy options, insofar as this emerges from resolutions adopted by a majority of its Members, both in the years leading up to and following the elections of June 1979.



The need for the Ten to speak with one voice

Recognition of the European Community

There is hardly any part of the world the Community has no trade links with at all; and it has been accorded diplomatic recognition by no fewer than 108 countries.

Parliament and the world at large

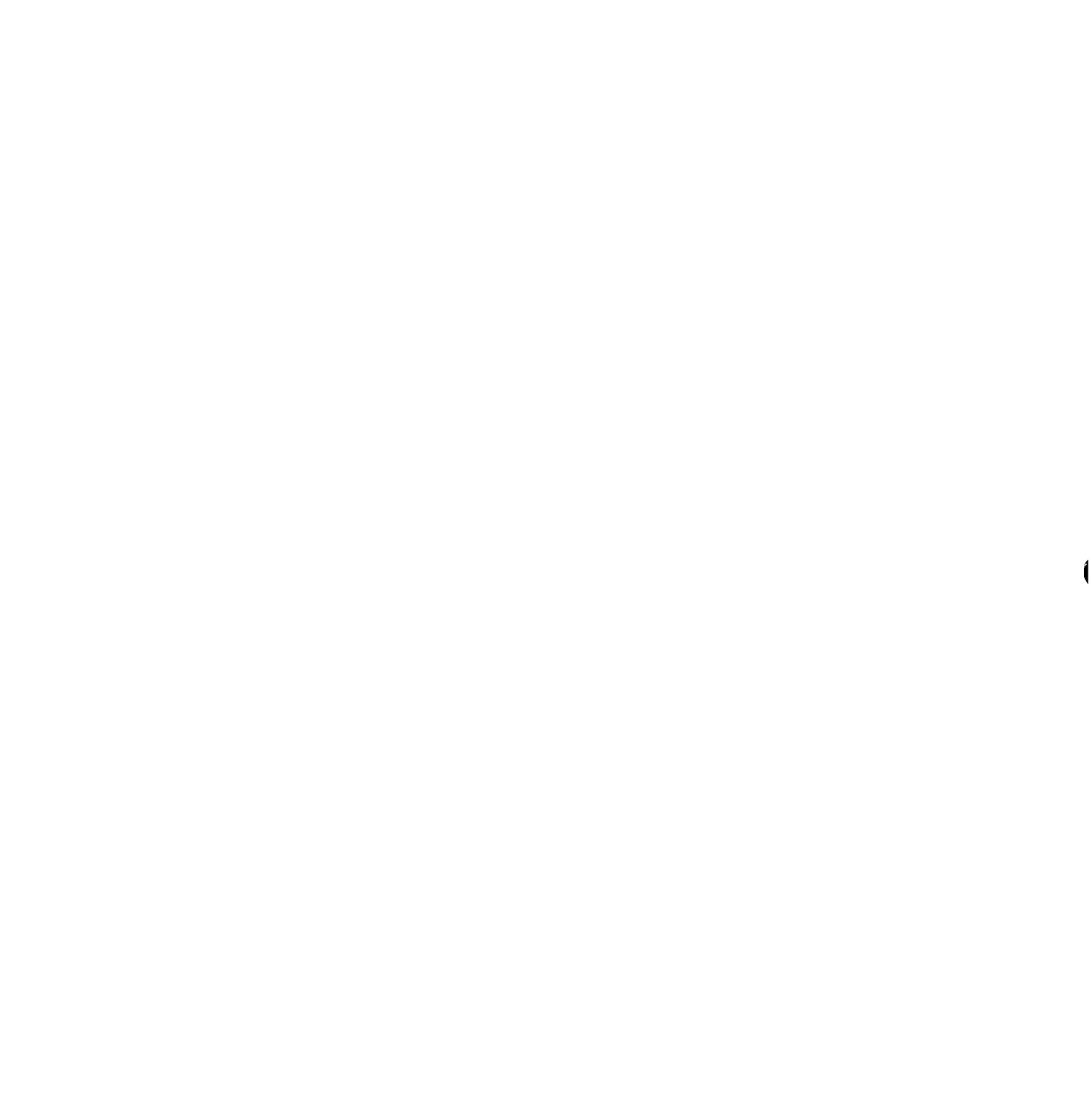
The Community, being the world's leading trading power, cannot afford to ignore any development in international relations, be it economic or political. It was for this reason that the Member States of the Community began to think in terms of cooperation in foreign policy as long ago as 1969. The result was a form of 'political cooperation' exemplified in regular meetings of foreign ministers.

Its purpose is 'gradually to determine common approaches and to adopt a common diplomatic line on matters of international policy which affect the interests of the European Community'.¹ It involves coordinating the action of the Ten in such international organizations

as the United Nations and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, and in negotiations taking place at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the United Nations Trade and Development Conference, or where international tension is liable to threaten world peace, in the Middle East and Afghanistan, to quote recent examples.

The European Parliament has always taken a keen interest in the way the Community's relationships with the world at large have developed. It has expressed its views in a series of resolutions and reports drawn up either at the Council's request or on its own initiative. Since 1975 it has also been drawn into political cooperation. For decisions taken here are bound to affect the people of the Community vitally when it comes to such matters as food supplies, raw materials or peace itself. Parliament has therefore concerned itself both with matters of trade which are a specific Community responsibility and with matters of foreign policy in a much broader sense.

In both instances, the European Parliament has called for the pursuit of a single objective, and that is that if the Community is to be effective it must speak with a single voice in international affairs. This applies equally well to trade negotiations, development aid, the defence of human rights or action taken in the hope of easing international tension. To set Parliament's endeavours to promote this aim in context, it may be worth while to look first at its terms of reference in matters of trade and foreign policy.



Terms of reference

The European Parliament, as the institution representing the citizens of the Community, has constantly sought to be increasingly involved in the Community's relations with the world at large; and the contacts it has developed with third-country parliaments have certainly served a useful purpose here.

The European Parliament and international agreements

There is no provision for the advice of the European Parliament to be sought about international agreements except in the case of 'associations' (Article 238 of the Treaty of Rome). The Community may conclude association agreements with third countries, unions of countries or international organizations. Such agreements set out reciprocal rights and obligations and specify what arrangements are to apply in running the association.

A role for Parliament in the conclusion of international agreements

The European Parliament would like to be more closely involved in the conclusion of international agreements (other than those establishing associations) and have some control over the terms agreed. Parliament's reasons are as follows:

- since 1 January 1973 trade policy has been a matter for the Community as a Community so that trade agreements concluded by the Community do not need to be approved by the various national parliaments. If, therefore, the European Parliament were not to be consulted about such agreements it would be tantamount to eschewing any form of parliamentary control over their form or contents;

- in fact it is becoming more and more of a moot point as to what the actual difference is between association agreements and trade agreements. Many of the trade agreements concluded by the Community tend to look more like association agreements because they are not solely concerned with trade but cover technical cooperation or financial assistance as well;
- Parliament has, furthermore, a wide measure of responsibility for the Community's budget and this makes it duty bound to keep an eye on the financial implications of agreements the Community concludes with third countries.

The Luns-Westerterp procedure

This is what led to the development of what came to be known as the Luns-Westerterp procedure early in the 1960s. The arrangement owes its name to two former Council Presidents from the Netherlands who agreed, during their respective terms of office in 1963 and in 1972, that the European Parliament should be associated with negotiations with third countries: at the same time there was to be no change in the terms of the Community treaties. Under these arrangements, the European Parliament is given details of association and trade agreements relatively early on, on an informal basis.

This means that Parliament can debate the various options in the House even before the negotiations begin. The Commission keeps the responsible parliamentary committees up-to-date with the progress of the negotiations all the way through. Before the agreement is signed a Council representative tells Parliament of the outcome of the negotiations. Once the agreement has been signed, but before it is ratified, the Council makes a statement to the House to explain what is involved.

Parliament and third countries

It is true that this procedure only allows Parliament to participate informally and indirectly in the Community's external economic relations. But it would be as well not to underestimate the influence Parliament can have. This is borne out by the increasingly frequent contacts that diplomats and officials of countries negotiating with the Community come to establish with the European Parliament.

Greater control

The European Parliament would like, however, to be formally consulted by the Council so that it can participate in the acts of the Community in the field of international law to an extent consistent with its new budgetary powers and with the requirements of democratic control. It addressed a request to the Council to this effect in a resolution of March 1980. The occasion for its doing so was the conclusion of a cooperation agreement between the Community and Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.

In this respect Parliament's approval for Greece's accession to the Community set out in a resolution of 16 April 1980, was something of a milestone.

Parliament asked 'to be consulted formally in future . . . during the course of preparatory work for, and negotiations leading up to, the accession of other European States to the Community and to be associated in the ratification of acts of accession'. Article 237 of the Treaty of Rome provides that agreements of the accession of new Member States shall be subject to ratification by all the Contracting States, which implies approval by national parliaments, but it makes no reference to the European Parliament.

The European Parliament and political cooperation

In their first report on political cooperation, in 1970, the foreign ministers declared: 'To make progress towards political union more democratic, we must involve the public and those who represent the people in what we are doing.' In the years since then and particularly since the publication of the second foreign ministers' report in 1973, the European Parliament has been involved in political cooperation in three ways:

- every year the Council President makes a statement in the House on what has been achieved through political cooperation between the Member States;
- four times a year the foreign ministers hold special discussions with Parliament's political affairs committee;
- Members of Parliament address written and oral questions to the foreign minister presiding over the work being done in the context of political cooperation.

Quarterly meetings

Meetings take place every quarter between Parliament's political affairs committee and the foreign ministers. This gives MEPs the chance to learn of work in progress in the context of political cooperation and is a way of involving them in what is going on here. It will be noted that the groundwork for these discussions is done by a political committee, made up of the permanent secretaries from the foreign ministries. In particular, this committee draws the opinions of the European Parliament to the attention of foreign ministries.

Relations with other parliaments

Direct contacts

Over and above this institutional involvement in the Community's relations with the world at large, the European Parliament has its own direct links with third country parliaments. These provide the opportunity for MEPs to learn, at first hand, of what is of current interest and concern in other parts of the world and enables them to exert a greater measure of influence on relations between these countries and the Community.

Such contacts with other parliaments either stem from agreements concluded between the Community and one particular country or group of countries or they spring from contacts developed on the European Parliament's own initiative.

Joint parliamentary committees

Under agreements concluded by the Community, special parliamentary arrangements may be made. For

example, a joint parliamentary committee was set up under the association agreement concluded between the Community and Turkey. This comprises 18 Members of the European Parliament and 18 representatives from Turkey. It meets twice a year and draws up recommendations on the running of the association.

There were similar arrangements with Greece up until her accession to the European Community on 1 January 1981. It will be noted that, to begin with, the Greek parliament has designated 24 of its members to sit in the European Parliament. The election of the Greek Members to the EP will take place sometime in the course of 1981.*

* There have also been parliamentary contacts with Spain and Portugal, which have been seeking accession to the Community, since 1978.

ACP-EEC Consultative Assembly

In 1963 the Community concluded an association agreement with a number of African States and Madagascar. This agreement, which was signed in Yaoundé, capital of Cameroon, made provision for a parliamentary assembly to meet every year to discuss the progress achieved through economic, financial and technical cooperation under the agreement. This association eventually gave way to a new convention concluded at Lomé, capital of Togo in 1975, between the Community and 46 African, Caribbean and Pacific countries. This convention was renewed in 1979 and now brings together the ten Community States and 60 ACP countries. The convention makes provision for regular meetings of a consultative assembly, comprising 236 members, (118 from the ACP countries and 118 from the European Parliament).

The Mediterranean

The European Parliament holds meetings at regular intervals with the Israeli Knesset under the agreement between Israel and the Community which covers industrial, technical and financial cooperation. Cooperation agreements with the Maghreb countries (Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia) on the one hand and the Mashreq States (Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria) on the other also make provision for cooperation at the parliamentary level. No meetings have yet taken place; nor have they under the association agreement with Cyprus. On the other hand, parliamentary contacts have been established under the association agreement with Malta.

More recently, the European Parliament has been developing contacts with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia under a cooperation agreement concluded between Yugoslavia and the Community in 1980. The European Parliament regards these links with representatives of Yugoslavia as having a special importance of their own irrespective of the economic and commercial aspects of EC relations with that country.

Parliament also considers it would be 'worth while' for it to be properly represented on the council, set up under this agreement, so that its own committees can keep an eye on the application of the agreement and on how its potential is being developed.²

The European Parliament has developed a number of contacts with other parliaments on its own initiative. These contacts have usually stemmed from resolutions Parliament has adopted. The range of these contacts has been widening and may involve two meetings a year in some cases. In the case of meetings with the Congress of the United States, these contacts have gone beyond discussions to the stage of joint initiatives on such matters as energy policy and multinational corporations. One result has been the drawing up of a code of conduct for multinational companies.

There are similar contacts with the parliament of Canada and the parliamentary assembly of the Latin American countries.

The European Parliament has also had meetings with parliamentarians from countries with whom the European Community has concluded agreements or with whom it has important trading links, such as Japan, Australia, New Zealand, India and the Peoples' Republic of China. For the first time in June 1980, a delegation from the National Peoples' Assembly of China had an official meeting with a delegation from the European Parliament.

The European Parliament serving as an example

In two instances the European Parliament has suggested to other countries that they enter into parliamentary cooperation amongst themselves: in 1964 a delegation from the Parliament suggested, during a fact-finding trip to a certain number of Latin American countries, that there should be a closer contact between the parliaments of these countries. This led to the emergence of the Latin American parliament. This is not linked in any institutional way with regional organizations already in existence and so

it does not exercise any direct power but it still has a certain part to play in the defence of democracy in Latin America. It has provided parliamentarians from Chile, Uruguay and Argentina with a forum in which to speak up for human rights and the rights of the individual citizen.

The case of the five countries of South-East Asia which come together in the ASEAN is also of interest here. A delegation from the European Parliament visited these countries in the summer of 1975, inviting the parliaments there to come to Europe together, as a way of establishing the political identity of their organization. The European Parliament noted with some regret that the agreement between the Community and the ASEAN countries makes no provision for inter-parliamentary relations. There is no doubt, however, that the contacts that have been established will be kept up.

Hearings

The European Parliament has the right to hold hearings and its committees, particularly those concerned with external trade, development aid and political cooperation are now organizing hearings regularly. This is an important facet of Parliament's work in regard to the Community's relations with the world at large.

The purpose of these hearings is to call for the evidence of experts on given subjects and thereby help Parliament's specialist committees in preparing opinions for Parliament to consider at its plenary sessions.

Parliament is taking advantage of all the options open to it to develop the role of the European Community in the world at large. Its aim, in putting forward its views on the role the Community should play, is to give guidance in respect of the relations the Community enters into with third countries in the light of its own assessment of the Community interest.

The European Parliament and the Community's relations with the world at large

Although the position of the Ten is not comparable with that of the United States or the Soviet Union, its influence in international affairs is growing. Over the centuries the Member States of the Community have established trading and political links with the rest of the world; now the Community too is developing its own identity in the world at large.

The European Parliament is glad to see the Community play its part in international affairs, particularly in its role as a trading power. The Parliament looks to the Ten to adopt a common stance at all international negotiations, whether these be concerned with development policy, détente or the resolution of international crises which threaten peace itself. Lastly, the European Parliament looks to the Community to take up the cause of human rights and fundamental freedoms wherever these are at risk in the countries with which the Community has dealings.

The Community as a trading power

The elimination of customs barriers within the European Economic Community has gone hand in hand with the introduction of a common customs tariff *vis-à-vis* third countries. This has been coupled with another development: at international trading negotiations, for example in GATT, the Council gives the Commission a mandate to negotiate for the Community. The countries which wish to conclude trade agreements with the Community no longer negotiate with each of the Member States individually but with the Community as a whole.

Shunning protectionism

Thanks to the Luns-Westerterp procedure, the European Parliament has become increasingly involved in negotiations with third countries or international organizations. Generally speaking, the Community has eschewed protectionism in its trading policy as one might expect in a trading power handling 40 % of the world's trade. For its part,

the European Parliament has always come out against protectionist trends wherever they have emerged and has done so as a matter of principle.

Within GATT it is the European Community which has the lowest average customs tariffs for industrial products. The European Parliament has even asked that additional concessions be made to developing countries, particularly the least prosperous among them, to facilitate access for their exports to the Common Market.

Generalized tariff preferences

The Community has introduced a system of trade preferences for the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries and it was the first to introduce a system of generalized tariff preferences in favour of all the developing countries in the '77 group'. The European Parliament regards these preferences as being a contribution which the industrialized world is duty bound to make to the less-favoured States. This system of generalized preferences, which is developed and improved every year,

comprises cuts in customs duties on agricultural products imported into the Community and a complete exemption from duty, subject to quotas, for imports of manufactured and partly processed goods. But the European Parliament recognizes that special import arrangements may be necessary in some sectors, such as textiles, footwear or steel if the viability of the Community's own industries is to be safeguarded. At the same time, the European Parliament has noted that the poorest countries are not usually the ones who benefit most from these generalized preferences. It has called upon the Community to make its concessions proportionate to the degree of industrialization achieved in the beneficiary States.

The Community has entered into one or two free-trade agreements with neighbours in Europe including, for example, the EFTA countries; it has also concluded agreements covering trade and technical and financial cooperation with countries forming part of regional associations. The agreement between the Community and the ASEAN countries is a case in point. These agreements have the approval of the

European Parliament to the extent that they are intended to promote the expansion of trade between the Community and the countries in question; at the same time they are intended to safeguard European interests in such competing sectors as clothing. On this point, Parliament has expressed its regret at the lack of any coherent policy covering relationships with non-associated countries.

Towards a comprehensive policy for the Mediterranean

Similarly, in 1969 Parliament called for a comprehensive Community policy to be developed *vis-à-vis* the Mediterranean countries.

More recently the European Parliament has expressed the view that such a Mediterranean policy ought to serve to forge very close links between the Community and the other countries bordering the Mediterranean and that the basis of these links should be the community of interests and the complementary nature of their economic and human resources; the relationship

ought in this way to help towards the preservation of a lasting peace in this area.³

In recent years the Community has concluded several preferential trade agreements with Mediterranean countries in line with the global approach agreed upon by Community leaders at their summit meeting in Paris in 1972. These have included the agreement with Israel of 1975, those with the Maghreb countries Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia of 1976, those with the Mashreq countries Jordan, Syria, Egypt and Lebanon of 1977. These came in addition to the agreements concluded with Malta in 1971 and with Cyprus in 1972.

It must be admitted, however, that this comprehensive policy has run up against a great many obstacles: there are economic and political disparities between Mediterranean partners, there is direct competition between certain types of agricultural production and there is a need to safeguard the interests of those Mediterranean countries which could be adversely affected by the enlargement of the Community.

Energy and raw materials: towards a dialogue between producers and consumers

One of the overriding concerns of the Community countries in recent years has been to secure their energy and raw materials supplies. This led the European Parliament to address a request to Community leaders, in 1974, for a Community policy on energy and raw materials to be developed to secure our supplies and promote the organization of a dialogue between the producing and consuming countries.

This was the background to the introduction of the Euro-Arab Dialogue: it is worth noting that in 1973, 71 % of the Community's crude oil imports came from the Middle East and Iran. The discussions which have taken place within this dialogue have been concerned with agriculture, industry, infrastructures, financial cooperation and trade as well as scientific and technical cooperation. The European Parliament has been kept regularly informed about this dialogue through its participation in political cooperation.

In terms of trade, the European Parliament is opposed to protectionism; it is particularly keen to promote complementary relationships between the Community and the countries of the Mediterranean area such as the oil-producing Arab States and, in a very broad sense, with the developing countries whether they be associated with the Community or not.

This anti-protectionist stance on the part of the European Parliament applies particularly to the exports of the Third World and especially to those from the poorest among them; the European Parliament would like them to have priority in their access to the Common Market. It is essential, in Parliament's view, to help these countries in their development policy.

Helping the Third World

There are few areas in which the European Parliament has been as active as this one. It has given its support to the practical measures taken to open up the Common Market to the countries of the Third World and to the financial and technical cooperation extended to them. But to be truly effective, in Parliament's view, assistance to the developing countries must be part of a genuine world development strategy.

The Lomé Convention: a special kind of cooperation

At the same time, the Community's financial resources are not unlimited so that it has felt it appropriate to concentrate its efforts in a certain number of developing countries with which it has particularly close links for historical reasons. It has privileged links under the Lomé Convention with 60 African, Caribbean and Pacific countries. This convention provides for access to the Community, free of duty, for all the industrial products and most of the

agricultural products exported by the ACP countries; it includes arrangements for keeping up the level of their earnings from key exports.* And the convention provides for greater cooperation in agriculture, industry and technology through financial aid given under arrangements with the European Development Fund and the European Investment Bank.

When the renewal of the Lomé Convention was going through, and indeed more recently during a debate on world hunger, Members of the European Parliament made a point of setting out what they regarded as the priorities for development assistance. They stressed the principle whereby the aid should benefit the poorest countries most and go to the poorest sections of the

populations concerned. They emphasized that financial and technical cooperation should serve to promote the development of agricultural production to enable these countries to become self-supporting in terms of their food supplies.

Lastly, the European Parliament, which has a wide measure of responsibility for the Community's budget, has repeatedly urged that it should include appropriations for the European Development Fund. This is responsible for financing the vast majority of the expenditures undertaken under the Lomé Convention and these expenditures are at present covered by direct contributions from the Member States. If this expenditure were included in the Community's normal budget, it would enhance its Community emphasis and mean Parliament would be more closely involved in its control.

Help for countries not associated with the Community

The help dispensed by the Community does not go solely to associated States. Non-associated developing countries also enjoy tariff concessions and receive financial and technical aid intended to help them improve and increase their production of foodstuffs. In 1976, failing any agreement at Council level as to how such aid was to be financed, the European Parliament itself decided the inclusion of the necessary funds in the budget: it did so under rules which allow the European Parliament discretion to include additional sums in the budget, subject to a certain ceiling. The European Parliament has had cause to comment on the way these funds are not being put to use: according to the Commission, this is because there is no actual regulation laying down aims and methods regarding the measures envisaged here.

* The aim of the STABEX scheme is to prevent natural disasters or fluctuations in world prices from leading to undue losses of income for the ACP countries. It does this by means of subsidies or loans. A similar system called SYSMIN was introduced for minerals under the 1979 convention.

Emergency assistance

There is more to Community aid than this: the European Parliament has frequently called for emergency assistance to be provided in countries suffering as a result of natural disasters or as a consequence of war, as was the case with the refugees in Somalia and in South-East Asia.

As regards the critical plight of the refugees in the Horn of Africa, the European Parliament called for increased food aid and for an emergency aid programme, under the Lomé Convention, to meet the growing food needs of the people in this area in the second half of 1980. Parliament called for emergency financial and technical aid measures to deal with the water problem, for close cooperation with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and for greater support to be given to the non-governmental organizations providing vital aid on the spot to the most vulnerable sections of the local population.⁴

Similarly, in the case of the conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia, the European Parliament called on the foreign ministers meeting in political cooperation to take whatever diplomatic steps they could to bring the conflict to an end.

Food aid

World hunger has been the subject of several major debates in the European Parliament. In the debates in 1979 and 1980 there was a wide consensus in favour of practical measures. Concerned that poverty and malnutrition were going unchecked, Parliament called on the Member States, in September 1980, to fulfil their commitment of giving 0.7 % of their gross domestic product in development aid. Parliament asked them to do this as soon as possible and according to a strict timetable. Parliament also called for increased food aid from the Community.

Food aid should not be regarded as a way of disposing of the Community's agricultural surpluses and should not be seen as an adjunct of the common

agricultural policy, though this could have a major role to play in a worldwide development aid strategy, in Parliament's view.

Towards a development policy

The Ten have not always seen eye to eye here. And Parliament has taken issue with them for failing to reach agreement. It criticized them for not going to the United Nations Trade and Development Conference in Santiago in 1973 with any coherent policy for helping the developing countries. It was equally critical as regards the North-South Dialogue between the industrial countries, the oil-producing States and the developing countries.

World peace is threatened in the short term by local conflicts and international flashpoints; in the long term the threat stems from the widening gap between rich countries and poor countries. Bearing in mind the trading interests of the Community, its traditions and its history, it cannot stand to one side as regards political developments.

The crucial political issues

When, in December 1973, the leaders of the Community's Member States made a solemn declaration of their concept of the European identity, the Parliament reacted favourably but urged that effective and binding arrangements should be entered into so that this identity could become a tangible factor in foreign policy.

Parliament believes that unity not only enhances the identity of the Community but makes it better able to contribute towards détente and peace. It attaches great importance to its speaking with a single voice on international issues whether this be at the United Nations or elsewhere. In a resolution on the South African policy of apartheid, for example, Parliament called on all Community leaders to recognize Europe's responsibility for world peace and for introducing a dynamic policy to secure its rightful place in world affairs and ensure its place is not taken over by the superpowers.

International tension

Just as Parliament came out strongly against Iran's violation of international law on holding United States citizens hostage,⁵ so too it took a strong line on the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. It called upon the governments of the Member States to condemn this flagrant act of aggression against an independent sovereign State and to join with all governments sharing this view in taking action. Parliament stressed that the Soviet Union was responsible for the adverse effects of its actions on the policy of détente, pointing out that détente is not divisible and cannot be confined just to certain parts of the world. Parliament stressed the urgent need to see that the principles of détente are upheld everywhere.⁶

Détente in Europe

The success of the Member States in achieving a common approach at the Helsinki conference on security and cooperation in Europe in 1975 was welcomed by the European Parliament as was the leading role played by the Community and the Member States all through the conference, especially as this was recognized by the East European countries.⁷

Parliament has paid close attention to the progress of détente. Following the conference held in Belgrade in 1978 to monitor the application of the Helsinki agreement, Parliament criticized the lack of any real result and called for a greater respect for the agreements reached.⁷

Looking ahead to the Madrid conference in November 1980, Parliament welcomed the common approach being adopted by the Member States adding that it was convinced that détente could only be secured if all the participating States made the same effort to apply the principles and arrangements of the Helsinki Final Act.

For the European Parliament, however, it is not enough to call for a balance between armed forces: all States have to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms; it is only in this way that relations between States and between peoples can be improved.⁸

Safeguarding human rights and upholding fundamental freedoms

The European Parliament is heir to a parliamentary and democratic tradition which is deeply rooted in the Member States of the Community. Parliament has adopted many resolutions to inform the people of the Community and the world of infringements of human rights wherever these have occurred.

In 1977 a joint declaration was issued by Parliament, Council and Commission underlining the overriding importance that they attach to the respect for fundamental rights as granted by the constitutions of the Member States and the European convention on the rights of man and fundamental freedoms.

Dictatorships and young democracies

It was in this spirit that Parliament broke off all contacts with Greece during the régime of the Colonels from 1967 to 1974. When individual political and trade union rights were restored in Greece and later in Portugal and Spain, Parliament clearly indicated that it supported the accession of these countries to the Community, not least in order to consolidate the democratic processes begun there.

Helsinki and the rights of man

Following the Belgrade meeting, the European Parliament expressed some anxiety about the fact that the human rights clauses of the Final Act of the Helsinki agreement had not really been respected. Parliament asked that this matter be raised again at the third conference in the series being held in Madrid. Prior to this conference, it put on record its view that it would be quite wrong to describe any denunciation of human rights violations as an intervention in the internal affairs of another State.

Opposition to apartheid

South Africa's apartheid policy has come in for particular criticism from the European Parliament. In 1977, after repeated condemnations of this racist policy, the Member States adopted a code of conduct for the subsidiaries of European firms in South Africa. The European Parliament welcomed this development as a first step towards eliminating apartheid. This code is intended to establish equal rates of pay as between whites and blacks at the work place and to provide scope for trade union activities. It remains to be seen how far this code is respected. The Parliament is therefore calling on the Member States to act together in checking on its application.

Ideology and beyond

The European Parliament has condemned discrimination against dissidents and ethnic and religious minorities in the Soviet Union. It did so in particular on the occasion of the Olympic games in Moscow which it advised athletes to boycott. On the occasion of the world football cup in Argentina in 1978, it also protested against imprisonment without trial, the practice of torture and the disappearance of Argentinian citizens. With these crimes going on unabated, it strongly condemned the dictatorship of General Videla, State terrorism and the massacre of political opponents and called upon the governments of the Member States to recall their ambassadors from Buenos Aires.⁹ Similarly it has called for a diplomatic boycott of the dictatorship in Guatemala.¹⁰

In the case of Chile, Parliament called for all economic and military aid to be discontinued until the rights of man and fundamental freedoms are re-established and law and democracy are restored.¹¹ Parliament has also pledged its support for all those struggling for freedom in Czechoslovakia in defiance of the risk of being arrested and condemned.

As regards the rights of man and of the citizen, the European Parliament has devoted a great deal of attention to developments all over the world, in Latin America and Eastern Europe, South-East Asia, the Horn of Africa and South Africa. In this connection Parliament is no respecter of ideological or geographic frontiers.

Conclusions and prospects

An outward-looking Community

The opinions of the European Parliament have consistently reflected its desire to enhance the role of the Community in its relations with the world at large. To this extent the resolutions it has adopted may have helped to give the Community an outward-looking image.

Being free to set its own agenda, the European Parliament has taken up topical issues whenever it has thought fit. Examples are the implications of external relations on defence issues, the mutually balanced reduction of forces in Europe and violations of human rights wherever they have occurred.

Increasing involvement and control

Since the beginning of the 1970s Parliament has enjoyed a greater measure of control as regards the Community's relations with the world at large and has become associated with cooperation between the Ten in foreign policy.

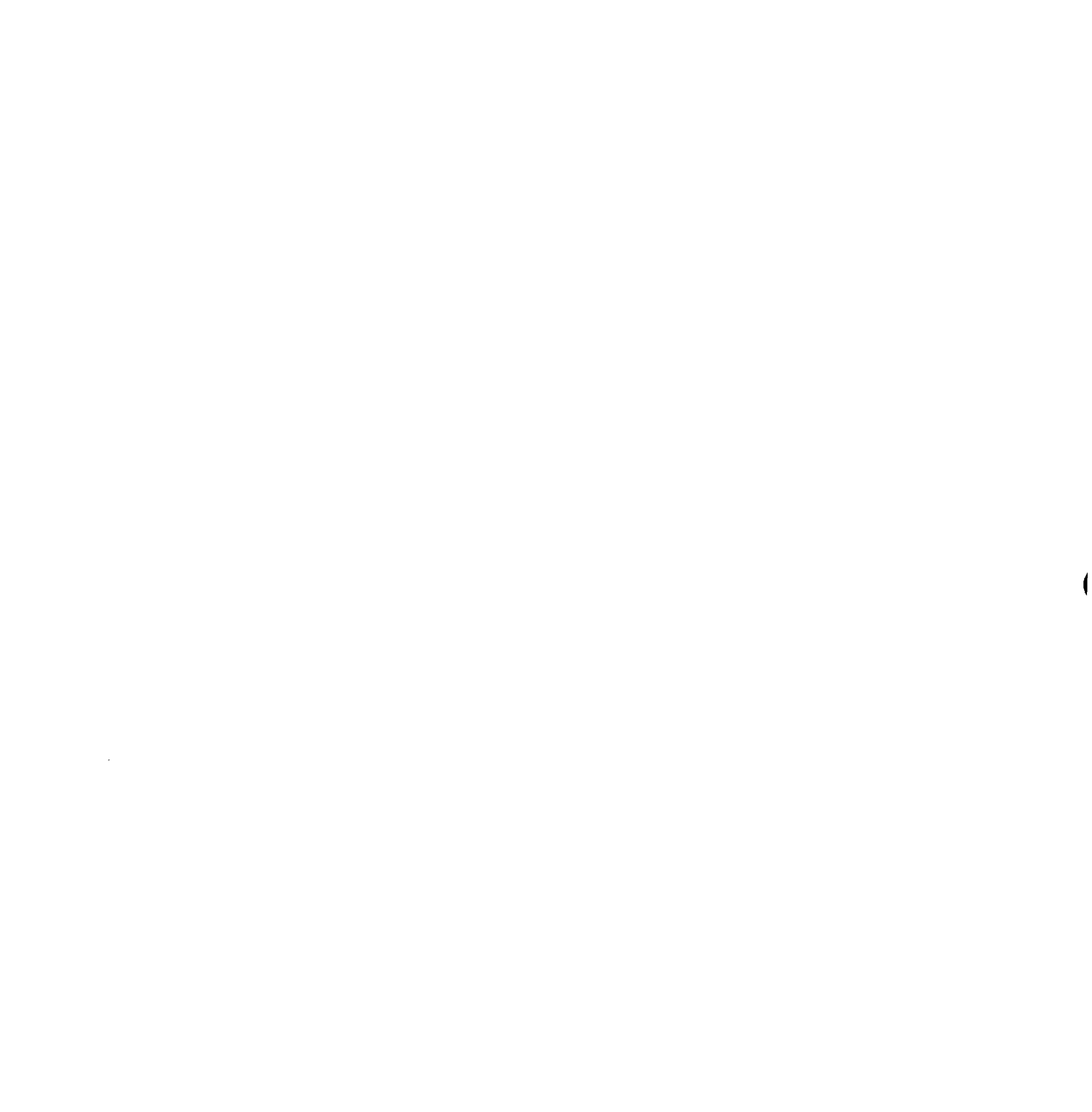
Furthermore, the contacts between the European Parliament and other parliaments have enriched the Community's external relations. In receiving parliamentary delegations from third countries, the elected Parliament has been carrying on a tradition established by the appointed assembly. In this respect, the visit from a delegation of the National People's Assembly of China in Strasbourg in June 1980 was a major milestone underlining the importance that the European Parliament attaches to the Community's being outward-looking.

Greater scope for action

The first political debates held by the elected Parliament clearly showed that those who represent peoples of the Community wish to make their views known wherever the Community interest is involved. It is therefore hardly surprising that third countries are paying an increasing amount of attention to the European Parliament.

It is increasingly necessary for the Community to adopt a common approach on the commercial, economic and political problems arising in the world at large. It has enhanced its presence in the Mediterranean by welcoming Greece into the Community as indeed it will when it welcomes Spain and Portugal and it will undoubtedly benefit from all their international links with Latin America. Enlargement will thus increase the Community's scope for influence in the world.

Parliament's election by direct universal suffrage conferred upon it a new legitimacy which will enable it to play a greater part in the Community's relations with the world at large.



References

All but the first of these references are to resolutions adopted by the European Parliament. The resolutions have been printed in the *Official Journal of the European Communities* as shown below:

1. *Political cooperation* — definition
Paris Summit, 9-10/12/1974. Final communiqué
2. *Cooperation agreement between the Community and Yugoslavia*
O.J. C 147, p. 74 of 16. 6. 1980
3. *Mediterranean policy*
Resolution, doc. 385/75 of 21. 11. 1975
4. *Horn of Africa*
O.J. C 197, p. 82 of 4. 8. 1980
5. *Iran*
O.J. C 117, p. 40 of 12. 5. 1980
6. *Afghanistan*
O.J. C 34, p. 28 of 11. 2. 1980
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