

Annex

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NOTE TO READER

Appearing at the same time as the English edition are editions in the five other official languages of the Communities : Danish, German, French, Italian and Dutch. The English edition contains the original texts of the interventions in English and an English translation of those made in other languages. In these cases there are, after the name of the speaker, the following letters, in brackets, to indicate the language spoken : *(DK)* for Danish, *(D)* for German, *(F)* for French, *(I)* for Italian and *(NL)* for Dutch.

The original texts of these interventions appear in the edition published in the language spoken.

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IN THE CHAIR : MR SPENALE

President

(The sitting was opened at 5.02 p.m.)

President. — The sitting is open.

1. *Resumption of the session*

President. — I declare resumed the session of the European Parliament adjourned on 13 February 1976.

2. *Appointment of a Member*

President. — The presidents of the first and second Houses of the States General of the Kingdom of the Netherlands have informed me that they have appointed Mr D. F. Van der Mei as a Member of the European Parliament to replace Mr Scholten.

The credentials of this member will be verified after the Bureau's next meeting, on the understanding that, under Rule 3 (3) of the Rules of Procedure, he will provisionally take his seat with the same rights as other Members of Parliament.

I should like to take this opportunity of congratulating Mr Scholten, on behalf of this House, on his appointment as Member of the Council of State of the Netherlands, and of cordially welcoming Mr Van der Mei.

3. *Documents submitted*

President. — Since the session was adjourned I have received the following documents

(a) from the Council of the European Communities, requests for an opinion on :

- the proposal from the Commission of the European Communities to the Council for a regulation on the arrangements applicable to agricultural products and certain goods resulting from the processing of agricultural products originating in African, Caribbean and Pacific States or in the Overseas Countries and Territories (Doc. 528/75).

This document has been referred to the Committee on Development and Cooperation as the committee responsible and to the Committee on Budgets for its opinion ;

— the proposal from the Commission of the European Communities to the Council for

I. a regulation on the opening, allocation and administration of the Community tariff quota of 30,000 head of heifers and cows, not intended for slaughter, of certain mountain breeds falling within subheading ex 01.02 A II b) 2 bb) of the Common Customs Tariff

II. a regulation on the opening, allocation and administration of the Community tariff quota of 5,000 head of bulls, cows and heifers, not intended for slaughter, of certain Alpine breeds falling within subheading ex 01.02 A II b) 2 bb) of the Common Customs Tariff.

(Doc. 529/75).

This document has been referred to the Committee on External Economic Relations as the committee responsible and to the Committee on Agriculture for its opinion ;

— the proposal from the Commission of the European Communities to the Council for a directive on summer time arrangements (Doc. 530/75).

This document has been referred to the Committee on Regional Policy and Transport as the committee responsible and to the Committee on Energy, Research and Technology and the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs for their opinions ;

— the proposal from the Commission of the European Communities to the Council for a regulation on the crediting of securities, deposits and guarantees furnished under the common agricultural policy and subsequently forfeited (Doc. 531/75).

This document has been referred to the Committee on Budgets as the committee responsible and to the Committee on Agriculture for its opinion ;

— the proposal from the Commission of the European Communities to the Council for a regulation setting

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up a temporary system of aids to private storage of certain protein products (Doc. 539/75).

This document has been referred to the Committee on Agriculture as the committee responsible and to the Committee on Budgets for its opinion ;

- the proposal from the Commission of the European Communities to the Council for a directive amending Directive No 72/464/EEC on taxes other than turnover taxes which affect the consumption of manufactured tobacco (Doc. 552/75).

This document has been referred to the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs ;

- the proposal from the Commission of the European Communities to the Council for a directive coordinating the conditions for the admission of securities to official stock exchange quotation (Doc. 556/75).

This document has been referred to the Legal Affairs Committee as the committee responsible and to the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs for its opinion ;

- the proposal from the Commission of the European Communities to the Council for a regulation amending Regulation (EEC) No 1696/71 on the common organization of the market in hops (Doc. 562/75).

This document has been referred to the Committee on Agriculture as the committee responsible and to the Committee on Budgets for its opinion ;

- the Agreement extending the provisions governing the first stage of the Agreement establishing an association between the European Economic Community and Malta (Doc. 564/75).

This document has been referred to the Committee on External Economic Relations as the committee responsible and to the Committee on Budgets for its opinion.

(b) from the committees, the following reports :

- Report by Mr Spicer, on behalf of the Committee on Public Health and the Environment, on the amended proposal from the Commission of the European Communities to the Council (Doc. 411/75) for a directive on the approximation of Member States' legislation concerning mayonnaise and other emulsified condiment sauces (Doc. 532/75),
- Report by Lady Fisher, on behalf of the Committee on Public Health and the Environment, on the proposal from the Commission of the European Communities to the Council (Doc. 479/75) for a directive for a fifth amendment to the directive on the approximation of the laws of the Member States concerning the colouring matters authorized for use in foodstuffs intended for human consumption (Doc. 533/75);
- Report by Sir Brandon Rhys Williams, on behalf of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs, on the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Brugger, on the Community of stability and growth (Doc. 381/75) — (Doc. 534/75);

- Report by Mr Zeller, on behalf of the Committee on Development and Cooperation, on the proposal from the Commission of the European Communities to the Council (Doc. 528/75) for a regulation on the arrangements applicable to agricultural products and certain goods resulting from processing of agricultural products originating in the African, Caribbean and Pacific States or in the Overseas Countries and Territories (Doc. 536/75);

- Report by Lady Fisher, on behalf of the Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth, on the motion for a resolution tabled by Mrs Kellett-Bowman on the formation of a European Community Youth Orchestra (Doc. 453/75) — (Doc. 537/75);

- Report by Mr Laban on behalf of the Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth, on the promotion of education on European affairs for young workers (Doc. 538/75);

- Report by Mr Della Briotta, on behalf of the Committee on Agriculture, on the proposal from the Commission of the European Communities to the Council (Doc. 333/75 for a regulation on the granting of a conversion premium in the wine sector (Doc. 540/75);

- Report by Mr Martens, on behalf of the Committee on Agriculture, on the proposal from the Commission of the European Communities to the Council (Doc. 413/75) for a regulation amending Regulation (EEC) No 1411/75 in respect of the fat content of full-cream milk (Doc. 541/75);

- Report by Mr Della Briotta, on behalf of the Committee on Agriculture, on the proposals from the Commission of the European Communities to the Council for

- I. a directive amending Council Directive 75/271/EEC of 28 April 1975 on the Community list of less-favoured farming areas within the meaning of Directive 75/268/EEC (France) — Doc. 523/75

- II. a directive on the Community list of less-favoured farming areas within the meaning of Directive 75/268/EEC (France — Overseas Departments) — (Doc. 498/75)

(Doc. 549/75);

- Report by Mr Brugger, on behalf of the Committee on Budgets, on the report of the ECSC Auditor for the financial year 1974 (Doc. 195/75) — (Doc. 550/75),

- Report by Mr Houdet, on behalf of the Committee on Agriculture, on the proposal from the Commission of the European Communities to the Council (Doc. 483/75) for a regulation supplementing Annex I of Regulation (EEC) No. 1035/72 on the common organization of the market in fruit and vegetables (Doc. 551/75);

- Report by Mr Schwörer, on behalf of the Committee on External Economic Relations, on the proposal from the Commission of the European Communities to the Council (Doc. 409/75) for a directive amending Directive No. 69/74/EEC on the customs warehousing procedure, Directive No. 69/75/EEC on free zones and Directive No. 71/235/EEC on the usual forms of handling which may be carried out in customs warehouses and in free zones (Doc. 553/75);

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- Report by Mr Artzinger, on behalf of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs, on the report of the Commission of the European Communities on the economic situation in the Community (Doc. 556/75);
- Report by Mr Seefeld, on behalf of the Committee on Regional Policy and Transport, on the proposal from the Commission of the European Communities to the Council (Doc. 530/75) for a directive on summer time arrangements (Doc. 559/75);
- Report by Sir Brandon Rhys Williams on behalf of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs, on the proposal from the Commission of the European Communities to the Council (Doc. 325/75) for a regulation on the establishment of a European Community Institute for economic analysis and research (Doc. 560/75);
- Report by Mr Bermani, on behalf of the Legal Affairs Committee, on the proposal from the Commission of the European Communities to the Council (Doc. 471/75) for a directive amending the Council Directive of 18 October 1971 on the approximation of the laws of the Member States relating to units of measurement (Doc. 563/75).

(c) the following motions for resolutions :

- motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Hamilton, pursuant to Rule 54 of the Rules of Procedure, on the amendment of Rule 2 (Plenary Sitings) of the Rules of Procedure (Doc. 535/75).

This document has been referred to the Political Affairs Committee as the Committee responsible, and to the Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions and the Committee on Budget for their opinions.

- motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Broeks, on behalf of the Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth, with request for debate by urgent procedure pursuant to Rule 14 of the Rules of Procedure, on Community action in the cultural sector (Doc. 542/75);
- motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Broeks, Lord Ardwick, Mr P. Vertrand, Mr. Calewaert, Mrs Caretoni Romagnoli, Mr Deschamps, Lady Fisher, Mr Hougardy, Mr Kavanagh, Mr Laban, Mr Meintz, Mr Mitchell, Mr Nolan, Mr Schulz, Mr Suck and Mr Walkhoff, with request for debate by urgent procedure pursuant to Rule 14 of the Rules of Procedure, on a resolution of the Council of the European Communities comprising an action programme in the field of education (Doc. 548/75);
- motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Springorum, on behalf of the Committee on Energy, Research and Technology, with request for debate by urgent procedure pursuant to Rule 14 of the Rules of Procedure, on the research programme concerning the Dragon project and the continuation of high-temperature metal work (primary circuit) — (Doc. 558/75);
- motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Alfred Bertrand, on behalf of the Christian-Democratic Group, pursuant to Rule 25 of the Rules of Procedure, on direct elections to the European Parliament (Doc. 561/75).

This document has been referred to the Political Affairs Committee ;

- motion for a resolution tabled by Mrs Goutmann and Mr Marras on behalf of the Communist and Allies Group, pursuant to Rule 25 of the Rules of Procedure, on the crisis in Europe and the tripartite conference (Doc. 565/75).

This document has been referred to the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment.

(d) the following oral questions :

- oral question with debate put by Mr de la Malène, on behalf of the Group of European Progressive Democrats, to the Council of the European Communities, on the convergence of national policies (Doc. 543/75);
- oral question with debate put by Mr de la Malène, on behalf of the Group of European Progressive Democrats, to the Commission of the European Communities, on the convergence of national policies (Doc. 544/75);
- oral question with debate put by Lord Gladwyn, Mr Scott-Hopkins, Mr Achenbach, Mr Aigner and Mr Klepsch to the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Member States of the European Communities on the role of defence in the context of a European foreign policy (Doc. 545/75);
- oral question with debate put by Mr Berkhouwer, Sir Geoffrey de Freitas, Mr Martens, Mr Krieg and Mr Girardin to the Council of the European Communities, on the construction of a tunnel under the English Channel (Doc. 546/75);
- oral question with debate put by Mr Berkhouwer, Sir Geoffrey de Freitas, Mr Krieg and Mr Girardin to the Commission of the European Communities, on the construction of a tunnel under the English Channel (Doc. 547/75);
- oral question with debate put by Mr Scott Hopkins, on behalf of the European Conservative Group, to the Commission of the European Communities on the negotiating mandate for Greek accession to the EEC (Doc. 554/75);
- oral question with debate put by Mr de la Malène, on behalf of the Group of European Progressive Democrats, to the Commission of the European Communities on the Commission's position with regard to Greece's accession to the Community (Doc. 555/75);

4. Texts of treaties forwarded by the Council

President. — I have received from the Council a certified true copy of the following documents :

- Notice of the completion by the Community of the procedures necessary for the entry into force of the ACP-EEC Convention of Lome;
- Agreement in the form of an exchange of letters relating to Article 3 of Protocol No. 8 to the Agreement between the European Economic Community and the Portuguese Republic.

These documents will be placed in the archives of the European Parliament.

President*5. Authorization of reports*

I have authorized, pursuant to Rule 38 of the Rules of Procedure, the Committee on Public Health and the Environment to draw up a report on the Community's policy as regards consumer protection. The legal Affairs Committee has been asked for its opinion.

6. Petitions

President. — The Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions informed me, by letter of 25 February 1976, of its conclusions with respect to Petition No. 11/75, which had been submitted to it on 13 November 1975, and Petition No. 12/75, submitted to it on 15 December 1975.

The committee decided that Petition No. 11/75, submitted by Mr Grussendorf, Mr Borodkine, Mr Schmidt, Mrs Richter and 26 other signatories, on the disregard of the rule of law, was inadmissible since the events referred to in it took place outside the territorial jurisdiction of the Community.

The Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions declared Petition No. 12/75 by Maître Bleuzet Julbin and seven other signatories on the UN General Assembly vote on Zionism to be admissible. However, it decided that the petition should simply be filed, pursuant to Rule 48 (4) of the Rules of Procedure, since the European Parliament is already carrying out, in so far as it is possible for it to do so, the actions urged by the authors of the petition.

I have also received from Mr Gerus, Mr Sergent and 23 other signatories a petition on Europe and young people.

This petition has been entered under No. 16/75 in the general register provided for in Rule 48(2) of the Rules of Procedure and referred to the Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions for consideration.

7. Limit on speaking time

President. — In accordance with the usual practice and pursuant to Rule 31 of the Rules of Procedure, I propose that speaking time be limited as follows:

Reports:

- 15 minutes for the rapporteur and one speaker for each political group;
- 10 minutes for other speakers,
- 5 minutes for speakers on amendments.

Oral questions with debate:

- 10 minutes for the author of the question;
- 5 minutes for other speakers.

Are there any objections?

That is agreed.

8. Order of business

President. — The next item is the order of business for today's sitting, the last of the 1975-76 parliamentary session.

At its meeting of 26 February 1976 the enlarged Bureau drew up the agenda which has been distributed.

However, the Committee on Agriculture has not had sufficient time to consider and adopt the report on the Commission's proposal for a regulation on aids to private storage of protein products, which appeared on the agenda for today's sitting.

I should like to take this opportunity of once again urging the Council to meet the agreed deadlines in forwarding documents. This particular file was sent to us on 29 February, with the part-session due to begin on 8 March. But we are supposed to submit our reports eight days before the session starts!

Since the Council has stressed the urgency of this matter, it might be possible for the committee responsible, following its reconstitution tomorrow, to adopt a report during the course of this sittings week. In that event we may be able to enter it on the agenda for one of this week's sittings.

I call Lady Fisher of Rednal.

Lady Fisher of Rednal. — I am rapporteur for the Committee on Public Health and the Environment on the colouring matters authorized for use in foodstuffs intended for human consumption. According to the preliminary draft agenda, this report was to be taken this session, but I see that in the draft agenda it has been deleted.

May I ask your indulgence, Mr President, as to whether you can find a slot in the week's programme to put it back in again?

President. — Lady Fisher, we are at the moment only dealing with the order of business for today's sitting. When the newly constituted enlarged Bureau meets tomorrow it will consider your proposal.

I call Mr Laban.

Mr Laban. — (NL) Mr President, I entirely share your opinion of the working methods of the Commission, which at the last minute sends us a regulation on the establishing of a temporary system of aids to private storage of certain protein products.

This regulation forms part of the price proposals introduced last Saturday by the Council. I would ask you to leave the decision on whether this report can still be discussed this week to the Committee on Agriculture. It already exists as a draft report. If the Committee on Agriculture decides that it is advisable to deal with this report during the March part-session, I would ask

Laban

you, particularly since Mr Martens is likely to be burdened with this report, to put this item on the agenda for Friday, either before or after Mr Martens' report on the fat content of full-cream milk.

President. — Mr Laban, I acknowledge your proposal, but for the moment we cannot go any farther. The matter should properly be raised with the newly constituted Committee on Agriculture and enlarged Bureau.

The agenda for today's sitting is, therefore, as follows :

- Broeksz motion for a resolution on Community action in the cultural sector
- Laban report on European education for young workers
- Lady Fisher report on the formation of a European Community youth orchestra
- Klepsch report on the recommendations of the EEC-Turkey Joint Parliamentary Committee.

Are there any objections ?

That is agreed.

9. Action taken by the Commission on the opinions of Parliament

President. — The next item is the communication from the Commission of the European Communities on action taken by the Commission on the opinions of Parliament.

I call Mr Brunner.

Mr Brunner, Member of the Commission. — (D) Mr President, since the last session of Parliament the Commission has amended a number of proposals at the request of Parliament. On the basis of Mr De Koning's report, the Parliament made a number of comments on the mixing of skimmed-milk powder into animal foodstuffs. The Commission has taken these comments into account and consequently accepted the Parliament's point of view.

During the February part-session you discussed a report by Mr Pianta on the directive on facilitating the effective exercise by lawyers of freedom to provide services. Parliament took the opportunity to propose a number of amendments. The Commission has accepted these proposals on the freedom for lawyers to provide services and has forwarded them to the Council.

We have also submitted amended proposals for a further three reports, namely Mr Müller's directive, which has already been considered, on the approximation of the laws of the Member States on the composition of petrol, especially the problem of the lead content of petrol, a directive on the quality of water for human consumption and a directive on air quality standards for lead. Lord Bethell and Mr Noë had proposed amendments to these. Parliament has been

informed in writing of the details of the amended proposals.

President. — We are grateful to the Commission for having, in most cases, adopted Parliament's opinions.

10. Community action in the cultural sector

President. — The next item is the debate by urgent procedure on the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Broeksz, on behalf of the Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth, on Community action in the cultural sector (Doc. 542/75).

I call Mr Broeksz.

Mr Broeksz, rapporteur. — (NL) Mr President, the view has generally become more widespread that further developments towards European integration are closely linked with the need for a Community policy on cultural affairs. In the final communiqués of the Hague and Paris summit conferences, emphasis was rightly laid on the cultural aspects of European integration. Economic growth is not an end in itself, it must serve the individual European citizen and improve his welfare. Here science and education have an important rôle to play.

Moreover, economic prosperity itself is at present largely dependent on the state of scientific research and the education of the populace. Further, the increase in leisure due to the expansion in automation implies a need to develop cultural activities.

Cultural cooperation is similarly of great importance for political integration.

If the integration process is not restricted to cooperation on economic and social levels, but — as Mr Thorn said — will lead in the next ten to fifteen years to a European Union, then cultural cooperation must be regarded as an indispensable condition. A further development of the Treaty of Rome, which must create the conditions for this European Union, will only be partially successful if important sectors in the cultural policy, such as education at all levels, further education, and scientific education do not keep pace with this development.

So cultural cooperation must run parallel with social and economic cooperation within the context of the Community. In the cultural sphere much good work has already been done by the Council of Europe, especially by one of its bodies, the Council for Cultural Cooperation. Within the framework of the Council of Europe, studies have been published on the most wide ranging cultural activities, meetings have been organized, exhibitions held and agreements signed.

Yet despite the fact that the Council of Europe's attitude to cooperation is much more flexible than that of the Community, the amount of cooperation achieved in the cultural sphere is still too limited. Cultural

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cooperation between Member States who have decided not simply to create an economic union, but also eventually to progress to political integration, must be much wider in scope.

Cultural cooperation in a Community context is subject to the international legal system of the Communities by which the executing and the sanctioning of appropriate decisions are assured by the procedures laid down in the European Treaties.

The European Treaties contain wide-ranging provisions which fix the starting point for the setting up of a Community cultural policy, particularly Article 9 (2) of the EAEC Treaty on the creation of a European University, Article 50 of the EEC Treaty encouraging the exchange of young workers, and Article 57 of the EEC Treaty on the mutual recognition of formal qualifications. As for cooperation in education, Article 41, Article 118 and Article 128 of the EEC Treaty deal with cooperation in the field of vocational training. And the EAEC Treaty includes provisions for education and research in the field of nuclear energy.

The gradual realisation of cooperation in the cultural sphere will have to begin in the level of education. A draft resolution on this subject is going to be proposed to Parliament during this part-session.

On 1 July 1975, the Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth asked the European Commission for a detailed memorandum on the possibilities for Community measures in the cultural sphere. Subsequently the Commission drew up a working document which was forwarded to members. In this working document, the Commission by and large agreed with the suggestions of the European Parliament which were then contained in its resolution of 13 May 1974 on the preservation of the European cultural heritage. The Committee proposed a number of preliminary measures in three areas: the application of the Treaty in the cultural sector, preparation for the European Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth at its last meeting on 18 February 1976, referring to a working document by Mr Brunner on 'Community measures in the cultural sector' adopted unanimously a draft resolution. On behalf of the committee I am now submitting this short draft resolution to Parliament for adoption.

I would emphasise here that the activities of this alas recently abolished Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth concerns themselves almost exclusively with the stimulation of action for the benefit of young people and for education as well as for cultural measures.

Thanks to this Parliament's support, it will be possible to include in the Commission's budget for 1976 a new item, even though it is only a 'token entry' (Item 393 for cultural measures.)

The Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth has frequently pressed for the establishment of spheres of work for Community education, and their endeavours

have been crowned with success as evidenced by the decisions recently taken by the Council of Ministers for Education. I hope that in the near future similarly important measures for cultural Europe will be proposed and adopted.

We would have liked to deal more thoroughly with this important working document. But lack of time made this simply impossible. The job is now being handed on to the Political Affairs Committee. The document may possibly be put on the agenda again if concrete proposals are introduced by the Council. In paragraphs 2 and 4 of the draft resolution we urge this. It particularly concerns the application of the EEC Treaty for the simplification of administrative formalities which hinder the free exchange of cultural goods for improving the free movement of people who are active in the cultural sphere, and the removal of fiscal barriers which hamper the development of cultural institutions and of patronage.

With reference to paragraphs 3 and 6 I would like to point out that culture nowadays must no longer be regarded as the prerogative of an elite, but must be made available to all as part of a process leading to international cooperation on the part of Community citizens. The new mottos are, as you know, 'internationalization', and an 'open outlook on the world', 'understanding' and 'cooperation'.

Moreover, thanks to modern technology, the opportunities for the dissemination of culture have greatly increased. So culture can more easily become the heritage of broader social groups. What the radio, LP record and the tape recorder have done for music, so also the paperback can do for literature, and the TV for film, cabaret, concert, theatre and so forth.

In general I would just like to mention that the working document in my opinion is slanted too much towards the creators of culture and takes too little account of the recipients of this culture. Cultural democracy does not only mean that we should encourage, propagate and protect culture for artists, initiates and scholars, nor that we should 'intellectualize' leisure time, but that we should introduce the policies needed to offer to the mass of the people as many equal opportunities as possible for participation in a broad range of cultural activities. The desired passive participation in cultural life by as many people as possible, however, must not bring about the curtailment of their own active development as individuals.

But the creation of real cultural works is essentially the task of artists and even as a rule of professional artists. Artists fulfil an important social mission. It is just for this reason that society has a responsibility towards them and must, both on a national and an international level, ensure that real talent is prevented neither from finding expression nor from being allowed to develop. Artists must be assured of an existence where the production of valuable works of art is fostered. However I would warn against the tendency I

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see in Mr Brunner's working document to create alongside the existing copyright convention an EEC convention in this field. This would cause the greatest possible confusion throughout the world. Moreover I would deny that the use by a modern generation of artists of cultural works by authors who have been dead for more than 50 years and which consequently belong to what is called 'public property' should create more rights for them than for society as a whole. Rights of derivative artists moreover do not come under the heading of copyright laws but of labour laws.

The concern to preserve our cultural possessions in all their variety leads to a need for concrete Community measures for the upkeep of archeological remains, the protection of monuments and the preservation of works of art. Measures should also be taken at Community level to prevent abuse by the export of works of art of particular value.

Naturally, as I have just said, cultural life must not be restricted to the creative activity of artists in the proper sense of the word.

'Cultural life' implies to a greater or lesser extent the active participation of all citizens in the standards which are today being created by individual artists or which were created in the past.

Point 5 needs no further explanation. In it a call is made for the Commission to encourage the dissemination of culture particularly among young people and to draw up a programme for the exchange of young workers in the cultural field in accordance with Article 50 of the EEC Treaty.

Finally, as for point 7, reference may perhaps be made to what Mr Tindemans said in his report on the European Union concerning the cultural aspects of life, namely under Title B: the external signs of our solidarity. In Chapter 4 — A Citizen's Europe — he says: 'The aim is to give Europeans of tomorrow a personal and concrete impression of the European reality and a detailed knowledge of our languages and cultures since these constitute the common heritage which the European Union aims specifically to protect.'

I would like to add here that we must not postpone until the establishment of European Union the protection and extension of the common European heritage, but that the European Union, which also constitutes a counterweight to the technological development of the Europe of tomorrow, will be that much more easily achieved if efforts are made now to give Europe a more cultural complexion.

So I would ask you to approve the present draft resolution and to encourage the European Commission to proceed further along this path.

Mr Brunner took the first important step with his working document, for which I should like to thank him most sincerely on behalf of the Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth. I would also like to wish

him continued success in the future elaboration of his report.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mr Deschamps on behalf of the Christian-Democratic Group.

Mr Deschamps. — *(F)* Mr President, Ladies and Gentlemen, we are witnessing at this meeting what might be called with a certain amount of regret the swan song of the Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth. Tomorrow, new committees will be appointed to which will be allotted the tasks which devolved on this committee chaired with such friendly efficiency by Mr Broeksz, to whom I am sure we all wish to pay tribute.

(Applause)

By one of the paradoxes of parliamentary life, or of life pure and simple, we have today to decide on this motion for a resolution on community action in the cultural sector, which is, as it were, the charter and the programme for what we hope will tomorrow be a real cultural policy, given its importance, its topicality and its scope, this deserves to be 'kept under review' by a specialist committee in our Parliament.

Our hope and our will, is, then, that this cultural action should soon prove to everyone the absolute need to restore in its own identity a Committee on Cultural Affairs whose abolition we can only regret, all the more so since it was at the same time a Committee on Youth. The enthusiastic support of young people is going to be essential when direct elections are held to the European Parliament. At present, the fact is that many young people are unfortunately diverted from cultural preoccupations by material problems linked to unemployment. Moreover, the European Union is taking shape and needs young people's contributions to cultural unity. Indeed for these and many other reasons we must regret the passing of the Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth.

Mr Brunner's working document which serves as the basis for the resolution on which we must make our decision, points out to a certain extent the reason for the disappearance of the committee. It demonstrates clearly that up till now we have had no real Community cultural policy, that we have lacked a concrete programme and yet that this policy and this programme were both possible and necessary. This basic text contains some excellent points. It is clearly founded on a thorough study by the Commission's bodies, and I would like to thank its author for it. From this, we might ask ourselves how such clarity of analysis could exist side by side with such inadequacy of action. Therefore you will note that your committee in point 2 of its resolution 'regrets the absence in the working document of any timetable for the presenta-

Deschamps

tion and execution of the concrete actions envisaged' of which some have been declared top priority.

It is Parliament's business to demonstrate its particular vigilance, for even if too much time has already been wasted, the present circumstances make this cultural policy both essential and appropriate.

It is essential primarily for Europe itself. It is imperative, as point 3 of the resolution makes clear, that the citizens of Europe become 'more acutely aware of their European identity,' while recognizing that one of the basic features of this identity is precisely the cultural diversity of the community both at regional and at national level; we are not aiming at the creation of an artificially manufactured unified European culture, but we are seeking the common cultural elements, that is, as the Commission document says, 'the cultural similarities and affinities which exist in all the countries and regions of the Community alongside the unique contributions of each people.'

One Belgian humanist wrote recently :

We may speak of a European culture as being that which is proper to the community of nations yet which sets them apart from the remainder of mankind. Originally this division was determined by the profound influence of Greek philosophy, of Jewish sensitivity and of Christian civilisation on peoples with different languages and their own traditions, whom history often set against each other in pitiless combat. But their spirit was forged in the triple fire which they cannot escape, although at times they were unaware of it.

The Renaissance gave a decisive impetus to Europe's spiritual unity. It made all the nations simultaneously reach a stage which, despite their dissimilarities, marked them with the same sign. European culture really dates from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

But at that point in time it was the work of an elite minority. But the European culture that we are working for today does not only concern — as Mr Broeksz reminded us just now — an 'elite,' people who are already 'cultured,' but all the social and professional classes of all ages.

This is the spirit in which we support Community action in the cultural sphere. This cultural policy for Europe is similarly essential to other nations. At the time of the Renaissance, Europe isolated itself spiritually by establishing its own culture different from that in other parts of the world. Today, nobody would want to strive for such isolation. What is more, it would no longer be possible. Europeans today believe that to maintain a high degree of culture themselves, they must learn to know others better. We want and need to establish contact with modes of thought and expression of other races. It is indispensable for us, for the blossoming of our thought and our culture. It is useful to those who benefit, if they so wish, from contacts with a culture which is rooted in the past but which is opening up to the sun of the future.

Consequently, a Community cultural policy is necessary, firstly for Europeans, then for the nations of the world who will become richer and more complete by the exchange. Further, as point 7 of the resolution on which we are to vote puts it, it is right that the European Union towards which we are heading should not restrict itself simply to being economic, social, and political; it must also exist on the cultural level.

At the very beginning, of his report, Mr Leo Tindemans puts forward a certain number of proposals. We must encourage, he says in Chapter 4, 'greater integration in educational matters by promoting student exchanges.' I would add: and artist exchanges. Mr Tindemans goes on to propose a pragmatic solution in the delicate matter of the 'equivalence of diplomas and studies, which is the major stumbling block to integration of educational systems.'

He further considers that governments should foster bilateral and multilateral agreements between universities and educational institutions. I would add: between all centres of culture and of education of the spirit.

Finally, in a wider view, Mr Tindemans proposes that the European Council should decide to create a European Foundation to be financed partly by the Communities, partly by the Member States and partly by private funds. Its object would be to promote greater understanding among our peoples.

We particularly support this latter proposal for we believe that culture can by no means be imposed from above. We have seen the obvious failure of institutionalized culture, run by the state. We are for the blossoming of culture in conditions of the greatest freedom. We thus wish to see taken up — as you state in your report — the necessary options for the creation, development and eventual blossoming of culture in pluralist conditions, in freedom, and in total freedom of expression for all.

Mr President, our group welcomes these proposals. They emphasize the appropriateness of the urgent implementation of a number of measures proposed in the report by Mr Brunner. But we would also insist on the precise cultural action in the short term which are proposed in this report. I shall not mention them in detail, since Mr Broeksz has already commented on them fully. But I would make two points: firstly, that the overall cultural policy is the responsibility of the Member States, and even for many of these of subordinate or regional powers which are closer to it and of the many and varied cultural communities which make up the diversity and the riches of this Europe of ours and which are better suited to their needs.

It seems to me that the EEC must play a rôle, which is essentially to harmonize the cultural policies of the Nine without trying to make them uniform.

However, in the specific area of cultural exchanges, it seems to us that the EEC should play the part of an

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instigator. This is in fact what you have provided for in a series of concrete practical proposals which we support.

The second point I would make, is that it is appropriate for EEC action to be coordinated with that of the Council of Europe and of its Council on Cultural Cooperation (CCC), notably in the field of further education. Of course, we must bear in mind the slender resources available to the Council of Europe and the Commission. However I feel a positive first step was made when the Council of Europe set up a special office to liaise with the EEC. In the light of the information I have on these proposals it seems to me that this office has mainly operated up until now from the Council of Europe to the EEC and only marginally in the other direction. I would like you to note this point so that we may use this instrument of cooperation and collaboration, which although inadequate is essential and useful in a field common to these institutions.

Mr President, Ladies and Gentlemen, we find both in the resolution and in the basic document a number of interesting items. If we regret the late appearance of the latter, we may hope that the implementation of the measures which it proposes may be the subject of a watchful vigilance on the part of all committees — particularly of the Political Affairs Committee — which will take over the functions of the Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth.

I renew my hope that tomorrow, given the scope of the cultural policy, the need to restore the Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth will become apparent to the Bureau for the greater good of European cultural development.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mr Nyborg on behalf of the Group of European Progressive Democrats.

Mr Nyborg. — *(DK)* Mr President, we can only regard with equanimity the fact that Parliament has decided to dissolve the Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth, at least as far as those aspects of culture are concerned that are mainly based on the past, since in principle the Communities must look to the future. I was very pleased to hear what has just been said about increased cooperation between the European Communities and the Council of Europe in the cultural field.

I shall take the liberty of commenting on one or two points that I feel need further clarification.

Point 4 of the motion for a resolution states that practical proposals are needed soon since simplification of administrative formalities for the free movement of workers the removal of fiscal barriers and the approximation of laws are desired.

Very constructively, the Commission in its working document drawn up by Mr Brunner, recommends that foundations and patronage should be in a position to provide optimum support to culture in the Community. It is significant, and not without some importance, that the activities of cultural foundations in the Community are not subject to tax treatment that is less favourable than that applying in their national territory.

In general, it is to be welcomed that something is being done to simplify the administrative formalities so that most of the manpower in the cultural sector is free to carry out its normal functions instead of dealing with sterile administrative matters. In our opinion, it is a question of minimizing the bureaucracy involved and — as mentioned in the motion for a resolution — of giving priority to measures recommended in the form of practical proposals. This is obviously the most realistic and best way of proceeding.

Likewise, it is important to approximate Member States' laws on copyright and related rights so that there is no barrier to the free movement of works of art. It is often the case that craftsmen prefer not to export their works for fear that they will be copied in other countries without there being any possibility of their taking action against it. There are also problems in their own country; a craftsman's works may be mass-produced without his consent. In many cases the craftsman is paid only for the original and is not allowed to receive remuneration for the mass-produced article.

It is this type of problem, of which I have given only a few examples, that makes cultural exchanges difficult. Whenever we decide to live together in a European Union — or whatever we will then call it — there must be cooperation or, more correctly, understanding between our peoples. Such an understanding is achieved only when there is greater knowledge of the cultural background of each State. It is therefore essential to seek to disseminate culture across national frontiers. It is absolutely essential to make our peoples more aware of European problems and the European identity. We must obviously think of material production and consumption and their economic aspects, but we must also ensure that the cultural aspects are not neglected.

With these words, Mr President, I recommend on behalf of the Group of European Progressive Democrats that we vote for the motion for a resolution before us.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mrs Kellett-Bowman.

Mrs Kellett-Bowman. — I am sad that I cannot share the considerable enthusiasm of Mr Deschamps for this document. Although we in the European

Kellett-Bowman

Conservative Group are extremely glad to see the appearance of a working document on the cultural sector, I feel that the recommendations of this document could be much more substantial than they are. To this extent I very much agree with the point made by Mr Broeks in the motion for a resolution. I think that Mr Broeks, an excellent Chairman — and, incidentally, I regret the death of his Committee — made the best of a rather thin document.

I and my group are interested in the promotion of cultural activities throughout the Community. We agree very much with Mr Broeks that the development of European culture is vital to the success of political cooperation. But when we read the working document, little emerges in the form of practical proposals which will mean much to the general population of the European Community.

This is particularly sad when we should be making every effort to make the European Community a reality to the people in it. Indeed, it was with this in mind that we proposed the creation of a European Youth Orchestra, which we shall be discussing later.

The working document proposes the relaxation of customs formalities as regards the transport of cultural goods, and more progress towards the mutual recognition of qualifications of cultural workers. So far so good. But in dealing with the question of cultural workers, it is clear that the writer of the working document had some difficulty in justifying giving any form of special treatment to these workers. For example, on page 9, paragraph 15, there is a section on information for cultural workers. But I feel sure that this policy should apply to all Community workers.

On the question of exchanges of young cultural workers, I feel that the Parliament should give particular support to the suggestions made in paragraph 18 of the working document. This mentions the programme under which young creative craftsmen and restorers will be able to qualify for financial support. No policy of ours for the preservation of historic towns and buildings will be of any use unless we ensure a continuing supply of people who can repair the buildings which are falling down, particularly bearing in mind natural disasters, such as that which occurred so recently to the treasures of Italy.

Another question to which I should like to draw attention is that of public lending rights — the process by which authors can derive financial benefit from the success of their work in public libraries. I differ slightly from other speakers on this matter. This system exists in West Germany and may soon exist in the United Kingdom in full. I feel that this is a question on which there should be some form of Community policy.

I turn now to the second section of the working document entitled 'Cultural preparations for European Union'. I hope that the Commission will forgive me if

I am rather critical of that section. I read paragraphs 27 to 35 with increasing gloom. I do not know whether this flows from the difference in the English translation, but these paragraphs contain a lengthy and exceedingly banal description of European culture. Read in the English translation, there are blinding hints of the totally obvious. Let us take paragraph 29 :

'The common cultural features may be defined as cultural similarities and affinities, which exist in all the countries and regions of the Community alongside the unique contributions of each people.'

The document continues :

'It could be said that the common cultural features, taken together, constitute the European dimension of culture, which is then the sum total or synthesis of these features.'

We do not need a working document to tell us that one and one make two. It is difficult indeed to see what, if anything, may emerge from such a wordy and vague description of the 'European cultural dimension'.

One of the recommendations which apparently is to be acted upon is described on page 22 of the document. This is a 'survey of cultural features in common'. We learn that the Commission will ask a group of leading figures in cultural life in all the Community countries to attend a series of informal meetings to express freely their ideas on the European cultural dimension. This group will concentrate

'on collating, studying and defining the cultural features held in common with a view to clarifying and amplifying them.'

It seems to me that this is an extremely roundabout way of preparing culturally for European union. What will come out of the survey of cultural features in common which could not already be gained in an existing cultural study or studies is beyond me. The lack of clarity in the early paragraphs on 'cultural preparations for European union' clears away when the working document comes to examine existing cultural events within the 'European dimension of culture'.

Here the working document talks about the Europalia in Brussels, the Community Youth Orchestra and the possibilities for a Community exhibition of paintings. These are extremely interesting examples of European cultural cooperation, and I, like Mr Broeks, very much regret that the working document contains no other descriptions of possible activities designed to make the culture of Community countries available to the population at large and not, as he said so clearly, simply to the elite. Mr Broeks draws attention to these points in point 6 of the motion for a resolution.

Kellett-Bowman

I therefore urge the Commissioner to ask those responsible for this working document to descend from the somewhat academic heights. They must consider as swiftly and simply as possible how we can make European cultural policy an easily understood reality to the people who will shortly be called upon to make their own decisions in regard to a directly elected Parliament of the Community. If we cannot do this, when it comes to direct elections this Assembly will get the 'thumbs down' sign. I would deeply regret to see that. I ask the Commissioner to make very much more concrete proposals for the successor committee to the Committee that, alas, is dying today.

President. — I call Mr Ellis.

Mr Ellis. — It is not very often that I have the pleasure of agreeing with what Mrs Kellett-Bowman says. I agree almost entirely with her views on this issue.

Culture is a difficult word. I suppose it can be regarded as a kind of consumer goods, the kind of thing that is marketable. This is always the danger when one enters into a discussion or debate on any cultural topic. However, I am sure that everyone in this Chamber is speaking about our European culture — European in its diversity — from a much more appreciative point of view than that.

I wish to speak about the fundamentals of culture. It seems to me that we would all agree that the primary vehicle of any people's culture must be the language of that people. Many languages are under attack. Even the very great languages like English are seriously under attack. They are having to withstand what I call the attack of Anglo-American mass monoculture. I do not mean to slight either my English or my American friends when I use that piece of jargon to describe what is the consequence of our industrial and commercial society. However, this Anglo-American mass monoculture is pitched to the level of the least discriminating.

While it is not very easy for an Englishman, for example, to see the erosion that this is causing to his language, it is very easy for someone like me who has a minority culture — and there are many other people with minority cultures in Europe — to see the immediate and direct effect on his language of this insidious and insistent sort of attack.

Therefore when Mr Deschamps says, as he did, that we have a pluralistic culture born from the freedom of every one of us, with the greatest respect I take issue with him because we do not have that freedom. I do not mean to imply for one moment that central national governments are necessarily malevolent towards all our languages, but, by the very nature of things even in the benign situation such as exists in Britain where the British Government is very helpful towards my culture, that Government does not do one-tenth

of what it might be doing for the prosperity and the continuance of my culture.

I have a very long cultural tradition behind me. I believe it was my illustrious compatriot, David Lloyd George, who once, when he was provoked in this British House of Commons about the Welsh language, retorted that Welsh was the language of princes when the English were swinging by their tails in the Balkans. I am not quite sure how meaningful that sentence is, but I think I could use it to illustrate that my culture is a long one. It certainly goes back to the 5th century.

I make two claims only for the Welsh. One is that they are up to world standard in rugby.

However, after last Saturday, although we won, I am not sure we were the better team. The other is our poetry.

This wonderful creation of the human spirit, our language, has its back against the wall. When we discuss the issue of culture, I believe that these are the fundamentals with which we must seriously get to grips.

I jotted down another quotation from Mr Deschamps' speech. He said that the policy sometimes is being managed by regional authorities which allows for the development of all our cultures. This is just not so. It may well be that there are regional authorities managing to a limited extent what could be done. However, the fact is that they are not succeeding in achieving preservation, because no culture wants to be preserved as if it were in a museum. It wants rather to prosper and develop.

Therefore, speaking in support of this resolution, I make the point, as did Mrs Kellett-Bowman, that the only good thing is that at last here is a document in existence which is beginning to deal with the issue.

The resolution put by Mr Broeksx refers to what needs to be done. Therefore, simply to the extent that it spells out the serious problem facing many of us there are a great many things to be done. I hope that the Commission will seriously get to grips with the issue and see what can be done in a Community where many people are desperately searching for a cultural identity.

It is an expression of themselves by means of their cultural identity that will give the Community more cohesion, more togetherness, than any policy that some governments might feel obliged to pursue, at it were, to kill or do away with a particular regional culture.

Therefore, I look in the future to the Commission to do what it can to awaken an awareness among national governments and the people of Europe of the very important need to foster all our cultures, whether

Ellis

they are simply regional minority cultures or the very great central cultures of the Continent.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mr Brunner.

Mr Brunner, Member of the Commission. — *(D)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I should like to start by thanking the Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth for all the support it has given the Commission.

They have not only given us effective support on budget questions, but also made a contribution towards the endeavour to define the kind of project the Community should undertake in the cultural sphere. That is no easy task, and I am sometimes even rather overcome by the expectations you have of us. For, as you all know, it is extremely difficult to develop a cultural policy that can take full account of the plurality which characterizes Europe. If European culture amounts to anything, and if there is something worth preserving and promoting, then that is plurality.

I am therefore also grateful for the criticisms made of the document. You are measuring us on an ambitious scale. With the forces we have available, and the economic problems facing Europeans at the moment, we shall have great difficulty in doing even partial justice to your expectations.

However, it is a good thing that you have brought up these questions. It is good that you have spoken of this plurality. It is a good thing that you say that centralist viewpoints are out of date and are no longer adequate for developing a cultural action programme that is to mean something to everyone. Here indeed is a central problem of European cultural policy. If you as a Parliament do not point this out, this basis for the European union will not be laid. I think that what has been said here amounts to the following question. How can a Community cultural policy be effectively set in train if on the one hand it is not to replace the efforts that ought to be made by the national governments, but on the other takes account of the resources available and sets itself realizable goals?

I think that this kind of cultural policy can only be developed if it starts at the only point where the Community and its development in the direction of unity has a dimension of its own, and this point lies at the interface between culture and society. Today in Europe we have already reached the position where hundreds of thousands of people are moving across frontiers, where cultural goods are being sent everywhere into these countries, and where daily life is being changed by this cross-frontier development of culture.

One thing must be grasped. If the Commission is to develop an action programme, it is at this point that it

must start. It must say to itself that today in Europe there are these hundreds of thousands of people moving across frontiers, that today there is this cultural radiation across all the frontiers of the Member States. It was precisely at this point that we wished to start. That is why we concentrated on questions in relation with the tasks and capabilities of the Community. That is why we have spoken of facilitating the exchange of cultural goods; that is why we have kept mobility of cultural creators in mind; that is why we have developed exchange programmes for young cultural creators; that is why we have dealt with Community-level taxation treatment of voluntary foundations. That is also why we brought up the question of copyright.

At this point I should like to answer a question put by Mr Broeksz and echoed by Mrs Kellet-Bowman. This was the question of public lending rights in public libraries. I should like to reassure Mr Broeksz. We do not wish to make changes in authors' rights that make things more difficult for the user. Instead, we want to make use of the experience gained in the Federal Republic of Germany. We also want to take advantage of the experience with the system about to be introduced in Great Britain.

We wish to ensure that if possible modern authors also benefit from the lending of their books. We do not, however, wish to ensure this through a system of compulsion, but first of all to consider what are the kind of measures that might be contemplated. We are therefore not thinking of setting up a convention or a regulation right away.

The other aspect our memorandum deals with is cultural preparation for the European Union. Here there is frequent reference to what Prime Minister Tindemans said. Prime Minister Tindemans said that we must prepare Europeans for the reality that we want to be the reality of tomorrow. We must equip everyone with a thorough knowledge of languages and cultures. What this concerns is the European citizens of tomorrow; it is the citizens that are to elect this Parliament in 1978. That is why we must ensure that these citizens know more about each other and come into contact with each other more.

We have had studies carried out on this. These studies are contained in an annex to the memorandum. It is now being said that this is too little, that this is insufficient. We are being asked what can be done to set more positive projects going.

It is not easy to take the first step in this direction. It is not easy because we first of all have to agree what it is that links us. It is not easy because we have to agree on even more than that. The Commission and the Community can do no more here than set up projects that complement what is taking place in the Member States.

Brunner

Another reason why it is not easy is that we have very great budget and staff difficulties. There is no sense in ignoring this point; it is a central one. Our work in this area is carried out with a minimum of staff, and the people who are doing the work are all overloaded. I should therefore very much like to thank them here — especially because there have been criticisms — for what they are doing.

We must say one more thing. Until we have the results of this initial study available and until we know where there are cultural projects that are of relevance to the Community, that affect this new social development, that have something to do with the citizens of Europe whose awareness is developing in this direction, we cannot achieve anything meaningful; we should merely be applying the watering-can principle, our projects would be scattered all over the place, and we would be duplicating what the Member States are already doing.

That is not the right way. That is why we have taken the path of first of all looking into it and carrying out studies. These studies are now partly available, and we are busy evaluating them. Partly they are still being carried out. They deal with the exchange of cultural goods in the Community, with the tax treatment of cultural foundations and patronage, and with the mobility of cultural creators.

The next step will consist of drawing conclusions from these studies. Then we shall have to consider aspects such as tax questions, movement of goods and the approximation of laws.

There is already a basis for this in the Treaties, as other speakers have said. I shall not conceal from you that it will be many months yet before we have a proposal ready.

For that purpose we shall also have to consult those concerned. We shall have to consult those who create culture. We shall also have to consult those who consume it. I think it will also be important here to consult those who in the various regions of the Member States of the Community have a culture of their own, and are putting claims to be heard and for their peculiarities to be taken into account. It is not until then that we can reach the result. And then we shall also be in a position perhaps to put more before you than today.

We shall then be able to take the first useful step towards a cultural policy for the European Community, as embodied in Prime Minister Tindemans' report on European union.

(Applause)

President. — Since no one else wishes to speak, I put the motion for a resolution to the vote.

The resolution is adopted.¹

¹ OJ C 79 of 5 4 1976

11. *European education for young workers*

President. — The next item is the report drawn up by Mr Laban, on behalf of the Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth, on the promotion of education on European affairs for young workers (Doc. 538/75).

I call Mr Laban.

Mr Laban, rapporteur — *(NL)* Mr President, honourable Members, at its last meeting in February the Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth, now dissolved by decision of this Parliament, drew up a number of own-initiative reports and motions for resolutions which could only be submitted under the ten signatures procedure of the Rules of Procedure.

Although of course I accept the democratic decision of Parliament, I and others feel a need to point out that a European education policy that has a stimulating and coordinating effect is of extreme importance for the development of the peoples of our Member States and of European cooperation. I am not thinking in the first place here of the economic aspects of cooperation, though they do of course belong here. Europe will have more need than ever for technically and intellectually skilled workers. They too are trained in educational institutions, though to my disappointment, commissioner Hillery said in this House that vocational training was not provided by educational institutes. It is perhaps a good thing for commissioner Brunner to try to convince his Commission colleagues of his ideas on that point.

However, there is another side to this question. Education is being more and more directed towards putting the emphasis on all-round education, by teaching people to take responsibility in society — including those whose socially unfavourable situation does not give them a chance to make full use of the existing educational facilities. Europe needs mature, well-informed citizens.

The European Parliament has stressed the importance of education, for the Europe of the peoples too and not only for an economic community, by adopting an amendment to the motion for a resolution by Mr Bertrand proposing that the educational sector henceforth be treated as a separate policy sector. The Council has now set a good action programme going, and it comes up later this week.

Parliament in its wisdom has now decided to abolish the Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth. Like Mr Nyborg, I shall not weep any crocodile tears. The rightness of the decision will show in developments in the near future.

After this personal introduction, which is supported by most former Members of the Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth, and at any rate is in line with what has been said here in public by Mr Deschamps, I shall now, on behalf of the ten Members of this Parliament we have to deal with.

Laban

The own-initiative report is modest in character. Its aim is solely to throw light on one side of the extensive question of permanent education. The Commission will shortly be submitting a memorandum on the whole question, at the request of the former Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth. This is also to indicate a number of Community projects.

We have found that it is especially young people with a fairly good education, like students, university staff and teachers, that are making use of the extracurricular educational facilities subsidized by the Commission. Without wishing to put an end to this, the Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth, on whose behalf I am still speaking, considers it necessary to shift the emphasis so as to secure a fairer distribution of the available funds. Young office and industrial workers, unlike students and teachers, can less easily find the time for these courses, which sometimes last several months. They get less facilities from their employers and they cannot afford to lose wages. They are therefore dependent, above all, on long vacations, if they are interested in such courses. Educational leave is legally regulated only in a limited way in a few Member States, and this leave is used by young workers in industry and offices to improve their vocational skills so as to secure a better position.

That is why we support shorter courses, lasting 2 to 4 weeks, for young workers. These courses could be financed through the Kreyssig appropriations. They ought to be gradually increased, not only to bring about this shift in emphasis but also to expand the number of courses. To get a better picture of the way the Kreyssig appropriations are used, we would recommend that budget article 273 be split into items for European education and for other activities inside and outside educational institutions. I hope that Mr Brunner will be saying something on this shortly.

From contacts with the Europe Houses and folk high school organizations I know that they are ready and willing to organize such courses for young workers, while of course maintaining their other activities at national and European level. So far only modest resources are available for exchange programmes. We understand the present financial problems, but nevertheless it is a good thing that young people from different countries are meeting each other, exchanging information on their work situation and hearing how the European Community and the Community regulations affect their daily lives. It is also a good thing that they know that their national parliaments are hardly appropriate for this any longer. We would therefore ask the Commission to use up the small appropriations for the first exchange programme and to submit as soon as possible the second exchange programme already announced. We assume that in allocating the appropriations still available, efforts will be made to put the emphasis more on the exchange of the young workers my report deals with.

I have already said that the proposal is modest in scope. At the moment we cannot engage in any great financial outlay but we can try to give more priority in allocating the available resources to policy on European education. This is in line with the vision I hope all of us have of European society. Economic, financial and industrial cooperation is certainly necessary. But this kind of cooperation is not the sole true path to salvation. European cooperation can only get off the ground if the peoples of Europe are able to harness cultural and economic cooperation together. That is why policy in the 'soft' sector of education and culture must be paid more attention than hitherto in all the Community institutions.

Mr President, I should like to echo what has already been stressed in the previous subject, namely that if European cooperation is not alive in the hearts of our peoples, we shall merely keep muddling on in the economic and monetary area and all the other areas we are involved in. The Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth, supported by the commissioner responsible and his staff, has sought to do something against this in the short period of its existence. The present motion for a resolution is only a modest effort in this direction. I warmly recommend its adoption.

I shall now rapidly give my opinion on the amendment tabled by Mr Früh and others. In one of the meetings of the Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth we already discussed the initiative from the European Bureau for Adult Education, aiming at longer courses for young workers at folk high schools and other education centres. I have referred to this in paragraph 20 of the explanatory statement to my motion for a resolution. I have no objections at all to the amendment.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mr Walkhoff on behalf of the Socialist Group.

Mr Walkhoff. — *(D)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I should like to compliment Mr Laban on having presented a report which is not only important but good. Informing citizens, and above all young workers, on the problems, necessity and goals of European integration is the first prerequisite for its success. Politicians should be clearly aware that they can bring about the modern Europe of common policies neither by majority decisions nor by unanimity; the precondition of success is the commitment of the peoples. The second stage, the stage of commitment, does not however follow inevitably from the first stage, the stage of information. Commitment by the majority of the population presupposes that the European Communities put these people first in their policies. If there is still today — and we must admit this as a self-criticism — a lack of commitment, then the inadequacy of the information facilities is certainly not the only reason.

Walkhoff

It should not however be concluded from the categorization I have just attempted that I undervalue the proposal from the Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth. On the contrary, it is because I take it seriously that I wonder whether short courses are enough to give the success desired. The provision of information alone is not consciousness-raising. The problems of European integration rather have to be experienced, and that can only take place in pedagogically and methodologically well thought out series of courses. These series must therefore last a certain time, partly also because the majority of the participants will have no higher education.

Success will also depend on whether there is frank and patient joint discussion of critical questions and objections. One participant who has been made to think is a greater gain for Europe than a whole group going home stuffed with dead knowledge. For reflection may be the first step towards commitment, towards conscious participation in building Europe.

My reservation regarding the brevity of the proposed courses were in large part removed by the amplification and amendment of the explanatory statement at the last meeting of the Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth. Paragraph 14 of the explanatory statement was amplified to indicate that the courses should last two to four weeks. I was therefore able not to table an amendment I should otherwise have put forward myself. The original text with the term 'short courses' without further explanation could also have meant merely weekend courses or two or three day ones. That would certainly have been money thrown away from the educational viewpoint.

I hope that the residential adult education centres that offer longer courses, for instance in Denmark and Germany, will not be discouraged from continuing to take part in teaching on European integration by our plumping unambiguously for clearly presented short courses.

I would recall that in Leck in North Frisia, for example, the second long-period course is already running.

In conclusion might I ask you to take seriously the courses on European integration and the education of young workers on these problems, and to vote for this motion for a resolution, but not to overestimate their effectiveness. They are only one of many necessary contributions to the creation of a Community Europe that will supported by a large majority of the people.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mr Schulz on behalf of the Christian-Democratic Group.

Mr Schulz. — *(D)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, my Group supports in full the content of

the motion for a resolution on increased education on European integration for young workers, and is particularly grateful to Mr Laban for having so clearly, comprehensibly and convincingly explained the background to the subject in his report.

Allow me at this point in the day's proceedings to make a few further brief observations on behalf of my Group. We attach great value to the education of young people on European questions, all the more so because developments in recent years in many Community countries — and my own country is no exception — have led to a one-sided and rather questionable over-emphasis on academic education, even and in fact especially in European questions. That is why we particularly welcome the fact that the proposed education measures are to benefit mainly young workers in our countries.

The amounts of money available are very modest. The rapporteur and the previous speaker Mr Walkhoff have already pointed this out. Nor will the increase in the Kreyssig appropriations called for in the motion for a resolution do much, unfortunately — I repeat, unfortunately — to extend the limits of the funds available for this education and information programme, given present circumstances. We therefore attach all the more importance, as the rapporteur has also just pointed out, to having the funds allocated actually spent and fully used for this purpose.

One further observation on two points that might perhaps give rise to misunderstanding. I am here once more taking up what the previous speaker Mr Walkhoff said on the term 'short courses' in point 3 of the motion for a resolution. It is always the case, ladies and gentlemen, that the terms 'short' or 'long', whether they apply to space or time, are always subject to the relativity that keeps on coming in when we want to describe a definite situation.

I should like to leave no doubt that my group, and here I agree with Mr Walkhoff, does not think very much of education in brief courses, in the sense of weekend seminars, even if they are long weekends. On the contrary, this could in fact lead to wasting the small amount of money that is available. By 'short courses' we understand courses that in principle last at least eight to ten days. We would indeed welcome it if courses of longer duration were also possible, within the funds made available, in the institutes for these courses.

The second point: What alert observer would raise the question why the European Parliament's Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth has chosen precisely this moment to put forward this kind of motion for a resolution on the intensification of education of young workers on European integration, and to ask for its adoption?

Of course, courses of the desired longer duration, their preparation and their hoped for mental after-effects

Schulz

should in no way be regarded as a substitute for the provision of meaningful jobs that open up opportunities.

What this report and the motion for a resolution are about is an essential and very important educational problem, that is, a cultural problem and not a social problem. There are of course indirect psychological connections, with which I should like briefly to deal.

Youth unemployment in all our countries, a problem of prime importance, has made it much more difficult for the rising generation to cope with life than we all thought even a short time ago.

If it is true that the dangerous and ominous economic structural crisis, with its social consequences, can only be coped with on a European scale — and I personally believe that it is true — then it will also be useful to give young people in the proposed courses solid knowledge that will help them to come to ideas on the unsolved problems of European integration and the problems of our continent, when they come to thinking about the problems of their own future.

Since my group takes the view that the widest possible direct involvement of young people is the indispensable prerequisite for solving their own problems, we attach particular importance to point 9 of the motion for a resolution, in which the rapporteur draws attention to the youth forum which has still not been set up. He has rightly also pointed to this unfinished task in his report.

My group therefore urges the Commission to treat this matter with particular urgency and to report on it to Parliament as soon as possible. Since in the future there will no longer be a Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth — and here I can only associate myself and my Group with what the previous speakers have said — those members that are interested must ensure in this House that the Commission is paying the requisite attention to the question of the youth forum and they must in no way relieve it of this responsibility.

The kind assistance of the rapporteur relieves me of the need to give any further explanation of the proposed amendment by some colleagues of my Group, of which I am also a co-signatory. If you look at proposed amendment No 538/1, you will find that it is in fact not so much a proposed amendment as a proposed addition.

We were interested in the considerations brought up by the European Bureau for Adult Education, in the proposals for longer courses at residential adult education centres and other educational centres for young workers and particularly also for farmers.

In connection with the discussions as to the length of these courses, we are very anxious to see what sort of ideas the Bureau will now come out with. At any rate, the institutions mentioned ought in our view to be

included in the motion for a resolution. They are a logical complement to paragraph 3.

I repeat that we shall vote for the motion for a resolution as a whole.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mr Nyborg on behalf of the Group of European Progressive Democrats.

Mr Nyborg. — *(DK)* Mr President, allow me to pay further tribute to Mr Laban for his report that gives priority to the search for ways and means of providing education in European affairs to young workers and young unemployed persons to foster their European awareness. The general public does not yet take part in the efforts to create a political union, and the man in the street still lacks understanding of the trend started with the creation of the Community.

The reason is perhaps to be found in the complicated procedures used in the Community. The people, and especially the younger people, feel that the Community is an example of an inefficient bureaucracy. This, in my and our opinion, is an area in which a special effort must be made to rid the Community institutions of unnecessary bureaucracy and to inform the citizens of the Community of its procedures and working methods since general lack of understanding is not a good thing.

At the worst, the citizen of Europe will tell himself that it is not his concern. He will be tempted to do so because there is so much he does not understand. He will say, as most people will do, that it is of no interest to him. No-one is interested in what they do not understand.

This attitude is very unfortunate for the further development of the European Community, and thought must be given to involving young people in particular in the construction of a Europe for all in the future. Young people learn more easily. But I also believe that they lose interest more easily in adding to a construction started by the older generation, and as long as we do not try to overcome their attitude by providing them with better information on the actual state of affairs, we will be treading on dangerous ground.

It is therefore essential to make a special effort to provide information, especially to young people, on the European Communities. Once a proper information basis has been laid, it will be much easier to arouse interest in further work in European politics. As the report states, it is therefore important to study the ways and means of providing courses in European affairs for non-academic young people and for those who have not hitherto been given the opportunity to learn about Europe, in order to increase their political awareness.

Nyborg

The next practical problem that arises is the subjects to be taught. An attempt must be made to concentrate on down-to-earth matters for which the European Communities have found solutions. The rapporteur has listed a few: the European passport union, mutual recognition of diplomas, Community study grants, exchange programmes etc. I support the rapporteur here; matters that are too abstract are absolutely to be avoided.

To provide more information to young workers in the European Community it is essential for appropriations to be increased, and priority must be given to subsidies for institutions that offer courses on European affairs to young workers.

In Denmark there is an excellent institution for the dissemination of such information, the high school which has been mentioned earlier and which also exists in West Germany. The high schools provide courses — some short, but some longer — and the high school system will certainly be ideal once a European education system is introduced.

A special effort must also be made as far as exchanges of young people between Member States is concerned. That is obviously the most effective method of promoting an understanding of Europe. One can best learn about another country and its culture by living in it among its people and being in contact with them every day. It is thus of the utmost importance to use all available resources to foster an awareness of European affairs among — in this case — non-academic young workers.

The Commission must therefore see to it that financial resources are provided only to educational establishments that genuinely try to promote knowledge of European affairs.

The objective should be to make it easier for the people to take part in the decision-making process in the European Communities so that we can continue to construct the best possible democratic form of government in Europe.

Mr President, we recommend a vote in favour of the resolution.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mrs Kellett-Bowman, on behalf of the European Conservative Group

Mrs Kellett-Bowman. — This report has a curious history. It arose from several discussions that took place in the Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth on residential adult education in the Community. We went into these systems at length and had a most interesting discussion. This is a subject in which the education authorities in the Member States have a great deal to learn from each other's experience.

An odd thing apparently happened to the report on its way to the Assembly. Mr Laban and others have emphasized not an adult education system as originally envisaged, but the European integration of education in terms of one particular section, namely, the young European worker. I believe that that begins at the wrong point.

It is a pity that things appear to have gone thus far. It is surely important that we should think of Europe as a whole. The adult education services have many elements that should be shared between the Communities. Therefore, it is a mistake to concentrate on this aspect, particularly on the question of short courses.

I agree with Mr Walkhoff that it is easier to absorb the culture of another country, and particularly its life and spirit, if it is done over a long period rather than become plunged into a number of short courses. I cannot imagine the content of such a proposal.

I sympathize with Mr Walkhoff's remarks about the trauma and disaster that must face a young person who finds himself unemployed at a time when life should be opening out for him. However, it is a mistake to set him apart as though he is a unique animal. I believe that he should be integrated into the general educational processes of his own and of other European countries.

I have some sympathy for Mr Laban, who is very much an idealist. But we have not unlimited resources, and the resources that are available are being spread ever more thinly. We need to make a good deal of progress in terms not only of young people but of older people, who, we must remember, also live in the European Community. Therefore, the progress of the young, the middle aged and the old should be seen as a whole and be taken together.

There are some parts of the motion that I find most acceptable. I refer particularly to the exchanges of young workers because such exchanges are valuable in making youngsters appreciate the different ways in which similar problems are tackled in various countries. Exchanges give them a far better insight into how their brothers and sisters are getting along than odd short courses will ever do. I shall abstain on this resolution.

President. — I call Mr Broeksz, chairman of the Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth.

Mr Broeksz. — *(NL)* Mr President, I am afraid there is some misunderstanding. Mrs Kellett-Bowman has just said that this report had arisen from a discussion on adult education. This is a misunderstanding. The report arose from an initiative on residential adult education which had been put before the committee. Mr Laban's report deals precisely with this subject.

President. — I call Mr Brunner.

Mr Brunner, Member of the Commission. — (D) Mr President, I should like to thank Mr Laban for his report. He raises a question which is becoming increasingly urgent: how can young people be kept in touch with Europe once they have left school? Education on European affairs cannot be allowed to stop at this point. It is essential that we impart to these citizens of Europe the knowledge necessary to enable them to take part in the opinion forming process in Europe too.

The first point is how can education on Europe be introduced into vocational training? Article 128 of the EEC Treaty assigns certain tasks to the Community. The Advisory Committee on Vocational Training is now dealing with new guidelines for a Community vocational training policy. The Commission will see to it that education on the construction and integration of Europe is also included in this context.

Article 50 of the EEC Treaty deals with the exchange of young workers. Before the summer, we shall be submitting to you, on the basis of this article, a second report and a second programme which could come into operation next year. It will show considerable improvements as compared with the first one.

We make provision in this programme for an advisory committee consisting of representatives from the various groups: employers, trade unions and private social organizations. We have also made provision for young people to receive an allowance. We want to see that they receive language tuition at the Community's expense. These are improvements on the first programme. To interest young workers in Europe even further, we must set in motion the Commission's information programme. The money which has been set aside for this is the so-called Kreyssig Fund. In making use of this, we must give particular emphasis to those organizations which are most influential in terms of spreading ideas — trade unions, teachers and youth organizations.

For the first time in the Community, tripartite conferences are taking place between representatives of the governments — that is to say the Ministers of Labour and of Economic Affairs — the employer's association and the trade unions. The aim of this tripartite conference is fully to involve the social partners in the development of guidelines for economic and trade policy in the Community. I would not think it out of place to include in this tripartite discussion such aspects as the instruction and education of young workers by the social partners and the Community's organizations. I think it important that in future these conferences in the Community should deal with these aspects in addition to practical measures to be taken in view of the current economic situation. They are essential for the development of a consciousness of the Community and therefore special responsibility attaches to the social partners as well as to the European Parliament and the other institutions of the Community.

I say this because the amount of money available from the Fund for the purposes of education falls far short of what is needed. The annex to this report presents a survey of expenditure from the Fund during 1975. You can see that a number of further educational activities have been supported. I very much welcome the fact therefore that you say that we ought to step up this aid.

We would naturally see to it that further assistance was made available to young workers.

During the debate, mention was made of the subject of a 'Youth Forum'. Here I have a pleasant announcement to make. The Council of Ministers has decided that the Commission can go ahead with the setting up of a Youth Forum. On the strength of this, the Commission has made an application for a transfer of funds, and we hope that this will take place within the next couple of weeks so that we can get down to some practical work.

I share Mr Laban's view when he states that educational measures are most effective when linked to vocational training measures. I would go even further. I believe that further education is only effective when it develops and continues the type of education which is given in the schools. I do not therefore consider that it would be correct for us to view either the schools or further education in isolation. We should recognize that these two areas are interdependent. Internally of course it is still the case that we set out the finances of these two areas separately. However, I would be opposed to any suggestion that in future they should be similarly divided in the budget or that this rift, so to speak, should be allowed to continue. It is preferable to maintain the connection and not carry out this division within the budget.

Finally, I would like to agree with Mr Laban once again and say to him that I recognize that the questions dealt with in this report and motion for a resolution are to be seen in connection with adult education. I promised the Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth a memorandum which is nearly ready. This will be submitted to Parliament in the near future even though the dissolution of the Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth means that its responsibilities will have to be redistributed. I hope that we can have a useful and fruitful discussion on this.

(Applause)

President. — Since no one else wishes to speak, we shall now consider the motion for a resolution.

I put the preamble and points 1 to 3 to the vote.

The preamble and points 1 to 3 are adopted.

After point 3 I have amendment No 1 tabled by Mr Früh, Mr Aigner, Mr Brugger, Mr van der Gun, Mr Härzschel, Mr Klepsch, Mr Pisoni, Mr Schulz and Mrs Walz, which seeks to add a new point 3a:

President

- 3a. Looks forward with interest to the proposal currently being worked out by the European Bureau for Adult Education, involving longer courses for young workers and farmers from the various Member States at adult education centres and other residential centres :

The rapporteur has expressed his agreement with this amendment.

I put amendment No 1 to the vote.

Amendment No 1 is adopted.

I put points 4 to 11 to the vote.

Points 4 to 11 are adopted.

I put the motion for a resolution as a whole, as amended to the vote.

The resolution, thus amended, is adopted.

12. *Formation of a European Communities Youth Orchestra*

President. — The next item is the report drawn up by Lady Fisher of Rednal, on behalf of the Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth, on the motion for a resolution tabled by Mrs Kellett-Bowman on the formation of a European Communities youth orchestra (Doc. 537/75).

I call Lady Fisher of Rednal.

Lady Fisher of Rednal, rapporteur. — Today we have been listening to what youth might wish to do and how we might help them to achieve those objects. In presenting this Report, I am putting before Parliament a very positive way in which we can help youth in the Member States.

It should be said quite categorically that the International Festival of Youth Orchestras Foundation needs to be congratulated on its initiative in starting what might be one of the finest youth orchestras in the world.

It has emerged clearly in the discussion today that the Commission cannot work alone in cultural matters. It needs the cooperation of many outside bodies and all the Member States. If it does not receive that cooperation from various cultural organizations, its work is limited practically. Our attempt to achieve cultural pursuits in the Community without help from outside organizations is a very long drawn-out procedure and is almost impossible to attain.

I make those remarks to ensure that Members of Parliament understand the International Festival of Youth Orchestras Foundation. It is a non-profit-making organization. It is a recognized charity in Great Britain, having to conform to the statutes of Great Britain. However, most important, it has already organized six annual international festivals for youth. These international festivals have been organized and

arranged by the Foundation and have included in their programmes practically all countries throughout the world. Therefore, because of this knowledge of organizing international festivals for youth, the Foundation has developed an enormous expertise in dealing with young musicians. I hope Members will recognize that the tasks which the Foundation is setting itself in cooperation with the Commission are comprised of problems which the Foundation has surmounted in the past and will be able to surmount in the formation of the EEC Youth Orchestra.

It is under the auspices of the Festival Foundation that it is intended, if Parliament so approves this evening, to set up a special committee. That special committee will be set up annually to form the EEC Youth Orchestra.

The Orchestra will be comprised of the finest young musicians from the nine Member States. In it there will be 108 musicians between the ages of 15 and 20, in the main boys and girls still receiving what in our schools system is called formal education. Each Member State will be asked to submit 25 young people considered to be their best musicians. These young people will be auditioned so that there will eventually be 12 musicians from each of the nine member countries.

I wish to stress that in this Youth Orchestra we want the boys and girls to be in the age range 15-20. The idea of a Youth Orchestra is two-fold. First, we want the young people between 15 and 20 years of age to be drawn from the normal educational system. If we are able to draw from this wide range of young people, we feel that we shall have young, formative and idealistic pupils with an eagerness to learn and to cooperate in Community projects with the other nationalities in the Member States.

This age group can produce very talented musicians. However, in the main they will not follow a musical career during their lifetime. They will develop other vocations and possibly take up other professions. But music to many of them will be an interest they will carry with them for the rest of their lives even if they do not earn their living from it. It is, therefore, the idea of music which will perhaps join the young people together initially.

In the first place the young people will go to Aberdeen, in Scotland, for two weeks to meet and practise together, staying at the University campus in Aberdeen. It will be an intensive two-week working period with obvious opportunities of seeing that wonderful country, Scotland. The young people from the EEC countries will also be given a valuable opportunity of meeting young people from all over the world who will be gathered in Aberdeen at the University rehearsing for the International Youth Orchestra. They will therefore be given not only a knowledge of their own young people in Europe but the opportunity of seeing and of working and playing together

Lady Fisher of Rednal

with young people from all over the world. They will subsequently come together during the Christmas and Easter periods.

It is the intention of the Foundation that the Orchestra will play in all the EEC capitals. We hope that it will be possible to fit in a programme either in Luxembourg or in Strasbourg, to give Members of Parliament the opportunity of listening to the EEC Youth Orchestra.

There will be difficulties in organization, which the Foundation with its great expertise will overcome. Having listened to the debate this evening, I think it is important for us to recognize clearly that the foundation-stones of the EEC were laid by the middle-aged. If we are to see a successful Europe, a Europe which must mean something to people, I think that the continuing impetus for building Europe must come, as many speakers have said this afternoon, from our youth. In my view, it will come only if we give young people the opportunities of living together, as they will have to do in the Orchestra, of forming friendships with one another and of sharing the mutual experience of music. All this will not only enrich the individual boys and girls who form the Orchestra, which, since it will be reconstituted every 12 months, will benefit a very wide group of young people in Europe, but will make Europe mean something to young people.

One of the problems that we have as parliamentarians is to make Europe mean anything at all to the majority of people. The man in the street knows or understands little about the workings of the EEC, with the exception, perhaps, of those who have anything to do with agriculture. Therefore, if we are to make the new Europe into something more than an economic community, it is such ventures as the EEC Young Orchestra which I commend to Parliament.

The Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth has on many occasions discussed the formation of the Youth Orchestra. In the past the matter has been raised by Baroness Elles, a former member of the British delegation. On those occasions the Committee was asking for financial support, which in the past was not forthcoming from the Commission and Parliament.

The Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth has, however, always supported the idea of creating an EEC Youth Orchestra, because it felt that this would create a worthwhile area for an exchange of ideas and experience between the young citizens of the EEC, recognizing clearly that music is an international language and is an integral part of the culture of all the EEC countries.

When the Commissioner was answering the previous question he explained clearly that culture was difficult to define in Europe, but I do not think that music is difficult to define either in Europe or elsewhere in the

world. Music has a cultural heritage in any group of nations.

It is up to Parliament tonight to prove that when it speaks of a European dimension of culture these are not merely empty phrases. For the moment, all that is required is acceptance of the idea. What we are asking for in the resolution is the idea and sponsorship of the Orchestra. If Parliament is to be serious about undertaking action in the cultural sector, it now has an opportunity this evening to make a gesture to prove its good will. That gesture does not involve this Parliament or the Commission in any financial commitment.

I ask for Parliament's support for the creation of an EEC Youth Orchestra, an orchestra of which I know that you, Mr President, and the Members of this Parliament will be justly proud. You will be proud not only of the success of that Orchestra but of the ultimate goal of creating in the EEC a nucleus of enlightened and creative Europeans.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mrs Kellett-Bowman.

Mrs Kellett-Bowman. — I welcome most warmly the report by Lady Fisher on the European Youth Orchestra. I believe, and the debate has shown, that it is extremely important that such a project should come forward when, in the approach to direct elections, we should be examining all possible practical ways of making the European Community better known to the people of the various Member States, and should make it come alive for them. Furthermore, as has been made clear, the EEC Youth Orchestra will not require Community funds to ensure its establishment. That is very important in these days of financial stringency. All that is being asked for is the official sponsorship and blessing of the Community.

I must confess that I have been surprised to find that the term 'Youth Orchestra' appears to have conjured up in the minds of some people, albeit only a few, a vision of a crowd of youngsters getting together at the last moment, ill-prepared and putting on a rather slap-happy, slipshod performance. As anyone who has ever heard one of the Community's many national youth orchestras perform will know, nothing could be further from the truth.

The impetus for a European Youth Orchestra has not come from starry-eyed idealists who have no experience of large-scale organization and who are just trusting to luck that all will come right on the night. As Lady Fisher has said, it has come through the International Festival of Youth Orchestras Foundation, which has had no less than eight years' experience of organizing youth orchestras and festivals of a very high standard — none better in the entire world.

Kellett-Bowman

For example, in 1975 the best young musicians from 12 different countries attending the International Festival of Youth Orchestras in Aberdeen came together for one week only, and in that time were welded together into a superb orchestra which performed at the London Promenade Concerts under the baton of Claudio Abbado, and were widely acclaimed for the excellence of their performance. I have no doubt that the organizers of the EEC Youth Orchestra will get it off to an equally good start. Every detail has been worked out — nothing has been left to chance.

As we have heard from Lady Fisher, the proposal is that each Member State will have an equal chance of submitting candidates for the orchestra. Each Member State will submit the names of 25 young musicians for consideration by the EEC Youth Orchestra auditioning panel. From these 225 musicians a final 108 will be selected, with an equal number from each Member State, though there will not be an equal number in each instrument. Some countries are stronger in one instrument while some are stronger in others. This will balance itself out.

These young musicians will come together three times a year, during the school holidays, and perform in the capitals of each member country. It is hoped that if we can get the project off the ground, if Parliament and the Council agree to the Report, the initial performance will be in Aberdeen at the 1977 International Festival of Youth Orchestras, followed, by gala performances in London and Dublin. During the next holidays, the Christmas holidays, they will perform in Rome and two other Member States, and for their third session, at Easter 1978, in the remaining Member States' capitals, culminating with a gala performance at Strasbourg or Luxembourg during the plenary sitting — and all this without a penny cost to the Community.

There are two points I should like to make in connection with the explanatory statement. In paragraph 4 the rapporteur suggests that an EEC Youth Orchestra should give preference to the works of

'young contemporary composers who have not yet won general acceptance'.

I certainly agree that an EEC Youth Orchestra should make a point of including such works in its programme but, as it continues, the paragraph is unfortunately phrased. It seems to suggest that an EEC Youth Orchestra should be content to give poor performances of new works because it will not be capable of giving good performances of works of established composers. That is the reverse of the case. Performances of works by new or established composers will all be of the same high standard.

Secondly, paragraph 6 of the explanatory statement suggested that it should be possible to raise the maximum age from 20 to 25 years. That would be a

mistake, because the limitation of the age range from 15 to 20 years will ensure a sufficiently high standard of playing. If the range were widened still further, the majority of players might be chosen from the older age group and so the youngsters would not be given a chance. Many national youth orchestras in the Community are chosen mainly from school children, and their playing is of a notably high standard. Furthermore, I believe that one aspect of the EEC Youth Orchestra is that it should be composed not of future professional players but of young people who may well take up another profession.

Of course, the organizers, with their vast experience, will be flexible in this as in other matters. If they find an outstanding youngster of 13 they will want him to play again, but like all the others, he will have to submit to the general audition proceedings. The emphasis should be on involving as many young musicians as possible over the years, with an ever-widening circle of friends and with increasing influence on culture throughout the Community.

So often we hear the jibe that the Community is concerned only with economic affairs and with, for example, harmonizing the ingredients of mayonnaise. If we give our blessing today to this imaginative project, we shall prove that the Community really cares about the cultural heritage which we are all proud to share. I ask Parliament to give its unanimous blessing.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mr Broeksz, chairman of the Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth.

Mr Broeksz. — *(NL)* Mr President, now that we are approaching the adoption of Lady Fisher's report and the end of the work of the Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth, there is one thing that I want to say.

You have already heard that this committee had to operate in a slightly different way from that of most of the committees who work on proposals from the European Commission. This committee had to operate chiefly on its own initiative. As a consequence, more was demanded from the secretariat of this committee than that of any other committee. I must therefore say on behalf of the Committee on Cultural Affairs and Youth how much we appreciate what the secretariat of this committee has done and to thank publicly the lady and the two gentlemen for the work which they have performed for our committee.

(Prolonged applause)

President — I should like to associate the entire House with the thanks you have just addressed to the staff of the committee, and now that it is disappearing

President

I should like to say how very aware we are of the way in which you directed its activities and how much we appreciate the spirit in which its members devoted themselves to their work.

(Applause)

I call Mr Brunner.

Mr Brunner, Member of the Commission. — *(D)* Mr President, I shall keep it short. The arguments made by Lady Fisher and Mrs Kellett-Bowman on the Youth Orchestra speak for themselves. This is indeed a very worthwhile project. It brings young people together and encourages culture. It is also useful in that it caters for the amateur. They will not be musicians who intend to become professionals. I think we should view all this in a very favourable light, particularly since they have come to us and said: 'Here is a project which will not cost you any money!'

I think the Commission has every reason to welcome initiatives of this type. We want to support this project. I am happy to announce that I give my full backing for this orchestra to receive the sponsorship of the European Community.

(Applause)

President. — Since no one else wishes to speak, I put the motion for a resolution to the vote.

The resolution is adopted.¹

13. *Recommendations of the EEC-Turkey Joint Parliamentary Committee*

President. — The next item is the report drawn up by Mr Klepsch on behalf of the Associations Committee on the recommendations of the EEC-Turkey Joint Parliamentary Committee adopted in Ankara on 19 September 1975 (Doc. 504/75).

I call Mr Klepsch.

Mr Klepsch, rapporteur. — *(D)* Mr President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am conscious of the fact that the subject of my report would have merited discussion at a different time, but I also realize that we are at the end of this session and that this item on the agenda must be the last in this session to be dealt with.

It is not my intention to try to explain my report since I think what I have written should be quite clear to everyone. If I do nevertheless add a few oral comments, it is because time has not stood still since my report was drawn up and some further developments have taken place in the meantime.

I would like to draw special attention to three events. The first was the visit of our Turkish friends in January at the time of Parliament's part-session in Luxembourg. We were able then to discuss the topics which are included in this report in a very candid manner. The second — and this was particularly gratifying — was the latest meeting of the EEC/Turkey Association Council, during which the Council of Ministers dealt with these questions in some detail and took up a position on some very important points.

The third event was, of course, the Council's decision to begin negotiations on the accession of Greece to the Community, on which we shall have occasion to speak again this week.

Allow me therefore to limit myself to the following observations.

In drawing up this report and even more during our meeting in Luxembourg, it became clear to us that our Turkish friends felt to a considerable extent worried, even discontented with the way the Association is developing. There were a number of points which I would like to remind you of.

One of these was the Community's treaties with Israel and with the Maghreb countries, the effect of which was to lessen the preferences and advantages which had been granted to Turkey under the Association Agreement. There were also open questions surrounding Turkish desires for a concession in the agricultural sphere, the development of the financial protocol, the question of Turkish workers in the Community and finally the question of preferences.

A very central factor is of course Turkey's concern that the future accession of Greece to the Community will weaken the purposefulness of the Association and may even render it impotent. This Parliament and its responsible committee have always taken pains to maintain a balance in its relations with Greece and Turkey as two of our important Association partners. In our many discussions with our Turkish friends, we have found that they do understand that we have to maintain this balance. We have however also made it clear that we have no thoughts of in some way dissolving the link with our Association partner Turkey.

This also became clear, I think, during the meeting held by the Association Council. It cheers me to find that what came out in the Association Council to a large extent follows the lines suggested by this committee in its recommendations and in this report. I know that Mr Caglayanil, the Turkish Foreign Minister, was initially pleased with the declaration of intent. However, a large number of practical points, about which I do not want to go into detail now, but which did affect all the questions that I have just touched on, were discussed in the Association Council and satisfactory progress was made.

¹ OJ C 79 of 5 4 1976

Klepsch

I would therefore like to say on behalf of this committee that we emphatically advocate the greatest support for our most faithful and reliable Association partner, namely Turkey, on the road which it has taken as a democracy and consideration for the difficulties in which the Turkish economy finds itself on account of the increased price of energy and the problem of the growing imbalance in its foreign trade — including that with the Community. We have already set out our views on this a number of times before, so I do not need to do so again today.

There are therefore just a couple more points I would like to mention. We have tried to proceed on the basis of special reports, and we have used the opportunity to study together the problem of the education of the children of Turkish workers. Both we and our Turkish friends discussed the present difficulties and misunderstandings in a very candid manner.

In general, we take the view that only frank discussion on these subjects will enable us to achieve results. We shall continue with this. At our last meeting, we decided to take an interest in Turkey's development areas, particularly Eastern Anatolia which we were able to see on an excursion during our last visit.

The committee therefore recommends that you adopt the report and the motion for a resolution. It is unanimous in this recommendation because it has already taken stock of the contents of these documents during the meeting of the Joint Parliamentary Committee of the EEC-Turkey Association. If, in spite of this, I have put forward a corrigendum, this is only because it represents a linguistic improvement on a point already established. On the other hand, I would like to give my reasons for opposing Amendment No. 1.

I would like to state briefly why I cannot accept this proposal even though it is derived from a formulation which I too had originally taken as a basis, but which was rejected by the members of the Joint Committee as being too extreme, and this was a unanimous decision taken by both the European and the Turkish members. If we now select a different text, it might be supposed that we wanted to express a different meaning, which in fact is not at all the case. By 'equality', we mean of course equal human rights and equal rights for different groups, as laid down in the UN charter. We are not trying to say that 80 % Greeks and 20 % Turks are equal numbers of people. I think that this interpretation is completely alien to us. The truth of the matter is that Greeks and Turks must be treated alike on the basis of the charter and equal basic, human rights.

I would like to emphasize that we have no intention of involving ourselves in diplomatic and other talks on a solution to the Cyprus problem. We see our duty to be to try to find a common solution founded if possible on the basis of friendly negotiations. We think we are on the right road. For this reason, I sincerely urge you not to complicate the situation by

adopting Mr Cousté's amendment, which I would otherwise have looked on favourably.

Finally, let me say that I believe that our relations with Turkey are of the utmost importance for the Community. It is essential for our Mediterranean policy to find as many qualified partners as possible who are as keen and responsive as Turkey to be the worthy and solicitous partners in further European development.

With this in mind, I recommend that this report and motion for a resolution be adopted. I apologize for treating this subject so briefly, but I think this was called for in view of the late hour.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mr Vandewiele on behalf of the Christian-Democratic Group.

Mr Vandewiele. — *(NL)* Mr President, on behalf of the Christian-Democratic Group I should like to congratulate Mr Klepsch on his remarkable and well documented report, and on his excellent explanatory statement. On behalf of our group, I would express the hope that the good relations between the European Community and Turkey will in the near future lead to new progress and clear results. The Klepsch report, and especially the motion for a resolution in it, in our opinion meets this expectation on the proviso that special attention is devoted without further ado in the negotiations now going on to the problems our Turkish friends have repeatedly put in the foreground. Mr Klepsch has just mentioned the problems. These are the political questions in connection with association relations, the problem of trade relations and economic development, agricultural problems and finally a number of problems in the social sphere.

We should like once again to stress the importance of political consultations between Turkey and the European Community, particularly in view of the obligations resulting from Article 56 of the additional protocol.

We welcome with satisfaction the positive results that have been reached with a view to Greek accession to the Community, but we in no way wish to arouse the impression that this in any way threatens Turkey's future full membership.

Along with the members of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, we support Turkey's request for a clear procedure to be worked out to make possible future development from association to integration. The announced meeting of the Council at Ankara has aroused particular expectations here.

Mr President, our group agrees with what the resolution says with regard to the Cyprus problem. We were pleased to note the declarations made on 5 December 1975 by the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs. I should like to quote the following from the text,

Vandewiele

which reached me today: 'It is clear that the Cyprus question has been poisoning Turkish-Greek relations for many years. Turkey's and Greece's legal and moral obligations to their communities on Cyprus ought to have brought both countries into a new period of friendship and cooperation. If we can achieve that objective, relations between the two ethnic communities on the island would be imbued with the same spirit of friendship. That ought to be the essential characteristic of the foreign policy of Turkey and Greece.

On the basis of these ideas and with a little goodwill, we do not see why inter-Community consultations cannot be restarted, so as to bring about an independent federal republic of Cyprus that would be independent and sovereign and in which the two communities could live side by side in peace and security'.

This declaration has a constructive tone and constitutes a challenge. I hope that the forthcoming talks — we expressed this wish in the most recent discussions with our Greek and Turkish friends — will soon lead to a favourable outcome. 1976 must become the year when the differences that have for too long now been a source of embitterment, constant tension and human misery, are settled in a peaceful way. We are faced not only with political problems, but also with extremely difficult problems in economic areas and in the agricultural sectors. Despite the positive aspects, of trends in trade between the Community and Turkey we must draw special attention to the disquieting deficits on the Turkish balance of trade. During the discussion of the budget the Minister for Foreign Affairs gave vent to his concern in the Turkish Parliament. He said: 'The trade deficit with the Community has become disquietingly large. This deficit is to be blamed mainly on structural causes. A decision has now been taken to set up a group of experts from Turkey and the Community. This working group is to work out proposals to improve our exports in general and the structure of these exports in particular'.

Detailed proposals were apparently formulated at the Council meeting in Brussels on 2 March.

I should now like to approach the Commission directly with the request to inform us what results were reached in Brussels. Most of the proposals contained in the motion for a resolution will undoubtedly already have been discussed at that meeting. Is the point concerning agricultural policy going too far? Is it true that the most recent agreements under the Community's Mediterranean policy have led to a cutback on the advantages offered to Turkey? That is maintained. It would be a good thing if the Commission could give a reassuring statement on this matter.

Paragraph 6 of the Recommendation No. 2 adopted in Ankara urges the following:

In order to avoid the erosion of advantages and discrimination that Turkey fears in a sector of particular impor-

tance to her, that the preferences accorded to Turkish agricultural products should be carefully related to those granted to other Mediterranean countries.

Our aid to Turkey's industrialization also requires special attention.

In view of the limited speaking time, I shall close with one more brief observation regarding the social problems of Turkish workers employed in the European Community.

The severe economic recession and the extensive unemployment in the Community have given these problems a new dimension.

There are the undeniable differences of opinion concerning Article 39 of the additional protocol. On page 13 of the Klepsch report the questions of greatest importance here are listed:

- the application of certain social security provisions to Turkish families which have not followed 'breadwinners' to a Community country but have stayed in Turkey;
- the system for family members who temporarily temporarily resident in the EEC;
- the application of the 'unemployment' and 'sickness/maternity' arrangements to workers who live in a different Member Country from that in which they had their last job;
- allowing for periods spent in Turkey in calculating total social benefits;
- the possibility of an annual review of the system.

I would ask the Commission to tell Parliament whether new talks on this are to be held at an early date and what outcome is to be expected.

The Christian-Democratic Group expects the Commission to make a number of statements in this debate. We are aware that the talks now going on with our association partner are encountering a number of difficulties.

The Joint Parliamentary Committee will be meeting again in a few days. We sincerely hope that a number of positive results will have been achieved by then.

Our group will give its unanimous support to the important proposals embodied in the motion for a resolution.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mr Cousté on behalf of the Group of European Progressive Democrats.

Mr Cousté. — *(F)* In dealing with a resolution such as our colleague has tabled, we must never forget that our relationship with Turkey is to lead, one day, by virtue of the Ankara Treaty, to that country's full membership in our Community.

Cousté

The Turks are constantly reminding us of this fundamental point, and it is one we have not overlooked in our resolution. However, what I am worried about is the length of time elapsing between the adoption of a resolution — which, in this case, happened on 19 September 1975 — and its consideration in the Assembly. In the meantime, we have had talks with our Turkish colleagues in Luxembourg, which took place in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding, and last Monday and Tuesday, there could be seen in the Association Council a strong desire to give new life to the association of Turkey with the European Economic Community.

The Turkish position on five basic points — which I shall reiterate — seems to me justified. First, the Turks have to cope with the deficit in their trade balance. This is a difficult thing for them, and, obviously, Turkey is going to ask for a review of the provisions on tariff dismantling. In our preparation for the next meeting with the Turks, in Nice, we must take account of this concern of theirs. And I think that it is our duty to give them a favourable answer on this.

As regards further agricultural concessions, to which they attach a great importance, the Community has meanwhile concluded some new agreements — on which I shall not expand, since Mr Vandewiele has just referred to them in connection with which our Turkish colleagues were careful to point out that the privileged nature of their relationship with us in this area was becoming steadily eroded. I am glad to see on the Commission's benches one of its most distinguished representatives and so to be able to tell him that we shall have to see — in a pragmatic spirit, item by item — what can be done to meet the expectations of the farmers and of the Government in respect of agricultural products and of the competition they encounter on Community markets.

As regards financial aid, everything should be done — as we have already been reminded in this debate — to ensure that a new impetus is given to it by the negotiation of a new agreement and a new financial protocol. In addition, it is our duty to see that the 47 million units of account already available under the protocol relating to the enlargement of the Community from Six to Nine, are immediately made available to the Turks, who have a very great and very real need for them.

Finally, Mr Vandewiele has mentioned, and I am grateful to him for this, the situation of Turkish workers and their families in the Community. Here, obviously, we have to ensure that arrangements which we think are the most favourable to them are respected and that they evolve towards gradually achieving the free movement of workers.

Lastly, I come, the most sensitive point, to the consultations concerning Greece's accession.

We all know perfectly well that under Article 56 of the additional protocol the Community committed

itself to instituting consultations in case of the accession of a third country. We must, then, implement these provisions so that the Greeks, if they take part in the consultations, can convince themselves that this is a matter, not of some new kind of watching brief, but of implementing a convention that we have signed.

Why did I table the amendment? Because I find that when we adopt resolutions — today it will be on the association with Turkey; on 12 November 1975 it was on our relations with Greece — we do not pay enough attention to the contradictions which can be seen when the texts are compared. When we adopted the resolution of 12 November 1975, we spoke, in a paragraph virtually identical with point 4 of the resolution now before us, of negotiation on the basis of a sovereign, independent Cypriot state and we added that Cyprus's territorial integrity must be respected. But we did not touch on the problem of the equality of both communities in the island.

It is not that I am not convinced of the reality of the existence of these two communities. It is, as Mr Klepsch has said, that I am concerned with the individual rights of man — be he Cypriot, Turk or Greek.

Mr Klepsch has also pointed out that the United Nations Charter applies to the rights of man, in the strict sense of the term. Not of organized ethnic groups but of men who, irrespective of their ethnic origin, have the right to equal treatment.

We have pointed out the contradiction which may arise between the texts we adopted in November 1975 and those tabled before us today, and this is why I have tabled this amendment, the implications of which, my dear colleagues, I am sure you understand, quite apart from the actual wording used.

I trust, therefore, that, in the light of my clarifications, this Amendment No 1 will be adopted and that I shall not have to speak to it more specifically again when the resolution comes to the vote.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mr Spicer on behalf of the European Conservative Group

Mr Spicer. — I shall be extremely brief. The Conservative Group very much welcomes this Report by Mr Klepsch. The way in which he dealt with the report is supported by other members of the Committee.

I joined the parliamentary committee only in December and therefore did not go with the delegation to Ankara in September. It is clear from the problems mentioned in the report that there is disappointment among the Turkish Government and people at the way in which they believe the association of Turkey and the Community has been eroded and downgraded in the last few years. This view was strongly confirmed to me at our last meeting with the

Spicer

Turkish Delegation in Luxembourg. It is now up to us to prove by our words, and, perhaps even more important, by our actions, that their concern is ill-founded

There are many areas in which reassurance is needed, but the two most important are, in my view, dealt with in point 3 and 10 of the motion for a resolution. In regard to point 3 there can be no doubt that the decision to press forward with the accession of Greece to the Community has not helped our relations with Turkey. Mr Klepsch touched on that in some detail in his remarks. Therefore, it is of the greatest importance that Turkey should be given clear and categorical assurances on the lines indicated in point 3 of the motion.

In regard to point 10 there is increasing resentment in Turkey at the continued erosion of the preferences originally enjoyed with the Community. This was made clear at the meeting in Luxembourg. We all remember that Sir Christopher Soames gave categorical assurances at that time to the effect that the erosion of these preferences would be examined and dealt with urgently. I hope that is the position and that the Commission is dealing with this as a matter of extreme urgency.

Those two matters are of prime importance, but there are many others set out in the motion for a resolution. Each and every one of these areas calls for action now. We all hope that some positive steps will be taken before we meet our Turkish friends in Nice at the end of the month. If such progress is not made, I am sure that we shall find great disappointment among the Turkish Delegation at that meeting, and, in my view, it will be justified. I have great pleasure in supporting the motion.

President. — I call Mrs Caretoni Romagnoli on behalf of the Communist and Allies Group.

Mrs Romagnoli Caretoni. — (I) Our group will vote for the resolution although, as I shall explain, Mr Cousté's amendment deserves, in our view, some consideration.

I am not so certain, Mr Klepsch, that we cannot change anything. I realise that it is more prudent not to change anything when one has been in a joint committee together with colleagues representing the Parliament of an associated country. But I think that it would be inconceivable for a Parliament such as ours to be able to debate, but not to be able to amend a text. Procedurally, I really cannot accept the argument that we cannot amend the text. It remains to be seen whether we should — but that is another matter.

In common with previous speakers, I want to draw attention to the extreme delicacy of our position *vis à vis* our Turkish partner. We want to bring forward the accession of Greece: Parliament has said so by a majority many times, and, I have no doubt, will

confirm it in Wednesday's debate. This is a commitment we want to keep to. Well then, just to eliminate any ambiguity, the Turks must be told, in deeds and not only words, that this is a parallel initiative which in no way detracts from the rights, the aspirations, the value and the importance of our association with Turkey.

This is why I urge the Community to do something practical about the Turks, and notably — I want to be very brief — for Turkish workers so that our Turkish colleagues may really believe that we have not the slightest intention of favouring one country over another, that we are simply keeping the problems separate.

There is the political problem of Greece's accession. That is one. And then there are other problems concerning the association with Turkey. We want to resolve them in the best possible way.

I should like to comment on the amendment tabled by Mr Cousté. Undoubtedly, Mr Cousté was motivated by a desire not to upset, by the declaration of an attitude, the talks which are now going on. I think I am not mistaken in interpreting the intention behind this amendment. These are justified anxieties: we are dealing with sensitive problems, with shades of meaning. And, as regards shades of meaning, I should like to say to the rapporteur that the Italian text expresses much better than the French the concept which Mr Cousté himself was prepared to accept. The Italian version speaks of equality of rights; equality of rights means equality of rights for citizens belonging to different ethnic groups.

Well, I think we can say that without upsetting our Cypriot friends. They might, I think, on the other hand, be upset if we spoke only of equality, because that is open to misinterpretation. I do not know which method this Assembly likes to follow: the use of the authentic version, as is done in my national Parliament, or of another version. I do think it is important not to stray away from what we have voted in Ankara, and at the same time we must lay down a principle that will offend neither the Greeks, nor the Turks, nor the Cypriots, nor any other country that upholds the Charter of Human Rights. This is why I should like to ask Mr Cousté to see what can be done, for I too, feel that this requirement of which he spoke must be met.

But it seems to me that the concept of territorial integrity which Mr Cousté would like to introduce in his amendment — I apologise for dwelling on this specific point during a general debate — is, though right in itself (and indeed reaffirmed in a UN resolution), nevertheless different from the one we laid down in Ankara.

This is why I emphasize that it would be better for our Assembly to avoid voting texts which, with the passage of time, may turn out to be contradictory. And this is why I do not feel able to insist on the substitu-

Romagnoli Caretoni

tion of the terms proposed in Mr Couste's amendment.

We shall therefore be voting for the resolution and we ask that its wording be extremely clear. For if there should be any ambiguity, this would do no good either to the Turks, or the Greeks, or the Cypriots.

President. — I call Mr Hansen, chairman of the delegation of Parliament to Joint Parliamentary Committee of the EEC-Turkey Association.

Mr Hansen. — I intervene briefly in the debate in my capacity as co-Chairman of the EEC-Turkey Joint Parliamentary Committee.

The past year has been a difficult one for EEC-Turkey relations. The Turkish people have begun to feel increasingly isolated from the rest of Europe. All my colleagues in the Joint Parliamentary Committee have been made very much aware of Turkish feelings. Their sense of isolation reached a peak with the application by Greece for full membership of the Community, but there had been growing feelings of discontent long before that.

What are Turkey's grievances? First, I think she feels that she is no longer receiving the preferential treatment which is her due in regard to both industrial and agricultural products. For years the Joint Parliamentary Committee has been pressing for Turkey's inclusion in the list of countries benefiting from the Community's generalized preferences, but this has always been refused. Now Turkey finds, because of the growing number of agreements between the Community and other Mediterranean countries — and I do not for one moment dispute the value of those agreements — that the preferences accorded to her products are being eroded by the concessions made to the other countries. In particular, Turkey fears excessive competition in agriculture.

However, it is not just a question of trade. Turkey feels politically isolated. I have already referred to the Greek application for membership. For Turkey, this is the last straw, because if Greece is inside the Community and Turkey outside, it will be impossible to convince the Turks that they will receive a fair hearing in their various disagreements with Greece unless some changes are made in the conduct of relations between the EEC and Turkey.

The Greek application is to be debated on Wednesday, and I do not wish to anticipate that debate. Furthermore, I do not wish to oppose Greek membership. I feel obliged merely to point out the psychological effect which it will have on Turkey because the whole question of relations between the EEC and Turkey is largely a psychological one.

What can the Community do to improve relations with Turkey? I believe that the time has come to reactivate the EEC-Turkey Association, to put new life

into it. We in the Community must come up with proposals which will convince Turkey of the Community's interest in the balanced development of the Association and its objectives. We must help Turkey's industries with our technical know-how. We must help her to diversify her agriculture, and we must help her to promote her exports and so on. In this connection I was pleased to read about the successful meeting at ministerial level last week. No doubt the representative of the Commission will be able to give us details. I understand that steps have been taken along the lines previously recommended by the Joint Parliamentary Committee. I hope that there will be some concessions for Turkey's agriculture. I understood that the Turks will be asking for a slowing down of the dismantling of customs tariffs in the industrial sector in order to protect Turkey's emerging industries. If my information is correct, it is intended to speed up negotiations on a new financial protocol.

I do not wish to go into detail on all these matters since the Joint Parliamentary Committee's views have been set out clearly in Mr Klepsch's excellent Report and in his intervention today. I must, however, stress the political effects on our association with Turkey. As I have said, when Greece becomes a full member of the Community Turkey will feel herself to be at a distinct disadvantage. For some time the Turkish members of the Joint Parliamentary Committee have been pressing for closer political consultation between Turkey and the Community. It is now vital that progress should be made in this direction.

I am sure that we all want Turkey to remain a friend and partner of the European Community. Like Greece, she has a treaty of association which envisages eventual full membership. We must pay attention to public opinion in Turkey and act speedily to improve relations with her. Mr Klepsch's report is a most valuable contribution to the improvement of those relations, and he himself has been a valuable ambassador of our Community in his capacity as joint rapporteur. We in this Parliament, however, can only propose: decisions are taken at ministerial level.

I conclude by urging the Council of the Association with Turkey to listen with the utmost sympathy to Turkey's pleas and to act swiftly before it is too late. If there is a will — and I am certain there is, because the last Association Council meeting has proved so — I am sure that concrete solutions to current problems and questions concerning the future development of the Association and its final objectives can be found.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mr Schuijt, Chairman of the Associations Committee.

Mr Schuijt. *(NL)* Mr President, there are two points I would like to make as chairman of the committee, because of the Parliament's decision to

Schuijt

disappear. First of all, I would like to offer my thanks and appreciation to the delegations to the two Joint Parliamentary Committees, both Greek and Turkish, for the total cooperation that was achieved, not least through the efforts of the chairmen of these committees, Mr Hansen and Mr de Clercq, both of them vice-chairmen of the Associations Committee.

And secondly, I want to praise the secretariat for the expertise and devotion which they so successfully tackled a fresh task they found themselves facing in addition to their existing workload.

(Applause)

President : — I call Mr Brunner.

Mr Brunner, *Member of the Commission*. — *(D)* Mr President, the Association Council met a week ago; it was not an easy meeting, but it ended satisfactorily.

One central problem was, naturally, the matter of the Greek application for membership and its repercussions. It was said clearly that the Community will, when the moment comes, make it plain to Turkey that Greek application for accession should have no adverse effects on the Community's relations with Turkey. Consultations on this will take place at the appropriate time.

The second problem that arose was the economic one: that of Turkey's growing trade deficit with the Community, where the difficulties involved are being worsened by the recession. We could not, of course, be satisfied with merely taking note of these difficulties. We sent a group of experts to Turkey, to investigate the reasons for the deficit. We shall soon be reporting to the Associations Committee on this, and suggesting possible solutions. This step was received very positively by the Turks.

The next point of major importance — which Mr Cousté has asked about — was that of financial aid. As you know, the Council will be putting forward proposals for a new financial protocol; these proposals take account of the latest economic developments. It will involve an offer of generous scope. Next month the Council is to discuss a whole range of financial measures to benefit the Mediterranean countries. The Turkish delegation hopes, it said, that the decision will, where it relates to Turkey, take realistic account of that country's needs.

The third problem is that of supervising agricultural exports. The Turkish government turned down the Community's offer of last December. This did not come as a surprise to the Commission, which had already itself said that it would be insufficient. The Turkish government's wishes are directed not only towards agricultural produce, which Turkey is already producing for export; they go beyond this. Community preferences already apply, (after all) to 85—90 %

of Turkish agricultural exports. So it is not just a matter of improving the conditions for these preferences but also, for Turkey, of maintaining her position relative to the other Mediterranean countries and of suffering no disadvantage through the agreements made with these countries. We have negotiated agreements with Israel, Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, and they include concessions in the agricultural sector. What matters, therefore, is that Turkey should not lose her relative advantage as the associated country she originally was, and we must bend our minds to this.

The Ankara Agreement is meant to lead to a customs union. We have always said so, and we hold to this.

It should, therefore, be made possible for Turkey to expand and diversify her farm exports to the Community. In this respect the Community is ready to make access to the Common Market easier for agricultural products that Turkey is especially interested in exporting. Now it is up to us to put these intentions into practice.

Besides this we have to see to it — and this is the fourth point at issue — that a compromise is reached with Turkey on social matters. The Community has now made an offer on the question of social security, and in our view it satisfies Article 39 of the Additional Protocol.

The Turkish delegation has said that it is not entirely satisfied with this offer, and wants to discuss it further. The Commission will soon be putting proposals to the Council in connection with freedom of movement for Turkish workers.

As you will know there is already a Commission proposal for a directive on the table on the schooling of the children of Turkish workers, one which takes account of the needs of these children and of the children of other foreign workers.

As you can see, the Commission has been able partly to dispel the objections put forward by the Turkish delegates. More work will however need to be done on these questions; now the task is to make this satisfactory outcome from the Association Council the starting point for sound, stable and even better relations between Turkey and the Community.

(Applause)

President. — Since no one else wishes to speak, we shall now consider the motion for a resolution.

I put the preamble and points 1 to 3 to the vote.

The preamble and points 1 to 3 are adopted.

On point 4 I have amendment No 1 tabled by Mr Cousté on behalf of the Group of European Progressive Democrats and worded as follows:

President

Point 4

In this point, replace the words :
'and of the equality of both communities on the island'
by the words
'whose territorial integrity is respected'.

What is the rapporteur's opinion ?

Mr Klepsch, Rapporteur. — (D) Mr President, even after the speech by Mr Cousté, I am unable to vote for his amendment. I cannot agree to any departure from the text that we have agreed with the Turks. It would give us far too many problems if at the next meeting we had to explain why we are now altering the text.

It is because of this that I have tried to put forward an interpretation that could satisfy everyone. I cannot support Mr Cousté's amendment.

President. — I call Mr Giraud.

Mr Giraud. — (F) Mr President, I should like to support what was said by the rapporteur by quoting from the text before me.

The formula proposed by Mr Cousté concerns territorial integrity. Well, territorial integrity, at least in the French meaning of the term, seems to me to be covered by the phrase : 'on the basis of a sovereign, independent Cypriot state ...'

On the other hand, Mr Cousté and Mrs Caretoni Romagnoli have just now been referring to something else. The German text, which is the authoritative one, because that is the language of the original — and I am very much in favour of relying on originals, and not on translations — speaks of equality of both communities on the island.

The French text also affirms this equality of the two communities. On the other hand, when I look at the Italian translation, I see that instead of equality, we have equality of rights. If Mr Cousté's remarks, therefore, concerned the question of the formula 'equality' or 'equality of rights', then, in view of the existence of these disparities of texts, there would be something to debate.

But I think I can safely second the rapporteur in asking that the text accepted by the EEC-Turkey Association Joint Parliamentary Committee and by the Committee of this House responsible for examining the problem, be not changed.

(Applause)

President. — I put amendment No. 1 to the vote.
The amendment is rejected.

I put point 4 to the vote.

Point 4 is adopted.

I put points 5 to 15 to the vote.

Points 5 to 15 are adopted.

I put the motion for a resolution as a whole to the vote.

The resolution is adopted.¹

Approval of the minutes

President. — Rule 17 (2) of the Rules of Procedure requires me to lay before Parliament, for its approval, the minutes of proceedings of the sitting which were written during the debates.

Are there any comments ?

The minutes of proceedings are approved.

Closure of the session

President. — I declare the 1975-76 session of the European Parliament closed.

In accordance with the provisions of the Treaty, Parliament will meet tomorrow, Tuesday, 9 March 1976, at 11 a.m.

The sitting is closed.

(The sitting was closed at 8.30 p.m.)

¹ OJ C 79 of 5 4 1976