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Report of Proceedings

from 16 to 20 June 1980

Europe House, Strasbourg

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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.

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IN THE CHAIR: MRS VEIL

President

(The sitting opened at 5 p.m.)

President. — The sitting is open.

1. Resumption of the Session

President. — I declare resumed the session of the European Parliament adjourned on 23 May 1980.

2. Membership of Parliament

President. — I regret to have to inform the House of the deaths of Mr Amendola and Mr Pürsten.

While noting these two vacancies, I would add that I intend to pay tribute to the memory of these two deceased Members in the presence of the Commission and the Council during the sitting of Wednesday.

3. First anniversary of the election of Parliament by direct universal suffrage

President. — The first anniversary of the election of Parliament by direct universal suffrage occurred on 10 June. Since, however, this Parliament will not complete its first year's work until the part-session of July, the commemoration of this event will take place during that part-session.

4. Membership of Committees

President. — I have received from the European People's Party (CD) a request for the appointment of:

— Mr Henckens to the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport, to replace Mr Verroken, and

— Mr Verroken to the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection, to replace Mr. Henckens.

I have received from the Liberal and Democratic Group a request for the appointment of Mr Berkhouwer to the Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions.

President

Are there any objections?

These appointments are ratified.

5. *Petitions*

President. — I have received seven petitions, the titles, authors and numbers of which will be found in the Minutes of Proceedings. These petitions have been referred to the Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions.

You will also find in the Minutes of Proceedings the details of various decisions concerning other petitions.

6. *Documents received*

President. — Since the adjournment of the session, I have received from the Council, from the committees, from the political groups and from individual Members, various documents which you will find listed in the Minutes of Proceedings.

7. *Texts of treaties forwarded by the Council*

President. — I have received from the Council certified true copies of a number of documents, which will be listed in the Minutes of Proceedings and deposited in the archives of the European Parliament.

8. *Authorization of reports — Reference to committee*

President. — Pursuant to Rule 38 of the Rules of Procedure, I have authorized various committees to draw up reports, the details of which, as also of other documents referred to committee, will be found in the Minutes of Proceedings.

9. *Statement concerning motions for resolutions*

President. — You will find in the Minutes of Proceedings detailed information on the decisions taken by the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs and the Legal Affairs Committee on the motions for resolutions contained in Docs. 1-802/79 and 1-521/79 respectively.

10. *Urgent procedure*

President — I have received from Mr Narducci and others a motion for a resolution, with request for urgent debate pursuant to Rule 14, on the plight of nomads in the Karamoja region (Doc. 1-213/80).

The reasons supporting this request are contained in the document itself.

With the agreement of the political group chairmen, whom I consulted this morning, I propose to forward the text of this motion to the Commission with a request for urgent action and, pursuant to Rule 25 of the Rules of Procedure, to the appropriate committee. Consequently, I have asked the authors to withdraw their request for urgent debate.

Are there any objections?

This procedure is adopted.

I have received from the Council two requests for urgent debate, pursuant to Rule 14, the first on certain measures applicable to vessels flying the flag of Sweden. Since this consultation is already covered by Mr Lyngé's report (Doc. 1-235/80), which is on the agenda for Thursday, it is not necessary to vote on the question of urgent procedure. The Council has indicated its agreement with this view.

The second request concerns certain derogations accorded to Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom with regard to swinefever. The reason for this request is that the present derogations are due to expire on 30 June 1980.

Parliament will be consulted on this request at the beginning of the next sitting.

11. *Order of business*

President — The next item is the order of business.

The draft agenda for this part-session, which has been distributed (PE 65.434/rev.), was drawn up by the enlarged Bureau at its meeting of 22 May 1980.

Since then, I have been informed of a number of new developments, which entail the following changes:

- the report drawn up by Mr Johnson, on behalf of the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection, on fruit-juices (Doc. 1-144/80), which is on the agenda for Friday, 20 June, will be dealt with by the *procedure without debate*; and
- the report by Mr Prout, on behalf of the Legal Affairs Committee, on consumer credit (Doc. 1-161/80), which is on the agenda for Thursday, 19 June, has

President

been withdrawn: its author, only recently appointed, wishes to make further modifications to it, and so it has not been possible to print the report.

Together with the chairmen of the political groups, we discussed this morning the problems raised by the debate and vote on the report by Mr Luster amending Parliament's Rules of Procedure (Doc. 1-148/80). It was found that the importance of this debate and the complexity of the vote were such that Parliament would have to devote considerable time to them. In addition, 103 amendments will have to be put to the vote.

As the agenda for this part-session is already very heavy and as it is particularly important for the debate with the Council, scheduled for Wednesday, to take place under the best possible conditions, and also in view of the specific technical problems connected with the vote on this report, I propose, with the agreement of the political group chairmen, that this item be withdrawn from the agenda for the present part-session, on the understanding that the Bureau discusses on Thursday next the most suitable procedure and dates for the debate and the vote.

I call Mr Scott-Hopkins.

Mr Scott-Hopkins. — Madam President, it is true that the group chairmen discussed the question of the Luster report at length this morning and it seemed that there were disparities between the various interpretations and translations of the original German text. One has had time, of course, to check this, and it does not seem that those disparities are very great. However, the disparities are there and I therefore think it is necessary to make clear to the House exactly why this report by Mr Luster is going to be postponed. After all, we decided on this a very long time ago — the report came out of committee in April of this year — and to find now that we cannot take it because there are problems of translation would seem to put in doubt the ability of our translators and interpreters to do their job. I am therefore sure you would like to say to the House what are the problems that have arisen and why you have told the group chairmen that the report cannot be taken tomorrow and voted on tomorrow afternoon. Many people of my group are rather anxious that it should be taken, particularly if the disparities are not as great as we first thought them to be. Of course, if there are major disparities, then I am more than prepared to accept that we shall have to put it off. But what is important, Madam President, is that we should be clearly informed by you as to when and how we are going to deal with this matter.

(Applause from certain quarters of the European Democratic Group)

President. — I call Mr Klepsch.

Mr Klepsch. — (D) Madam President, I should like first of all to express my surprise at the fact that we are talking about translation difficulties when this report is already before the House. This puts the functioning of this House's services — Mr Scott-Hopkins is quite right here — in a strange light. The last part-session already marked the deadline for the tabling of amendments. There is not one jot of difference between the report before us then and that which is before us now; but I have heard that the committee's secretariat itself thinks that in some places errors of emphasis may have crept in in other languages. That may be so. I personally am unable to verify whether it is the case or not. I do, however, agree with Mr Scott-Hopkins and am completely against deferring the item indefinitely, whatever the Bureau may decide on Thursday. All that can be stated now is that simply because technically the report is not in the form it should be for a debate in plenary sitting it is to be adjourned until July, because it is no longer possible to have everything printed and corrected for this week. Of course I have to ask why — if it is true that the committee secretariat has produced a corrected version — we are not in possession of it now. Mr Bangemann, I refrain from commenting more caustically only because the bulk of the text objected to comes from a member of your group. What I am concerned about today is that my group and I myself do not agree to the report being deferred without a date being fixed when it can be debated and voted on. I can only wonder what the consequence of this precedent that we are setting today will be for other reports; I am very concerned, for this objection will in future be frequently made and the people who are setting this precedent should consider very carefully what they have started. I am prepared, Madam President, in the light of the circumstances referred to, to agree to the matter being adjourned until July; but I am not prepared to accept an unspecified date for debating and voting on this report.

President. — I should like to give a few words of explanation. First of all, there is a second version in existence, but this is not the version to which the amendments have been tabled. It was drawn up after the amendments had been tabled, and for the moment it cannot be printed and distributed, since this would entail the risk of further difficulties.

Since the translators have been called into question, I must state that in fact it is not a question of errors of translation but of method. When the ideas contained in a report do not require an extreme degree of legal precision, the translators are capable of translating the text and all the versions have the same meaning. This is what is normally done with a report. But as soon as it is a matter of a legal text in which every single word has to be carefully weighed, what is required is the joint effort, not of translators, but of editors. The difficulties come from the fact that there was no editorial committee composed of Members of Parliament or

President

experts working together on a text in all the languages. These problems of interpretation will always occur if, instead of discussing the text in all the languages at the same time, we rely upon a translation. So much for the origin of these difficulties of interpretation: our translators are not responsible for them.

As for the date, we considered this morning the month of July. The July part-session offers an advantage in that it will probably be concerned with the budget and a larger number of Members will perhaps be present, for there is no need to remind the House that a majority of Members is required to amend the Rules of Procedure.

I call Mr Bangemann.

Mr Bangemann. — *(D)* Madam President, I can be very brief now you have given these additional explanations. I should like, however, to begin by making a somewhat general, perhaps even almost philosophical observation: the fact that we have such meetings with the chairmen makes it easier to arrive at decisions, since the chairmen then discuss with their groups the reasons which have led us to make this proposal unanimously. This procedure enables many matters which do not belong in the public meeting to be kept out of it. This does not mean that anything is being hidden, as all members of all groups are informed by their chairmen. This was a very general preliminary observation.

To this I should like to add a second observation. I believe that nearly 4 000 amendments have been tabled, and yet in this matter we really must be as clear in our minds as possible. We must also be as clear in our minds as possible when it comes to the vote, for even if we succeed in reducing these amendments to a number of essential ones which set the general direction, we shall still need very precise texts. One solution we have considered is to compile a precise synopsis of the voting order for the use of individual Members in such a way as to show the nature of the problem at issue. Because all this is necessary for us to be able to vote, we agreed to discuss the matter again on Thursday; we can then discuss again in full all those matters that are now outstanding, including the question of the further procedures to be used. I wanted to add this, Madam President, in order to avoid giving the false impression — which you have indeed already dispelled — that it was solely translation difficulties that are at issue here. In fact what is needed is to create the degree of precision which is necessary for such a text. This precision can and must be achieved, and that is the only reason why today we unanimously agreed to remove this matter from the agenda.

President. — I call Mr Rogers.

Mr Rogers. — Madam President, I am very disappointed that we are not going to take the Luster report

this part-session, mainly because I can see great difficulties in getting through the budget sittings unless we have an amended set of rules under which we can operate. One thing which strikes me as rather peculiar is that although the group chairmen supposedly had a meeting to decide this, we have two group chairmen saying that they do not want to go along with the decision that was reached. I am not quite sure what the lines of communication were in this respect.

Madam President, if you feel that there is something inherently wrong with the document that has come before us, then I think we must take your advice. However, I would do so very reluctantly, because I think we ought to get the report out of the way. I certainly accept that we have had a lot of lunatic anarchic delaying amendments, which you have quite rightly ruled out of order; we are left with 103 valid amendments which, regardless of whether or not they are properly valid in some people's minds, will have to be considered at some time and I therefore feel that we are only delaying the evil day when we have really got to get down to sorting out our Rules of Procedure.

The question whether the text and the amendments relating to the text are accurate or not is certainly a valid point. If, however, one of the reasons was the suggestion made by Mr Bangemann, then I would not go along with that at all, because by wanting to introduce composite amendments in order to get greater accuracy, he is proposing to set a very bad precedent for this Parliament. If we have 103 amendments, then we just have to work through them. If you feel that the report is so inaccurate to start with that we cannot really have amendments to it and there is a better text which we have got to take in order to put proper amendments, I would accept your advice, albeit with great reluctance. I would ask you urgently to consider taking the Luster report this part-session so that we can get it out of the way for once and for all.

(Applause from various quarters)

President. — I call Mrs Bonino.

Mrs Bonino. — *(I)* Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, I wish to speak because I feel that the accusations made against the translation service are unjust and unfounded. The truth is that these modifications — as we have seen, working in committee these six months — raise enormous difficulties with regard to terminology and particularly with regard to legal terminology.

I think, Madam President, that you are right in asking for a drafting committee to be set up consisting of experts in legal affairs. If we do not set up such a committee, I think we shall be preparing an instrument which, quite apart from its content, will prove to be technically unsuitable and unusable. The instrument

Bonino

now being presented to us is not a precise one, and we all know how important each word of the Rules of Procedure can be.

I believe that the decision which has now been taken by the committee to create a working-party for a total review of the Rules of Procedure is the only proper and practical way to proceed. If you prefer instead to have amendments introduced every now and again, a whole year will have been lost. As far as I am concerned, I have been saying for a year now that the only proper solution is to make an all-embracing, detailed and consistent revision of the Rules of Procedure.

Having said that, Madam President, I should like to have one thing clarified. You mentioned a new text drawn up by the language service on 30 May. I should like to know when it will be possible to have this new text and what the time-limit will be for tabling amendments. I realize, Madam President, that all in all the committee has done you a great disservice. I hope this 'incident' will give us all food for thought. I believe that if we do not adopt a sensible approach to the revision of the Rules of Procedure, we shall find ourselves in exactly the same position in July without having dealt with the real problems in these Rules.

President. — Mrs Bonino, the text to which the amendments were tabled is that dated 23 April. There is no new text, simply a kind of working document in the secretariat's possession which is of no more than a semi-official nature and which has been neither printed nor distributed. This document has merely enabled the translators and the rapporteurs to note opportunities for improving the wording in such a way as to avoid certain difficulties of interpretation.

I call Mr Patterson.

Mr Patterson. — Madam President, I have two questions. The first leads on from what Mr Rogers said, that if at all possible we ought to get something done during this part-session. Do the linguistic problems to which you refer relate only to the amendments to Rule 26(3) or do they apply right across the board? Because if we could at least get on with amending Rule 14 that might be some gain.

The second question refers to Rule 29(2) of our present Rules of Procedure. Is there one text — if so, I assume it to be the German text — which is legally correct? If so, the correct procedure now is for you to assume your responsibilities under Rule 29(2) and seek out a suitable linguistic remedy jointly with those concerned. If you will now do that, perhaps we can get on with the further reforms of the Rules very much faster than if we try to set up drafting committees and so forth.

President. — I think only Rule 26 poses any problems, since the difficulties of interpretation connected with Rule 14 are much less. As for the application of Rule 29, that is precisely what we are attempting to do by seeking ways of adapting the text in the various languages, but this is a very difficult matter and something more than a question of simple adaptation; moreover, since the amendments have already been tabled, it is not very easy to decide upon an editorial text. That is why the group chairmen who were present this morning all agreed to enter this debate on the agenda for July. There is therefore no question of burying these proposals, merely of being able to discuss them on the basis of a more precise text. In certain cases, you see, our present Rules of Procedure can be interpreted in more than one way, and then those who occupy the Chair find themselves in a situation where often much time is lost.

We must therefore avoid creating further difficulties of interpretation, which, in the case of Rule 26, would be considerable in view of the differences in wording from one language to another, and here the amendments that have been tabled would appear to be of no help.

It is therefore better to wait a little before adopting the final text than to run the risk of wasting much more time in interpreting an ambiguous set of rules.

I call Mr Nyborg.

Mr Nyborg. — (DK) Madam President, I should like to say I consider it extremely unfortunate that we should now find ourselves in such a situation. The Committee on the Rules of Procedure has been working very hard on these amendments for a very long time and has reached its conclusions working under very great difficulties. It is therefore a pity that technical problems should arise which require the whole thing to be postponed. I agree with you, Madam President, that the difficulties lie not so much in the translation itself as in the legal problems. However, if it is so that certain corrections will have to be made, this means that amendments were tabled to one document but the final debate and vote are to be held on a second, revised document. In my view, we must therefore be given a chance to table amendments different from those already submitted, since, naturally, one has to draw up one's amendments on the basis of the text which is to be debated. It will, as a result, be necessary to fix a new deadline, taking due account of the time and date on which the document becomes available. It will nonetheless be difficult — at least I think so — for this to be done in time for the July part-session. It will probably not be possible before September.

Let me say here that on several occasions we have patched up the Rules of Procedure at the same time as attempting to carry out a general revision. I fully agree that it is necessary to revise our Rules of Procedure,

Nyborg

but what we cannot do is impose such tight restraints on the Assembly and its Members in order to have the whole thing function as it should, under the present working conditions of this Parliament. I would therefore urge you, Madam President, and the enlarged Bureau to do your utmost to secure better working conditions for us, to obtain a single place of work, so that our business can be carried out in a more sensible way and . . .

(Applause)

. . . I feel sure that if you can assure the Assembly that you are making serious efforts in this direction, then an appeal to the political groups and individual Members to show discipline and self-discipline will also bear fruit, since there would then be something reasonable to look forward to.

President. — I call Mr Klepsch.

Mr Klepsch. — *(D)* Madam President, perhaps we could agree on a compromise solution. I understood you to say that we could discuss the part dealing with Rule 14, that there were no such complications in the case of this rule. The House was agreed on this. We could then defer discussion of Rule 26 until July, by which time the famous experts will have decided whether and to what extent the texts must be adapted. I think that would be the best solution. If this is not possible, then I formally move that consideration of the Luster report be postponed until the July part-session.

President. — I am told by the Secretary General and his assistants that even Rule 14 presents some difficulties. In these conditions, I think it would be expedient to defer consideration of this report until July and not to split it in two, particularly as it is an integral report.

I put this proposal to the vote.

This item is therefore withdrawn from the agenda, on the understanding that on Thursday next the Bureau considers the best way of ensuring its inclusion in the agenda for the July part-session.

I call Mr Scott-Hopkins.

Mr Scott-Hopkins. — Would you please give an instruction to the services that by Thursday when the Bureau meets there will be an acceptable definitive text available in all the languages?

(Applause from certain quarters of the European Democratic Group)

President. — It is far from being just a matter of translation. That point must be made quite clear.

I call Mr D'Angelosante.

Mr D'Angelosante. — *(I)* Madam President, I have not spoken before, because I did not wish to prolong the debate, but I should now like to obtain some clarification about the type of difficulty we are discussing. Are we talking about modifying the text drawn up by the Committee on the Rules of Procedure or is it simply a question of language that has been raised? Only in the first case need the matter be examined in detail.

It is my conviction, a conviction shared by others, that the text drawn up by the Committee on the Rules of Procedure — the Luster text — complicates the problems rather than solves them. In our view, this problem is not merely a 'question for experts', since we have on several occasions told Mr Luster in committee that he was building up a Prussian-style set of rules which was now completed, but it has not yet been translated.

I should therefore be grateful, Madam President, if you would kindly give me a reply to this question.

President. — In reply to Mr D'Angelosante — although the vote has already been taken and the discussion is therefore closed — there are difficulties connected with the terms employed and these are therefore matters of translation pure and simple. At the same time, there are problems of legal method which, from country to country, vary in their implications for the substance, particularly the order, of the Rules: certain references are no longer correct. All this has to be clarified before any discussion is possible.

As to the second question raised by Mr D'Angelosante, this has been raised in committee and we cannot deal with it again now. We can do so when we come to debate the substance of the matter.

I call Mrs Van den Heuvel.

Mrs Van den Heuvel. — *(NL)* Madam President, I should like to speak about your proposal that Item 113 be deleted from the agenda because the written report is not yet ready, if I have understood correctly. I am somewhat surprised at this, because this matter has been discussed by the Legal Affairs Committee on the basis of a report by the rapporteur designated at that time, Mrs Vayssade. On the basis of an amendment by Mr Prout, the majority of the committee noted that there was no legal basis for the directive in the form in which it had been drawn up by the Commission. Accordingly, the Legal Affairs Committee asked Mr Prout to submit a short report to this Parliament in order to see whether his view as to the absence of a legal basis was shared by the majority of the House.

Van den Heuvel

Well now, at the last meeting of the Legal Affairs Committee Mr Prout stated that it might not be possible for him to submit this, as we all thought, short report on this occasion. The vast majority of the committee therefore asked him whether he would be prepared to give an oral report if the written report was not ready on time, as in the discussion in committee he had put forward so many excellent arguments and thereby convinced the majority of the committee that this might be possible in plenary sitting. Mr Prout reacted positively to this suggestion, and yet we are now faced with the fact that after all discussion of this matter is to be deferred. I must say I find this a curious way of going about things; I understand that it is not your fault, but I should nonetheless like to ask you to ensure, if this subject now has to be removed from the agenda, that it can at any rate be dealt with in July, whether with a written report or not.

President. — This matter was discussed this morning. The Council representative told us that he had no objection to its being debate in July, and this was unanimously agreed upon. The report has not yet been printed and therefore could not be distributed in good time, but I undertake to ensure that this item will be entered, by way of priority, on the agenda for the July part-session.

I call Mr Prout.

Mr Prout. — I was in fact not appointed rapporteur until 28 April 1980. I indicated at the time that I would produce my report for July. I discovered to my surprise that it had been put on the agenda for June and I have used my best endeavours. The report is now completed, but it has not yet been translated.

President. — I call Mr Collins.

Mr Collins. — Madam President, now that item 77, the Luster report, has been taken off the agenda, might I remind you that I sent you and the Bureau a letter asking that Mrs Roudy's report on major industrial hazards be given greater prominence in the agenda and, furthermore, that it be dealt with promptly, since, as I understand it, this matter is to come before the Council on 30 June. It is a very, very important report and one that deserves to be given a great deal of attention here in plenary sitting. I should therefore like to suggest to you that we replace the Luster report with Mrs Roudy's report on major industrial accidents.

President. — I was just about to propose to the House that we take advantage of the withdrawal of the Luster report to enter the Roudy report on tomorrow's agenda.

I call Mr Scott-Hopkins.

Mr Scott-Hopkins. — With regard to the Roudy report, I have no objection to including it, but we have a problem over the amendments to it. It has only just become available to Members, and while I accept its importance — I have no disagreement with Mr Collins at all — we want time to put the amendments to it. Perhaps we might put it at the end of Tuesday's agenda, so that we can have the amendments in by, say, 10 a.m. tomorrow?

President. — I call Mr Sherlock.

Mr Sherlock. — Madam President, Mr Scott-Hopkins has made my point, but I would like an answer as to how fast we need to get the typewriters moving. Could we perhaps defer the time of submission until, say, 10 o'clock and have your assurance now that this will be taken as a late item, if not the last, on tomorrow's agenda?

President. — I call Mr Ripa di Meana.

Mr Ripa di Meana — (I) Madam President, I fully support Mr. Collins's proposal, partly in view of the special position of the Italian Parliament, which was to have completed its own text by 31 December 1979 but which subsequently decided to await the Community directive. This has given rise to considerable public concern in Italy since, more than two years after the Seveso catastrophe, there has still been no action taken on the question of safety and measures to eliminate certain hazards. I would add that to move the Roudy report to tomorrow would be interpreted by public opinion, which is so sensitive to this problem, as a sign that this Parliament has a sense of reality, that it knows not a single day is to be lost and that it will therefore debate these specific topics as early as possible.

President. — I call Mr Klepsch.

Mr Klepsch. — (D) Madam President, I accept the arguments, although I should like to point out that for a whole host of formal reasons we have just taken a far-reaching decision. If we put the Roudy report on tomorrow's agenda we can in my opinion — in view of the possibility of tabling amendments — deal with it only as the last item on the agenda. Also, we must ensure that amendments can be tabled, as I see it by complying with the proposal that the time-limit for the tabling of amendments be fixed at 10 a. m. tomorrow. I regard it as quite impossible for us in practice to rule out the possibility of tabling amendments by putting the report as the first item on the agenda and taking a vote on it at 3 p. m.

Klepsch

President. — My proposal is that this report be entered as the last item on tomorrow's agenda and that the time-limit for tabling amendments to it be fixed at noon tomorrow, since I have just been told by the secretariat that in that case the amendments could still be translated in time. In that way, the groups could discuss the matter and table their amendments.

Are there any objections?

That is agreed.

Finally, at the request of the Presidency of the Council, the title of Item 112, the first item on the agenda for Wednesday, 18 June, has been amended as follows:

Statements by the Council and Commission of the European Communities following the meeting of the European Council of 12 and 13 June 1980 and review of the activities of the Italian Presidency, followed by a debate.

I call Mr Glinne.

Mr Glinne. — (*F*) Madam President, I wanted to propose to you the following idea: would not the removal from the agenda of the Luster report not enable somewhat more time to be devoted to the report on women's problems?

President — That will be done automatically, Mr Glinne, since the groups will be able to distribute their speaking-time among a smaller number of items.

I call Mr Albers.

Mr Albers. — (*NL*) Madam President, if the agenda is fixed in this way I should like to make a remark about the way in which the agenda is dealt with. The experience of the last part-session has shown that not all items can be dealt with. At the last Friday sitting five items were left outstanding, and these have now been put high up on the agenda for this part-session. I am grateful for that. The difficulty is, however, that the proposals which should have been dealt with may always include — and that was the case last month — ones in connection with which reference is made to a meeting of the Council. If that kind of report is not dealt with then, it loses part of its value.

My observation is then that once the agenda is fixed, and this is stated in the Rules of Procedure, it may be changed only on a proposal from the President or by urgent procedure. In that case it is for the President to make a proposal to the Assembly so that the Assembly can argue for a given report to be dealt with. It is also stated in the Rules of Procedure that the President should, before closing the sitting, give the time and day of the following sitting and also the agenda for that sitting. This, too, was ignored in the last sitting last month.

Well, Madam President, I should like to urge most strongly that the President who will be chairing the sitting on Friday keeps to the Rules of Procedure and does not remove from the agenda and postpone certain reports which strictly speaking still have to be dealt with, with the result that they lose their value. What is involved here is the normal business which Parliament has to conduct. During a week of sittings all kinds of urgent matters are brought up, but the principle should be accepted that reports drawn up by committees and submitted to the Parliament also have a certain urgency. I therefore urge that the Rules of Procedure be respected and that, before the sitting is closed, the new agenda be presented at least to the sitting.

President. — We are bound by obligations which are sometimes contradictory: we have to consider the order of business, give priority to debates on those items for which urgent procedure has been adopted, and, finally, avoid exceeding a certain number of working hours.

In view of these three obligations, we are sometimes indeed compelled to shorten our agenda without having been able to foresee the precise moment at which we should have to stop. This applies particularly to a Friday morning, when, it must be added, the Chamber is often almost empty — hence the risk of having to satisfy calls for the establishment of a quorum.

All this makes it impossible to lay down an order of business for the following part-session which is not incoherent and sprinkled with notes indicating 'possibly'. On Thursday next, the Bureau will try to work out a draft agenda for the next part-session, but it is really a risky business. We are also aware that we occasionally give priority, as a matter of principle, to reports that could not be dealt with at the previous-session — that was why I gave the assurance that Mr Prout's report would be debated as a matter of priority in July — but it is impossible for us to indicate the precise moment they will come up for debate. Perhaps the requirement that the agenda for one day is announced at the sitting of the previous day may have to be removed from the Rules of Procedure, since it is impossible to keep to it. An order of business announced a month in advance and then completely overturned, as it inevitably must be, would provoke even more protest.

I call Mrs Hammerich.

Mrs Hammerich. — (*DK*) Madam President, just a few practical remarks on the order of business and an appeal for a different sense of priorities in future.

At this very moment the Commission is producing a whole string of meddling harmonization measures in

Hammerich

new areas of society which had previously been sovereign national affairs. At present this is mainly affecting conditions on the labour market, the working environment and new aspects of environment policy, such as spatial planning, coastlines, etc. — all of which most Danish people consider must be decided and controlled in our own country and not from here or from Brussels. Consequently, these are very controversial subjects in my country. The most important of these proposals for directives are debated in this Chamber, and these discussions can indeed be used to start up the debate at home. Very often, however, important proposals for directives are held over until a Friday, when the House is in a great hurry and has no time to examine things in depth.

In March, a disastrous outline directive on the working environment was rushed through in this way and this time we have the very far-reaching proposals on PCT and the Seveso directive. I would ask you in future to schedule important proposals for directives at times when they can be discussed more sensibly. We can then use the Friday to entertain ourselves with more airy subjects: deliberations on the world situation and proposals for a common passport, common flag, common anthem and so on.

President. — (F) This matter has already been discussed several times, and no opportunity has been found for changing the agenda.

I call Mr Bonde.

Mr Bonde. — (DK) Madam President, I should like to speak pursuant to Rule 32 (1) (a) to ask whether you can quash the rumours which I have heard today that the Council's draft budget will not be submitted in all the Community languages when it is submitted on Thursday — if it is submitted on Thursday. I wonder, Madam President, how this can be true when the Treaties clearly state that there are six Community languages which are equally valid. How can the Council have even adopted a text which is not available in, for example, Danish? If the Council has observed the Treaty, the draft budget must exist in Danish and so it must be possible for us to have it here in Danish in the Assembly. If the Council has not adopted the draft budget in Danish, there is no valid draft budget from the Council which can be debated in this Assembly. I therefore ask you to quash these malicious rumours and, if you cannot, I would protest on behalf of my group against the draft agenda which now lays down Friday as the time-limit for proposed amendments to the budget.

President. — Mr Bonde, you can put the question to the Council when it is represented here on Wednesday. I can only say that the Council does everything

possible to ensure that budgetary documents are available to Members in all the languages.

Are there any other comments?

The order of business is thus agreed¹.

12. Time-limit for tabling amendments

President. — I propose that we adopt the time-limits for tabling amendments as set out in the draft agenda, with the sole exception of the Roudy report, for which, you will remember, the time-limit has been fixed at tomorrow noon.

Are there any objections?

That is agreed¹.

13. Speaking-time

President. — With the agreement of the enlarged Bureau, I propose that we allocate speaking-time as set out in the draft agenda. With regard to items added to the agenda, I propose that speaking-time be limited to three minutes per speaker.

Are there any comments?

That is agreed¹.

14. Procedure without report

President. — You will find in the Minutes the title of the Commission proposal that has been placed on the agenda for this sitting for *consideration without report* pursuant to Rule 27 A of the Rules of Procedure.

Unless any Member asks leave to speak on this proposal or amendments are tabled to it before the opening of the sitting of Friday, 20 June 1980, I shall, at that sitting, declare this proposal to be approved.

15. Procedural motion

President. — I call Mr Tyrrell.

Mr Tyrrell. — Madam President, on 29 May I put down a question to the Conference of Foreign Ministers which was to the following effect:

¹ See Minutes.

Tyrrell

On the fortieth anniversary of the Soviet military occupation of the formerly independent and neutral states Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, will the Conference of Foreign Ministers confirm that they do not recognize the continued Soviet occupation of these states?

On 12 June, Madam President, I received a message from you that you had ruled that question inadmissible as being outside the sphere of responsibility of the conference. Now I found that decision quite extraordinary. It was not obvious on the face of the question that it was outside the sphere of responsibility. Foreign Ministers are continually discussing Eastern Europe in connection with the Helsinki Agreement and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. They also discuss occupations and invasions, for example and notably, that of Afghanistan. They discuss the suppression of human rights in the Soviet Union — for example, the case of Soviet Jews, on which there is a question on this week's order-paper.

I raise the question now because, although I am aware that under the guidelines there is a right of appeal to the enlarged Bureau, it is important that Parliament should know the basis on which you take a decision, for by your taking the decision you did, the vital date, 16 June, will now have passed before this question may be asked. So may I ask you on what basis you have excluded the occupation of the Baltic States, especially since there are many exiles from those states living in our midst, from matters on which the Foreign Ministers may be asked questions?

President. — Mr Tyrrell, I am not obliged to explain why I declared the question inadmissible. The enlarged Bureau will consider your contestation and take a decision in this matter.

16. *Action taken by the Commission on opinions and proposals of Parliament*

President. — The next item is the statement by the Commission on the action taken on the opinions and proposals of Parliament¹.

I call Mr Boyes.

Mr Boyes. — At the last part-session, Madam President, Parliament approved, with the support of all groups, a report in my name on behalf of the Social Affairs Committee, on an interim programme to combat poverty. I am aware that a week ago the Council of Ministers of Social Affairs discussed this interim programme and that it was vetoed by one government. Might I ask whether the Commission will give a report early this week on what happened at that

meeting, so that Parliament may decide what action it ought to take to get this matter reconsidered by the Council at a future meeting?

President. — I call Mr Natali.

Mr Natali, Vice-President of the Commission. — (I) I think, Madam President, that Mr Vredeling will be happy to give the honourable Member all the information he has requested.

President. — I call Mr Boyes.

Mr Boyes. — I am not asking that the report be given this very moment. I am asking the President of the Commission whether he would be prepared to ensure that the report is given early this week, because I am aware that not only the Socialist Group but Members from other groups are very anxious that this matter be reconsidered by the Council of Ministers. We shall probably table an urgent resolution to that effect, but it may be that the Commission might give us information that would prevent that and encourage us or otherwise.

President. — I call Mr Vredeling.

Mr Vredeling, Vice-President of the Commission. — (NL) Madam President, I believe that Mr Boyes is asking for further information about what happened at the meeting of the Council of Ministers for Employment and Social Affairs. Is that correct? I can inform the honourable Member that the Council, which on a proposal from us deliberated on an interim extension of the projects aimed at combating poverty, failed to reach agreement because one of the Member States did not concur. Eight Member States were in agreement, but as unanimity is required, the decision to continue the poverty programme with a number of interim projects was not taken. The Commission was called upon to prepare an interim report on the basis of reports that still have to be written. I said that I will do everything I can to try and achieve this; but I fear the worst, as the reports which have to be made in the Member States will not, I think, be in until November. Somehow we will try to come up with a report so that the Council can decide in November on a continuation of the poverty programme; I know I am supported in this by a pretty well unanimous European Parliament. For the moment, I cannot say any more about this matter.

President. — I call Mr Price.

Mr Price. — May we know from the Commission which member government raised the objection and what the grounds for its objection were?

¹ See Annex.

President. — I call Mr Natali.

Mr Natali, Vice-President of the Commission. — (I) Madam President, this matter lies beyond the present item on the agenda. It has not been the subject of resolutions in the past, nor is it possible at this time to institute a new debate on the results of a Council.

President. — I call Mr Provan.

Mr Provan. — During the last part-session we had an urgent debate on fisheries, and part of the resolution that went from Parliament to the Commission and the Council was asking them to report to the next part-session on the action taken. I was wondering whether we shall get that today or on Thursday, when Mr Gundelach is here for the agricultural debate.

President. — I call Mr Natali.

Mr Natali, Vice-President of the Commission. — (I) Madam President, in its resolution on the fishing industry, Parliament asked for the application of the safeguard clause, an increase in the withdrawal price and a revision of tariff rates. On that occasion, the Commission pointed out that no Member State had so far invoked the safeguard clause and that it considered that an increase in the withdrawal price would not be in the interests of the fishing industry but, nevertheless, the Commission had adopted a regulation increasing the reference price for frozen products.

Coming lastly to the third point, the revision of tariff rates, we repeat something that was stated then — that there are good reasons for consolidating tariffs within the GATT, which would require fresh negotiations within that body if action had to be taken in that direction. In any case, I think that these subjects will be discussed once again today by the Fisheries Council.

President. — I call Mr Michel.

Mr Michel. — (F) It is about the programme to combat poverty. I am absolutely flabbergasted to learn that the Council failed to accept this minimum programme when Parliament was virtually unanimous and, furthermore, at a time when we are running into difficulties in reviving the economy, there is a minimum to be guaranteed to a number of people who, otherwise will obviously be unable to live in dignity in our Community. I therefore think that we absolutely must bring up this matter again, as it is vital to the most elementary form of justice in our society.

President. — I call Mr Vredeling.

Mr Vredeling, Vice-President of the Commission. — (NL) Madam President, a moment ago the question was asked which Member States was against the poverty programme. You know that the meetings of the Council are confidential. I can only say that according to newspaper reports it was the German delegation.

17. Question Time

President. — The next item is Question Time (Doc. 1-230/80). We begin with questions addressed to the Commission.

At the request of its author, Question No 1, by Lord Douro, has been postponed until July.

Question No 2, by Mr Boyes (H-101/80):

Has the Commission carried out any studies into the range of effects — social, economic and industrial — that the building of a Channel Tunnel would have upon already deprived regions of the UK such as the North-East of England and South Wales; is the Commission able to provide information on these effects, and are any studies into these effects to be undertaken by the Commission in the future?

Mr Burke, Member of the Commission. — The Commission has financed a study on the construction of a fixed link across the English Channel. The purpose of this study was to help define the kinds of criteria to be used to assess Community interest in transport infrastructure projects. A copy of the study has been made available to Members of the European Parliament.

One of the questions covered by the study was the effect of a fixed link on regional development in the United Kingdom. This included consideration of the effects on certain regions, including Wales, one of the two mentioned by the honourable Member. The overall effect on the United Kingdom economy as a whole would be positive; it should, therefore, have a favourable impact on regional development, of which transport is a part.

Mr Boyes. — I am sure the Commissioner is aware that a growing number of people in the United Kingdom are doubtful about the benefits that the UK might get from the building of a Channel tunnel. These are not only people from the regions mentioned in this question but representative groups, trade unions and politicians, from all parts of Britain. Mr Burke quotes the report 'Study of the Community benefit of a fixed Channel crossing', which says that 'greater benefits

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will be bound to be concentrated on the areas nearer to it' and then adds, 'This is a fact of geography'. Now I am pretty sure that people in Scotland, Northern Ireland, the North East and Wales will not be impressed at all by such words as 'this is a fact of geography'. They want to see some positive benefits for those regions, and they are certainly not going to accept that as an excuse for building this Channel Tunnel. I think the Commission ought to be aware that the mood of the people is growing rapidly against this development.

(Protests from some quarters on the right)

Mr Marshall. — Would the Commission not agree that the building of a Channel tunnel is in the interests of Europe and of Britain? Will it refuse to listen to the fainthearts? Does it realize that the vast majority of the British people and the vast majority of the European population regard the Channel tunnel as politically, economically and socially desirable?

Mr Burke. — I note the contribution to the debate made by Mr Boyes and I agree with the second contribution made by the honourable Member from this side.

Mr Lomas. — I wonder if the Commissioner is aware that, as Mr Boyes said, there is growing opposition to the Channel tunnel project, amongst others, from the largest trade union in Britain, the Transport and General Workers' Union, not only for the reasons given by Mr Boyes but, above all, because of the safety problems involved, particularly if there is to be a single rail tunnel with something like 10 trains travelling through it in one direction at the same time. One only has to imagine what would happen if there were a fire or an explosion or some such occurrence. The dangers would be very great indeed.

Would the Commissioner not agree with me that if there is a large sum of money available — and a sum of 800 m — 1 000 m has been mentioned, although experience of estimates like this, take Concorde for example, suggests that it would probably prove to be two or three times as much — there is a score of projects in housing, education, welfare, etc. in which public money of this kind ought to be invested before the Channel tunnel?

Mr Burke. — Since anything that I say prior to any official consultation on a matter of this nature or before any decision to build a link has been made may be seen as essentially speculative, I would ask the House to understand a certain reticence on my part.

To reply to the speakers, I note that a volume of opinion states itself to be against the building of this

link. Nevertheless, the overwhelming body of opinion seems to me to be made up of those who see the economic, social and other benefits of such a link. However, I would ask the House to look carefully at the scheme for the development of transport infrastructures which has been put before the Council and in respect of which the Commission published a memorandum in November of last year. A glance at that memorandum will show that the Commission has imposed on itself a certain reticence in regard to these matters in order to allow the other Community institutions to have their rightful and indeed, I might say, final say in these matters. So my reticence is because I want to respect the major thrust of our own policy. It is not that I have personally any doubts about the matter.

Mr Harris. — Is the Commissioner aware that some of us who sit on the Committee on Regional Policy and Regional Planning completely and utterly reject the views put forward this afternoon by the two Members opposite because we believe that the implementation of this imaginative project will be good for the United Kingdom as a whole and also good for the Community? Does the Commissioner accept that it will be a triumph for the Community if, together with private enterprise, it does succeed in ending the decades of delay over this imaginative scheme?

(Applause from the European Democratic Group)

Mr Burke. — I am aware that the tunnel scheme, insofar as I can judge the results of the studies available to us, would result in a net benefit to the economies of Europe by reducing the costs of passenger and freight transport. Might I point out that it would therefore not have any effect on monies for regional transport or regional development? Secondly, might I point out that, as a profitable commercial project, such a link, and a tunnel in particular, could *prima facie* be financed on the international money market, where it would be highly unlikely to restrict monies that would otherwise go to projects in less developed regions? Finally, may I say that the balance of opinion in regard to all these projects and studies is that there would be a net benefit to the economy of the United Kingdom. I note that there is a difference of opinion, but I think this is beneficial, because it enables public opinion to be drawn to the merits, the positive and other aspects of this question. So let the debate continue.

President. — I call Mr Boyes on a point of order.

Mr Boyes. — Is it in order for a Commissioner, when invited to comment on a quotation from a report that he himself has already quoted from, to say simply 'I have noted that? Surely the purpose of Question Time is to get Commissioners to answer points that are being raised. Now I would like the Commissioner to

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comment on the 'greater benefits that would be bound to be concentrated on the areas nearer to it' and on this 'fact of geography' and to state his views on whether or not this Parliament should base its decisions on facts of geography.

Mr Burke. — I shall be very pleased to comment on the particular point made. I would say that it depends entirely on the use to be made by particular regions of such transport infrastructural development. Obviously, relatively less-developed regions will profit more from such a link than more developed regions. I think, though, that geography and distance do have a bearing on the question, and this is a matter which is fully discussed in the report itself. When I said to Mr Boyes that I had noted his comment I simply wanted to indicate that I also was aware of the point made. However, I do not accept the drift of his argument that it is conclusive evidence against the building of a fixed link.

President. — Question No 3, by Mr Fergusson (H-111/80):

Could the Commission now give a firm assurance to the Parliament that an outline action programme on arms procurement will be presented to the Council and published before the end of the mandate of the present Commission, as a first step towards the fulfilment of its promise given to Parliament in June 1978?

I call Mrs Hammerich on a point of order.

Mrs Hammerich. — (DK) Madam President, we see to our amazement that today's Question Time includes a question by Mr Fergusson on an outline action programme on arms procurement. As we have said before, this lies outside the Community's terms of reference, and I cannot understand why we have to keep on reminding people that this is the European Community and not NATO. Since the Commission would be exceeding its authority by even answering the question, I would ask you immediately to have the question on an outline programme on arms procurement removed from Question Time.

President. — Mrs Hammerich, I have not withdrawn this question since it would have been inconsistent and arbitrary to do so in view of the fact that we debated this problem in September and the old Parliament adopted a report on this subject. Mr Fergusson's question is in line with this report.

Mr Jenkins, President of the Commission. — When this matter was debated in Parliament last September, the Commission made it clear that it would not be possible to present a programme of action in this field without extensive preliminary investigations and discussions. That remains the position. The Commis-

sion has, however, been undertaking initial studies and hopes to communicate the results to Parliament in a written memorandum later this year.

Mr Fergusson. — Can the President of the Commission give any idea of when this would be? Would it be well in advance of the end of the mandate — and this is what he is saying, I think — and can he give some idea of how detailed the recommendations would be? Could he develop a little what he has said?

Mr Jenkins. — I would rather not prejudice the report before we are ready with it. As the honourable Member is well aware, this is a delicate subject, the Commission's attitude to which was extremely clearly set out by Mr Davignon in the debate in September. That remains the position of the Commission. We are working as hard as we can on this and we hope to present the report in October, but I would rather not anticipate what it will say.

Sir Peter Vanneck. — Further to your comment that further talks are to be undertaken, I should like to ask, from another angle, what consultations the Commission has had with officials of Coreper, with a view to framing a Community industrial policy for defence equipment procurement.

Mr Jenkins. — Coreper, which is the Committee of Permanent Representatives to the Community, has no defence responsibility as such at all. Coreper are the representatives of the Member States on Community matters. The Commission has, however, had consultations with the Member States, which I think is more appropriate, and has endeavoured to obtain as much information as it can from the Member States.

Mr Beazley. — What steps is the Commission taking to ensure that the interests of the smaller Member States are taken into account when framing a Community industrial policy for armaments procurement, having particular regard to the difficulty that these countries are encountering in financing the acquisition of expensive defence equipment of US design and specification?

Mr Jenkins. — I must make it clear that, as the honourable Member and the House know, the Community is not a defence community. The Community takes very carefully into account the interests of the smaller Member States. That, in a sense, is a particular rôle of the Commission; we sometimes feel the bigger Member States can look after themselves better than the smaller Member States. Our rôle here is a relatively limited one, although the impact of defence on the industry of the Community is considerable and that is something

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which we bear in mind, particularly for the future, in relation to the whole growth of the telematics industry, on which I have several times addressed this House.

President. — Question No 4, by Mr Hutton (H-125/80):

In what ways will Scotland benefit from the envisaged extra Community expenditure in the United Kingdom?

Mr Jenkins, President of the Commission. — The Commission has now forwarded to the Council and Parliament a draft regulation for supplementary expenditure measures in the United Kingdom. The proposed regulation provides for the submission by the United Kingdom to the Commission of special pluri-annual programmes covering in the first instance the regions, including, of course, those in Scotland, at present covered by the Regional Fund. It is envisaged that a broad range of public investments in economic and social infrastructure will be eligible for Community financing as well as the investments necessary for urban renewal. The Commission will decide, after consulting the Committee on Regional Policy and Regional Planning, which parts of which programmes it will assist.

Mr Hutton. — Will Scotland, as one of the major deprived areas of the United Kingdom, be a major beneficiary under this envisaged extra spending, and will bodies in Scotland, including private bodies, be allowed to apply directly to the Commission for these funds?

Mr Jenkins. — I find it very difficult to imagine that Scotland will not be a major beneficiary, as an important regional development area. But of course the projects have to be consistent with existing Community policies, especially the regional policy, and they have to be undertaken by public authorities in the form of capital expenditure in the following categories which, it is thought, may be eligible for financial participation: economic and social infrastructure, especially transport and communications; telecommunications; transmission of energy; water and sewage; industrial sites; advanced factories; public housing; infrastructure necessary for urban renewal programmes; and investment related to the exploitation of coal resources.

Mrs Ewing. — May I draw the attention of the President of the Commission to the possible reason for the bears of some Scottish Members and citizens? This is the imbalance in the Commission's structural proposals. The existing proposals envisage expenditure, at current prices, of 167 million on agricultural programmes in Western Ireland, 280 million for Italy

and 11 million for the UK, all of which, in this particular proposal, is for the Western Isles. I am lucky that it was my constituency that got the whole chunk for the UK, but is there not a terrible imbalance there, bearing in mind that in many parts of rural Scotland we have a situation very similar to that in Ireland? If there is such an imbalance on one leg of the Commission proposals, can the President of the Commission give us any assurances about this additional spending? Could I particularly urge him to ensure that there will not be too much concentration on urban matters, which I know are very important, while there remains the criterion of depopulation? Scotland is still one of the major areas in the Community suffering from a great depopulation risk.

Mr Jenkins. — I don't think it will be primarily, or substantially, an agricultural programme. Nor do I think the honourable Member will underestimate the importance of urban renewal, particularly in certain parts of Scotland. I think it is important that this should be included in the programme, but I shall certainly bear in mind what she has said and we shall certainly endeavour, with the assistance of the government concerned, to ensure a proper balance.

Mr Enright. — In view of the fact that the National Union of Railwaymen and British Rail are in favour of a Channel link, and in view also of the fact that the National Union of Railwaymen in Leeds are particularly looking forward to Community funds to enlarge the Hunslett sidings, where there is a considerable unemployment problem...

(Laughter)

... could the Commission inform us whether a substantial sum of the money which we are getting back to Great Britain will indeed be devoted to transport infrastructure in the North, as is hoped by the TUC as well?

Mr Jenkins. — I sympathize very much with the Honourable Member. I have had the experience myself in the past of having to ask a supplementary question on the next but one question rather than the one before, but it is a very acceptable and reasonable device. I am afraid I cannot tell him whether the Hunslett railway sidings will be included in the programme.

(Laughter)

What I can say is that transport infrastructure can indeed be important and that in exceptional cases where there is a special Community interest in the Commission proposals, special infrastructure proposals may be submitted for areas outside regions which benefit from the European Regional Development Fund.

Mr Collins. — Would the Commission agree that if these new budget arrangements in the Community are used simply to reduce public expenditure in the United Kingdom and in Scotland, then the Scottish economy will not be improved at all, the very laudable aims of convergence in Europe will have been frustrated and the benefit to the people of Scotland will, in fact, be nil? Would the Commission also agree, further to Mr Hutton's question, that the peripheral areas of the Community will benefit only when there is a radical review of the whole structure of the budget, including the formation of a real Regional Fund, the formation of a real social policy and a reform of the CAP, a policy that has apparently been recently supported by the SNP Member of the European Parliament?

President. — I call Mrs Ewing for a personal statement.

Mrs Ewing. — The gentleman who raised that matter knows very well that he is in error, as it has been admitted that my name was put down on a motion that I hadn't signed. This was done as an act of courtesy by the secretariat of the group, and a statement was issued immediately, half an hour after the error had come to light. Yet despite that the Labour Party Members still try to make capital out of it, as they have done in the Press — a rather despicable tactic not based on fact.

Mr Jenkins. — The points raised by the Honourable Member are points on which there has been much argument. I think he knows the position of the Commission on this. The Commission takes the view that expenditures under this regulation must make an effective contribution to the reduction of regional imbalances and more generally to the promotion of a greater degree of integration of the economic policies of the Member States. It is also proposed that the degree of financing should be as high as 70 %.

Mr Seligman. — Actually Mr Jenkins has just answered my question when he said that this aid will not be confined to the assisted development areas of the region. Is that right?

Mr Jenkins. — What I said was that in exceptional cases or where there is a special Community interest, special infrastructure programmes may be submitted for areas outside regions which benefit from the Regional Development Fund.

Mrs Clwyd. — Mr Jenkins will be aware of the particular problems facing Wales at the moment, with too rapid restructuring in the steel industry. I would like him to make a statement that Wales will be one of the priority areas as far as receiving this additional expenditure is concerned.

Mr Jenkins. — Wales will, of course, as one of the development areas, qualify for this assistance, but I can't make a special differentiation between different development areas.

President. — I call Mrs Kellett-Bowman on a point of order.

Mrs Kellett-Bowman. — Madam President, I have tried to get in on the Channel tunnel and on this question on regional affairs, and I haven't managed to catch your eye on either. May I join in this one?

President. — Mrs Kellett-Bowman, it is my right and even duty to ensure that we do not lose time over a question after it has been adequately dealt with. You are also not the only one to whom I have refused the floor.

Question No 5 (H-132/80), by Mr Colla, for whom Mr Van Minnen is deputizing:

Is the Commission aware of the fact that certain European officials systematically and profitably speculate on the dual exchange-rate in Belgium, and does it not consider that even if this remains within legal limits it is ethically unacceptable and that appropriate measures should be taken?

Mr Jenkins, President of the Commission. — The Commission is aware that the existence of different Belgian rates of exchange can offer the possibility of transferring from convertible to non-convertible accounts on advantageous terms where there is a difference between the two rates. However, it is for the Belgian financial authorities to take appropriate measures if these should be considered necessary.

Mr Van Minnen. — (NL) I feel, Mr Jenkins, that the Commission is getting out of this one too easily. I should have liked to know what measures the Commission intends to take, since Commission officials are involved in this. As bank opening hours tend to correspond to the working hours at the Commission, it must, for instance, be assumed, it seems to me, that the banking activities in question are carried out by European officials during working hours; perhaps no one has noticed that. Ultimately, though, these speculative activities by European officials fall into a somewhat different category — at any rate that is how it seems to me — from that of vital additional earnings to keep one's head above water in straitened circumstances.

I should like to ask the President of Commission whether he does not think that this kind of speculation reinforces the regrettable picture of the official who earns too much too easily and damages the reputation

Van Minnen

of the good officials — namely, all other officials who simply have to make do with their European salary.

Mr Jenkins. — No, I don't think this is a question of speculation, it is a question of rules, and the rules have been obeyed — there is no question of illegality. It is also the case that there are, I think, twelve international organizations in Belgium in the same position. If there is any difficulty which the Belgian Government wishes to raise with the Commission, one would be happy to be governed by their wishes; but it is important to have clear rules, and anything they raised would affect, as I say, NATO, SHAPE and a whole range of institutions.

IN THE CHAIR: MR DE FERRANTI

Vice-President

President. — Question No 6, by Mrs Viehoff (H-143/80):

Is the Commission aware of the fire which broke out on 15 April 1980 in the Cogema reprocessing plant at La Hague, with the accompanying risk of escaping radioactive material, and of the possible implications for the processing of radioactive material stored in various nuclear reactors in the Community?

Mr Natali, Vice-President of the Commission. — (I) According to the information available to the Commission, the incident in question caused the plant to be shut down for only a few days. This shutdown was too short to have any effect on the reprocessing of irradiated fuels in the Community's nuclear power-stations.

We must, however, point out that, under the present rules, the Member States are not obliged to notify the Commission of incidents of this sort.

It was for this reason that the group of high-level independent experts on nuclear matters set up by the Commission was also given the task of studying the modalities of a Community information system on incidents or malfunctions in nuclear plant.

Mrs Viehoff. — (NL) Perhaps the Commissioner is aware that at the bottom of one of the tanks there is a ton of radioactive mud. Members of the French trade union, the CFDT, demonstrated in Borssele for the closure of the nuclear plant because they could see no justification for storing more spent fissionable rods at La Hague when the plant is far from able to process the planned 400 tons a year. You say that countries are not obliged to report this kind of thing — and I am

pleased that a commission has been set up — but do you not think that, in the light of this serious situation, a moratorium would be the logical consequence?

Mr Natali. — (I) The Commission is fully aware of the problems which arise and, I would add, of some aggravating factors which exist. This is why, in order to give itself some basic independent technical support, the Commission appointed the group of experts I mentioned just now, which is to submit its report as soon as it can.

Mr De Goede. — (NL) The Commissioner has stated that the Member States are not in fact obliged to report this kind of incident or accident to the European Community, but does he not feel that it is time that a Community inspection and control system was set up? The effects of such an incident can quickly extend beyond the frontiers of the country in which it happened, can they not? It is in the common interest that the population is protected against the possible dangers of this kind of incident. A Community weapon to deal with this kind of situation is becoming a matter of great urgency. What specific undertakings can the Commissioner make in this respect?

Mr Natali. — (I) We agree with the remarks just made by the honourable Member. I should like to point out that the Commission's decision on the creation of a group of independent experts on nuclear safety includes this phrase in its recitals:

The Commission considers that Community action on nuclear safety, concerned with both installations and the protection of persons and the environment, must be increased.

So, as the honourable Member will see, this is the line we are pursuing.

Mr Seligman. — Is it not the case that this was a very minor incident which has been blown up by some people opposite? In fact there was a two-hour power-cut, and nothing else, I believe, happened. Even this could have been avoided if the plant at La Hague had proper stand-by arrangements as we have at Windscale. We have two electric stand-by supplies at Windscale, and I think that would have prevented even this minor incident.

Mr Natali. — (I) What I can say is that, from the reports we have received, it seems that the incident was a minor one. Nevertheless, we at the Commission do feel that the system for exchanging views and information ought to be strengthened and that we should be moving towards closer Community cooperation in this area.

Mr Adam. — Would the Commissioner agree with those of us on this side of the House that we are justified in being concerned even if it was only a small fire and that there are many of us who want to see a situation where there is no possibility at all of any risk associated with these installations?

Mr Natali. — (I) I have already said of course the Commission cannot ignore the need to examine more closely the question of safety in nuclear plant. I repeat that this is our position.

President. — Question No 7, by Mrs Ewing (H-187/80, ex O-20/80):

Wiggins Teape, a subsidiary of the multinational American Tobacco, announced at the end of April the closure of its pulp-mill at Fort William, Inverness, with the loss of some 450 jobs, pursuant to the cancellation of plans drawn up by Wiggins Teape and consolidated Bathurst to build a £ 100-million newsprint plant on the site of the pulp-mill, owing to high UK timber prices and the insufficiency of the British Government's investment grant.

How do UK timber prices compare with Community and Scandinavian prices? Has the Commission received any request from the British Government for aid under Article 4 (1) of Regulation 724/75¹, establishing the ERDF, is the Commission aware of any existing aid agreement between Wiggins Teape and the British Government (Wiggins Teape has received nearly £ 9 million in grants and loans since 1963 for its pulp-mill and paper-mill at Fort William), and has that agreement been breached by Wiggins Teape?

Mr Vredeling, Vice-President of the Commission. — (NL) The Commission has noted the decision taken by Wiggins Teape to close its paper-mill at Fort William after talks with Consolidated Bathurst on the construction of a £ 100 million newsprint plant and related activities, namely pulp production, came to nothing. The Commission recognizes that the kind of investment referred to here must be commercially viable. In view of the Community's large trade deficit in timber products and the fact that in the next few years more timber will become available in the Scottish Highlands, the Commission regrets that things have turned out this way.

With regard to the specific points made by the Honourable Member, I should like to make the following remarks. The Commission has no detailed information about timber prices in the region concerned, but I would assume that prices are much the same as in the rest of the Community and Scandinavia. Community timber prices are, we know, higher than timber prices in Canada and quite a bit higher than the prices in South America and the southern part of the United States of America.

In reply to another point, I can state that the Commission has not received any request from the UK Government for support for the project in question. Lastly, I can state that no grants or loans have been accorded to Wiggins Teape for the Fort William project, at least not by the Commission, since the grants referred to and the loans in question were made before the United Kingdom's accession to the Community.

Mrs Ewing. — Events are happening very quickly in this matter. Could the Commissioner comment on the statement in today's *Guardian* that the Commission is proposing to draw up within the next month some kind of code — call it what you like — requiring multinationals to make more detailed information available? I am asking in view of the economic tragedy for the West Highlands, which is of such monumental proportions that it is difficult to explain to this House. It is the greatest economic tragedy to have hit the West Highlands since the days long ago of Highland clearances. In modern days, it is the greatest. It is not just one industry but all the industries that are going to be affected, even possibly the transport link.

If the Commission accept that this is such an unparalleled economic disaster, could they not — in regard to these proposals they have in mind, to require multinationals to make more disclosure — step up their plans and make this the first of a series of special studies under the umbrella they are already creating themselves? It might help to unravel two mysteries about non-disclosure at Fort William, the first being that from cheap monies that the Commissioner rightly says came from the British Government, two mills were always regarded as one and are still making an overall profit at Fort William. Secondly, the Commissioner would perhaps agree that if this expected consortium had taken over — as we all hoped and as was announced in February from Canada, but it has now collapsed, very quickly — it would have not been able to take over until 1982 . . .

President. — You have been asked to put a question: you have not been asked to make a speech. The Rules are quite explicit.

Mrs Ewing. — I am sorry, it is a very clear question and a very important matter to the West Highlands and I would be very sad to think that we cannot have just a minute extra on this matter when the whole of the West Highlands are involved, Mr President. I am just at the very last point.

Only in 1982 or 1983 could the consortium have started, so why are we allowing this mill to close now? Will he make a special study with the Commission's approval?

¹ OJ No 73, 21 March 1975, p. 1.

Mr Vredeling. — (NL) There are various points in the Honourable Member's complex supplementary question. With regard to her first question, which is apparently based on reports in *'The Guardian'* regarding a code of conduct for multinationals, I must say that it might be better for her to read the programme speech by Mr Jenkins, in which he announced that the Commission hopes to settle this point. What is involved here is a binding arrangement for informing and consulting people employed by transnational corporations, which the Commission will shortly be considering in greater detail. Then there will, of course, be a proposal for a directive to the Council, and the Council must decide first before we can make use of this provision. Apart from this, the case referred to by the Honourable Member regarding the need for consulting and informing employers provides a very good example, as I said in the beginning.

With regard to the question whether the consortium in question will have finished its preparatory work by 1982-1983, I am unable to provide any further details. Of course all this depends on raw material prices and in particular the price of timber, which is extremely important here. Whether anything will be achieved in this matter by the period 1982-1983 referred to by her, I am, of course, unable to predict.

Mr Marshall. — Would the Commission confirm that the paper-mill concerned has been a consistent loss-maker and that Wiggins Teape have shown a sense of social responsibility in keeping the mill open for so long? Finally, would the Commission not agree that Question Time could be more usefully spent controlling the work of the Commission instead of making long constituency speeches which merely lose the attention of a large number of the Members of this House?

(Protests form Mrs Ewing)

Mr Vredeling. — (NL) In reply to the remark by the Honourable Member, may I say that it is not unusual for me to be asked questions in this Parliament regarding difficulties in specific regions. Indeed, I believe I have already heard the Honourable Member ask a question before concerning a minor matter relating to her region. Certainly it is an important regional problem.

With regard to the drift of the question by the Honourable Member, may I state that Wiggins Teape is a subsidiary of British American Tobacco, a company which never, at least to my knowledge, has been known to run at a huge loss. So, if a small division does make a loss, that is not a decisive argument in favour of closing down the operation forthwith.

Mrs Buchan. — Would the Commissioner not agree that the urgency in the matter comes from the fact that

this whole community depends on the mill in question — that is, that feedout cannot wait until we have long investigations — and that if, in fact, the Commission means what it says about getting the regional policy amended, this is it? Would he not accept further that the point made by Mr Marshall is typical of the divisive two-nation policy of the UK Government to make one rule for those who have and another for those of us who argue, those who have not, and will he assist those of us who wish to make that argument to open, however difficult this may be, the hearts and minds of the British Government? Does he not agree that the West of Scotland is desperately affected, and will he ignore the remarks made by Mr Marshall, which do not represent the views of the majority of people in the UK on this very pressing problem?

Mr Vredeling. — (NL) Although I sympathize with the Honourable Member's line of argument, I have to say that the decision in this matter is a British affair and therefore rests with the United Kingdom Parliament. Her question as to whether the Commission does not have a task to perform here I have to answer in the affirmative; I should, however, like to point out that in the case of sectoral difficulties the Commission has repeatedly stated that it is not only economic measures that are involved but that accompanying social measures are also necessary. We know that the Parliament will shortly have to be taking a decision regarding the steel sector, and I hope that Parliament will be consistent with what it has already decided at an earlier stage. We shall shortly be coming up with a similar proposal for the ship-building sector, and I would therefore, emphasizing the importance of this matter, support the drift of that part of the question by the Member concerned.

Mr C. Jackson. — First of all, for the record, is the Commissioner aware that in fact no grants were received by Wiggins Teape in respect of this pulp-mill but only loans which were interest-bearing and which have been largely repaid, and that the most strenuous efforts have been made over a number of years to solve the problems of this loss-making plant? Secondly, is it not the intention of the Social and Regional Funds to aid industrial restructuring of the sort that has, most unfortunately, become necessary at Fort William, and does the Commissioner not believe that such aid should be made available where necessary?

Mr Vredeling. — (NL) I can only reply in the affirmative to the last part of the question, regarding the activities of the Social Fund. If, however, we retrain the workers involved or give them further training, there must of course be work available locally to provide the people with proper jobs; training is one thing, the creation of jobs is another. The Regional Fund exists for this purpose, but the fact is that the prime

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responsibility rests with the national government concerned.

Mr Hutton. — Is the Commissioner aware that the paper-mill at Fort William mentioned in the question is not going to close, but only the pulp-mill will close? Is he further aware that the price of the wood that was to have been used in the pulp-mill is roughly double the price of wood coming from the United States and Canada, and that the opinions of 30 economists, taken over a period of 18 months, all showed the difference in the exchange-rate between the Canadian dollar and the British pound upward to a point beyond which the mill would not be viable?

Mr Vredeling. — (NL) I am of course not aware of all the facts of this case. I can, however, state that indeed it is only the pulp-mill that will be affected.

Whether timber prices in the Community are twice as high as those in Canada I am unable to confirm. I did say, however, that they are considerably higher, with the result that it is difficult to compete. I can therefore confirm this economic difficulty.

With regard to the exchange-rate fluctuations, the Commission is also aware of this. The high value of the pound sterling is an extra difficulty for the United Kingdom.

Mr Purvis. — If, in the general policy of the Regional Fund, we find ourselves with small communities like Fort William, very heavily dependent on a single industry so that when that industry closes it is in fact, as Mrs Ewing said, a major disaster for that area, could this situation not apply in many other parts of the Community? Could the Commission not make it a point of policy to try and diversify industries, developing indigenous and smaller industries in such remote areas, and would they further be prepared to consider a special plan to try and redress the problems of the Fort William area?

Mr Vredeling. — (NL) I endorse the drift of this question. The aim of the Regional Fund and the Social Fund is indeed to give priority in the granting of support to regions with a one-sided industrial structure, of which the region in question in the Scottish Highlands is one of many examples.

The Honourable Member also asked whether the Commission would propose a special plan. I should, however, like to point out, Mr President, that the initiative for this kind of plan, under both the Regional Fund and the Social Fund, rests with the local and national authorities.

President. — There are many questions still before us which are of very great importance to the questioners, and to the many thousands who are interested in the answer, it is important that we should get through as many of them as possible.

Question No 8, by Mr Schinzel (H-210/80, ex 0-3/80):

Most of the border areas in the European Community are structurally weak, with a high rate of unemployment and a lack of training facilities.

1. What does the Commission think of setting up inter-company training centres in border areas, providing young people from neighbouring countries with a uniform level of vocational training?
2. What steps have been taken by the Commission to secure recognition for professional diplomas in the Community Member States, and what results have been obtained?
3. Is the Commission willing to support the pilot scheme to establish an intercompany training centre in the border area of three countries, Belgium, the Netherlands and the Federal Republic of Germany (the Rhein-Maas region), with diplomas recognized throughout the European Communities?

Mr Vredeling, Vice-President of the Commission. — (NL) The Commission is in favour of establishing vocational training centres in border areas, provided the need for such centres is objectively demonstrated, account being taken, for instance, of existing training capacity in the region concerned, prospective demand for training places, etc.

On the second point, the Commission has been working for a number of years in close collaboration with the Advisory Committee for Vocational Training on this matter of the mutual recognition of diplomas. Considerable progress has already been made in the case of occupations in the electrical engineering sector, and a proposal is being discussed for the extension of activities to include a number of other sectors, whereupon use will be made of experience gained in the electrical engineering sector.

The Commission would be prepared to consider the establishment of a multi-disciplinary centre for vocational training in the Belgian — Dutch — German triangle usually known as the Rhine-Maas European region. In the guidelines for the Social Fund which apply to the period 1981-1983 and were laid down by the Commission recently, a new provision has been included enabling high priority to be given to vocational training projects that take place in an international centre such as the one in the region concerned.

Mr Prag. — Given the very large gap in standards of training and the amount of training available as between the member countries, does the Commissioner not believe that there is room for a much greater

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ter Community rôle, particularly in the field of apprenticeships, and does he not feel that there is a good case for generalizing the sort of aid which Mr Schinzel asked about and particularly for creating Community apprenticeships financed with Community funds and available throughout the Community?

Mr Vredeling. — (NL) My answer to this question can be very brief. With regard to the apprentice system, a Council decision already exists to the effect that greater attention should be paid within the framework of the Social Fund to day-release schemes and sandwich courses. That already has priority under the Social Fund. If the Honourable Member is asking for this system to be generalized, I will straightaway point out that we already have an admittedly modest but nevertheless smoothly-running programme for the exchange of young workers who in this framework can undergo training periods in different countries. We hope that this programme can be further extended. I know that the country from which the Honourable Member comes is playing an active part in this programme.

Sir John Stewart-Clark. — I should like to welcome the Commissioner's positive attitude to retraining, but I would ask him whether he does not agree that increased Community assistance is required from the Social Fund for retraining purposes in existing training centres in order to accelerate and assist the creation of new skills in expanding industries.

Mr Vredeling. — (NL) It is a question of money. You will know that the Commission always makes extreme proposals when it comes to increasing appropriations to the Social Fund. The Council does not always comply with the Commission's proposals, but, relatively speaking, it has generally reacted favourably to our proposals in so far as these appropriations are concerned.

Mr Beazley. — Will the Commissioner please advise the House whether the Commission provides financial assistance for institutes of technology which already award degrees recognized in two or more Member States?

Mr Vredeling. — (NL) Yes, of course, generally speaking the Commission encourages technological cooperation between the Member States, particularly where vocational training is concerned. The Commission intends to pay great attention to the matter of micro-electronics, and here the training of those concerned to familiarize them with new developments will occupy a central place. Of course the Social Fund will be involved in this.

Mrs Viehoff. — (NL) Does the Commissioner not think that the questions asked by the Honourable Members from the United Kingdom are not directly relevant to the specific question asked by Mr Schinzel? I think his question concerned a separate subject, namely the border areas, where a kind of vacuum exists for these youngsters which cannot be compared with a general programme for young people throughout the Community.

Mr Vredeling. — (NL) The Member is of course right. The questions dealt with something completely different; I was only answering the questions put to me.

President. — As its author is absent, Question No 9 will receive a written reply.*

Question No 10, by Mr Combe (H-71/80):

In view of the fact that all Community citizens travelling from one Member State to another are subject to lengthy searching and rigorous passport or ID checks at the border, and are required to complete a registration form, what, in the Commission's opinion, are the factors which stand in the way of a full relaxation of border formalities for all Community citizens, and what measures does it intend to take to make it easier for them to cross Community borders?

Mr Jenkins, President of the Commission. — The Commission is concerned to see that checks on travellers crossing the Community's internal frontiers are reduced as far as possible. It has accordingly recommended national authorities to carry out customs checks at frontiers only in exceptional circumstances. Moreover, it is already the case that only one identity check can now be made on travellers crossing at intra-Community frontiers. It is enough to present a valid identity card or a valid passport. In addition, we have proposed that the Council should issue a directive on the general right of residence which would extend freedom of movement to all Community citizens, and we continue to press for progress on the introduction of a standard European passport.

Mr Combe. — (F) Does not the President of the Commission think that Europe will be really recognized as an entity by all Europeans when, within the Community, people can finally move about as they at present do within each individual State?

Mr Jenkins. — I would like to see the greatest possible freedom of movement and I think we have made some, though as yet not sufficient, progress in that direction. There is a certain problem with people from outside the Community moving between states within

* See Annex.

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the Community. Without any checks at all it is not easy to distinguish who is a Community citizen and who is not. However, the Commission's interest is to see the greatest possible removal of barriers. I find myself that frontier checks vary somewhat. Some are very perfunctory and some, in my view, are a good deal more oppressive than they need be.

Mr Seefeld. — (*D*) From what you have said I can take it that you are of the opinion that it ought to be sufficient for citizens coming into the European Community to undergo checks only at the external frontiers of the Community so that they are then able to move about freely within the European Community. This would really be in the interests of the citizens of the Community. I must ask you who this is up to? Are there certain governments which are not prepared to go along with such arrangements, and can you name them?

Mr Jenkins. — What you suggest would be very desirable, but it must be recognized in reality that as long as there are frontiers, there is the problem of distinguishing at a frontier who is a citizen of the Community and who is not. That seems to me to pose a problem which must give rise to a minimum of checks. In some cases they are almost nonexistent, but in some cases, as I indicated, they are slightly too stringent. However, since there are frontiers, it is not easy merely, by looking at somebody, to say whether he is a citizen of the Community.

Mr Scott-Hopkins. — The logical conclusion from what the President is saying is that there must be complete uniformity in the matter of access to the Community. Therefore national laws need to be harmonized as far as access to the Community is concerned. Does he think this is possible and that progress is going to be made along these lines?

Mr Jenkins. — I think that would certainly be desirable as an aim and I would like to see it achieved. However, as the honourable Member knows very well, there is a certain difference between United Kingdom practice and the practice in Continental countries. In the past, broadly speaking, the United Kingdom — perhaps because of being an island — has had more frontier checks and less internal checks, whereas on the Continent, on the whole, there have been fewer frontier checks and more internal checks. There is a certain problem here about harmonization, and it is one that I would very much like to see surmounted.

Mr Van Minnen. — (*NL*) Here I should have liked to have been given a somewhat firmer answer by the Commissioner than the opting-out wait-and-see attitude by which Parliament and the people are being led into the woods instead of over the frontiers. To put

my question in more specific terms, does Mr Jenkins not consider that the fact that persons entering the United Kingdom have to fill in what is still referred to by the United Kingdom Government as an immigration form is completely at odds with the provisions and objectives of the Treaty?

Mr Jenkins. — No, I think that would be much too strong a statement to make, and it does not arise directly out of the question. There are very different immigration policies. I would like to see them harmonized as far as possible, but it is not the duty of the Commission to criticize the immigration policies of the Member States unless they conflict with Community policies. I would not necessarily accept what the honourable Member says, though I might have certain criticisms of my own of United Kingdom immigration policy. I can assure him that the problem is not only a United Kingdom problem, although the United Kingdom is part of the problem as a whole. There are certain problems relating to other Member States as well.

Mr Seeler. — (*D*) You will certainly be aware that today frontier checks within the Community are handled very differently. If you cross a frontier by road you will normally undergo only spot-checks, while virtually complete checks take place at the airports and on the railways. I should like to ask whether the Commission could not at least press for frontier controls at airports and on the railways also to be restricted to spot-checks; that in itself would considerably facilitate cross-frontier movement within the Community.

Mr Jenkins. — I think that is a very constructive suggestion. In my experience frontier checks on road and rail traffic vary considerably, and I would certainly like to see them harmonized and eased.

Mr Blaney. — Could I ask whether "in transit" movements by air within the Community are a matter which could be sorted out much more satisfactorily than it is now? I specifically refer to transit through the UK to and from the Continent I wonder whether you can throw any light on the present situation, wherein a most onerous examination, a most onerous filling-in of cards, takes place at airports within the UK, when one is travelling through, or is compelled to land at some airport before continuing to one's destination?

Mr Jenkins. — If the honourable Member would furnish me with details of the particular difficulty he — but not only he, because he is not speaking personally — and other people experience, I would certainly

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be willing to bring this transit problem to the notice of the United Kingdom authorities.

Mr Nyborg. — (DK) There seems to be broad agreement in favour of having perhaps more effective checks at the external frontiers and no identity checks at all at the internal European land frontiers. Is it not, however, true that Denmark's membership of the Nordic passport union is one of the reasons why this is not being carried out?

Mr Jenkins. — I am not sure that our major problem is the Nordic Union.

Mr Sieglerschmidt. — (D) Is it not correct that difficulties connected with security and the payment of duties are still given by Member States as the reasons for being unable to abolish frontier controls for travellers? To what extent does the President of the Commission regard the reservations expressed in these two areas by the Member States as valid and does he not agree that even if such doubts are valid, little, if anything at all, has been done so far to dispel them? Finally, cannot the Commission, together with the Council, draw up a kind of phased plan to remove these difficulties so that Community citizens can at least travel about freely, and in the course of doing so are only identified as such but not checked?

Mr Jenkins. — As I indicated, the Commission is very keen to see the greatest possible freedom of movement. If one were looking at criteria which had to be fulfilled before one could have complete freedom of movement, I would probably outline the following: (1) a passport union, which the Commission is endeavouring to achieve; (2) the elimination of technical barriers through the harmonization of tax legislation (the Commission is endeavouring to achieve that and is making some progress, but not as fast as it would like); and (3) the prospect of effective measures to combat terrorism and criminal traffic, perhaps through the creation of a European law enforcement area. Now I must make it clear that that is not within the Commission's competence. Therefore there are three criteria, two of which are within the Commission's competence and for which we press as hard as we can, while the other one is within the competence of Member States and does obviously pose certain problems in the circumstances which exist in the world today.

President. — Question No 11, by Mrs Clwyd (H-89/80):

Would the Commission agree that it is important for it to recruit staff of diverse opinions and backgrounds?

Would it confirm or deny a rumour that in its recruitment of officials prior to the accession of Greece to the

Community it is discriminating against those who are critical of the EEC or who hold anti-EEC views?

Mr Jenkins, President of the Commission. — The Commission's recruitment policy is based on Article 27 of the Staff Regulations, which provides that those recruited shall 'be of the highest standard of ability, efficiency and integrity'. There is no discrimination against candidates on the basis of their political affiliations or backgrounds.

Mrs Clwyd. — I am grateful for that assurance. Is this a change of policy on the part of the Commission or has this always been the Commission's policy?

Mr Jenkins. — The Commission's policy is based, as I say, upon Article 27 of the Staff Regulations, which is of longstanding.

Mr Welsh. — Could the President of the Commission confirm that the sole criterion for the recruitment of staff to the Commission is their suitability for the job in question, in terms of background and experience? Secondly, would he not find it at least a little curious if publicly expressed political views showing that the applicant wished to destroy the Community were considered to be a good qualification?

Mr Jenkins. — What is important is that one should recognize that it is possible to serve the Commission from a variety of different ideological backgrounds and it is possible to have a variety of views about how the Community should develop. But I would not myself regard it as an outstanding sign of integrity to wish to join an organization in order to wreck it.

Mr Sieglerschmidt. — (D) Although in the Staff Regulations of the European Communities loyalty to the Communities is required of officials, and hence also of applicants, is it nonetheless not a somewhat dubious procedure for the Greek Government to have — as we know — referred quite specifically to this provision of the Staff Regulations even in the Greek Parliament and to have stated that it would quite specifically select in accordance with these criteria those candidates it proposes for the higher grades in accordance with the well-known procedure for posts for officials in the European Community? Is it not a kind of discrimination for the Greek Government to some extent to decide which applicants are loyal to the Community and which are not?

Mr Jenkins. — One thing that was made quite clear in the discussions which we have had with them is that the Greek Government fully accepts that the responsibility for recruitment rests with the Commission and

Jenkins

that it is conducted in accordance with the provisions of the Staff Regulations to which I have already referred.

Mrs Baduel Glorioso. — (F) What questions, particularly with regard to their attitude towards Europe, appear on the form which candidates must complete when applying for employment with the Commission?

Of course, there will be the usual questions on the date and place of birth and so on, but, while I quite agree that there must be discipline at the Commission, are there other questions referring, for instance, to the political or religious beliefs of the applicants or to their attitude towards Europe? Are there special conditions of interest to us at the moment which the Greeks must satisfy?

Mr Jenkins. — I will check, and should I be in any way in error I will communicate with the Honourable Lady. What I believe is the case is that in the written statement of particulars the individual has to furnish his *curriculum vitae* and all the details about himself; he then has to take, as is appropriate, a rigorous written examination, because after all this is a competitive entry; and there are then interviews. The interviews are designed to test his general suitability for work in the Commission, and are not a form of ideological scrutiny. As I indicated earlier, however, if somebody said, 'My main purpose in joining this organization is to see it wound up at the earliest stage', I doubt if that would count in his favour.

(Laughter)

Mr Van Minnen. — (NL) There is, however, an increasing number of reports from Greece that the present Greek Government has announced that it will prevent Communists from becoming officials with the European Community. My question to Mr Jenkins is whether under the Staff Regulations Greek Communists too can become officials of the Community.

Mr Jenkins. — Anyone will be entitled to apply, and the criteria I have described will then be used. They will be the normal criteria which have applied in the recruitment of the nationals of the first six and then the next three Member States. I am bound to say, from my own experience, that the servants of the Community cover, as they should, a wide range of ideological commitment, but a certain loyalty to the job they are undertaking is obviously desirable in this as it is in any other field. I would suggest to you that it is quite impossible to look at the servants of the Community and believe that they fall into a narrow slot. They do not. They command almost as wide a range of opinions as those in this Parliament.

Mr Blaney. — Were the same sort of criteria applied to recruit the existing staff as will be applied to any staff now being or to be recruited from Greece? Will it be the same as has applied in the past, and shall we get a cross-section right across the board, whether they are anti-Marketees or otherwise?

Mr Jenkins. — What the Commission attaches great importance to — and it was made quite clear to the Greek Government, and the Greek Government has made it quite clear that it accepts this — is that the responsibility for the recruitment of Greek staff by the Communities rests with the Commission. The Commission will apply the same criteria which it has applied, I believe without great criticism, over the past twenty-two years and which have led to the recruitment of a great number of officials from nine countries. The same criteria will apply to the tenth.

President. — The following two questions will be taken together as their subject-matter is related:

— Question No 12, by Mr Seefeld (H-226/80, ex 0-11/80):

What conclusions does the Commission draw from the blockade of the Padborg border crossing from 9 to 12 March and of the Kufstein border crossing from 23 to 26 March 1980?

Does the Commission regard as justified the long-distance drivers' demand that the European Community should provide for greater freedom of movement for goods traffic by speeding up the completion of customs formalities?

Is the Commission in a position to ensure that customs offices observe the same, and where necessary longer, opening hours, at least at the Community's internal frontiers?

Is the Commission in a position to ensure that vehicles which come under the Community transit system or are covered by TIR arrangements are dealt with more quickly than other vehicles at all customs offices in the Community?

Does the Commission agree that the bureaucratic obstacles at Community frontiers are bringing the Community into disrepute?

Will the Commission begin negotiations with the Member States to solve the problems relating to transport and finance which together cause unnecessary complications for an important transport sector and those employed in it?

Is the Commission prepared to take immediate action in the future in similar cases?

— Question No 44, by Mr Nyborg (H-205/80):

What improvements have been made by the customs authorities concerned in order to ease formalities at customs posts on the German-Danish (Padborg) and German-Austrian (Kiefersfelden) borders, as promised by

President

Commissioner Davignon in reply to the question I put during Question Time on 14 April 1980 on slowness in dealing with customs formalities?

Mr Burke, Member of the Commission. — The honourable Member is referred to the Commission's reply to Oral Question No 82/80, by Mr Nyborg. The difficulties encountered in March at the frontier-crossing points of Padborg and Kiefersfelden underline the need for the Community to continue its efforts towards the reduction of frontier formalities to facilitate transport and trade between Member States.

The authorities in the various Member States are responsible for the opening hours of customs offices and other services at frontiers. The Commission has repeatedly expressed its support for their harmonization.

Road hauliers themselves could reduce the time spent waiting at frontiers by using the Community transit procedure. Under this, customs clearance is conducted within the country of origin, obviating the needs for checks at frontiers. The major frontier-crossing points in the Community can thus be crossed at any time. This reduces to a minimum the time spent waiting at frontiers, as the hauliers do not need to observe the normal opening hours of customs offices. However, some hauliers continue to have their goods cleared through customs at a frontier instead of within the country of origin. Frontier crossing by lorries travelling under Community transit procedure would be facilitated by the separation of these lorries from those being customs-cleared at the frontier. This has been possible at only some crossing points, mainly because of inadequate transport infrastructure. The adoption by the Council of Ministers of the Commission's proposal of 1976 concerning aid to projects of Community interest in the field of transport infrastructure, would enable Member States to seek financial support from the Community for projects to improve infrastructure at frontier-crossing points.

The Commission maintains permanent contacts with Member States on matters relating to the reduction and elimination of difficulties at frontier crossing points, and a number of committees and working parties are examining the matter. While substantial progress has been made in recent years, much still remains to be done.

Mr Seefeld. — (D) Do you then share my opinion that at present customs clearance at the internal frontiers of the Community does not generally proceed very smoothly and is sometimes even superfluous and that three criteria are of crucial importance to firms: firstly money, secondly time and thirdly energy? Do you also know that, according to the figures available, in 1978 alone costs amounting to DM 1 000 million were needlessly incurred as a result of time spent in

waiting, that vehicles have sometimes been stopped at the border for as long as 90 minutes and also that a colossal amount of energy is being wasted? If you support all this, then I call upon you to continue with your efforts!

(Applause)

Mr Burke. — In regard to the first part of the supplementary, I agree with the honourable Member, the chairman of the Committee on Transport, that this traffic is slow-moving and that money, time and energy are being expended. But as I said in the reply, I can assure him that the Commission is doing its utmost to improve the matter, and if the hauliers themselves could undertake some of the suggestions I have given to the House, then that would also be an improvement.

As regards the money spent, my understanding is that something in the nature of 7 % of the cost price is attributable to the various formalities, and our advisory committees on transport are of the opinion that, merely in the case of road freight transport between Member States, the expenditure that could be avoided when crossing frontiers in the Community could be estimated at 400-800 million European units of account a year, which bears out the general thrust of the honourable Member's supplementary question.

Mr Nyborg. — (DK) Mention has been made of waiting periods of up to 90 minutes. At the Danish-German border there are examples of people having to wait for up to 6, 7, 8, 9 or 10 hours, and so I was very pleased when I obtained at one point from Mr Davignon a written assurance that there was now an intention to extend office hours by one hour at critical periods for crossing the frontier from Denmark to Germany and *vice versa*. However, when I made enquiries on the spot, I learned that the customs authorities have no plans to extend opening hours, neither have they done so. I should therefore like to ask the Commission whether it has any new information. Why is there this discrepancy between the present situation and the announcement which Mr Davignon made? And will the Commission continue its efforts to obtain this extension of office hours?

Mr Burke. — In view of the difficulties occasioned at Padborg and at Kiefersfelden, particularly at Padborg, the following improvements have been made or are in preparation:

- (a) the opening hours of the office have been extended from midnight to 2 o'clock on the night of Sunday to Monday, and from midnight to 1 o'clock on the other nights of the week;

Burke

- (b) it has also been decided to speed up generally the various formalities of crossing the frontier; and, finally,
- (c) to allow vehicles travelling under the transit scheme to cross the frontier outside the normal opening hours of offices, it has been decided to build a special carriage-way to prevent these vehicles from being blocked by lorries which are customs-cleared at the frontier in the normal way.

Similar improvements are to be seen at Kiefersfelden. In regard to the honourable Member's general point, on the basis of information given by him to our officials, the Commission has had a further check of the situation. We have had renewed contacts with both the German and the Danish authorities, and it has been reconfirmed that the reply which we gave to the question from the honourable Member was correct. I think the information that I have given indicates the improvement in the situation.

Mr Turner. — Is the Commissioner aware of the real concern amongst ordinary people throughout the EEC about the weights of lorries, and particularly foreign lorries coming into their countries? (They naturally think these are worse than the others.) The only way to solve it is to have computerized weighbridges at all the major crossings, including the ports. Will he say whether he will support the proposal that the EEC should pay for these weighbridges? You can then pass a lorry over as fast as it can drive and it will weigh each axle separately, and will reassure the whole population that lorries are properly loaded.

Mr Burke. — I agree that it would be desirable to have these facilities. I cannot commit the Community to paying for them at this point.

Mr Moreland. — As the Commissioner will be aware, one of the bureaucratic obstacles at a border is the fact that a goods vehicle has to present a permit to cross borders within the Community. Can the Commissioner tell me whether the subject of easing the situation here for goods transport undertakings was raised at the recent conference of Transport Ministers, which I believe he attended, and is he going to propose some easing of the situation to the Transport Council later this year, when, of course, he has to look at the Community quota?

Mr Burke. — The recent meeting of Transport Ministers, to which the honourable Member refers, was not within the EEC framework and I attended only as an observer. The general question of difficulties at frontiers was raised, but to my knowledge, from the time that I participated in the conference, the specific point raised by him was not dealt with, although I am open to correction on that point.

Secondly, he raises the whole question of the Community quotas. I shall continue my best endeavours to improve and increase the number of such quotas available to the Community. Our recent experience, though, has not been encouraging in that the total number of permits available to Community hauliers here is only a tiny percentage of the total. I would ask honourable Members to use their influence with their governments to see that this is increased.

President. — Question No 13, by Mr Newton-Dunn (H-98/80):

Are the Commission satisfied that compulsory fire precaution standards in hotels are fully satisfactory in all nine Member States?

Mr Brunner, Member of the Commission. — (D) The question of the safety of hotels with regard to fire risks has been examined by a group of experts jointly with the governments. The preliminary draft of a directive has been drawn up. This preliminary draft has been discussed with hotel associations, the European Trade Union Committee of Food and Allied Workers and consumers' organizations. Consultations are now being continued. Already in the course of this preliminary work improvement of a number of national safety regulations has been made possible.

Mr Newton Dunn. — I am glad to note that the Emperor Nero, who fiddled during a famous fire, is not a Member of the Commission.

Could the Commissioner demonstrate a sense of urgency by telling us when he intends that Member States should eventually have to complete the legislation?

Mr Brunner. — (D) It is impossible to predict when that would be. The question arises here as to whether we cannot achieve considerable progress through the work on harmonization in the individual Member States. The preparatory work to date has at any rate justified this hope.

President. — The first part of Question Time is closed.*

18. *Sheepmeat* (continuation of vote)

President. — The next item is the vote on the whole of the motion for a resolution contained in the second report by Mr Provan on sheepmeat (Doc. 1-73/80).

* See Annex.

President

I call Mr Provan.

Mr Provan, rapporteur. — This report, I feel, has been overtaken by events in the Council, which has reached an agreement on the sheepmeat issue. It is therefore my view that if this report is to be voted on, it should mean something. If we approve the report, the Council will not take any notice of it, because it has already deliberated and agreed. If we reject it, the report falls. In the last part-session, Mr President, I asked for the report to be sent back to committee. I am now asking again that it be sent back to committee to become a comment on the Council's deliberations, since I have it on good authority that we as a Parliament shall not be consulted by the Council other than on the price proposals — the prices of the sheepmeat itself.

I therefore ask, Mr President, that you, in your capacity as President, consult the House tonight, before we vote on the report, as to whether the House would prefer it to go back to committee, where it can be made into a meaningful report on the Council's decision, or to mean nothing at all. I ask you therefore, Mr President, to put it to the House whether it should go back to committee or not. After all, we have the power in Parliament to make our own decisions on the rules.

President. — I should remind the House that the vote on the motion for a resolution as a whole was held over from the previous part-session, following a request to establish whether a quorum was present under Rule 33(3). A quorum was not present. We are now voting on the motion for a resolution as a whole: consequently, I cannot accept any request for a reference to committee.

I call Mr Galland.

Mr Galland. — (*F*) Mr President, I should like to make two observations. The first is in support of your interpretation of the Rules of Procedure. I would, moreover, point out that there are rules in this Parliament and that, under the chairmanship of Mr Rogers, the same kind of thing happened to Mrs Weber, who failed to get a report referred to committee, the voting stage being regarded as having started from the moment when we were at the end of the explanations and the debate, and hence at the beginning of the voting procedure.

My second observation concerns a number of our colleagues. What the rapporteur has just said is extremely important, for, Mr Provan, this report no longer seems to be of interest today because the Council has already decided; and broadly speaking, the Council has decided along the lines of your report. You did not want to proceed last month, when we

could have given an impetus to the Council. Well, today, the reverse has happened: it is the Council which is giving its instructions to Parliament. We wish to express our regret, following the last debate we had at the last part-session, that our recommendation was not followed, that Parliament has not assumed its responsibilities and that, once again, Parliament is in a passive situation when it should have been, in this major debate, the instigator of recommendations which would have inspired the Council's policy.

President. — I call Mr Blaney.

Mr Blaney. — Mr President, might I ask under what part of Rule 33 — subparagraph 3 or 4 — it was that we acted on the last occasion when no quorum was found to be present? I understood that it was under 33(4), in which event there is no provision for reference to committee. Had it been under 33(3), it could have gone back to committee. While it might well belong back with the committee, the problem is therefore how to get it there, and I do not think it can be got there in any other way than — correct me if I am wrong — voting it down here, even though it may have the effect that Mr Provan has said.

President. — It was in fact under Rule 33(3), and that is clearly recorded in the minutes.

I call Mr Clinton.

Mr Clinton. — Mr President, you and the Members of this House will be aware that the reason why Mr Provan now seems to have a problem about this item is because of the disgraceful tactics used by him and the members of his group to ensure that this Parliament did not express an opinion before the Council of Ministers had made a decision. I would very strongly oppose sending this report back once again to the Committee on Agriculture, since obstruction tactics have wasted enough of the committee's time already. I would therefore specially appeal to you to hold the vote now and decide the thing once and for all, because the Council of Ministers has made a decision without the opinion of Parliament and it was Mr Provan's group that insisted and ensured that the Council did not have the opinion of this Parliament.

(*Applause*)

President. — I call Mr Scott-Hopkins.

Mr Scott-Hopkins. — Mr President, I want to make an explanation of vote. What happened last time was that there was no quorum present and we had to take a decision on a very important issue. That was quite obviously so, and to say that the House did not

Scott-Hopkins

express itself is sheer nonsense. If ministers did not take cognisance of what happened in the debate, then they are bigger fools than I thought they were. The Commission was represented here and will certainly have passed on the information as to what the views of this House were during the very exhaustive debate we had on this issue.

The situation is quite clear now, Mr President. The report produced by Mr Provan is out of date. Under Rule 33(3), there was no quorum last time, and if a count were taken again today and there were again found not to be a quorum, then of course the report would go back to committee. I do not intend, on behalf of my group, to make such a request, because I do not think that that would be the correct way to proceed at this moment. However, I am going to ask my group to vote against this report, because I believe it is completely out of date. I regret very much that the House did not send it back to committee, because then the Committee on Agriculture could have come forward with a report which was relevant to the decisions which were taken at the Council in Brussels a week or so ago. As it is now, this House will only be able to take a stand on the financial implications of that decision in Brussels and no more than that. I accept that there is no way now of sending it back to committee. We should be creating the wrong precedent if we did so. Therefore, I hope that this House will vote this report down and instruct its President to tell the Committee on Agriculture to produce a new report on its own initiative at the earliest possible moment.

President. — We must try to limit the debate all we can.

I call Mr Rogers.

Mr Rogers. — Mr President, I cannot see why this debate is opening up at all. I speak from experience, having been in the Chair when there was a request for a quorum and a decision was made. I think the Rules have been correctly interpreted, and all you can do now is to proceed. Quite frankly, I do not know why you are allowing any interventions on points of substance. The lesson to be learned from it procedurally is that people cannot have their political penny and their political bun. If people use the Rules of this House as a device to prevent the decision of the House being put into effect, a day may come when they will have to suffer the consequences of their own actions. If the outcome is not good for the British Conservatives, so be it. There is a procedure that we have got to adhere to, and I am glad that you are not allowing any other precedent to be introduced.

President. — I think we should now proceed to the vote.

(Mixed reactions)

However, if somebody feels aggrieved, then I think they ought to speak.

I call Mrs Castle.

Mrs Castle. — Thank you, Mr President. I should certainly feel aggrieved. If you allow the leader of the European Democrats to break the rules — or perhaps not break the rules, nobody seems to know — you cannot suddenly say time has run out. I believe this ragged debate — which is not a debate: God knows what it is supposed to be — is just another example of the chaotic absurdity of the procedures of this Parliament, which reduces itself to a farce every time it meets. But as long as you have allowed somebody to speak, I insist on my right to speak as well.

I am not trying to stop the vote on this: I have nothing on my conscience, as the European Democrats have.

(Applause)

I am ready to vote; I have always been ready to vote; and I am ready to vote this report down — and not, as Mr Scott-Hopkins said, because suddenly, mysteriously, it has become an irrelevancy. I and the British Labour Group will vote this report down if we can because it is a bad report with bad recommendations imposing further burdens of agricultural expenditure, further surpluses. It is inherently bad.

I would conclude by reminding the House of this. We should not have had this report if it had not been for the European Democrats, if Mr Provan himself had not put down a motion for a resolution which has led to the absurdity with which we are now faced. So the European Democrats come out of this in the discredited way they deserve to be.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mrs Cresson.

Mrs Cresson. — *(F)* Firstly, I should like to say, on behalf of the French Socialists, that I am somewhat surprised at the extraordinary hypocrisy that has marked the beginning of this debate. Besides, there is no need for a debate. If we had not been faced with a manoeuvre about which the least that can be said is that it was illmannered on the part of the European Democratic Group, we would not be here today and we should have spared this Parliament events which border on the ridiculous.

Cresson

We, the French Socialists, will vote against the Provan report, because it is a bad report and because the amendments which we proposed — which were aimed at guaranteeing the income of sheepmeat producers in a commodity in which the Community is in deficit and which were therefore also aimed at improving the quantity and quality of this line of production — were rejected. Since their amendments were rejected, the French Socialists will vote against this report.

President. — I call Mr Maher.

Mr Maher. — I think we should go ahead and vote. I want to explain my position. On the last occasion, the House voted paragraph by paragraph and adopted every paragraph, but when it came to the end — I am very sorry to have to say this, because I want to be constructive — the Conservative Group tricked us by calling for a quorum and then refusing to vote. Thus we could not finalize our decision. I am very sorry about that, because I think it does not help this Parliament and it pains me to say so.

Frankly, Mrs Castle, I cannot understand you. You appear to attack the people at this end of the House, but in the vital matter of the vote you will go with them, as you usually do.

(Laughter)

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

The motion is rejected.

(Applause)

19. *Agenda for the next sitting*

President. — The next sitting will be held tomorrow, Tuesday, 17 June 1980, at 9 a.m. and 3 p.m., with the following agenda:

- decision on urgent procedure
- Muntingh report on European wildlife
- Mertens and Fullet reports on discharges of aldrin, dieldrin, endrin and mercury into the aquatic environment
- Albers supplementary report on social security for employed persons moving within the Community
- Dekker interim report on the position of women in the Community
- Roudy report on accident hazards of certain industrial activities

3 p.m.:

Voting-time.

The sitting is closed.

(The sitting was closed at 8.05 p.m.)

ANNEX

Commission action on opinions delivered by the European Parliament at the May part-session

1. As agreed with the Bureau, the Commission informs Members at the beginning of each part-session of the action it has taken on opinions delivered at the previous part-session.
2. At its May part-session, the European Parliament delivered 16 opinions in response to Council requests for consultation.
3. At the same part-session, Parliament debated the following 10 reports on which it gave opinions in favour or did not request formal amendments:
 - Report by Mr Seligman on the plutonium cycle research and development programme;
 - Report by Mr Buchou on a proposal for a regulation on the common organization of the wine market;
 - Report by Mr Gauthier on a proposal concerning fishing in the regulatory area defined by the NAFO Convention;
 - Report by Mr Bocklet on a proposal concerning zootechnical standards applicable to breeding animals of the porcine species;
 - Report by Mr Boyes on a proposal concerning interim anti-poverty action;
 - Report by Mr Radoux on the proposals concerning the cooperation agreement between the Community and Yugoslavia;
 - Report by Mr Woltjer on a decision concerning conclusion of an agreement with Sweden with respect to salmon-breeding in the Baltic;
 - Report by Mr Dankert on the authorization of additional provisional twelfths;
 - Report by Mr Nyborg on VAT on stores of international vessels, aircraft and trains;
 - Report by Mr Mihr on a directive concerning noise from machinery on building-sites.
4. Parliament in five cases proposed amendments to Commission proposals, and in two asked for proposals to be withdrawn.

In the following four cases, the Commission agreed to the amendments:

- Report by Mr Sutra on proposals for
 - (i) a regulation on liqueur wines,
 - (ii) a regulation on quality liqueur wines produced in given regions.

An amended proposal will be lodged early in the fourth quarter of 1980;
- Report by Mr Poncelet on a decision establishing a textile and clothing research and development programme.

An amended proposal has been drawn up and will be forwarded to the Council and Parliament in the next few days;
- Report by Mr Herman on a decision establishing a clays and ceramics research and development programme.

An amended proposal has been drawn up and will be forwarded to the Council and Parliament in the next few days;
- Report by Mr Simonnet on two proposals for regulations on use of the ECU in the Community budget.

An amended proposal has been drawn up and will be forwarded to the Council and Parliament in the next few days.

In the following cases, the Commission explained its reasons for wishing to leave the proposals as they stood:

- Report by Mrs Maij-Weggen on a directive concerning colouring-matter approved for use in foodstuffs intended for human consumption;
- Report by Mr Combe on a regulation concerning intra-Community trade in poultry-meat;
- A resolution by Mr Gillot *et al.* on the directive concerning product liability.

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*Questions which could not be answered during
Question Time, with written answers*

Question No 9, by Mr Berkhower (H-49/80)

Subject: Pollution of the Rhine and objections to the establishment of a salt industry in Alsace.

Has the Commission received any recent information or reports from France to the effect that the establishment of a salt industry in Alsace, which would put an end to the need to discharge salt waste from the potash-mines into the Rhine, is being opposed by a cartel of salt-producing undertakings established in France and elsewhere?

Answer

While not being a signatory to the Convention on the Protection of the Rhine against Chemical Pollution, the Community is following with great interest the progress of the work being done on chlorides by the International Commission for the Protection of the Rhine against Pollution.

Within this framework, the Commission of the European Communities has been informed of projects for

- (a) the construction of a salt-works at Mulhouse, with a capacity of one million tonnes of chloride, and
- (b) the establishment of a consortium for the sale of salt intended for industrial, domestic and de-icing purposes.

According to the report submitted by Mr F. Jenny to the French National Assembly, agreements on prices and the sharing of markets would appear to exist among the various European producers.

The Commission's services are following developments on the European salt market in order to take steps if these should be necessary.

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Question No 14, by Mr Remilly (H-116/80)

Subject: Analysis of trends in world hunger

Does the Commission have statistical indicators for swift analysis of trends in world hunger which allow it to consider rapid intervention either through information or action?

Answer

The Commission has several sources of up-to-date information on developments in the world situation which enable it to act rapidly in an emergency.

In the first place, the Commission is a full participant in the FAO's Global Information and Early Warning System on Food and Agriculture, which was set up following a World Food Conference resolution. Participating countries provide data on the current situation and prospects for production, consumption, imports and exports, prices and stocks. This information is published in the form of monthly bulletins which enable participating countries to monitor developments in the food situation in the developing countries and react in good time to any prospect of a shortage.

In addition to this early warning system, the Commission is quickly put in possession of vital information on potential famine or malnutrition by other sources such as the specialized international agencies, non-governmental organizations and its own Delegates in the developing countries.

This information is immediately passed on to the Member States *via* emergency aid coordination procedures, which enable the Commission to come to a rapid decision on the action to be taken.

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Question No 15, by Mr De Goede (H-118/80)

Subject: Government of Surinam

Is it true that the new government of Surinam intends to suspend a number of the constitutional powers of the Surinamese parliament, and if so, what conclusions does the Commission intend to draw as a result?

Answer

The Parliament of Surinam has passed a law (25 votes for; none against, 14 abstentions) authorizing the Government to suspend or change by resolution existing laws in a number of fields without further reference to Parliament. This mandate to the Government covers the civil service, foreign exchange, agriculture, public property, investment and labour law. Parliament will be informed before resolutions on those subjects are published. Rights, as described in Chapter I of the Constitution, will not be affected and the Government will have no power to change these. The new authorization law came into effect on 20 May 1980 and will continue until a new Parliament is elected.

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Question No 16, by Mr Kavanagh (H-128/80)

Subject: Community aid for study on drainage of the Shannon

What Community aid is available, either within the framework of the EAGGF, or otherwise, for carrying out a study on the drainage of the Shannon, in view of the considerable expense and lengthy period of time involved in drawing up such a study, and of its potential towards the development of the Irish economy?

Answer

In the context of the Community's regional policy, the Commission is examining a proposal from the Irish authorities, under Article 12 of the Regulation on the European Regional Development Fund, for aid for the study referred to by the honourable Member.

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Question No 17, by Mr Seal (H-141/80)

Subject: Textile agreements with Turkey

What is the Commission's attitude to the present textile quota agreements with Turkey and will the Commission deny recent reports that it is considering giving preferential treatment to Turkish textiles as part of a package aimed at preventing a Turkish application for membership of the Community?

Answer

At present there are neither formal nor informal trade agreements with Turkey on textiles.

The Commission hopes that it will prove possible, as a result of the attempts now being made to infuse new life into the EEC-Turkey Association, to solve the problems of trade in textiles in a way which takes account both of Turkey's associate status and of the difficulties in the textile industries of the Community.

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Question No 18, by Mr Provan (H-149/80)

Subject: Levy on manioc imports

With the likelihood in the near future of a net surplus in the Community cereal market, will the Commission consider introducing a levy on manioc imports, thus saving the European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund from paying heavily for any imbalance that might arise in the market?

Answer

It is not possible at this stage to say with certainty whether Community cereals production this year will exceed demand.

In any event, until such time as the present tariff concession on manioc is modified, the Community is not free to charge a higher customs duty than the 6 % consolidated in the GATT. The Council has authorized the Commission to hold exploratory talks with interested parties on this subject, however, and these discussions continue.

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Question No 19, by Mr Lalor (H-153/80)

Subject: Reduction of pollution caused by oil spills

Will the Commission state what progress is being made with regard to the control and reduction of pollution caused by oil spills at sea, particularly since, at a Council meeting last December, the Commission declared its intention of transmitting such proposals to the Council as soon as possible?

Answer

The Commission is happy to inform the honourable Member that it will very shortly submit a proposal for a Council decision setting up an information system for the prevention of oil pollution at sea. The system comprises:

- (a) permanently available facilities for combating oil pollution at sea (men, equipment and products);
- (b) a set of emergency plans drawn up at regional and national level;
- (c) a list of the properties of various types of oil and the products which may be used to neutralize them; and
- (d) a Community register of the specifications of oil-tankers and any offences they may have committed.

This information system will be run by the Commission and may be extended to non-Community countries.

The Commission also proposes to set up an advisory committee on the control and reduction of pollution caused by oil-spills at sea. This committee, made up of government experts on this subject, will have the job of advising the Commission on all problems connected with the enforcement of Community measures for controlling oil pollution at sea. It will also make it possible to exchange views and experience between the Member States and the Commission in this field.

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Question No 20, by Mr Ansart (H-155/80)

Subject: Restructuring of special steels

In the current restructuring of the European iron-and-steel industry there are particularly serious threats to the production of French special steels. In France there has already been mention of several thousand jobs being lost in this sector.

Can the Commission confirm this new blow to a category of production which is as essential to the French economy as to those of the other Member States, and is it aware that the redundancies and the planned dismantling of production capacity will exacerbate the effects of the crisis in the iron-and-steel industry?

Answer

Although the high-quality and special steels industry has, since the beginning of the crisis, been in a more favourable situation than ordinary steel production, nevertheless it also suffers from excess capacity and from the fact that some of its equipment is obsolescent. Moreover, improved production techniques in the heavy steel industry encourage the manufacture by this branch of the steel industry of products at the bottom of the range of fine steels.

A restructuring of high-quality steel production is to be noted in various countries of the Community in that production is being concentrated in the most efficient plants and production techniques modernized. The Commission is following closely these developments, which may be expected, not to threaten the high-quality and special steels industry as a whole, but rather to make it more profitable by concentrating production in the most efficient plants.

So far, the Commission has received no official information from firms concerning restructuring projects or their effects on employment and production capacity.

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Question No 21, by Mr Albers (H-157/80)

Subject: Steel workers at Hoogovens Ijmuiden

Has the SEDOC system been used to meet the demand for steel workers at Hoogovens Ijmuiden in view of the number of unemployed steel workers in certain regions within the European Community?

Answer

That is indeed the case. I may add that, in response to the demand by Hoogovens Ijmuiden for production workers, the United Kingdom has submitted 679 applications. Of these, 282 were selected for interviews. So far, 48 workers have actually been taken on; 75 have been accepted and are waiting to be informed of the date when they are to start work; 45 have been accepted subject to the results of a medical inspection organized by the firm. The vacancies for employment at Hoogovens were communicated to the employment agencies of all Member States. The only response so far within the Community has been from British workers.

All offers were for skilled and unskilled production workers.

SEDOC is a European system for communicating offers of, and applications for, employment that are registered at employment agencies in the Member States for communication throughout the Community. It is an auxiliary aid to the international employment service that has already been functioning for some years.

For the Community, the operation of SEDOC is by no means a costly affair. In the Commission, 1 A and 2 B officials are occupied with the system, while in the Member States it imposes very few additional demands upon the services already in existence to deal with international employment problems.

During the year 1980, the SEDOC system has to be extended, both geographically and with regard to the trades and occupations covered, so that it can be fully operational by the end of the year.

The Commission has noted the increased interest that has recently been shown in the existence and functioning of the SEDOC system.

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Question No 22, by Mr Tyrrell (H-158/80)

Subject: Butter exports

Did the Commission, in relation to the butter for which tenders for export to Russia were considered on 29 April, propose a minimum selling-price lower than the tenders received, and if so, how was the price calculated?

Question No 23, by Mr Hord (H-159/80)

Subject: Minimum selling-prices for butter

On what basis did the Commission propose the minimum selling-prices for butter on tenders on 17 and 30 April and, in so far as these differed, what accounted for the difference?

Common answer

In reply to the above questions on offers made under the tendering procedure of Regulation 400/80 for exports of butter to Russia, offers were received for a total quantity of 20 900 tonnes at prices just above 110 ECU/100 kg, on 29 April. The Commission, after obtaining the advice of the Management Committee, decided to fix the minimum selling-price of this intervention butter at 110 ECU/100 kg, thus accepting the offers. This butter was at least a year old, and after taking account of quality deterioration and the costs or further storage of this butter, it was found that it was advantageous to proceed with the sale. The tender on 17 April was cancelled because offers were too low.

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Question No 24: Postponed

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Question No 25, by Mr Curry (H-163/80)

Subject: Seeds

Gardeners and other users of seeds are particularly concerned that, with the ending of transitional measures relating to the Common Seeds Catalogue in June this year, certain horticultural seed varieties, particularly those of local importance, will no longer be commercially available.

Will the Commission therefore explain why this prohibition must come into force from 1 July this year, or alternatively indicate its willingness to propose an extension of the transition, accompanied by an examination of how such varieties may continue to be commercially available in the future?

Answer

In paragraph 2 of Article 9 of Council directive 70/458/CEE on the commercialization of vegetable seeds, the Council accorded a delay of 8 years during which time certain old varieties of vegetable were no longer to be admitted unless they conformed to Community regulations in regard to distinctiveness (in one or more characteristics, from other varieties), stability, and uniformity. All Member States have taken the necessary measures to enforce this directive. However, for a limited number (around ten) of the varieties concerned, this delay is insufficient to terminate the investigation necessary to determine their status. The Commission therefore intends to propose to the Council a prolongation of the deadline beyond 30 June 1980 for these varieties.

Question No 26, by Mr Ansquer (H-171/80)

Subject: Forestry policy

Does the Commission intend putting forward proposals for the creation of a genuine Community forestry policy? Is it able to estimate the positive impact of such a policy on many sectors of the economy?

Answer

The proposal for a resolution concerning the objectives and principles of forestry policy was submitted to the Council on 6 December 1978. Having been approved by the European Parliament (11 May 1979), by the Economic and Social Committee (22 May 1979) and by the Central Committee of Forest Owners (2 million members), the proposal is now being discussed by working-groups of the Council.

In view of the enormous deficit which marks timber production in the Community, it is difficult to understand how Member States should not succeed in drawing up common fundamental principles on forestry at the European level.

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Question No 27, by Mr Buchou (H-173/80)

Subject: Working of the group set up to monitor developments on the cereals market

Can the Commission supply information on the working of the international monitoring group which is following the situation on the world cereals market in the wake of the embargo placed by the United States on exports to the USSR?

Answer

The monitoring group (Argentina, Australia, Canada, EEC, USA) meets monthly and examines the trade situation on the basis of a mutual exchange of information. The information obtained in this way gives a good picture of trade developments. For example, from 11 January 1980 on no more licences were issued with a refund valid for exports to the USSR by the EEC.

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Question No 28, by Mr Deleau (H-175/80)

Subject: Combating pollution in the Mediterranean

Is the Commission aware of any change in the high level of pollution in the Mediterranean and does it intend to propose further measures to combat pollution due to maritime shipping and also the specific problem of coastal pollution?

Answer

At present, the Commission has no data at its disposal on changes in the level of pollution in the Mediterranean. It considers, however, that this pollution should be diminishing as a result of measures taken by Italy and France.

As to intensifying the combat against pollution, the Commission wishes to inform the honourable Member that a protocol on the protection of the Mediterranean against pollution of terrestrial origin has recently been signed in Athens. This protocol, which was the result of negotiations lasting three years, was signed on 17 May last by 11 coastal states of the Mediterranean and by the European Economic Community. The signatory states were: Cyprus, the EEC, France, Greece, Italy, the Lebanon, Libya, Malta, Morocco, Monaco, Spain and Tunisia.

This protocol is the third and most important of the legal documents that have been signed under the Barcelona Convention on the Protection of the Mediterranean against Pollution, of February 1976. The previous two protocols concerned the prevention of pollution from waste discharged into the sea by ships and aircraft and from oil-spills. The Community took part in the negotiations and ratified the first protocol, together with the Convention itself, in July 1977.

The protocol signed in Athens applies to pollutant discharges from terrestrial sources situated on the territory of coastal states. These undertake to eliminate pollution from certain particularly dangerous substances listed in an Annex I, also known as the 'black list', containing heavy toxic metals such as mercury, cadmium and organic compounds of chlorine, phosphorus and tin mainly used for various pesticides. The signatory states undertake gradually to reduce pollution by other, less toxic, products listed in an Annex II, also called the 'grey list'.

The Community has had its own legislation on the subject since 1976: this is Directive 76/464/EEC, on pollution caused by certain dangerous substances discharged into the aquatic environment of the Community, which lays down measures analogous to those of the protocol.

Finally, the Athens protocol lays down that the contracting parties should cooperate in the scientific and technological sectors, draw up and put into operation programmes of training and aid to the developing countries, and set up a system of constant surveillance against pollution.

The adoption and signing of the 'terrestrial' protocol bears witness to the desire of the coastal states to cooperate in improving the quality of the waters of the Mediterranean and reducing pollution.

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Question No 29, by Mr Israel (H-176/80)

Subject: Ratification of the Lomé Convention.

Can the Commission say what stage ratification of the Lomé Convention has reached in each of the Member States? Will it be possible for the agreement to come into force on the intended date?

Answer

Three Member States — Denmark, Ireland and Luxembourg — have already deposited their instruments of ratification. Ratification procedures are under way in the other Member States. The procedures for ratification have started in the national parliaments of the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy and the United Kingdom, and the bills for ratification have been drawn up in Belgium and the Netherlands.

According to Article 183 of the Lomé II Convention, it shall enter into force on the first day of the second month following the date of deposit of the instruments of ratification of the Member States and of a least two-thirds of the ACP States.

Although no specific date is mentioned for the Convention to come into force, it is obviously highly desirable that this should happen as soon as possible, and I take this opportunity to request the

Members of this Parliament to bring their influence to bear on their respective national parliaments and governments in order to step up the procedures in the various Member States so that the Convention can be ratified before the autumn.

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Question No 30, by Mrs Chouraqui (H-177/80)

Subject: Consultations on the reduction of annual working time

Can the Commission say what has been achieved in the consultations being held at present with the two sides of industry on the reduction of annual working time? Has progress been made, and how will it be given effect at the institutional level?

Answer

Since the Council adopted the resolution on the adjustment of working-hours, the Commission has been following up two parallel lines of development in this important matter.

In the first place, Commission communications on temporary employment, part-time employment, flexible retirement schemes and regular overtime are being prepared in close cooperation with the two sides of industry. The first three of these subjects are, on the basis of these communications, due to come up for discussion in the autumn in the Standing Committee on Employment, but the procedure with regard to the subject of regular overtime has still to be discussed with the two sides of industry and possibly with the Council.

The second line of action pursued by the Commission is the more difficult one. This concerns the holding of consultations on the reduction of annual working-time. I made suggestions on this problem in a letter dated 4 March 1980 to the European employers' and employees' organizations, and on 13 May I presided over a conference on this subject. No progress, however, could be made on the central question whether these organizations at the European level can negotiate with the object of reaching agreement or drawing certain conclusions on the subject of the redistribution of work. These conclusions would provide the basis for subsequent national and/or sectoral negotiations.

In Venice last week, on 11 June, the Italian President-in-Office of the Council of Labour and Social Affairs Ministers, Mr Foschi, the chairmen of UNICE and the ETUC and myself were in constant consultation on this difficult subject prior to the meeting that these organizations were to have with the President-in-Office of the European Council. The Commission is continuing its efforts to reach a consensus at Community level, above all among the European employers' and employees' organizations on the most important economic and social problems confronting the Community.

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Question No 31, by Mrs Desmond (H-180/80)

Subject: Free legal aid

Will the Commission examine the systems of free legal aid existing in each of the Member States of the Community, with a view towards ensuring that all citizens of the Community have equal access to the law, which is only possible under a comprehensive, legally-based system of free legal aid?

Answer

Each Member State has a system of free legal aid which is available to nationals and to a large extent to non-nationals and is adapted to each of their different legal traditions.

The Council of Europe is keeping this topic under review and adopted a resolution in 1978 setting out minimum standards on legal aid. It has also carried out a comparative study on the legal aid systems of the Council of Europe Member States.

For its part, the Commission sees no need at present to make any proposals on the harmonization of free legal aid systems within the nine Member States.

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Question No 32, by Mrs Lizin (H-181/80)

Subject: Third round of talks on the Euratom-US agreements

What was the outcome of this meeting held on 17 and 18 April 1980 in Washington, especially as regards the Americans' negative assessment of the results achieved by the INFCE and their impact on the non-proliferation policy?

Answer

The third round of talks between the Commission and representatives of the US Government continued the analysis of the effects of the American Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act on cooperation agreements with the Community. Subjects connected with INFCE were mentioned for the first time. Each side presented its point of view in such detail that it was finally agreed to regard the discussion stage as completed and to consider what should next be done.

As regards the results achieved by the INFCE, the American Government has not yet adopted any official attitude. The views expressed so far on the American side are of a personal and preliminary nature; moreover, they are by no means confined to negative assessments but also include favourable reactions to the results of the INFCE.

On the impact of these results on the non-proliferation policy, the Commission will shortly state its position in a report on the INFCE which will be submitted to Parliament.

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Question No 33, by Mr Adam (H-182/80)

Subject: Combined heat and power schemes (CHP)

Electricity generating stations rarely operate at efficiencies greater than 35 %, most of the remaining heat being expelled to the environment. Combined heat and power schemes accept lower returns in the form of electricity, but circulate the waste hot water for use in space-heating, roughly doubling the overall efficiency of fuel use.

By what means does the Community at present support such desirable energy-saving schemes, and does the Commission intend to propose financial measures to encourage the use of CHP?

Answer

The Commission regards combined heat-and-power schemes as having great energy-saving potential. In the Community, some 6 million tonnes of oil are at present being saved by means of combined heat-and-power schemes, and this saving could be increased to 150 million tonnes over the next 20 or 30 years if determined efforts were made to promote combined heat-and-power schemes. The Commission is therefore actively encouraging the development of combined heat-and-power schemes by a series of measures:

1. As part of its energy research programmes, it has concluded with industry research contracts for technological innovations in this field.
2. In 1979, twelve CHP projects received support totalling 8 million EUA, which represents 40 % of the resources allocated to energy-saving projects, as demonstration projects for energy-saving. It is planned to support further projects in 1980.
3. CHP projects also receive support in the form of loans from the European Investment Bank, the ECSC, EURATOM and the Ortolí facility.

4. In connection with the new Community initiative in the field of energy policy, the Commission intends to accord especial priority to financial support for CHP.

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Question No 34, by Mr Calvez (H-185/80)

Subject: Community coal policy

In a recent report, the Commission gave a detailed analysis of the present situation and outlook for the coal industry in the Community.

Does the Commission not consider it a matter of urgency to propose an overall plan of action for both Community production and imports, in order to increase coal consumption, and does it not consider that the time has come to make substantial investments in compliance with Articles 54, 55, 56 and 57 of the ECSC Treaty?

Answer

The document to which the honourable Member refers amounts to an estimate of the future rôle of coal in our energy supplies. The Commission is, of course, not in a position to say what will actually happen in the next 20 years, but one thing can be said with confidence: coal consumption must and will increase, because we must get away from the use of oil. For many consumers of energy, that will mean a reorientation.

The Commission shares the honourable Member's view that this reorientation must be launched and, as far as possible, accelerated. To this end, however, action is needed not only with regard to coal.

With its so-called 'energy initiative' the Commission has therefore submitted to the Council a package of measures which cover the entire field of energy, including coal. These proposals have not yet been discussed in detail by the Council.

So far as coal is concerned, the Commission's investment proposals concern projects for coal production within the Community, the installation of coal-fired plant in electric power-stations and in industry in general, the provision of infrastructures (which are often lacking), the transformation of coal into liquid or gaseous fuels and also measures to assure coal supplies from third countries.

At the moment, the Commission's services are engaged in bilateral talks with the Member State governments on the suitability and character of Community measures.

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Question No 35, by Mr Spinelli (H-186/80)

Subject: Non-fulfilment of customs obligations

As Italy has still failed to meet its customs obligations, in spite of judgment No 159/78 of the Court of Justice of 25 October 1979, which stated that Article 48(a) and the interpretation generally given by the Italian authorities of Articles 40 and 56 (Testo Unico delle disposizioni legislative in materia doganale — Consolidated Text of statutory provisions on matters relating to customs — adopted by Decree No 43 of the President of the Republic on 25 January 1973) were contrary to the provisions of the Treaty of Rome and seriously detrimental to the process of economic integration in the Community, can the Commission say what measures and forms of control it intends to adopt to ensure that Italy meets its obligations arising from the judgment of the Court of Justice and what it intends to do to ensure that such Community measures of control are more effective in the future?

Answer

1. In its judgment of 25 October 1979, the Court accepted the Commission's claim regarding the violation of Article 52/EEC, but rejected the part relating to Articles 30 and 34/EEC.

In fact, the Court followed the interpretation submitted during the case by the Italian Government, which maintained that, according to the second subparagraph of Article 56 of the 'Testo Unico', the person who presents the goods or, being in possession of them, submits the declaration is treated as the owner and that consequently the owner may charge a person other than a customs agent with submitting the customs declaration.

2. In order to establish whether the interpretation given by the Italian authorities is followed by an application conforming to this interpretation, the Commission's services have informed the plaintiffs of the substance of the Court's judgment. If the case should arise, it is for the professional circles concerned to inform the Commission of the difficulties they encounter.

3. So far, the Commission has received no formal complaints in this connection. Nevertheless, one association has recently supplied information according to which it would appear that the interpretation given by the Italian authorities is not followed by all customs offices.

4. The Commission's services have requested the Italian authorities to convey any observations they have to make on this subject.

5. The Commission will closely follow subsequent developments in this matter and, if necessary, will not fail to take all steps that are required to ensure that Community law is respected.

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Question No 36, by Mr Price (H-188/80)

Subject: European Regional Development Fund

In view of the importance of the citizens of Europe knowing when a project in their locality receives aid from the European Regional Development Fund, will the Commission state in what ways they publicize or require the recipient of a grant to publicize the assistance being given; whether they consider that these provisions are adequate and, if not, what changes they would recommend; and whether they will settle a form of words, such as 'This project is partly financed by the European Regional Development Fund' to be displayed on a notice-board of a certain minimum size and painted in certain colours as a standard recognizable sign to be erected at the site of such projects?

Answer

1. The Commission attaches very great importance to information on ERDF activities, especially because ERDF aids are particularly suitable for drawing public attention to Community activities. Article 10 of the Fund Regulation also refers specifically to suitable publicity for Fund activities.

2. The Commission has therefore promoted four types of information on Fund activities:

- Publication in the Official Journal of the European Communities;
- Press hand-outs including lists of projects financed and regional statistics of aid accorded are issued after each decision to grant aid; these hand-outs are distributed through the Community information offices in Member States;
- Publicity hoardings. These hoardings having regard to important infrastructure projects should be erected by investors on the spot to show that the project in question is partly financed from the Fund;
- Direct information supplied to investors. Investors in receipt of a grant from the Fund are informed accordingly by letter from the Commission.

3. The Commission considers that the efficiency of these measures is governed above all by the degree in which they are implemented by Member States and the Commission believes that in this respect there is still room for improvement.

4. To improve the impact of publicity measures on the spot where projects are located, the Commission is seeking to ensure proper presentation of hoardings with regard to content and installation where provision is made for them.

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Question No 37, by Mrs Dienesch (H-190/80)

Subject: Transit of Greek goods through Yugoslavia

As Greece is not adjacent to any of the Member States of the EEC and as the agreement between the EEC and Yugoslavia does not make provision for a 'free transit procedure' for Greek goods through Yugoslavia, what proposals does the Commission intend making to ensure that there is a genuine customs union between Greece and the Nine and what stage has been reached in negotiations on the point of entry of Greek products into the Community: Italy or the Federal Republic of Germany?

Answer

With regard to the proper functioning of the customs union, the Commission is aware of the importance of simplifying customs formalities in respect of goods travelling between Greece and the other Member States *via* the territory of Yugoslavia. It has already approached the Yugoslav authorities to this end.

The Commission considers that the conclusion by the EEC and Yugoslavia of an agreement on Community transit traffic comparable to those concluded in 1972 with the Swiss Confederation and the Republic of Austria would provide an adequate solution to this problem.

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Question No 38, by Mrs Gaiotti de Biase (H-191/80)

Subject: Consequences of recent Yugoslav monetary restrictions for Italian road-haulage companies

Is the Commission aware that a recent legislative measure of the Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia has had the effect of blocking payment of transport invoices to Italian road-haulage companies, with the consequent risk of an effective monopolization of road traffic from and to Yugoslavia, and does it consider (in view of the fact that road transport in this area gives employment directly and indirectly to 2 000 people, including some who belong to the Slovene minorities in Italy, and in view of the importance given to road transport services in the cooperation agreement) that the matter raised here could be resolved within the framework of the implementation of the cooperation agreement with Yugoslavia?

Answer

The Commission is not at the moment in possession of sufficiently precise information on the administrative measures to which the honourable Member refers to be able to assess whether the problem can be resolved within the framework of the implementation of the cooperation agreement with Yugoslavia.

In any case, the Commission points out that if the problem concerns an obstacle to the normal functioning of transport, the agreement provides for cooperation in this sector, and the Commission would then be prepared to raise the problem with the Cooperation Council as soon as the agreement comes into force.

Apart from this, if the honourable Member were to supply fuller information, the Commission would be prepared to raise the question with the managing body of the interim agreement.

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Question No 39, by Mrs Cinciari Rodano (H-194/80)

Subject: Implementation of Directive 77/486/EEC on the education of children of migrant workers

Can the Commission say whether and in what ways it has met its obligation to keep under observation the implementation of Directive 77/486/EEC¹ and what stage implementation of this directive has reached in the different countries of the Community; what forms of cooperation have been

¹ OJ L 199, 6. 8. 1977, p. 32.

adopted between the host States and the States of origin for implementing the Directive and whether the Commission intends to adopt measures to step up negotiations among Member States and between the latter and non-Member States; what percentage of children of migrant workers avoid compulsory school attendance and to what extent they take advantage of the teaching of their mother tongue and the culture of their country of origin; whether the Commission has become aware of differences in the treatment of children of migrants from the Member States and those non-Member States; what guarantees it can give that this directive will be implemented by the end of 1981, as was intended?

Answer

Since this directive was adopted in 1977, the Commission has been closely following developments in the Member States. At an exchange of views organized by the Commission in November 1979 with representatives of the Member States, it appeared that unfortunately few Member States had taken further steps to improve the education of migrant workers' children.

The Commission intends to step up this exchange of experience in order that the directive is implemented as far as possible by August 1981. Other possibilities for action do not exist at the moment.

The Commission promotes the efforts of Member States by regularly forwarding to them the results of experience gained in pilot projects. In addition, it will, during the next few years, promote cooperation between the host states and the states of origin through the joint development of materials for teaching the children's mother tongue and conveying a knowledge of their country of origin.

At present, cooperation between the host states and the states of origin is the concern of joint committees under the various bilateral cultural agreements. In some cases — as, for example, between Italy and France or between Italy and the Federal Republic — this cooperation is extremely successful.

With regard to irregular school attendance by the children of migrant workers, our statistics are not yet sufficiently reliable.

Irregular attendance has been particularly noticed in the case of children whose parents go on holiday during the school year. One has only to think of the children of migrant construction-workers, who generally take a winter holiday in December and January. Juveniles immigrating after their fourteenth year also show serious inadequacies with regard to school attendance. The part-time education which in the Federal Republic of Germany is compulsory for young people between the ages of 16 and 18 is, for example, poorly attended by foreigners.

I should like to take this opportunity of appealing to the Member States to proceed apace with the implementation of the 1977 directive. We no longer have much time left before August 1981. We must see to it that the problems of migrant workers' children no longer merely arouse our sympathy but are actually resolved, if only for social reasons. If we fail to do this now, we shall have a time-bomb on our hands that we shall later never succeed in getting under control.

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Question No 40, by Mr O'Connell (H-195/80)

Subject: Consumer's Consultative Committee

The REO reports and opinions of the Consumer's Consultative Committee are not generally available to the public and are surrounded by an aura of secrecy. Are the documents available to Members of the European Parliament as of right, or are they only available at the discretion of the Commission; on what criteria is the issuing of these documents based, and is the Commission willing to reconsider the restrictions it has placed on the dissemination of documents by making them available to (a) Members of the European Parliament and (b) the general public without restriction?

Answer

The Honourable Member is asked to refer to the answer to Oral Question H-135/79 from Mrs Roudy.

The Consumers' Consultative Committee (CCC) is composed of 25 members appointed by the Commission on the basis of nominations made by four European organizations:

- the European Bureau of Consumers' Unions (BEUC)
- the Committee of Family Organizations in the EEC (COFACE)
- EUROCOOP
- the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC).

Its statute is that of an advisory body to the Commission. Its rôle is to give the Commission an informed consumer view on policy issues in respect of which the Commission asks its opinion, and to give the Commission reports, on its own initiative, on matters which it believes merit attention. The Commission provides the CCC's secretariat, meeting-rooms and facilities for translation and interpretation.

If the Commission were to publicize the CCC's opinions, the result would be tantamount to establishing a new representative organization, partly in competition with the Economic and Social Committee, which is established by the Treaty, and also partly in competition with the four organizations from whose nominees its members are chosen.

At present, reports and opinions of the Consumers' Consultative Committee are made available to the European Parliament and to the Economic and Social Committee whenever there is a specific request and except on very rare occasions where the Commission has specific reasons not to do so. I do not consider that it would be proper to change the present situation and to publish the CCC's opinions.

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Question No 41, by Mr Christopher Jackson (H-196/80)

Subject: National aids relating to apples.

In written question No 1112/79¹, the Commission was asked to publish details of national aids relating to apples. In its reply, the Commission stated that it did not propose to publish these details 'largely because of their length — 18 000 pages in the six Community languages'. I was recently informed that the details of national aids were not to be made available for Members of the European Parliament. The Commission is aware that the multiplicity of national aids has given rise to a suspicion of unfairness in many countries involved. Secrecy is inappropriate and wrong in such circumstances. Will the Commission therefore undertake to make the details of these aids available for immediate inspection by Members of the European Parliament?

Answer

At the request of most of the Member States, and for obvious practical reasons, this inventory of national aids of more than 18 000 pages has not been widely distributed by the Commission. A limited number of copies have been made available, however, for those who are interested in consulting them. Thus copies have been sent in 1978 and 1979 to the President of the Agricultural Committee, and these may, of course, be consulted by the Honourable Member.

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Question No 42, by Mrs Salisch (H-200/80)

Subject: Rules at the Commission on party-political activities

What rules apply at the Commission with regard to:

- the release of members of the Commission for election campaigns;

¹ OJ C 66, 17. 3. 1980, p. 40.

- the use for election campaign purposes of information obtained inside the Commission; and
- ensuring that the administration is able to continue working properly at times when the Commissioners have heavy election commitments?

Answer

1. A well-established practice governing the activities of Members of the Commission standing as candidates in national parliamentary elections has existed for many years. It began in 1956 at the High Authority of the ECSC and has been followed in a series of cases ever since by the EEC Commission and by the merged Commission of the European Communities. Under this, a Member of the Commission is not restricted in his civil rights by his appointment and like any other citizen or national Minister may offer himself as a candidate in an election.
2. Of course, a Commissioner standing for election is not relieved of the obligation to act with integrity and discretion during his term of office. In the past the practice therefore has been that during the active period of the election campaign, the Member concerned does not participate in the work and meetings of the Commission, nor make use of the information services of the Commission for the purposes of the campaign. In order to assure administrative continuity, the responsibilities of the Member concerned are shared among other Members of the Commission. In the past this practice has not given rise to any particular problem.
3. Clearly, if a Member of the Commission is elected to a national Parliament and takes up his seat, he must resign from the Commission.

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Question No 43, by Mr Spencer (H-204/80)

Subject: Swiss move towards protectionism

Would the Commission agree that the Swiss move to deconsolidate the tariff concessions on chocolate confectionary products is a dangerous and unnecessary step towards protectionism, and would it further agree that this is an example of the Swiss seeking to extend the advantages which they obtained under the 1972 Trade Agreement although they themselves have failed to implement fully its existing provisions?

Answer

The Commission has noted Switzerland's application for deconsolidation, which was lodged in accordance with GATT procedures. In accordance with these procedures and with the consent of the Member States, the Commission has agreed to the opening of negotiations with that country and will ensure during these negotiations that the Community receives adequate compensation from Switzerland in both qualitative and quantitative terms.

The Commission does not believe that Switzerland's application is part of a general protectionist policy on the part of that country, which, incidentally, is a major importer of agricultural produce.

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Question No 44: Postponed.

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Question No 45, by Mr Johnson (H-207/80)

Subject: Subsidy given Dutch horticulturists

Can the Commission indicate what Dutch horticulturists receive an effective subsidy in respect of energy costs and, if so, what steps are being taken to end this?

Answer

Differences in the cost of energy used by horticulturists are above all due to the fact that Member States use different fuels in horticulture, with costs per unit of calorific value which vary by a ratio of one to three.

Distortions do exist, especially between growers who consume natural gas (lowest prices) and those who use light fuel-oil (highest prices).

These differences in themselves cannot be considered as a distortion of competition.

Considering the fact that the special horticultural tariff for natural gas in the Netherlands results in a permanent advantage when compared with industrial tariffs in the Netherlands, the Commission is examining this tariff in the light of Article 92 of the Treaty and is applying the procedure provided for in Article 93.

For further information, the Honourable Member of the Parliament may refer to the Commission's report to the Council on distortions of competition in hothouse agriculture (Doc. COM (80) 306 Final, of 6 June 1980), which has been sent to the Parliament.

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Question No 46, by Miss Brookes (H-211/80)

Subject: Revenue contributions from the European Regional Development Fund and the Social Fund

Would the Commission consider the granting of aid from the European Regional Development Fund and the Social Fund to experimental projects in depressed and deprived areas on the basis of tapering the aid over a period of years?

Answer

The current rules governing the European Social Fund provide for various forms of aid designed to maintain income levels, and these rules are also applied in the regions in the manner referred to by the honourable Member. For instance, the ESF can assume responsibility for up to 50 % of wage costs during a training period (up to 55 % in the priority areas), and it is estimated that more than 50 % of the ESF's total expenditure is accounted for in this way. In addition, the Fund contributes towards the cost of supplementary income benefits (up to 30 % of the average gross wage) which an undertaking pays to newly-recruited employees in the priority areas. The new forms of aid to encourage the recruitment of young people below the age of 25 may also be included in this type of benefit.

In the past, the Commission has repeatedly tried to extend the Fund's types of aid to include allowances to offset loss of income. It was only in 1977, when the Fund's rules were reviewed, that the Council finally agreed to enshrine in the rules the principle of aid to maintain income levels (other than in the sphere of training measures), and an *ad hoc* Council decision is still required to define more closely this form of aid, which has been theoretically recognized, and to make it applicable.

It is by definition difficult to include allowances to offset loss of income in the scope of the Social Fund, not only because they threaten to cut across social security measures, but also because if they were included, the amount of expenditure entailed would soon greatly exceed the Fund's present resources.

I intend to propose to the Commission that a limited extension be introduced as an experiment and that supplementary income benefits be paid to older employees in the shipbuilding industry. I fear that if such extensions were made to cover broader categories of employees in the depressed and

deprived areas, the floodgates would open and that, given the present circumstances, proposals to the Council on this subject would stand no chance of being adopted.

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Question No 47, by Mr Collins (H-212/80)

Subject: Agricultural products

Does the Commission agree that the quality of agricultural products is as important as the quantity and are they aware that, as a result of the import to Britain, Belgium and the Netherlands of large quantities of 'Golden Delicious' apples, many traditional varieties of superior quality and flavour may be in danger of being withdrawn from production? Would they therefore agree with the proposal that only Class One apples should be available for import in order to maintain the quality of product available to the consumer, and what steps will they take to implement this?

Answer

The Commission is convinced that the free choice of the consumer is the decisive factor in the range of varieties of apple on offer; it considers that if large quantities of Golden Delicious apples are sold in Britain, the Netherlands and Belgium it is because this variety of apple is what the consumer wants and likes.

The Commission cannot accept the proposal that trade between Member States should be limited exclusively to Class I (and Extra) products, since such a measure would run counter to the single-market principle by excluding from trade a category of product (Class II) coming within a common quality standard.

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Question No 48, by Mr Hume (H-213/80)

Subject: Employment conditions for European companies in South Africa

Does the Commission know if there are any European companies which are infringing the code of employment conditions laid down by the European Commission for European companies operating in South Africa and, if so, will the Commission name such companies and state what action the Commission is taking against such companies?

Answer

The code of conduct for companies with branches or agencies in South Africa emerged from an agreement between the Member States in the framework of political cooperation. While the Commission participated in this political cooperation, it was not given responsibility for implementing this code.

The Commission is therefore unable to supply the information requested by the honourable Member.

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Question No 49, by Mr Battersby (H-217/80)

Subject: The Community's relations with the People's Republic of China

Why has the Commission not yet established the working-parties and advisory groups to encourage small and medium-sized firms and State undertakings to associate with Chinese enterprises in fulfilling their commercial objectives, as required by Parliament in its motion for a resolution, Doc. 6/79, approved on 9 April 1979?

Answer

The Commission is aware of the difficulties often faced by medium and small enterprises in entering into commerce with State-trading countries, and seeks to ensure an equitable framework for European companies to operate on those markets. In the last resort, however, it is those countries themselves who choose the private operators in the Community with whom they wish to deal.

In the case of China, the EEC-China Joint Economic Committee, which meets next in autumn this year, will review the functioning of the EEC-China trade agreement and will examine any problems which may have arisen in our bilateral trade. The Joint Committee, which is empowered to set up special working-groups, did not find it desirable to do so at its meeting last year. The matter could, however, be considered at the meeting this year.

Apart from the forum of the Joint Committee, difficulties faced by European companies on the Chinese market, including medium and small enterprises, will be examined during the Community-China Business Week, in which representatives of European business, as the honourable Member knows, are invited to participate.

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Question No 50, by Mrs Agnelli (H-228/80)

Subject: Implementation of Directive 76/160/EEC concerning the quality of bathing-water

Article 13 of this Directive¹ provides that the Member States shall submit a comprehensive report to the Commission on their bathing-water and the most significant characteristics thereof. Can the Commission state whether the Member States and, more particularly, the Italian Government, have discharged their obligations and, if so, whether the Italian Government considered all the parameters listed in the annex to the Directive?

Answer

Between the end of November 1979 and the end of May 1980, all the Member States submitted to the Commission a comprehensive report on their bathing-water.

After examining the documents submitted by the Italian Government, the Commission asked for further information on the values for certain regions of certain parameters listed in the annex to the directive.

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Question No 51, by Mr Penders (H-229/80)

Subject: CSCE (Madrid follow-up conference)

What practical measures have been taken with regard to the Madrid CSCE follow-up conference in November 1980?

¹ OJ L 31, 5. 2. 1976.

Answer

1. For more than a year now, the appropriate Community and political-cooperation authorities have been preparing their position for the Madrid Conference. This work has now entered a very active phase.

Attitudes to the various aspects of the CSCE have been worked out or are at present being discussed.

2. The Commission has taken an active part in this preparatory work. This includes, among other things, proposals designed to develop mutually profitable economic cooperation among the participants in the conference.

3. The Commission attaches great importance to the public hearing which the European Parliament wants to organize on this subject. It hopes that this hearing will proceed in such a manner as to have a positive effect on the Madrid Conference and help to ensure that public opinion in the countries of the Community is well informed.

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IN THE CHAIR: MR ROGERS

Vice-President

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

President. — The sitting is open.

1. *Approval of the minutes*

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

Are there any comments?

The minutes of proceedings are approved.

2. *Decision on urgent procedure*

President. — The first item is a request for urgent procedure. I put to the vote the Council's request for urgent procedure for the *proposal for a Council directive prolonging certain derogations granted to Denmark,*

Ireland and the United Kingdom in respect of swine fever (Doc. 1-208/80).

Urgent procedure is adopted.

The item will therefore be placed on Thursday's agenda to be considered in a joint debate with the report by Mr Buchou on African swine fever in Portugal (Doc. 1-228/80).

3. *Electronic voting system*

President. — I would remind Members that the cards for the electronic voting system are for personal use only and may be collected from office 1138.

4. *Convention on the conservation of European wildlife*

President. — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-152/80) by Mr Muntingh on behalf of the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection on the proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-270/79) for a decision concerning the conclusion of the convention on the conservation of European wildlife and natural habitats.

President

I call Mr Muntingh.

Mr Muntingh, — (NL) *rapporteur* Mr President, I am speaking not only as *rapporteur* but also on behalf of the Socialist Group, so if I use up all my time you will know the reason why. The first thing to be said with regard to the Convention that we are now discussing is that it has been drawn up by the Council of Europe. I think that it is a good thing for us in this Parliament to express publicly our appreciation and gratitude for the Council's work. Credit where credit is due.

The purpose of the Convention is to protect wild flora and fauna in its natural environment in Europe, an extremely necessary undertaking. Just how necessary this is becomes apparent from some figures published by the ESO in *State of the Environment 1977*, according to which 10 % of all plant species in Europe — i.e. 1 400 species — are threatened with extinction. The same applies to 54 % of all bird species in Europe, so more than half — I say again, Mr President, more than half — or about 220 species. The same also applies to 23 % of all species of mammals, in other words a total of 36 species, and 43 % or nearly half — I repeat nearly half — of all reptiles and amphibians, i.e. about 64 species. So this is a dreadful situation and all the worse in that it is also bad for the human species. Let me repeat what I said two months ago when we were discussing the World Conservation Strategy. If nature is not in good health, mankind, too, cannot in the long run survive. We are completely dependent on nature for our food, clothing, housing and recreation. I wish that we could once and for all get this into our thick skulls even if only out of self-interest because then our self-interest, our egoism and our craving for security and comfort, in other words the causes of the worldwide destruction of nature, would also ensure that we protected it.

By signing this Convention the European Community has approved its aims. If Parliament now approves the motion for a resolution, just as it did the resolution on World Conservation on the last occasion, then Parliament will also approve its aims. The Council's ratification, if it is given, will again be proof of the fact that the Europe of the Nine is now formally prepared to come out strongly for a Community policy in the field of nature conservation and environmental protection. The two cannot be considered separately from one another. In the field of environmental protection, and especially in that of environmental health, this policy has clearly been given more definite form than in the area of nature conservation. That is apparent from a communication of the Commission to the Council dated 7 May last on the situation with regard to activities in the environmental action programme and their assessment. This is a recent document, therefore, in which it is stated that the Community has, in barely seven years, approved 58 legislative and regulatory instruments. 54 of these texts — no small proportion,

therefore — related to environmental health and only 4 to the protection of environmental space and natural resources — so, very little for nature conservation. We can see that, with the help of the activities of the Council of Europe, the leeway in this field of nature conservation is now being made up to some extent and that is a good thing but not sufficient.

This explains why the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection urges the Commission to come forward, within a period of three years, with Community directives on the protection of plants and vertebrate animals to supplement the one directive that we already have in the field of nature conservation, namely that on birds. That directive itself needs to offer better guarantees for living species than the Convention because it has to be said that this Convention is certainly not the last word in the field of nature conservation. For the effective protection of what is left of nature it still needs to be given a lot more teeth.

Let me go back to the communication of the Commission to the Council to which I just referred. There are various things in that which very much qualify our satisfaction with the 58 texts. In the discussion of the individual chapters of the communication where they deal with air and water pollution, noise and the treatment of chemicals, and those chapters that relate to the protection and rational management of space, environment and natural resources, one thing keeps coming up and it is the fact that the Commission, and in particular the environment and consumer affairs service, is no longer able to cope and that its work is in fact coming to a standstill and may, because of that, have an effect which is more obstructive than beneficial because this service is having to contend with a really exceptionally severe staff shortage. During my enquiries about the details of this Convention in the different countries, I was given to understand on several occasions that it would perhaps be better for the European Community not to ratify the Convention because the environment and consumer affairs service did not have the necessary capacity to carry out the duties arising out of this Convention so that it would be a hindrance rather than an aid in our progress towards better management of the environment, nature and raw materials.

Mr President, that is an intolerable situation to which the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection urges attention be given, particularly now that the 1980 budget will shortly be under discussion again and the 1981 budget is already on the horizon. Our Committee feels that the environment and consumer affairs service needs more staff. So does the Socialist Group and we feel that this needs to be done straight away. This staff is necessary in order to be able to work towards the objectives of, and perform the tasks stemming from, the second environmental action programme and this Convention, because — to a very large extent — the two run parallel.

Muntingh

The second environmental action programme refers to the setting up of a European Fund for monuments and landscapes, studies on the protection of mountain areas, the drawing up of an inventory of wet areas in urgent need of protection and the formulation of proposals regarding the protection and management of such areas. The Convention refers to the protection of habitats, in other words natural environments. A primary need for the satisfactory conservation and management of the natural environment is a chain of large-scale biogenetic reserves where nature can be left in peace to recover from the injuries it has suffered. New reserves are urgently necessary and others must be left in peace or improved.

This is necessary in every country of the European Community and of Europe. It is necessary, urgently necessary, for the irreplaceable marsh areas, threatened in all kinds of ways, in Denmark, Germany and the Netherlands, for the Ribble and the Wash in the United Kingdom threatened by reclamation, for the wet areas in West Ireland which are at risk of being reclaimed with the aid — *mirabile dictu* — of European Community money, for the Neusiedlersee reserve in Austria, now threatened by the recreation industry, for the mouth of the Strimon and the Nestos delta in Greece, for the eucalyptus areas in South-West Spain so vitally important for birds of prey, for the famous bird reserve of Les Sept Îles off the Breton coast in France plagued by the oil pollution incubus, and for the hundreds or rather thousands of important European natural areas scheduled to disappear. Here the European Community can play an important role provided enough priority is given to nature conservation. The signing and ratification of the Strasbourg Convention is a step in the right direction but far from sufficient. The real issue is the implementation of what is agreed, for example the conservation of plant life and the living environment necessary for flora and fauna. That, Mr President, requires a political will, effective instruments, methods and resources. It is in the hope — I would almost say the despairing hope — that the Europe of the Nine will make good use of this instrument, that the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection recommends Parliament to advise the Council to ratify this Convention promptly on behalf of the European Community.

President. — I call Mr Verroken to speak on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (C-D).

Mr Verroken. — (NL) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, if we had a lot of time available there are many complimentary things we would say about this report and the motion for a resolution. The rapporteur shows evident proof of a rare dedication and an equally rare knowledge of the relevant facts and problems. Since, however, we have only a few minutes we are compelled to restrict ourselves to the points we criticize.

We, too, doubt whether paragraphs 12 and 13 on whales have their proper place in this motion but we are happy to leave this point in the hands of Mr Lynge, our Greenland colleague. We shall confine ourselves to just one problem, namely paragraphs 19 and 20 in the motion for a resolution and the comments that go with them, together with the recommendation made by the Committee. Here the rapporteur qualifies the anthropocentric approach of environmental concerns as too restricted and wants the Committee and this Parliament to opt for an ecocentric approach. This gives us a sort of philosophical cuckoo's egg laid, during a moment of inattention, in the nest of a Parliament pressed for time and failing to realize the pointless, irrelevant, vicious ideological dispute that could, in the long run, develop from it.

What are we talking about? On the initiative of the Council of Europe, an open convention has been drawn up for the specific protection of a series of named, rare, threatened animals and plants and also for the protection of their natural environment in Europe. Among other things, special attention is rightly drawn to the migratory species in the list and to their migration routes and their overwintering and gathering, feeding and breeding, and resting, moulting and migrating areas. On 18 August 1979, the European Commission asked for our advice on the possible signing of this Convention by the Community. Well, that signing has already taken place without our advice. It was on 19 September 1979 and so the advice we give today lost its object months ago. In the Netherlands we call this 'mustard after the meal'. This also explains the attempt to attribute a different content to the motion before us and to formulate all kinds of secondary lines of action for the future.

So what is our particular grouse? In its preamble, the Convention gives the following arguments. Wild species of flora and fauna form a natural heritage of esthetic, scientific, cultural, recreational, economic and intrinsic value. It is important to protect this natural heritage and to hand it on to future generations. We could have endorsed the report if the rapporteur had proposed adding ecological to this string of epithets so that the list would have read: of esthetic, scientific, cultural, recreational, economic, ecological and intrinsic value. To our minds, that would have been sufficient as an explanation and one to which every Member of Parliament, and Parliament as a whole, could have subscribed as an undisputed Community basis for efficient environmental protection and nature conservation policy. In our view, this does not preclude certain persons or political groups from having other additional reasons as well. We do not, however, see why possibly different reasons, on which we are not agreed, have to be smuggled into this motion for a resolution. Neither is there any call for religious reasons or, in our view, any place for a kind of synthetic religious approach. It is enough that this Parliament is 100 % concerned about the environment without falling into a kind of 'environmental

Verroken

Khomeini-ism'. But the motion for a resolution and the explanatory statement and the accompanying recommendation would have us say that the reasons given for our concern for nature are too exclusively anthropocentric. The term intrinsic value in the preamble to the Convention is interpreted in the report and the motion as ecocentric value as though these were synonyms and as though, for example, there were not an enormous difference between the intrinsic value of a human being and his ecocentric value. From the ecocentric standpoint, mankind is one of the vertebrate mammals. Man could even be included among the predators.

Could this kind of stance give Parliament a valid basis for more efficient protection of nature? If we are not careful, the next time — because there are too many of us — we shall be put on the list of the species that can be shot at with the starlings and the crows. Why do we have to keep paragraphs 19 and 20 and burden this motion for a resolution that is otherwise so excellent with a futile, undebated philosophical dispute? So we propose that these paragraphs be scrapped. The motion for a resolution would certainly thereby lose none of its practical and political value.

President. — I call Miss Hooper to speak on behalf of the European Democratic Group.

Miss Hooper. — Mr President, as a Conservative I believe in the conservation of what is good and worthwhile. I therefore welcome this convention, the subject of this report, as a step in the right direction and I support the report both as a member of the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection and on behalf of the European Democratic Group.

The rapporteur has underlined the importance of considering and preserving the balance of nature. I believe that the risks in this area resulting from man's so-called progress are just as unknown and just as frightening in their extent as the anticipated risk in areas of high technology. So we must give the subject our support and attention. This is also a truly international topic, not just for the nine member countries of the Community but also, as has been pointed out in the report, for Greece, Spain and Portugal. On an even wider scale, I believe we can and should influence — the Lomé countries to observe this convention in both spirit and detail.

The matter is an urgent priority, as the rapporteur has pointed out, and I will quote further from his report to highlight this. He says in one section that one larger animal species is now disappearing each year. He further states, on estimated figures, that between 20 % and 30 % of flowering plants are dangerously rare or threatened with extinction. I believe, Mr President, that this underlines very clearly the need for some

positive action in this field. Furthermore, as Mr Verroken has pointed out, Parliament's opinion was requested as long ago as August 1979. So this is very definitely a matter of urgency.

I would like to end my remarks, Mr President, by making a special plea for the European Community to lead the way with an urban environmental policy which gives priority to the planting of trees, the creation of ponds and waterways and the development of special conservation 'green spots' in built-up areas in order to encourage interest in and inculcate an awareness of nature conservation and the environment. So, Mr President, I beg to support this report and its recommendations.

President. — I call Mrs Poirier to speak on behalf of the Communist and Allies Group.

Mrs Poirier. — (F) Mr President, I regard the title of the Berne Convention as pretentious, to say the least. I was expecting it to embody a careful study of specific, practical and comprehensive proposals for countering the present wholesale destruction of wildlife and the industrial pollution of air, water and the land, which alone is responsible for killing off millions of wild animals and plants. I am thinking of the destruction of natural habitats, the discharges of dangerous waste products, oil slicks, and the purely profit-motivated siting of industrial complexes. I am also thinking of the spreading of toxic chemicals, the trade in game, and so on. In fact, I am sorry to say, the Convention is hardly worth the paper it is written on, since the only practical measures it does put forward amount merely to prohibitions at the level of the individual.

Two-thirds of the Convention relates to hunting and yet, curiously enough, not one speaker has so far referred to it. The Convention sets out to stop certain traditional forms of hunting and to regulate matters relating to hunting seasons and practices — and the motion for a resolution considers that the Convention does not go far enough. The intention seems to be to prevent some seven million people in Europe enjoying a sport, and that is an aspect that both the resolution and the Convention appear to have overlooked.

In the first place, and this is not as paradoxical as it may sound, most huntsmen are in fact nature conservationists. It is in their interest to ensure that species survive and reproduce. They only hunt species classed as game and only in permitted seasons. In my country it is the hunting organizations themselves that come forward with suggestions for new regulations. They abide by them and deal very severely with those that flout them. Hunters contribute very large sums of money for the preservation and protection of natural habitats and resting sites. In my country there are moves to ban the trade in game. Of the thousand species of birds and mammals that Mr Muntingh's

Poirier

report says are threatened, how many are actually hunted? A few dozen perhaps. So no-one can say that the plight of our flora and fauna is a result of hunting. Quite apart from which, some species are so prolific that it is ecologically inevitable that man will have to capture them — always assuming that we accept the notion that man must maintain his mastery over this planet.

Exploitation by hunting, if it is properly organized and regulated — which it is — does not pose a threat to any species. Consider the turtle-dove as just one example covered by the Convention: No more than one or two per cent of birds are brought down on their journey over France, yet on their return only two-thirds of the birds still remain. That is to say that one-third of their number disappear without the hunter's intervention. As we all know perfectly well, a great many shells are fired off in the course of a season, but few actually hit their target. The hunter's chief pleasure is in looking for game, in building up an intimate knowledge of its habits, nesting sites and migration routes, and in finding ways to capture it by foiling the animal's own intelligence and instincts. The false sentimentality aroused by the actual killing is entirely misplaced for, after all, meat is part of our daily diet. I say again, that I regard this anti-hunting campaign as utterly unscrupulous and, moreover, it distracts people's attention from those truly responsible for destroying the natural environment.

I should like to end by referring to what I believe is an extremely important point. Mr Muntingh, you talk of a common policy on nature and the environment that would comprise, among other things, setting up a European fund. What you are saying, then, is that taxpayers' money would be used to help mitigate the effects of the environmental pollution for which the big companies are responsible. That would indeed be the last straw! There is no doubt in my mind that the money for this should really come from them! But, as to the principle itself, there is undoubtedly a need for cooperation between the countries of Europe in a number of areas. We must not lose sight of the fact, however, not only that nature is very much a real thing but also that it is highly variable according to climate, latitude, population density, soil fertility, and so on. Equally, there is great variety in the traditions and way of life, which are to a large extent in harmony with the environment. In France, we have traditional forms of hunting that are peculiar to certain clearly defined regions. In my own particular region, for example, hunting from a night-hide has been going on for 147 years. Hunting, in France, is a democratic sport, all the more jealously protected for symbolizing the victory of the people over feudalism. It is no longer a prerogative of the wealthy or of landowners and we want to keep it that way. Hunting is indeed looked on not only as a sport but also as a right. You certainly could not say the same of Germany or the United Kingdom. Do you honestly want to regulate people's way of life to that extent? Do you imagine that you

can interfere with such long-established national and regional traditions without any harm being done? In our view, hunting and the way it is organized cannot be subject to indiscriminate supranational legislation. I am well aware that provision has been made for certain categories of exemptions in order to placate the hunters, but what they want, quite simply, is for their right to be recognized and for their freedom to be respected, once and for all. The hunters expect to be treated like adults, and there is nothing irresponsible about their mass demonstrations. A just solution can only be found by democratic means, through decisions taken at regional and national level that not only make allowance for the realities of the situation but also have some regard for the people.

For all these reasons I call on this House to vote against ratifying the Berne Convention, which would constitute yet another unwarranted imposition.

President. — I call Mrs von Alemann to speak on behalf of the Liberal and Democratic Group.

Mrs von Alemann. — (*D*) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, our Group welcomes the motion for a resolution and the fact that Parliament is finally today able to discuss this subject that has been on the table for so long. I must also say, in Mrs Poirier's direction, that there is always something new to learn in this Parliament. For me it was really completely new to discover that the whole problem of nature and plant protection could be boiled down to the simple — to my mind too simple — question: do French people have the right to hunt, is it democratic or not? I do not believe, ladies and gentlemen, that we can really make things that simple for ourselves and, with your permission, I want to go back over what has happened during the last hundred years, although I shall not be hundreds of years talking about it. I would like briefly to review what we really have to debate today. With increasing population densities and because of industrialization and the ever-increasing consumption by populations that this has allowed, drawings on available natural resources have steadily increased. The natural environment available to the human race and ultimately essential — as we all know — to life requires increasingly careful management and its further development must obey the laws of life. In their appearance and ecological structure, the land spaces of Europe are the result of a long and multi-tiered development of nature under increasing human influence.

The number of animal and plant species began to decline about a hundred years ago as a result of industrialization. Mr Muntingh has given us some frightening figures. The loss of ecosystems began. This negative development has accelerated rapidly over the last three decades and is a symptom of the conflict that is now coming to a climax between efforts to conserve our natural basis of life and the material demands of society.

von Alemann

Factors contributing to the change in the structure of our countryside and to the damaging of its resources have, as we all know, included the spread and changing pattern of residential and industrial areas, the growth of traffic and the expansion of transport networks, the increased consumption of raw materials and energy, the increase in solid and liquid wastes and gaseous emissions, the increasing demand for recreational and leisure areas and the changeover in agricultural structures to single crop growing, fewer farmers and larger farmed areas. The affluent society itself has also contributed. According to the report on world conservation strategy, the demand for rare foods and luxury goods in Western Europe and North America last year caused the death of two million crocodiles, five hundred thousand wildcats and seventy thousand elephants. What is more, the number of natural species has been reduced by what are often excessive drainage measures and the largely uncontrolled use of pesticides. We are concerned to see their increasing use not only in agriculture and forestry but also elsewhere, including private gardens, street borders and ponds. Here I have to say that pesticides are used, in this connection, less to protect plants than for cosmetic purposes or for the gardener's convenience. I would ask all Members present whether it really makes sense for wet areas to be drained primarily because farmers receive aid from all kinds of funds provided by individual regions, countries or even the European Community that are clearly incompatible with the objectives of environmental protection and nature conservation. If this goes on and no change is made, then the basis for the survival of our whole system will be destroyed. I shall refer to just a few specific problem areas.

Animal protection. The savage, uncontrolled hunting of migratory animals must be banned. We therefore welcome the Commission's proposal for a decision on the conservation of migratory wild animals about which Mr Muntingh has also spoken. Parliament should lose no time and deliver its opinion as quickly as possible on this decision. We all know that the preservation of migratory species can be ensured only on an international basis. We already have a bird directive but we need others. We must also — and here I turn again to Mrs Poirier — teach hunters to make hunting a conservation activity. That is how it is understood in the Federal Republic of Germany. If hunting regulations are designed on that basis we could agree with them. It is unacceptable for certain species to be killed off in certain cases by uninformed huntsmen. We need a system of European ecological maps. We also need a regulation on the importation of forestry products and I am very pleased to say that, as we know, a proposal was tabled by the Commission a few days ago on this point.

The protection of plants is another important problem area that has been less discussed at public level than animal protection, for example. The public must be enlightened and instructed on rational plant protection. This begins in infant school and must continue at

higher levels. The protection of certain plants and the biotope differs in the various countries of the Community whereas identical regulations are needed whose enforcement and observance must be monitored.

As for forests, these are a renewable source of raw material and have the advantage that they can convert solar into chemical energy. Their variety and beauty must be preserved. For example, reafforestation must not be limited to fir trees.

The environment fund is necessary because I can hardly believe that the very small amount of the European budget available up to now for environmental protection is enough and I think that this would be accepted by most Members of Parliament.

To sum up, we endorse the Muntingh report and are gratified that this initiative is debated in the House and we hope that we will now make some progress as regards the protection of nature and plants. We must learn, ladies and gentlemen, to look after our environment. There is a limit to the mineral resources of our planet and the possibilities of life upon it. I shall close with something that an Indian chief said in a speech 120 years ago and which, to my mind, is still applicable. 'All things are connected together. Whatever affects the earth also affects the sons of the earth. You must teach your children that the ground under our feet is the ashes of our grandfathers. So that they respect the land you must tell them that the earth is filled with the souls of our ancestors.' Ladies and gentlemen, this may be somewhat poetic but if you think how much our young people yearn to be back in a healthy world then you will realize that this includes a healthy natural environment and I beg you all to do what you can to ensure that environmental protection is used not merely to restore damage but also as a preventive. This Convention too will serve this purpose.

President. — I call Mrs Dekker.

Mrs Dekker. — (NL) Just a few brief words, Mr President, and ladies and gentlemen, in support of the content of this report and the approach that it takes. Mrs von Alemann has just made a number of relevant comments which I share in the main and do not propose to repeat. In my view, the Commission's intention to be a party to this Convention is a welcome initiative and, as far as I am concerned, Mr Muntingh, the rapporteur, deserves all our praise for the very constructive and original further elaboration and amplification that he has given to this Convention. I readily endorse the priorities and proposals set out in the report. It is to be hoped that Parliament will be as unanimous as the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection in adopting this motion for a resolution. After all, in this way Parliament can give shape to the enthusiasm it has

Dekker

already voiced for the World Conservation Strategy concept with which, however, the amendment tabled by the Christian-Democratic Group — to drop paragraph 19 — is not in agreement.

It is precisely the ecocentric approach, which is also to be found in the World Conservation Strategy, that is essential to our future. In spite of all his technical knowledge, man is and will remain part of the whole ecosystem or biosphere. This is not a philosophical question, and this I am saying for Mr Verroken's benefit, but a matter of inflexible natural laws. It is essential, not just for biological reasons but certainly also from the socio-economic standpoint, that a firm halt be called to the destruction of nature on which mankind is now hell bent. But not only do we have to make good the damage that has already occurred, we have to forestall further damage to the environment. In that logic, the marginal provisions that have to be formulated from environmental policy have to be built into general policy both inside and outside the Community in order to ensure responsible exploitation and management of the biosphere. The report and the motion for a resolution are positive initiatives in this respect and the implementation of the present motion for a resolution by the Council and the Commission will be a positive and necessary step in that direction.

President. — I call Mr Ghergo.

Mr Ghergo. — (I) Mr President, may I first of all express my very sincere appreciation to Mr Muntingh, whose report accurately reflects our deep anxiety and also our belief in the need to protect the environment, particularly the flora and fauna, of which so many species are threatened with extinction.

I agree with the rapporteur that it is vital to reinforce both the staff and finances of the Environment and Consumer Protection Service. This Convention represents an extremely important stage in the development of an environmental policy, but there is still a great deal that can and must be done to improve it.

Most importantly, we need to implement the provisions of Article 3(3), which says that the only way to create a proper awareness of the problems of conservation is to start educating people in these things even while they are still of school age. Some *ad hoc* provision to give practical effect to this is therefore essential.

Furthermore, Article 12 needs to be redrafted in such a way as to remove the discretionary element — which would leave the door open to wilful inaction on the part of the Contracting Parties — by adopting measures to provide strict protection for endemic species and habitats of exceptional interest to naturalists.

There is also an urgent need to extend the list of protected species. May I mention, as an example of a plant species deserving special protection, the population of some 2000 specimens of *pinus loricata* growing in an area called the Parco del Pollino, along the border between Calabria and Basilicata. These are in fact the only specimens to be found anywhere in Europe.

From an ecological standpoint, the general state of the environment really is desperate. The figures given by the rapporteur in his report give us some impression of the true scale of the ecological disaster, which is no longer a matter for speculation but is actually upon us now. Mr Muntingh's report quotes figures for the flora and fauna most immediately threatened with extinction.

I should like to conclude by saying that I fully and wholeheartedly support both the report and the Convention, and by reminding you of something that Mr Roy Jenkins said recently, namely that we were not given this world as an inheritance by our forefathers, but to hold in trust for our children. Let us therefore do what we can to pass this world on in no worse a condition than that in which we found it.

President. — I call Mr Turner.

Mr Turner. — Mr President, I support the objectives of this report. As a famous English judge, Lord Diplock, once said, what have birds got to do with the EEC? The answer is quite simple — the economic policies of the EEC affect wild species so severely nowadays that a balance is badly needed not only for them but also for their habitat. I am therefore glad that the EEC is intending to sign this Convention and I support the proposals that directives should now be worked out by the Commission to protect animals and plants on the lines of those which already protect birds. If we have such directives, then we must have funds. Indeed I believe we must have funds for all cultural matters in the EEC. It is not only birds and animals, plants and the landscape but also historic buildings which must be protected. The amount of money is very small and the EEC could do an enormous amount of good in each of our countries if it would adopt a cultural funding policy. Before I sit down I would just mention that my children stuck on the window of my car a notice saying 'Save the whale' and I have never taken it off. I must say that, where whales are concerned, the proposals in the Convention do not go far enough. We must have provisions which prevent the sale of whale products and then they will be protected in the manner in which I understand seals to be protected under the present proposals.

President. — I call Mrs Agnelli.

Mrs Agnelli. — (I) Mr President, six million hectares of forest are destroyed every year. I do not have to quote any more of the disturbing statistics contained in the Tolba report for us all to understand just how alarming is the state of the ecological environment. Reading Marguerite Yourcenar's autobiography one gets a vivid impression of the dramatic change that has taken place in a large area of the Walloon region in the space of four generations.

Although there is now a much greater awareness among people at every level of society of the seriousness of environmental problems, we have to go on and on repeating it, we have to keep up the pressure, in the hope of speeding up the slow and cumbersome legislative and administrative processes.

It is on this aspect that I wish to concentrate now. It is a matter of some regret that the European Parliament and the Council were unable to arrange matters in a way that would have allowed Parliament to express its opinion on the Convention prior to its ratification. I am convinced that some of the problems pointed out by the rapporteur could have been avoided had the legislative procedure been followed.

Whilst Article 16 does provide the machinery to amend the Convention, I believe it would be preferable for the European Parliament to press for stricter measures to be included in the Community directives than are actually required under the Convention, a course in fact suggested by Article 12.

Unfortunately, the effectiveness of environmental legislation is in no way improved by the fact that responsibility for environmental matters is divided. The European Parliament, as the Community's public conscience, must exert pressure on the national governments to persuade them to fulfil their obligations. In this respect, whatever action the European Parliament might take should supplement that taken by the Commission. The task of the Environment and Consumer Protection Service, already made difficult by the lack of adequate staff and finance, is further hampered by the Council's immobility and the slowness of national governments to implement Community directives. I am therefore altogether behind paragraph 9 of the motion for a resolution.

However, I am not entirely in agreement with paragraph 10 because I do not believe it is enough simply to produce a synoptic table of international legislation without at the same time working out an overall strategy that would endow the complex body of legislation already in existence with a measure of coherence. And this is where documents like the Tolba report can be of immense value in helping us to understand the complex interaction between man's activities and changes in the environment.

This Convention must be seen as part of a package: Its effectiveness will depend almost entirely on measures

being introduced to ensure the provision of the environmental conditions required for the survival of the species concerned.

It is vital therefore that the two Commission proposals based on the framework directive of 4 May 1976 be submitted without delay for the European Parliament's consideration.

For, in fact, it is waste — and I refer not just to discharges of dangerous substances into the aquatic environment but also to the dumping of municipal and agricultural refuse — that is as responsible as anything for disturbing the biological balance.

That is something to think about if we are genuinely concerned for the conservation of our endangered wildlife.

President. — I call Mr Lynge.

Mr Lynge. — (DK) Mr President, I will try to be quite brief. I should like to say at the outset that, like most members of this House, I attach very great importance to this subject and I very much respect the efforts made by Mr Muntingh in drawing up this report. This was clearly something which needed to be done.

I have only one comment which concerns paragraphs 12 and 13 on the protection of whales. An amendment has been tabled seeking to delete paragraphs 12 and 13 and I should like briefly to give the reasons why I think these paragraphs should be deleted.

The Community is obliged to concern itself with the commercial aspects of whaling, as is shown in Annex II referred to in Article 38 of the Treaty of Rome. One of the items mentioned is 'products of animal fats of marine mammals'. The Treaty does therefore cover whale products and trade measures concerning these products and perhaps also regulations on importing these products. I fully agree that the trade policy carried out in this field must be linked to a policy to protect marine mammals.

However, anything which lies beyond these trade policy aspects quite simply lies outside the provisions of the Treaties and therefore the question of catch limits and catch methods is a national matter which cannot be placed under the Environment and Consumer Protection Service or under the Directorate-General on Fisheries. Paragraph 13, however, recommends that these matters should be put under the Environment and Consumer Protection Service.

I would also like to point out that there is a mistake in the report, in paragraph 26 of the explanatory statement which claims that whales, i.e. all whales in general, have practically been exterminated. This is

Lynge

not true. Many species are nearly extinct, that we know, but not all of them. It is not, for example, true of the North Atlantic pilot whale, it is not true of the beluga or the narwhal in the North Canadian Archipelago or in Hudson Bay, the Davis Strait and Melville Bay. Here the non-industrialized hunting of marine mammals forms part of a way of life which has existed for thousands of years for the eskimos and people of Greenland and there is no sense in having the regulation of this activity centralized in Brussels. We are quite capable ourselves of administering the necessary legislation in this field. Furthermore, I should like to point out that the Danish Government signed the Convention mentioned here on the clear understanding that Greenland be exempted from it, as is shown in the Council decision of 20 September 1979. As things stand, negotiations on whales are going on in the IWC, the International Whaling Commission, and it is our wish both in Denmark and Greenland that this should continue to be so. A representative from Greenland is taking part in these talks and this direct participation is something we wish to maintain.

A moment ago we heard from one of the benches the slogan 'Save the whale'. Yes, of course, we are all interested in saving the whale and I speak on behalf of a section of the population for whom whales are not merely a picturesque outline on the horizon, a piece of the environment in the distance. They are our bread and butter. They are what we live on and of course we are interested in protecting them. However, we wish to maintain some influence on what types of whale, what sort of methods and what quotas may be brought under legislation. Whaling has been part of our way of life for thousands of years and ours is not an industrial exploitation of these animals. Neither do we wish to lose our influence in this area. We therefore support the attitude taken by the Danish Government and recommend the House to vote in favour of deleting paragraphs 12 and 13.

President. — In accordance with the Bureau's decision, I propose to close today's list of speakers in a quarter of an hour.

I call Mr Natali.

Mr Natali, Vice-President of the Commission. — (1) Mr President, despite the strictly limited time available this has been an extremely interesting and wide-ranging debate. So that I may myself keep within the time limit I shall refrain from elaborating on all of the points raised, many of which in any case touch on problems of a general nature which we shall be able to develop more fully perhaps when discussing our action programme.

I must, however, make one preliminary observation. Every speaker in this debate has been at pains to point out — and in this I entirely agree with them — that

this Convention needs to be seen as just one of many aspects of the programme of measures we have initiated, not only purely and simply as part of our fight against pollution, but also as part of our more specific programme for the protection and conservation of nature. I also have to agree with those who emphasize the need to be consistent at the operational level. These ambitious, if perfectly proper, objectives of a Community environmental policy that has to keep pace with the growing demands of an increasingly sensitive public opinion also presuppose the existence of adequate financial and manpower resources to implement them.

Having said that, Mr President, I should like now to take a little time to talk about the Convention that Parliament is being asked to consider here today. First of all, let me offer my special thanks to Mr Muntingh for the excellent report he has prepared for us, in which he has subjected the Convention itself to a most detailed analysis. I also wish to express my gratitude to all who spoke in the debate, apart from two discordant voices — that of Mrs Poirier, on a problem concerning hunting, and Mr Lynge, in his references to whaling — clearly demonstrating that there is broad support for the Commission's proposal to ratify the Convention.

I was especially interested and pleased to hear not only the rapporteur but also the other speakers, after expressing approval of the Convention, coming forward with numerous suggestions for further measures that the Commission could pursue in the field of wildlife conservation. May I emphasize, in this connection, our firm belief that the Convention is simply a foundation — and I am sure Mr Ghergo understands that what I am saying applies also to his own remarks regarding Article 12 — on which we can build to provide for a significantly higher minimum level of nature conservation in Europe.

We accept that the Convention will require amplification and clarification on some points at a future date. We have to say quite candidly, however, that we do not consider this to be the right time to table or adopt amendments that might serve only to delay ratification of the Convention itself by the Community and the Member States. With reference to the requests formulated in paragraphs 18, 26 and 31 of the resolution contained in the Muntingh report, I should like to give every assurance that we do intend to cooperate actively within the interim committee already set up and to look into the possibility of introducing certain amendments in due course. As regards paragraphs 22 and 23 of the motion for a resolution, may I say that ample coverage was given to the protection of fauna and flora in our second action programme on the environment — as indeed Mr Muntingh indicated in his speech — and I can assure you that we intend to implement this programme without delay.

Natali

As regards the conservation of natural habitats, the Commission has speeded up the work of defining the criteria on the basis of which areas deserving strict protection are designated and the procedures for administering them, as provided for in the directive on the protection of wild birds which the Community is already implementing, as Mrs Poirier would do well to take note. It is desirable to designate as soon as possible these areas deserving strict protection which have to be classified by the Member States in order to build up a coherent network that would satisfy the requirements for the protection of bird species. Mrs Poirier, if you read the directive on wild birds you would see that, far from trying to impose a universal and indiscriminate legislation, the directive takes account of regional differences and specific requirements to do with local traditions and circumstances.

As regards paragraphs 22 and 25 of the resolution, I have to say again that we shall be looking at the possibility of putting forward new proposals concerning the protection of plants and vertebrate animals for inclusion in future programmes.

I should like now to address myself briefly to the problem raised by Mr Lyngé concerning the protection of cetaceans. This subject is brought up in paragraphs 11 and 12 of the resolution. May I say to Mr Lyngé that we are perfectly well aware that negotiations are currently in progress to draft the terms of a new International Whaling Convention. Not only are we aware of these negotiations but we have also requested the Council to authorize us to take part in them. We have been waiting for the Council's decision since last August. I doubt that anyone would deny that the protection of cetaceans is a problem. We wish to take part in the International Whaling Convention negotiations precisely so that we can state our own position on the various interests involved. Meanwhile, however, we have submitted a proposal for a regulation — and I believe Mr Muntingh will be the rapporteur for it — prohibiting the import for commercial purposes of the principal products obtained from cetaceans. We believe that through such a regulation it may be possible to achieve the objectives of a comprehensive policy within the framework of which, Mr Lyngé, even specific and special needs such as you mentioned can be taken into account.

May I make the point that this is the first occasion that the Community as such has been asked to ratify a Convention drawn up by the Council of Europe. I believe this is significant in that it offers a real prospect of cooperating and collaborating with the Council of Europe — an institution that we have to credit with some imaginative moves in sectors that affect the life of the European Community.

I should like to end on the following observation: It has been mentioned by the rapporteur that the Convention is open to the countries of Eastern Europe and North Africa. Miss Hooper expressed the hope

that it could also be open to the countries of the Lomé Convention. For my part, I believe we should make every effort to open the Convention to all countries, and let me say also that the very fact that the Convention is open to third countries is the best possible testimonial to how something that is essentially a policy for the protection and conservation of the environment can also be instrumental in promoting cooperation between nations in carrying out a task which, if we succeed, will mean that our children will have a better world to live in.

President. — I call Mr Muntingh.

Mr Muntingh, rapporteur. — (NL) Mr President, I shall deal with the comments of Mr Verroken and Mr Lyngé tomorrow when we take the amendments. The other speakers I would like to thank now for their exceptionally positive approach to this report. A number of important things have been said with which, by and large, I fully agree.

Lastly I have a somewhat negative comment to make about what was said by Mrs Poirier. I would almost like to say: no-one will touch it. I would like to suggest to her that she turn her eyes not only to Italy and her own country but to others where there is absolutely no question of responsible control by hunters. What Mrs Poirier said we would call, in the Netherlands, 'hot air', only in this case perhaps 'hot air from the rifle barrel' might be more fitting.

President. — The debate is closed.

The motion for a resolution will be put to the vote at the next voting time.

IN THE CHAIR: MR VANDEWIELE

Vice-President

5. Discharges of aldrin, dieldrin, endrin and mercury into the aquatic environment

President. — The next item is the joint debate on the report by Mr Mertens, on behalf of the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection, on the proposals from the Commission of the European Communities to the Council (Doc. 195/79) for:

- I. a directive on the limit values for discharges of aldrin, dieldrin and endrin into the aquatic environment of the Community and

President

- II. a directive on the quality objectives required for the aquatic environment into which aldrin, dieldrin and endrin are discharged

(Doc. 1-54/80);

and the report by Mrs Fullet, on behalf of the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection, on the proposals from the Commission of the European Communities to the Council (Doc. 210/79) for:

- I. a directive on the limit values applicable to discharges of mercury into the aquatic environment by the chlor-alkali electrolysis industry
- II. a directive on the quality objectives for the aquatic environment into which mercury is discharged by the chlor-alkali electrolysis industry

(Doc. 1-55/80).

I call Mr Mertens.

Mr Mertens, rapporteur. — (D) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, it is in itself noteworthy — and I feel it necessary to point this out — that this directly elected European Parliament is dealing this morning with a succession of important environmental protection problems. I don't know whether this is the only or first time but the point deserves making.

At the end of his speech, Mr Natali pointed out that it was indeed increasingly important and necessary for us to be concerned about our own living conditions and what is being debated here today is certainly a contribution in that direction. You may possibly regard the report now before you as perhaps too negligible or minor a segment of these environmental questions and yet, in the view of the Commission and its proposals, it is certainly a model case and forcefully reflects the intention of the Commission to continue in this direction.

The report on the so-called 'drins' that is before you is based on another directive of the Council dated 4 May 1976 and that directive deals with the problem of the protection of water resources. In this connection, if I may remind you that the debate on the pollution of the Rhine, for example, had its significance in this Parliament then I feel that it will also be possible to treat the matter being dealt with today as being somewhat urgent.

I now come to a number of points that seem necessary to me for an understanding of this subject because it cannot be assumed that everyone is clear what is involved.

I have already referred to the Directive of 4 May 1976. To that directive are annexed two lists — List I and List II. List I contains particularly dangerous sub-

stances which therefore have to be abolished as soon as possible whereas List II contains relatively non-dangerous (so to speak) or only regionally significant substances. The 'drins' with which we are now concerned are unquestionably dangerous substances and are therefore included in List I. They are organic halogen compounds used as pesticides.

Now the Commission was certainly right to start here because, in the case of the 'drins', only one works is involved, albeit a big plant in the Netherlands, that produces these drin pesticides. There are also a few factories handling drins in the United Kingdom, mainly in the processing of wool. A further point needing to be made is that the properties of these drin pesticides are their high toxicity, long life and bio-accumulation. In other words these substances are very resistant. In addition, attempts to replace them by alternatives that are not dangerous have not so far been very successful. So if anyone asks whether it is possible to rule out altogether the possibility of these dangerous substances that have these properties from collecting and being deposited in cells and tissue then we have to answer that this is not altogether possible at the moment.

The Commission's directives contain limit values whose purpose is to bring about a considerable reduction in the amount of such poisons discharged into the aquatic environment coupled, of course, with regulations for the monitoring of those limits. I shall not bother you with figures, ladies and gentlemen, that would probably be very quickly forgotten but the figures concerned relating to production levels and the Commission's targets regarding the extent of the reductions are before you in writing. Here, I feel, I should make one other point. The Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection has told the Commission that these questions should not in future be split into two directives but if possible combined together into one. The Committee also discussed whether it might not be possible in the next few years to work, not in two different directions, namely quality objectives and emission standards or limit values, but to combine the two. We were told that this was a policy question since eight of the Member States have in the meantime taken the limit value approach whereas the United Kingdom is still geared to quality objectives and not ready for the moment to make any change.

I would also like to raise a second point, now that I have referred to quality objectives and their organization in the United Kingdom, and draw your attention to a paper summarizing a discussion in the relevant House of Lords committee bearing the title 'Water pollution, aldrin, dieldrin, endrin'. This gives a very clear picture of the situation in the United Kingdom and it seemed to me necessary and right to refer to it.

Lastly, in connection with the matter I have already raised in the form of a kind of question, I would like

Mertens

to bring up another problem. Can we not get rid of these poisons altogether? Well, in the report there is at least provision for zero concentration for anyone who proposes subsequently to go into the production of such substances. Perhaps this is a hard decision but the Committee felt it was right, wishing to express its hope that there should be no increase, if possible, in the future.

Lastly I would like to voice a concern that was felt by the Committee. The use of these dangerous poisons is, in my view, declining in the area of the European Community. In the rest of the world, however, it is on the increase and at the moment 90% of these dangerous substances is being used in countries outside the European Community. Over them, unfortunately, we have no influence. We must, however, point out that in these areas, too, the substances are not being used in some cases as carefully or sparingly as they should.

Ladies and gentlemen, allow me in conclusion to ask that the report of the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection receive wide approval in this House. It is an opportunity for Parliament to give the Commission courage to continue in the same direction. I have referred to the model nature of these two directives. If this House can form the necessary majority it will at the same time be voicing its wish to go further, as regards environmental-protection questions, along a highly consistent and very precise path and it would certainly be well advised, in the light of what has already been said on the previous item on the agenda and what will no doubt be added subsequently, to come out with a clear expression of its will. I shall now close my report with my thanks to the Commission for submitting these directives to this House.

IN THE CHAIR: MRS VEIL

President

President. — I call Mrs Fuillet.

Mrs Fuillet, rapporteur. — (*F*) Madam President, on behalf of the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection it is my privilege to present to you this report.

At its meeting of 23 November 1979 the Committee considered the proposed directive and on 21 March 1980 it adopted the motion for a resolution.

Madam President, in submitting these two proposed directives the Commission has made a start on selecting dangerous substances with a view to laying down

Community emission standards, quality objectives and monitoring procedures.

I cannot over-emphasize the seriousness of the problem we are dealing with here: namely, discharges of mercury into the aquatic environment, primarily by the chlor-alkali electrolysis industry.

Mercury in its natural state exists in metallic form in varying quantities. Accumulations occur as a result of volcanic eruptions and the natural decomposition of rocks. Mercury is also to be found in the oceans. The organic compounds of mercury, on the other hand, may be toxic, as is the case with methyl-mercury.

I am sure you are all aware of the terrible disasters that took place in Minamata, Matagami, Guatemala and Iraq, and which resulted in a number of deaths and also led to disorders of the nervous system and cases of physical deformity. It is a fact that we are only affected by death when it occurs close to us, either geographically or genetically.

In this modern world we are so surrounded by death that we have in a way become hardened to it. We no longer differentiate between death from natural causes and death induced artificially by man. In addition to war, man has introduced into his environment new means of annihilation, like pollution, and it has always been taken for granted that this new kind of death was as unavoidable as wars and epidemics. To date, mercury has been responsible for a mere thousand or so 'official' fatalities since the beginning of the century and therefore it is not viewed with any great alarm. But it seems to me that we, who have been given a responsibility to fulfil, cannot remain indifferent to this menace and do nothing.

I have no wish to overwhelm you with statistics but I think it is important for you to know that, according to a detailed study of the phenomena of mercury poisoning, the 5 % found in fish consumed by man is stored in the body and when the quantity thus accumulated reaches 800 mg, that is for an adult of average height, poisoning is fatal. Scientists have worked out from this that in a population of fishermen consuming two kilos of fish per week, on the basis of an average concentration of one milligram of mercury per kilo, the first symptoms of poisoning should appear within seven years. Whilst electrolysis plants are to be found in all the Member States, regrettably in some of them there are still plants using the lost-brine process, which is unquestionably a much greater source of pollution, as it involves the discharge of very large volumes of mercury-contaminated liquids. In the interests of fair treatment, therefore, it would be desirable to have European legislation that is uniformly applied in all of the Member States and above all uniformly applied to all the industrial establishments concerned.

It is in fact quite wrong that enterprises of different nationalities should receive other than equal treatment

Fuillet

within the Community. Such a situation undermines the rules of competition which are the very bedrock of our Community.

It is vital therefore that we give urgent consideration now to a piece of legislation that not only aims to improve the state of our environment but is also, more importantly, in the best interests of public health.

And so it is essentially with public health in mind that we must concern ourselves in adopting this report without delay.

The explanatory statement accompanying the resolution, summarized on page 11 of the report, should certainly help you to understand the importance of today's vote.

I should like now to run through the principal points in the report. The directives proposed by the Commission of the European Communities have two important objectives, reflecting those set out in the Council's 1976 directive relating to the protection of Community waters. They seek in effect to reduce the present level of discharges of mercury and its compounds (mercury, let me remind you, being one of the dangerous substances specified in List I attached to the 1976 directive), and also to reduce the concentration of mercury in the aquatic environment.

The Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection gave the Commission's two proposed directives its full approval. However, in its concern to improve the state of the environment and at the same time reduce the risks to public health associated with the use of mercury the committee makes a number of recommendations in the report, which I shall summarize for you now.

The first proposal concerns the limit values applicable to discharges of mercury into the aquatic environment by the chlor-alkali electrolysis industry. There are three important points to make in this connection.

Firstly, the Commission must at an early date submit further similar proposals to regulate other polluting industries, namely those manufacturing plastics, the cellulose industry, electrical engineering and medical laboratories.

Secondly, given that Member States are free to choose in the matter of monitoring procedures between limit values and quality objectives, there must be absolute assurance that the two procedures will be equally effective in protecting Community waters.

Thirdly, in view of the urgency of introducing quick and effective legislation we must press for the regulations relating to recycled-brine plants to be applied from 1986, particularly since a survey has shown that existing recycled-brine plants in the Community have already met the standards laid down for 1986.

As regards the plants still using the lost-brine process, which is acknowledged to be the more polluting of the two, and of which five are still operating in the Community, regulations relating to these are expected to be reviewed by 1986.

The second proposal concerns the quality objectives for the aquatic environment into which mercury is discharged by the chlor-alkali electrolysis industry.

As with the first proposed directive, it is important that the limit values should also be laid down for the quality objectives for the aquatic environment into which mercury is discharged by industries other than the chlor-alkali electrolysis industry.

On the other hand, and this applies to both proposed directives, as the impact of indirect discharges is extremely limited and difficult to evaluate, the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection feels that they should not be taken into account here and priority be given instead to reducing direct discharges, which are easier to monitor.

Finally, in the matter of form, we believe that the two proposals for directives should be combined in a single text.

In conclusion, Madam President, I hope that in the course of my brief statement I have succeeded in making a case for adopting this report. I devoted enough time in my opening remarks to the risks associated with the use of dangerous substances included on the black list attached to the 1976 framework directive, mercury and its compounds being among them, not to return to the subject now.

Of course, I do not regard our task as finished yet, for the electrolysis industry is neither the only nor the most polluting industry discharging mercury. In fact, there are in some Member States plants where the technology used needs to be very seriously re-examined. That is why I am calling on you to vote in favour of this report.

President. — I call Mr Collins.

Mr Collins, chairman of the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection. — Madam President, I have asked for the floor in this debate because I think that these directives, and the way in which they are being processed by Parliament, the Council and the Commission raise certain problems that I want to make clear to the House itself.

Each report on one of these proposed directives says right at the beginning 'having been consulted' and then goes on to say what the rapporteur wants to be said. If I am consulted, then I expect that whoever is

Collins

consulting me will listen to what I have to say. The European Parliament, I would suggest, is no different. If we are consulted, then we expect our views to be listened to. However, there is every evidence that, when the Council on 30 June looks at the 'drins' report, it will be seeing a set of proposals which are markedly and substantially different from the proposals on which Mr Mertens drew up his report. In other words, consultation in this Community is seen as no more than an unnecessary and very tedious farce. As one other Member of this House said to me not very long ago, why don't they just pay us our attendance money and tell us all to go home? If that is the level of attention we are being paid, then frankly that other Member is absolutely right.

Who produces the other texts? Who produces the other reports? Who authorizes them? Where are they discussed? The fact of the matter is that the rapporteurs, Mrs Fullet and Mr Mertens, who have spent so much time producing these reports, don't know; they haven't seen the new texts. And, indeed as chairman of the committee, neither have I, but I do happen to know that they exist. Therefore, I can do no more than appeal to this Parliament to condemn the arrogance of those who produce these reports and the weakness of those who allow them.

I think that there is certainly a need to consult, because there is a substantial difference of opinion on these technical matters, and I think that in this session, which comes just one year after direct elections, it is particularly important that we remember the need to make the Community democratically accountable to the population of Europe. We do not make it democratically accountable to anyone if reports are not made clear, if they are not brought out into the open and if Parliament is not given its proper place.

I cannot, of course, absolve Parliament entirely from blame for this because undoubtedly reports are sometimes held up. Sometimes, liaison is not all that it might be. I would appeal to you, Madam President, and to the Bureau of this Parliament, to look very carefully at the need for liaison with the Council and with the Commission. I think there is need for a very rigorous look at this. There is need for good management. There is need for good piloting of legislation through Commission, Council and Parliament. Above all, however, there is need for mutual respect among the three institutions, and it is really the absence of that respect that I am complaining most about. As far as these particular directives and reports are concerned, the Commission has claimed from the beginning of course, as it does in all these matters, that they have been produced after a considerable amount of consultation with experts. It would be very helpful if the Commission would occasionally tell us who these experts are, what is their standing and what they have really said, because if they produce one expert, I can produce another who will deny that the first one is

an expert at all! We need to know these things if we are to be able to evaluate their proposals.

I would also complain that the Commission frequently gives us pieces of the jigsaw but not the overall picture. We need a strategy statement. We need a statement of where the Community thinks it is going on the whole question of the environment. Today we have a report on 'drins' and later on this morning we shall have a report on mercury. Earlier this morning we had one on the conservation of wildlife and later on today we shall have one on major industrial hazards. Later in the week we shall have other reports on environmental questions. But where do these fit into the overall picture of how the Community sees the issue of the environment? I should like to see the Commission try a bit harder to produce this kind of statement.

I believe that the environment is an important issue at European level. This morning we are discussing pollution. Pollution has got no sense of territory. It has no loyalty. It bestows its favours equally on everyone in the Community, unlike human beings. This is an issue that is highly relevant to the population of Europe. They do not always see it, and it is our duty to bring home these particular problems to the electorate we are supposed to represent. That means that the whole issue has to be treated with a great deal of care and with a great deal of respect. We need the whole picture, we need good management and we need political will. I think that in many cases all of these have been absent.

President. — I call Mrs Weber to speak on behalf of the Socialist Group.

Mrs Weber. — (D) Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, the topic that we are discussing today has already been considered by the International Commission for the Protection of the Rhine in so far as the riparian States are concerned; we are therefore not breaking new ground but simply continuing a debate which has already been prepared for us. The Rhine Commission asked for a reduction of discharges of mercury into the water of the river to 0.5 g per tonne of chlorine by 1 July 1983. Some Community Member States have already declared their readiness to comply with this guideline; the Netherlands and the Federal Republic are already keeping to this limit and the Belgians have undertaken to restrict their discharges to 1 g per tonne by 1980. This means that in a sector covering the riparian States of the Rhine the European Commission's proposal does not in fact go far enough and is lagging behind the real situation. National water purification programmes have already advanced much further than is suggested in the Commission's proposals — in other words the values which the Commission aims to achieve by 1989 will already be respected in many Community countries by 1983. However, the situation is still different in the United

Weber

Kingdom and Italy which do not of course border on the Rhine and are the only Member States which still permit high saline discharge levels. In our view the values proposed by them are still far too high.

For 1983 the Commission has requested an average of 8 g per tonne; that figure has already in part been reached by the United Kingdom and Italy and the value proposed by the Commission for 1986, i.e. 5 g, has also already been obtained by some undertakings. It is therefore difficult to understand why values should be proposed for such a remote time horizon when they have already been achieved by most undertakings and certainly will be respected by 1983. I do not think that the purpose of Community directives can be to make provision after the event for arrangements which have already been made by the Member States; it seems to me that we should on the contrary set ourselves targets which represent genuine progress and not objectives which lag behind the actual situation.

I therefore recommend approval of the proposal put forward by Mrs Fullet in the committee to the effect that a limit of 2.5 g of mercury should be fixed for 1986. I cannot see why representatives of the United Kingdom should, by a majority in the committee, have reinstated the value which is of no practical significance, does not promote the cause of environmental protection and will merely lead to greater pollution of the Community waters than is necessary at this point in time. Nor can I understand why undertakings which have already made strenuous efforts to arrange their activities in the interests of environmental protection, should be given a longer period of grace than is absolutely necessary.

I therefore urge you to support this amendment when the time comes for votes to be taken.

President. — I call Mr Sherlock to speak on behalf of the European Democratic Group.

Mr Sherlock. — Madam President, I would first of all like strongly to support the observations made by the chairman of this Committee as to the usefulness of the work that we do in this Committee. I would also like to observe that usually environmental affairs are dealt with on a Friday when the attendance is slender. I am so pleased that my colleagues have made sure that I feel equally at home on a Tuesday, when the representation is equally slender. It will have at least the usual advantage of allowing them to walk in at voting time with their portfolios full of prejudices and vote accordingly.

These proposed directives on the discharge of mercury and other substances into water serve well to illustrate many points of similarity and many points of differ-

ence in our approach to the agreed ideals of a cleaner environment. Make no doubt about it, we are all aiming at the same target. Some of us do it more from the head, perhaps, than from the heart. Mercury is, always has been, and always will be a part of man's environment. Naturally occurring emissions liberate some 150 000 tonnes per annum from gasification, volcanic effects, and so on. To that mankind adds another 5 000 tonnes per annum worldwide. The drins, on the other hand, are wholly man-made: nature never made a drin.

Now my first point is easily demonstrated. Stop making drins and the concentration of these substances in the environment will, as they are naturally eventually degraded, fall to zero. It is a possibility. A few people in Holland would be out of work and a few people in the United Kingdom would switch to an alternative mothproofing agent. This will never occur with mercury. There are available substitutes for drins; their use in agriculture has ceased in the Western world and even their present limited use for other purposes in Europe is likely to cease before very long. There are, I believe, tropical pests which are still considered best treated with these substances, so their manufacture in Holland may continue, but the emissions from manufacture are already virtually nil. Their use is almost entirely confined to parts of the UK; but drins in the environment have never been shown to be dangerous to human health. Mr Mertens talks about 'these very dangerous substances'; but you have got to define what you really mean by 'danger'. Like mercury, they tend to be accumulated in animal organs and flesh, especially in fish. Hence the anxiety that man, at the end of the food chain, may eventually ingest enough to do him some harm. It has never yet happened. It is an interesting aside that in the UK, the angling man does not eat the species most likely to be affected but weighs them and throws them back into the stream, hoping to catch them again on another day. 'The common charender or chub, he does not look upon as grub', if I can slightly amend the poem. It is almost only in the UK rivers these days that significant quantities of drins are detected. The recommendations of the rapporteur are, for the most part, acceptable and need no hastening, no intermediate stages; it is a dying market.

Now, mercury in its inorganic form has never constituted any danger to man in his environment. It is not very toxic. Most of you are carrying quite a lot of it around in the teeth that you have had filled at the dentist. In its organic form, it is very toxic and it is this which caused the Japanese outbreaks. They were caused by discharge of methyl mercury into the aquatic environment, not by discharge of inorganic mercury. This, however, induced the present attitude and inspired this directive. No methyl mercury is discharged by the chlor-alkali industry. No methyl mercury has been detected in European estuarine or marine waters; so why the anxiety?

Sherlock

The fish is again the reason, for the fish stores up its mercury as methyl mercury; part of it is turned in that direction. Some occurs in sludges and sediments and is possibly caused by decaying aquatic creatures, but it is beyond a peradventure that this is a cyclical system maintaining an equilibrium. Many predatory species, such as the bass, the pike and the halibut, have higher concentrations, as one would expect. But the highest figure that has ever been produced, and this in individual specimens, is one part per million. The figures of methyl mercury in Minamata Bay were 50 times as high as that figure, the maximum which has ever been found in Western waters. This was a backward industry trying to catch up with modern manufacturing techniques, feeding its nastiness into a small bay around which lived a community of fishermen who depended on fish for their entire protein requirement.

Removal of excess mercury is certainly a desirable project, but the question is, how much? How little should be allowed to enter the environment? This becomes relevant when other factors are considered, factors that are mostly concerned with cost: with the effect of the cost of extraction on international competitiveness and on security of employment. The cost of extraction, in this and every comparable case, is a curvilinear graph. The nearer you get to zero, the bigger the cost, and the relationship as you approach the asymptote can be astronomical. The last few milligrams to be extracted can cost a thousand times more than extracting the first few.

We have a slight advantage in Europe, in that our method uses less energy than that used in the United States. The United States, in the whole of this industry, have a tremendous cost advantage on power, for any other method is more power-polluting: it needs far more power to extract a given product. We are cheap in this respect only, and in this House I have heard people bemoaning multifibre agreements and various other things, and I dare say some of them will come in later and vote against reasonable proposals for the chlor-alkali industry which would *help* our competitiveness.

There are 20 000 jobs upstream and downstream of the chlor-alkali plants in Europe. Do these facts not counsel caution in our approach?

Finally, I would draw attention again to EEC Directive 74/464 which gives national governments, Mrs Weber, the right to adopt uniform emission standards of environmental quality objectives. I shall not elaborate, because my colleague, Mr Newton Dunn, is going to explain this further. Let us wait until the research now in progress and the guesswork on which so much of this has been based yields positive results so that, if necessary, the standard can be reduced even below that propounded by Mrs Weber. However, if, on the other hand, the standards are seen, as I think they will be, to be overstrict as regards the environment, then

perhaps our industry can be given another chance to compete and not doomed to the sort of dismal future that seems to await it at the present time.

President. — I call Mrs Hammerich.

Mrs Hammerich. — (DK) Madam President, the Commission is currently submitting a series of proposals for harmonization in environmental matters, both the working environment and the physical environment. Some of these directives require total harmonization which means that individual countries are not permitted to have better regulations. This is, for example, true of that deadly material, asbestos. If this proposal is adopted, it will mean that our hard-fought legislation on asbestos will be reduced to nothing. This is because the new Community rules are much inferior to our own.

The reason the Community requires total harmonization is that it wishes to remove the so-called technical barriers to trade and these barriers have apparently to be removed even if it costs human lives. Some directives, however, leave it open to individual countries to create better rules. This is, for example, true of the two proposals on the aquatic environment which we are discussing today. Nevertheless there are many in my country — and with good reason — who fear that the European Communities' minimum standards will in the long run cause our programme of legislation on the environment to stand still or go into reverse.

Our environment experts have expressed the same concern about the directive on mercury. Local authorities will find it difficult to lay down stricter standards than those of the European Community when pressure is put on them by large companies wishing to avoid the high production costs caused, for example, by measures to protect the environment and which can refer to the Community's minimum demands in this area to support their case.

Mercury is a dreadful substance. It causes damage to the foetus and destroys the nervous system. It is taken up into the food chain and cannot be broken down biologically. In Denmark we have a total ban on discharges of mercury. Any firm must have a special dispensation which is granted only after careful examination of the local conditions. The Community's proposal is quite different. It allows discharges to be made and lays down a series of general rules which take no account of local conditions which can differ widely. Our experts consider that the quality objectives of the proposal are alarmingly low and the measuring methods quite unreliable. For example, the proposal contains a measuring unit of grams per tonne production capacity. This is quite absurd since it means the larger the factory, the more mercury it can discharge. All in all, the proposal pays more attention to competitiveness and profits than to the environment.

Hammerich

There are many other points one could criticize. This proposal is one more example to us that there is no justification for transferring responsibility for important social matters to the European Community. It is foolish to relinquish grass-roots control over the environment. There are, of course, a number of environmental problems which must and should be solved by means of international cooperation. But we have to say once again that in this case the European Community is not the appropriate instrument.

President. — I call Mr Muntingh.

Mr Muntingh. — (NL) Madam President, I want to say a word about Mr Mertens' report. It says that the Council directive provides for strict controls over the marketing and use of pesticides in the Community but that it is not applicable to pesticides exported to third countries. I put a question about this to the Commission some time ago when I asked whether the Commission shared the view that chemical substances which are recognized as being dangerous in the European Community are not likely to have the same deleterious effects in third countries; I also asked whether there might be a need to keep a register of such substances to enable these countries to see at least what the precise risks are. To my amazement the Commission answered that the toxicity of these substances is well-known in the developing countries so that there is no need at all to take further action in Europe. I certainly do not agree. Even here in Europe there are a good many people, even in the civil service, who do not understand how dangerous certain chemical substances may be and what consequences they may have. I think it is a great pity that this report makes no reference to the need to prohibit exports to the developing countries of products which are forbidden in Europe. The risks to man and the environment arising from the use of certain substances are precisely the same in the developing countries as they are in Europe.

There are of course substances which are dangerous but may still be used, provided that careful instructions for their use are complied with. When these products are exported, those instructions must be given in the language of the developing country concerned. I should like to take this opportunity to advocate a ban on the export of products which are prohibited in the European Community. If certain dangerous substances are exported, they must be accompanied by clear warnings and clearly worded instructions for use. I stand by my view that a kind of central agency should be set up from which the relevant data on these substances could be obtained by users in the developing countries and by anyone else who is interested.

President. — I call Mr Ghergo.

Mr Ghergo. — (I) Madam President, I must first congratulate my friend and colleague Mr Mertens on his excellent report and the work he put into it.

The proposal for a directive is concerned with the protection of the aquatic environment, that is to say, inland, territorial marine and estuarine waters, from discharges of three highly toxic substances: aldrin, dieldrin and endrin, commonly known as 'drins'.

It deals with compounds in the group of aliphatic pesticides and alicyclic halogenates of which the best known, though the least toxic, is DDT. They achieve their toxic effect via nose, mouth and skin. The substances absorbed accumulate in the body, especially in adipose tissues, and remain there indefinitely, with the result that, in fat-induced diseases, they can poison the system even after a considerable interval of time. The toxic effect on the nervous system takes the form of trembling, convulsions and, in bad cases, paralysis. On the hemopoietic system, the effect is aplastic anaemia.

As the rapporteur informed us, the main sources of pollution are a factory in the Netherlands and some twenty factories in various Community countries for moth-proofing wool.

The proposal for a directive contains provisions laying down the maximum permissible level of discharge by industrial establishments and the standards and methods for monitoring the quality of water exposed to it. Article 5 of the directive requires the Member States to bring the necessary measures into force within two years of its notification. On the next page, however, Annex I gives 1 January 1982 as the deadline for the end of the first stage in the reduction in the maximum permitted quantity of pollutant in discharges. Obviously, these two deadlines must expire on one and the same date.

My second comment is that the deadline prescribed for the second reduction, on 1 January 1986, is too far away; it would be better to cut it by half and make it 1 January 1984. Where the directive at present provides for a maximum of 40 thousand-millionths of a gram per litre, this should be reduced to 20 thousand-millionths by 1 January 1982 and to 4 by 1 January 1986. I propose, therefore, that there should be an intermediate stage between 1982 and 1986 and that in 1984 the thousand-millionths should be reduced from 20 to 10 as a halfway stage before the final reduction to 4 thousand-millionths in 1986.

My third point is that the proposed directive on quality objectives makes no reference to Annexes I and II, which lay down the formal deadlines for application of the directive. I have, accordingly, tabled three separate amendments, one in order to produce a single date for the first reduction, another to insert the intermediate deadline of 1 January 1984 for the reduction of drins in discharges and the third to ensure that the wording of the article contains a reference to Annexes I and II as forming part of the directive.

As regards the two methods suggested for the achievement of the objectives aimed at, I agree with the

Ghergo

rapporteur when he says in his report that the alternative of setting limit values and that of setting quality objectives are equally valid from the technical point of view. I also agree with his statement that the limit values should be harmonized with the quality objectives so as to ensure effective protection whichever method is employed. In fact, I believe the Commission is already working on this.

Finally, I must emphasize the importance of making exports to non-member countries subject to the protective measures applied by the Community to agricultural pesticides. We must make ourselves responsible for this, especially in view of the fact that most of these pesticides are exported to non-member, in particular, developing countries.

Subject to these recommendations, my group supports the directive.

President. — I call Mr Newton Dunn.

Mr Newton Dunn. — As my colleague, Mr Sherlock, said, I want to spend a few moments explaining what the standards for the emission of pollutants should be and how they should be set by the Commission. There are two alternative approaches to controlling the quality of the environment. I am disturbed that the Commission does not fully understand the difference. I am anxious that Members should understand it.

The first approach, which is preferred by the Commission, involves setting identical limits for the discharge of pollutants regardless of where factories are situated. The second approach involves setting identical objectives for the level of pollutants remaining in the environment. This second approach is called the environmental quality objective approach referred to in short in the UK as the EQO approach. Which of the two approaches is better? Both have a lot to be said for them, but I believe that the EQO approach is superior. The Commission, however, ignores the EQO approach and prefers to set standard levels of emission for factories wherever they may be. Fortunately, two Member States, France and the United Kingdom, understand that it is important to take account of where the factories are located.

You could only have uniform standards for emissions if we had an entirely uniform environment in the Community. Yet the environment in the Community varies widely. The environment in the tip of Scotland is vastly different from that in the toe of Italy. Each State has a different environment. Each has some problems and some natural advantages. Italy, lucky Italy, has lots of sunshine, but it also has the Mediterranean, which is an enclosed sea from which pollutants are not easily removed. Germany and Holland are situated

centrally in our Community. They therefore enjoy advantages for trade but have the difficult problem of the highly polluted river Rhine. France and the United Kingdom are on the edge of the Community, but we are fortunate that we have the Atlantic Ocean which can sweep away many of the pollutants discharged from factories on our shores.

Our French colleagues understand the value of the EQO approach. To quote from a report issued by the French Ministry of the Environment, which discussed the discharge of phosphates into rivers: 'Why compel the whole of French industry to abate this kind of pollutant in places where it is not doing any harm?' 'In places where it is not doing any harm' — that is the point. Another example, if I may give it — take two factories, one on the Mediterranean and another on the Atlantic coast. Because the Atlantic sweeps away the pollutants, it is obviously important that the limits for emissions of pollutants be set at a higher and more severe level on the Mediterranean than on the Atlantic coasts. And yet the Commission prefers to ignore this. Nor does the argument that emission standards must be the same everywhere in order to prevent distortion of trade hold good. I mentioned the sunshine in Italy. Because the Italians have the benefit of sunshine, they can grow their tomatoes in the open air. Sadly in the UK we have to grow tomatoes under glass. If we accepted the Commission's arguments about distortions of trade, the UK could surely demand that all Italians must grow tomatoes under glass, in order that they do not have an unnatural advantage. Well, that is of course absurd. We have differences in the Community. We must allow for them and rejoice in them. *Vive la différence*, as the French say. Our overriding objective must be the purity and quality of the environment.

Madam President, I should like to quote from a declaration of the Council of the European Communities of 22 November 1973 which stated that the protection of the environment should be and I quote: 'at the lowest cost to the Community'. This implies that we must make optimum use of our limited financial resources for improving the environment. The declaration goes on to say and I quote again: 'Proper account must be taken of the specific characteristics of the regions in question'. In other words, we want flexibility in setting the levels for discharge of pollutants. I would therefore close with a plea to the Commission to offer alternatives to the Member States: either set limits for discharge levels or set limits for the pollutants that remain in the environment. Only in this way can we ensure the best and highest environmental standards throughout the Community for the limited financial resources at our disposal. Now if I am wrong and the Commission fully understands this difference, will it please say so.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mr Natali.

Mr Natali, Vice-President of the Commission. — (I) Madam President, if I were to follow up the last speaker's interesting remarks on tomatoes and mercury, the debate would go on for a long time. We ought perhaps to table a motion to give England some of our Italian sun in exchange for a bit of the North Sea. But that is not the problem.

He commented on decisions taken by the Council. In fact, the statement on limit values arises from a decision of the Ministers for the Environment in the seven Member States of the Community whose shores are on the North Sea and which may, therefore, be facing the same problems as the United Kingdom.

The real point, Madam President, is that these two directives represent a further substantial advance in the fight against the pollution of our waters. In common with the two rapporteurs, Mr Mertens and Mrs Fullet, I must emphasize that these proposals for directives are strictly in line with the framework directive originally adopted and laying down the basic principles involved.

As far as the first directive is concerned, I am grateful to Mr Mertens for the clear way in which he summarized the essentials of a set of rather formidable technical proposals. We are convinced that, apart from a few amendments put down by Mr Ghergo, they will find a large measure of agreement in the House. The Commission wishes to make its position perfectly clear. It can accept Amendment No 2 referring to the harmonization date for the directive and we are grateful to the proposer. On the other hand, we are unable to accept Mr Ghergo's other two amendments. We cannot accept Amendment No 3 because we think it unwise to make a flexible arrangement even more flexible by proceeding in different stages, if only because the action to be taken must obviously involve a series of investments which cannot be set in train by what might be described as fits and starts. As regards Amendment No 1, we shall do our best to achieve its underlying purpose.

The proposals relating to discharges of mercury into the aquatic environment evoked a variety of reactions from speakers in the debate. I should like to renew my thanks to Mrs Fullet and to assure her that, in the light of the comments made in her report on the first proposal for a directive, the Commission is willing to submit an early proposal for a directive covering other industries which cause pollution through the emission of mercury.

We agree on the need to ensure that the limit values and quality objectives provide adequate protection for Community waters but we cannot accept that the limit values for 1989 should be brought forward to 1986; we believe that the adjustment of de-pollution systems

involves heavy investment and that this needs a period of time to produce results, especially as it has to go hand in hand with investment on the industrial side. We agree with Mrs Fullet that the national programmes are insufficient guarantee of any comparable or significant reduction in the emission of mercury and we shall, accordingly, consider the suggestion that we should make proposals on the subject.

We accept the recommendation that Article 4 should be taken out and, in the case of the second proposed directive, that the two proposals should be combined in a single text.

Apart from these comments on the reports submitted, I have two further observations to make, one to Mr Muntingh and one to Mr Ghergo, who both referred to the importance of keeping non-member countries informed about offending products. With regard to this, I should like to mention that our data bank at Ispra is willing to supply information on the toxicity of products to anyone who asks for it.

I should also like to assure Mrs Hammerich, who raised the question of the Community's competence on issues of environmental policy, that, in our considered opinion, the Community has such competence. As Mr Mertens pointed out, the fact that Parliament spends a good deal of its time on environmental issues is proof both of its competence and of its interest and concern in this regard.

Finally, Mr Collins made some comments of a general character. I should like to remind him that the first of the directives we are dealing with was submitted on 20 June 1979 and the other on 16 May 1979. I do not think he has a right to complain if, in the meantime, we got on with the job of drafting the directives, especially in the light of Parliament's expressed anxiety to see decisions taken quickly and expeditiously in the field of environmental policy. He has, in my view, no justification for complaining that the Commission has not given an overall picture of the situation and has concentrated on specific provisions. As the relevant legal instrument, the directive certainly deals with specific provisions but, when we discussed the ratification of the Convention of the Council of Europe, Mr Muntingh and others reminded us that the Commission had provided Parliament with a report comprehensively reviewing the action taken in previous years, the problems which had arisen and the way in which it was proposed to tackle them. An overall picture is provided in connection with the programme which we submit every two years and with the report which we make on the action programme for the environment.

It is simply not true that there has been no overall picture. Subsequently, of course, it is reflected in specific directives inspired by it. I should like, therefore, to assure Mr Collins and the members of the

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Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection that the Commission will continue to make its contribution to the completion of our common task.

President. — The debate is closed.

The motions for resolutions will be put to the vote at the next voting time.

6. *Welcome*

President. — It is with great pleasure that I welcome to the Distinguished Visitors Gallery of the European Parliament today a delegation from the National People's Assembly of the People's Republic of China, led by Mrs Deng Yiangchao, Vice Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Assembly.

(Applause)

The visit by our distinguished guests will help to strengthen the ties between the European Community and the People's Republic. The European Parliament has demonstrated the importance which it attaches to such relations by setting up a delegation for contacts with the National People's Assembly of China. The delegation will have talks with Mrs Deng Yingchao and her colleagues during their stay in Strasbourg.

The talks, which have already begun and will continue until tomorrow, will, I am convinced, help to deepen our mutual understanding and strengthen the friendship between the Chinese people and the European peoples. On behalf of the European Parliament, I bid you welcome and wish you a most successful and rewarding visit.

(Applause)

7. *Social security for employed persons and their families moving within the Community*

President. — The next item is the supplementary report by Mr Albers, on behalf of the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment, on the state of progress within the Council of Ministers with regard to the amendments to Regulations Nos 1408/71 and 574/72 on the application of social security schemes to employed persons and their families moving within the Community (Doc. 1-140/80).

I call Mr Albers.

Mr Albers, rapporteur. — *(NL)* Madam President, before turning to the actual subject of this debate, I wish to comment briefly on the time at which this report has been placed on our agenda. The report was actually intended for the meeting of the Council of Ministers of Social Affairs early in June; unfortunately that meeting has now taken place and it is no longer possible at this stage to influence the Council's deliberations. The first recital of the resolution must therefore be amended to read 'the meeting which was held in June'. Members may now ask whether there is any point in discussing our report but the fact is that the Council of Ministers of Social Affairs is likely to hold several more meetings this year. That will certainly be necessary and it seems particularly useful for us to consider this matter as the outcome of the Council meeting was rather meagre. We were very disappointed by that, Madam President, because we all know that the problem of unemployment is becoming more acute — in particular unemployment among young people. We know that a number of branches of industry are experiencing great difficulties with all the consequences that this entails for employment opportunities. We know too that some groups of workers in our society are facing very real difficulties. I have in mind the handicapped and certain groups of women but I am thinking in particular, in the context of our debate today, of migrant workers, a higher percentage of whom are unemployed than of workers who are nationals of the Member States themselves.

We are concerned today with amendments to Regulation No 1408/71. This regulation essentially grants migrant workers certain rights on the basis of the social insurance system of the country in which they are employed; this is the 'country of employment principle'. This arrangement is designed to avoid uncertainty as to the actual rights of the migrant worker and the place at which he may invoke those rights. Thus the migrant worker does not run the risk of being ground in the bureaucratic mill; he knows where he is entitled to benefits and where to obtain them. On the other hand, the workers themselves must meet their social security obligations in their country of employment.

An exception is made to this general arrangement in the case of France where children's allowances are paid on the basis of the system applicable in the country where the migrant worker's children actually live. Article 98 of Regulation No 1408/71 requires the Council to review the whole problem of family allowances for the dependants of migrant workers who do not live on the territory of the Member State in which the head of household is employed; the aim here is to arrive at an identical solution for all the Member States. In 1975, the Commission proposed that the system enforced by the eight Member States should be extended to France, on the assumption that the arrangements adopted by these eight Member States guarantee a link between the benefits accorded to

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families in the country of employment from the taxation angle and the payment of family allowances. A further relevant consideration is that, given the link between different social security benefits in a particular Member State, this solution ensures more uniform social protection for the workers concerned.

The Commission's proposal was strongly supported in October 1975 by members of several political groups in the European Parliament, with the exception of the late Abbé Laudrin of the Group of European Progressive Democrats, who advocated equal rights for migrant workers but had certain reservations because he estimated the cost to France of the new provision as FF 1.5 thousand million. The basis for this estimate was never clearly explained. According to the Commission's statistics, the number of dependants not resident in the country of employment of the workers concerned and entitled to benefits on the basis of Community regulations, totalled 144 593 in 1973, including 90 296 Italians. Dependants of workers employed in France totalled 12 192 including only 2 000 Italians (i.e. dependants resident in countries other than France). These are exact figures which enable us to make an overall calculation showing that with a difference of BF 5 000 per month for a family of four children, France would have to pay at most BF 180 million or FF 30 million more. The true amount would in all probability be closer to FF 10 million because Italy is one of the countries with the lowest family allowances and, in addition to the 2 000 Italian children, the provisions would also cover some 10 000 children from Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands where family allowances are higher than in France. Perhaps the figure of FF 1.5 thousand million included the children of migrant workers from third countries especially in North Africa since there are over 600 000 workers from Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia in France. But the regulation applies only to workers from EC Member States and it must be conceded that application of the principle of the 'country of employment' rather than the 'country of residence' would have no serious financial consequences for the nine Member States.

The fact that during the discussion of the Commission's proposal in the Council France was supported by the Federal Republic of Germany and Belgium must therefore be attributable to other reasons, in particular the enlargement of the EC to include a number of Mediterranean countries with weak economies and low family supplements. Calculations show that the Federal Republic pays out over BF 1.5 thousand million more annually for the 80 000 Italian children who are still resident in Italy than it would on the basis of Italian legislation. Extending this calculation to the large numbers of children of migrant workers from Greece, Spain, Portugal and Turkey, the reasons for the German opposition are self-evident.

However, there are also a number of important reasons for adhering to the original arrangement.

Netherlands legislation grants child allowances regardless of the place of residence of the worker's children, thus militating against the adoption of the place of residence as a uniform basis for the payment of these allowances. It must also be noted that in the Netherlands the children of workers from third countries enjoy the same treatment as the children of EC workers. The action programme for migrant workers comes out strongly in favour of this equal treatment and has been approved by the European Parliament, the Economic and Social Committee and the European Trade Union Confederation.

A second objection to departing from the principle of the country of employment as the basis for payments is that the pressure for the reunification of families would otherwise increase, resulting in a much larger flow of migrants in future years with all the problems that this would bring in its wake, such as lack of reception possibilities, the shortage of suitable educational facilities, increasing unemployment and tension between the first and second generation of migrants etc. The costs which this would entail cannot be estimated as easily as the financial benefit of lower family allowances, but the social costs would in all probability be many times higher than in the example quoted above.

The tax aspect is a further reason for not changing the system. If the tax abatement is lost in some Member States the injustice of a change in the present arrangements would be even greater. Migrants would have to pay more tax and would receive less in return. A fourth point is that departure from the principle of the country of employment might jeopardize other benefits, thus undermining one of the principal acquired rights in the social sector in the European Community. In a publication issued in December 1979, the European Trade Union Confederation points out that the attitude of the Federal Republic, Belgium and France is seriously and inadmissibly jeopardizing the acquired rights of workers and wonders what the reaction of the Court of Justice would be to this practice. The highest family allowances are paid by the countries with strong economic systems. They allow workers from countries with weak economies and low family allowances access in order to maintain and if possible increase their own wealth. These workers who are forced to leave their families behind to escape from unemployment and poverty cannot be paid lower family allowances. How could that possibility even be entertained in a Community which seeks to strengthen the unity of the individual national economies and promote their harmonious development by reducing differences between regions and closing the gap with the less-favoured areas?

For all these reasons, the Commission should yet again be encouraged to work towards the maintenance and defence of the 1975 and 1978 proposals. The Council too must be urged to respect the basic rules of the

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EEC Treaty and break away from its path of petty squabbling and indecision in order to make this a Community of workers enjoying equal opportunities and equal rights.

President. — I call Mr Vernimmen to speak on behalf of the Socialist Group.

Mr Vernimmen. — (NL) Madam President, our colleague, Mr Albers, has just drawn our attention to a problem which in my view touches on the fundamental objectives of our European Community. I want to endorse my colleague's two conclusions and urge the Commission not only to maintain but to firmly defend our 1975 and 1978 proposals. Analysis of this matter shows a number of aspects which are open to argument but let us not lose sight of the social aspect. In some Community countries, such as Ireland and Italy, family allowances are much lower than the benefits payable in the countries where the majority of migrant workers reside — Germany, Belgium, France and the Netherlands. If the country of residence of the worker's children were taken as the basis for the payment of family allowances instead of the country of employment, this would in effect bring us back to the situation which prevailed before 1971 and, in my view, would be a serious infringement of the Rome Treaty and above all of the Council decision of 21 January 1974 on the social action programme. The stated aim is to 'improve the conditions of free movement of workers from the Member States in the Community, including social security provisions'. That seems to me to be perfectly clear. May I make a further comment on the financial aspect. In several countries, led by the Federal Republic, family allowances have been greatly increased with provision for tax deductibility in respect of the number of children. Consequently, taxation in these countries is becoming increasingly heavy. But migrant workers would be penalized if the country of residence of their children were taken as the criterion. They would pay higher taxes without receiving the due benefits. Secondly, it is financially logical and equitable for migrant workers to be paid in the country in which they work. They pay their social security contributions in that country and should receive the benefits normally accruing by virtue of those contributions. This argument is strengthened further when we consider that each country has a different arrangement in respect of social security contributions. Pensions, sickness insurance and family allowances do not represent the same percentage in each case, and payments must clearly be made in the country of employment.

As I see it, this administrative squabbling can only bring a substantial financial advantage to the richer European countries. It will do so at the expense of the poorer countries and especially at that of the migrant workers who are already seriously disadvantaged. The European Community can only earn strong criticism if

it encourages the migration of workers and freedom of movement while at the same time refusing to apply the social justice provided for in the Treaty.

As I see it, this problem must be approached in the context of enlargement of the EEC. The negotiations with Greece have already progressed far enough for it to be apparent that some countries will, during the transitional period, apply the principle of the country of residence for the payment of family allowances. The interests at stake here are quite obvious and I therefore believe that Parliament must press for a genuinely uniform agreement. Another reason for supporting Mr Albers' supplementary report is this: in some Member States social security is treated as a form of remuneration, if only indirectly. It is difficult to accept that the earnings of migrant workers should be treated differently from those of workers in certain Member States. Parliament, to my mind rightly, has repeatedly called for better and more efficient coordination of social security. Earnings and social security benefits must not be allowed to distort competition. In view of all these factors, I believe that the supplementary report has been submitted at the appropriate time and that we must approve it for reasons of social justice.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mr Van der Gun to speak on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (C-D).

Mr Van der Gun. — (NL) Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the Christian-Democratic Group I should like first to thank Mr Albers for his report which has been produced promptly and on the basis of expert knowledge. We also wish to thank him for the explanations he has given us which highlighted the practical implications. I must say that the Christian-Democratic Group has been rather surprised by the developments in this matter. The Community's social policy is not particularly extensive. It covers the free movement of workers and there is also the problem of equal social security rights for migrant workers which was discussed by the Council as long ago as 1974. It is thus rather surprising to find that France is the only country to depart from the Community norm; given the background to this matter, one really would expect France to conform to the position of the Eight. In the context of European unification and integration we should have expected the trend to be different from that which we are now witnessing.

It really is disturbing to note that economically strong countries are now making proposals to fall into line with the position adopted up to now by France, especially when it is remembered that economically weak groups such as migrant workers are the hardest hit in these countries. However you look at it, the upshot of

Van der Gun

the views now being put forward by Germany and Belgium would be that migrant workers would be required to make great financial sacrifices. We consider that to be in flagrant contradiction with the development that we should have expected and also unacceptable from the social angle. Considering too that migrant workers come off worst in terms of employment, it is perfectly unreasonable to expect them also to suffer financial hardship for reasons which, to our mind, are incompatible with the trend that we should have hoped to see. All of this merely confirms the inability of Europe and of the European Institutions to organize their social and economic policies. When we also consider that this matter has been under discussion now for 6 or 7 years and that instead of moving closer together we seem in reality to be growing apart, I tend to wonder what faith can be placed in the idea of a socially just Europe. We want a Europe with a human face but when we see the proposals to which I have just referred we are certainly doing no service to Europe by accepting them. I therefore urge the Commission to bring all its influence to bear in an effort to prevent the adoption of the socially unjust proposals that are now being put forward. The Commission can count on the complete support of the Christian-Democratic Group in this matter.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mr Prag to speak on behalf of the European Democratic Group.

Mr Prag. — Madam President, we European Democrats do not believe that a measure is necessarily good because it involves expenditure by the public authorities, nor do we cultivate popularity by saying, like a certain television presenter on British television, 'give them the money', as if the taxpayers' money were the legislators' own to give away. We like to combine compassion with common sense. We see the need for justice, but also for the legislator to be convinced that the measures will produce the benefits intended and not a bonanza for people less deserving.

Having said that, let me hasten to reassure the House that, by and large, we support the Albers report. It recommends the payment of family allowances at the rate of the country of employment, wherever the children may reside. I am not sure that this system is necessarily just in all respects. For example, an Italian father of four children who is working in Italy will get family allowances equivalent to BF 1 400 per month. But if he moves to Belgium, leaving his children in Italy, he will get family allowances of BF 10 200 — about eight times as much. That may put his family in a privileged position in relation to other families whose father is in similar employment in the place where the children are living.

However, having looked at this disadvantage, I think that the system recommended in Mr Albers' report

gives at least some compensation to children who suffer the disadvantage of the absence of their father. The deciding factor, as far as we are concerned, is the need for equal treatment in the matter of remuneration for all workers who are Community nationals, wherever they may be working. On balance we think justice is on the side of the system used for paying family allowances to migrant workers in all the Community countries, except France. That is the system of paying the rate of the country where the father is employed. We believe that this system could well be used in all Community countries. Indeed, equal social security for migrant workers is one of the Community's most important social achievements.

We also regard it as a great pity that one member country, Germany, is holding up another quite different Commission proposal to improve social security for migrant workers by extending it to the self-employed and the non-employed. This has now been held up for two years. We want the delays to end. We want to see a fair and even Community system for the payment of family allowances, and we want to see an end to the reservations of one Member State on the improvement of Community regulations concerning social security for the self-employed and the non-employed.

These are the reasons, Mr President, why we give our firm support to the Albers report.

IN THE CHAIR: MR JAQUET

Vice-President

President. — I call Mr Ceravolo to speak on behalf of the Communist and Allies Group.

Mr Ceravolo. — *(I)* Mr President, we too are in agreement with the Albers Report, a clear and well-reasoned document. We are faced with an intolerable situation and it is incredible that we need to discuss the matter at all. Moreover, Parliament's decision is likely to have a limited effect. To judge by what speakers have said, the House is likely to vote in favour but, for some time now, the Council has ignored the wishes of Parliament and even those of the Commission. In my view, it is completely wrong to pay allowances on the basis of the dependent relatives' place of residence; there can be no justification for it. I assure Mr Prag that what may appear to be a privilege for the emigrant is not really one at all when one realizes the sacrifices which an emigrant's life entails, such as separation from the family and so on. Anything else would be a step backward, a reversal of the old 1971 regulation and a denial of acquired rights; this would

Ceravolo

conflict with the undertaking which the Community gave to migrant workers to provide equal treatment for all workers and with the declarations in favour of their freedom of movement within the Member States of the Community, which was, moreover, to be underwritten by appropriate social security legislation in accordance with the Council resolution of 1974. Family allowances are part and parcel of remuneration, which means that we are dealing with a breach of the basic principle of equal pay for equal work.

This reversal of the directive and of the previously accepted position would create the cock-eyed situation that a worker who has a trade union negotiating for him at his place of work had no say in determining a substantial part of his remuneration because, unlike those working alongside him, he depended on other negotiations and settlements in other countries, despite the fact that he works, creates wealth, pays taxes and social security contributions just the same as them. This absurd situation can arise only as the result of the selfishness which leads to preference being given to workers who cost least and employment being easiest to find where social security is worst.

The Italian Communist Group solemnly declares that if, after so much talk about the free movement of workers, the unification of the labour market and equal rights for all, not least migrant workers, the Council does not respect the opinion of Parliament, we do not rule out the possibility of a decision, duly arrived at, to bring the matter before the Court of Justice, if need be. This is not a case here of the Council's shortcomings affecting political issues on which there may be more than one view but the fundamental principle of equality between citizens of the Community and that, in our view, is something which can be neither ignored nor infringed with impunity.

(Applause from the left)

President. — I call Mr Haagerup to speak on behalf of the Liberal and Democratic Group.

Mr Haagerup. — *(DK)* Mr President, I should like on behalf of the Liberal and Democratic Group to recommend a vote in favour of the Social Committee's report drawn up by Mr Albers. My group considers that it is only fair that those migrant workers who wish to have their children remain in their original environment should receive the same child allowance as that granted in the country where the migrant worker is resident and in employment.

I would draw particular attention to the fact that migrant workers pay the full rate of taxation in their country of residence and thereby contribute towards financing the welfare system of those countries. We also consider that this is an area in which there must be common rules throughout the Community. If there

are not, migrant workers will be treated differently according to the country in which they seek employment and this would be a factor limiting the free movement of labour which is laid down in the Treaty of Rome. It is for this question of principle that my group supports the proposal.

President. — I call Mr Petronio.

Mr Petronio. — *(I)* Mr President, we, too, endorse Mr Albers' supplementary report, which was, in fact, unanimously adopted by the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment. This probably means that Parliament will vote by an overwhelming majority, if not unanimously. We should perhaps congratulate ourselves on this in advance.

The issue has been made abundantly clear, that is, that it is completely unfair that a migrant worker who pays his social security dues in a given country should receive social security benefits not from that country but from the country of residence, simply because they are lower in the latter. This creates a differentiation between workers of a host country and migrant workers which is inconsistent and incompatible with the spirit of the Treaty of Rome. As Mr Albers indicated, there are other issues as well, such as the 'saving' which some countries of the Community would make by standing their ground on the decisions of 1971, especially when the Community is enlarged by the advent of Greece and, later, Spain and Portugal. It is not, in our view, a saving if the family of a migrant worker who moves about in the Community receive less money and lower allowances from him. This is not a saving but a reduction in the standard of living and maintenance of the children, with a corresponding reduction in their chances of training for a career. This conflicts with the spirit of the Treaty of Rome and with its emphasis on economic development.

It would, therefore, be a false saving in strictly economic as well as social terms. On the other hand, the economy of Europe could only benefit if there were an improvement in the living standards of migrant workers' families and assistance were given to the children who remained behind in the poorer countries of the Community to overcome the handicaps which prevent them from putting themselves, in terms of ability and training, on the same level as their opposite numbers in the wealthier Member States.

President. — I call Mr Ghergo.

Mr Ghergo. — *(I)* Mr President, Mr Albers deserves our thanks although, without any reflection on the value of his work or his undoubted zeal, I must say that the case scarcely needed stating. However, this only enhances my respect for his report.

Ghergo

The resolution before us is based on two sets of considerations. First are the legal considerations arising out of the application of Article 48 of the Treaty, which recognizes 'the freedom of movement for workers ... within the Community', which 'shall entail the abolition of any discrimination based on nationality between workers of the Member States as regards employment, remuneration and other conditions of work and employment'.

As the report makes abundantly clear, the Commission has, since 1975, proposed that a migrant worker should be entitled to the family allowances in force in the country where he is employed. Although supported by a majority — six delegations were in favour — the proposal came to nothing because it failed to secure the unanimous vote required by Article 51 of the Treaty.

Anything which ran contrary to this proposal would not only favour the minority but would constitute a reverse in that the least satisfactory social security systems would tend to become the norm. What purports to be equality of treatment would, in a purely technical sense, be achieved by standardizing the arrangement under which family allowances are related to the children's country of residence rather than the country of employment but equality would exist only on paper because, as has been said, it would operate to the detriment of the great majority of workers from well-established emigrant sources such as Italy and Ireland, where the level of family allowances is markedly inferior to that in other countries.

Even purely economic considerations argue in favour of the formula proposed. Obviously, anyone working abroad will tend to regard this employment in a country other than his own as temporary employment and will keep his family in the country of origin so long as this suits him financially. Keeping up two residences and two homes, travelling to and from and the strain of separation are all disadvantages which a worker can cope with if he is able to maintain his family on reasonable terms. If he is not able to do so, he will bring his family with him and this will cost the host country very much more than paying higher family allowances. In any case, we must never forget that, even if the financial terms are improved, the children of a migrant worker have to grow up without the companionship of their father.

All these considerations and those set out in Mr Albers' report are powerful arguments in favour of the proposed amendment to Regulations Nos 1408/71 and 574/72.

I should like to conclude by saying, in all sincerity, that even though the proposed amendment benefits Italian emigrant workers and gives them a fair deal at last, that is not the main consideration which motivates me but a strong sense of what is legally, even more than morally, correct.

President. — I call Mr Frischmann.

Mr Frischmann. — (F) Mr President, on behalf of the French Communists I would like to join in denouncing this glaring injustice whereby twenty-two years after the signing of the Treaty of Rome, which proclaimed equal treatment, we find that serious discrimination between migrant workers and nationals of the Member States is still being practised. Discrimination against migrants from third countries is even worse. We, for our part, have always insisted that families remaining in the country of origin should receive the same family allowances and benefits, and at the same rates, that are paid in France. In fact, Article 117 of the Treaty requires that family benefits applicable in the country of employment be paid to families residing in another Member State; under the terms of Article 117 'the Member States agree upon the need to promote improved working conditions and an improved standard of living for workers, so as to make possible their harmonization while the improvement is being maintained'. To which we would add: provided, of course, that harmonization takes place universally and is based on the most progressive legislation. Now, as you well know, this is not the case at present. In practice, on this point as on every other, the tendency is to take the least progressive legislation.

In the matter of social security, as with every other problem regarding working conditions, accommodation, rights and freedoms, we believe in the principle of absolutely equal treatment for all workers, whether nationals, migrants from within the Community or migrants from third countries. We also believe very strongly that the problem of family benefits and social security is inseparable from the need to establish reception structures that will provide positive assistance in reuniting families in the migrant's country of employment. We should also take into consideration the effects of currency fluctuations on transfers of family benefits and wages.

In conclusion, I believe that we really must find a prompt solution to these problems which have existed for years now, otherwise the workers concerned will inevitably come to the conclusion, as we have, that in social matters the Community always fails to live up to its promises.

(Applause from the benches of the Communist and Allies Group)

President. — I call Mr Vredeling.

Mr Vredeling, Vice-President of the Commission. — (NL) Mr President, I have followed this debate with interest and with a feeling of satisfaction: satisfaction because several speakers have acted as spokesmen for their whole groups. We have seen unanimous

Vredeling

support for the report by Mr Albers. I am sure too that Mr Albers must be satisfied by the results of his efforts — and he has made very real efforts as rapporteur on this topic. I am grateful to him for presenting his report to the House. He must surely be pleased to see that Parliament has unanimously endorsed his views and his resolution tabled on behalf of the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment.

Why are we in fact discussing this matter today? I probably do not need to remind you that the differences between the principle of the country of residence and the country of employment have existed since the adoption of Regulation No 1408/71. At the time there were six Member States and France adopted the principle of the country of residence for determining the payment of child allowances, while the other five countries — later joined by the new Member States — preferred the principle of the country of employment. In 1975, the Commission already proposed to the Council that the compromise — without which the regulation could not have been adopted — involving an exception for France, should be terminated; the Council did not accept our proposal because it could not achieve the necessary unanimity. The matter has now been raised again because the Commission, in accordance with a wish expressed by the European Parliament, has extended the existing social security regulation to self-employed and non-employed persons. That is one reason for which the Council is discussing this matter. The negotiations on Greek accession are a further factor. You know that the agreement reached in the negotiations with Greece provides for a three-year transitional period during which the principle of the country of residence will be applied for the purpose of the payment of child allowances to Greek workers. However, this is an exceptional position and, unless a decision is taken to the contrary, the principle of the country of employment will apply to Greece too at the end of the three years.

Why is this matter so important? I shall explain the reasons very briefly. Let us take the case of an Italian worker with a family, a wife and three children, or an Irish worker who is employed in the United Kingdom while his wife and his children have stayed in Ireland. The differences in the annual income of such a family are in the order of 4-6 000 Dutch florins, equivalent to 1-2 000 EUA per family. This is a significant amount. A change in the system could mean a substantial loss to migrant workers employed in Community countries while their families remain in a different country. Generally the worker is a man, although the situation is exactly the same when the woman works and her children stay in the country of origin. Very considerable differences of income are at stake here. As Mr Vernimmen said: it is unacceptable for us to lose ground instead of progressing in the social sector — and in this instance there would be a very real loss to migrant workers who, socially speaking, are already in a difficult position.

It is a matter of acquired rights for the weakest groups in our society. However, these rights have been called into question, namely at the Council meeting last week when the extension of Regulation No 1408/71 to self-employed and non-employed persons was discussed. In itself that is a welcome measure which we have ourselves proposed and for which support was obtained from many members of the Council. However, strangely enough, the principle of the country of residence of employment was once again broached. The Federal Republic in particular is unwilling to accept this extension to the self-employed unless the principle of the country of residence is applied. In that case we should be faced with a very strange situation. You can imagine what would happen then. The new principle would apply to the United Kingdom, to Germany and to France — for instance. A self-employed person covered by the regulation would then receive a totally different child allowance from a person in employment. That would conflict with all existing national legislation and I fail to see how such a change, which is being discussed in the Council, could ever be approved at national level. However, I have not yet noticed any opposition from my own country.

None the less, I would expect there to be a storm of protest in the Netherlands if migrant workers were suddenly placed in a worse situation than before. I have taken the Netherlands as an example but I assume that the position in other countries is the same. I consider it most appropriate that we should now be discussing this topic in public to enable the news media to give the necessary coverage and draw the attention of the policy-makers, Ministers and Secretaries of State.

Moreover, I would propose that a unanimous Parliament should include all the directly elected Members from the Federal Republic of Germany.

I would like to make this point in a language other than my own mother tongue: all the directly elected Members of the European Parliament, including those from the SPD, the CDU and the Liberal Party in Germany, agree on this.

Mr President, the reason for which I said that in another language will be perfectly clear to my audience here and outside the House. I have already drawn attention to the enormous differences and to the prejudice suffered by the persons concerned. Reference has rightly been made in this Parliament to a requirement of social justice. Mr Ghergo said that the Court of Justice should really turn its attention to this matter. Strangely enough, it has not yet done so. A case has never been brought before the Court from the only country, France, in which the exceptional provision applies. Perhaps some of my audience will understand what I am driving at, but this is a fact. The matter has never been brought before the highest judicial body in our Community, the Court of Justice.

Vredeling

One aspect which I find problematical is a point made by Mr Albers: if you change the present system, you will have a situation in which families will move from their present country of residence to the country in which one or both of their parents reside for purposes of employment. There will thus be pressure for families to be reunited. That in itself is not an argument against the provision since the reunification of families is a desirable social objective. I am sure Mr Albers will agree with me on the desirability of this but this reunification must not be based on compulsion as it would be if the principle of the country of employment were abandoned.

As Mr Albers told you, the Council discussed this matter last week. An unacceptable compromise seemed to be emerging, namely to the effect that the provisions of Regulation No 1408/71 should apply to the self-employed to the exclusion of the child allowances; that would encroach upon the very principle of the regulation which is to provide total social security of the kind which obtains in the Member States. To make such an exception would to my mind set a very dangerous precedent. I said that in the Council. I even said that under these conditions the Commission might be obliged to withdraw its proposal.

Fortunately it has not come to that yet, but because of the important principle at stake, the Commission felt that it should present the matter in the clearest possible terms to rule out a dangerous compromise. Mr President, the Council has not in fact taken a decision yet but has asked the Commission to review the whole case and see what can still be done. In this connection I would remind you that while we have constantly been discussing the principle of the country of residence or of employment, there is also a further aspect — the fact that two countries are applying to join the Community and apply neither the residence nor employment principle. This played a part in the negotiations with Greece and will undoubtedly also do so in the accession negotiations with Spain and Portugal. I cannot yet venture to say what solution will be arrived at. We could of course permanently exclude the self-employed and non-employed from the scope of the Regulation, given the Council's attitude; but that would in my view be most unjust: the United Kingdom, which provides social security for its entire population, would be unilaterally penalized if the self-employed and non-employed were not covered by Regulation No 1408/71. I must admit in all honesty that we may have to propose a compromise to break the deadlock and Parliament will of course be free to reject that compromise.

I am not saying that the Commission intends to propose a compromise now, but I can see the time coming when we may have to think about that. I would add a promise that we shall not put forward any such proposal without consulting the European Parliament itself. We shall do so in a measured manner because the matter is too important for haste. And

when I say that we may have to seek a compromise, I would add specifically that the workers concerned must not suffer prejudice as a result. At the very least their acquired rights must be maintained. In any case in the enlarged Community it will be necessary to change the country of employment or residence system to take account of Spain and Portugal which have a large surplus of migrants. I say this in all frankness to the Parliament to make sure that the point is perfectly clear. The Community itself is founded on a spirit of equitable compromise. We cannot reject compromises out of hand because in a democratic system politics are based on reasonable compromises.

I defended the views of Parliament in the Council last week on behalf of the Commission and shall continue to do so, with the proviso that we may have to seek a reasonable and socially acceptable compromise for the benefit of the large group of self-employed and non-employed persons. I repeat that if we do arrive at such a compromise, a point about which I am not at all sure, we shall not place it before the Council without first consulting the European Parliament.

President. — I call Mr Albers.

Mr Albers, rapporteur. — Mr President, Mr Vredeling made the point that the principle of enabling migrant workers to be reunited with their families must not be encroached upon. I do not want there to be any misunderstanding on this. I had no intention of suggesting that we disagreed with that principle. On the contrary, I am well aware that the European Social Charter and the Statute for Migrant Workers drawn up by the Council of Europe, together with various ILO provisions, insist on the need to promote this reunification. We make the same point very strongly in our own action programme for migrant workers and their families.

It would, however, be quite wrong for the voluntary decision taken by the migrant worker on whether or not to bring his family with him to be influenced by a difference in the system of family allowances. That was the point I wished to make. I think the decision must be entirely voluntary and the migrant worker must not be obliged to bring his children over in order to receive more family allowances. The decision must be left to the discretion of the migrant worker. That was what I wanted to say, and I tried to show that the idea of saving money for the State budgets by paying fewer family allowances is misguided because if the children then join their parents the Member State incurs additional costs for education, housing, social service, health care and so forth. I wanted to make this perfectly clear.

President. — The debate is closed.

The motion for a resolution will be put to the vote at the next voting time.

8. Membership of committees

President. — I have received from the Group of European Progressive Democrats a request to appoint Mr de la Malène member of the Political Affairs Committee to replace Mr Debré.

Are there any objections?

The appointment is ratified.

9. Position of women in the European Community

President. — The next item is the interim report by Mrs Dekker, on behalf of the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment, on the position of women in the European Community (Doc. 1-78/80).

I call Mrs Dekker.

Mrs Dekker, rapporteur. — (NL) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, this interim report has been drawn up with a particular view to the European contribution to the UN World Conference on the improvement of the situation of women, due to be held in Copenhagen on 14-30 July next. The report is based on a resolution tabled by Mrs Maij-Weggen and a number of other women Members of Parliament; their resolution requested the Commission to draft three reports on the position of women in the Community, with particular reference to health, employment and education. Those are the three topics on which the Copenhagen conference will be concentrating in its action programme for the next five years.

Without wishing to play down the important efforts which the Commission has made in this area, I note with some disappointment that the reports requested by us have not yet been received; similarly the *ad hoc* Committee on Women's Rights has not yet completed its own basic report which might have usefully replaced the Commission's documents. Consideration of this matter was in fact entrusted to the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment before the decision to set up the *ad hoc* committee was taken; that explains why the latter committee was not responsible in this instance.

The Copenhagen conference is being held half way through the decade of the woman announced by the UN in 1976. In addition to preparing new measures for the next five years, the Copenhagen conference is to review the progress made in the past five years towards equal rights for men and women. In particular, it is to examine the progress made with the implementation of the world action plan adopted at the first conference in Mexico City with a view to eliminating

the prejudice suffered by women and discrimination against them. Attention is also to be given in Copenhagen to the problems of certain specific groups of women. Separate items have been entered on the agenda, to cover the problems of women under the apartheid regime in South Africa and the situation of Palestinian women.

The problem of women refugees in general is also to be discussed. These agenda items are obviously of major political significance but they have not been discussed in the interim report because they do not fall within the terms of reference of the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment.

The preparatory reports for the Copenhagen conference clearly show how little progress has been made in recent years. The situation of women in the more deprived sectors of society has further deteriorated, in both the industrialized and developing countries. In general, the present deterioration in the world economic situation has further prejudiced the situation of women. Before looking more closely at the content of the motion for a resolution, I wish to pay particular attention to the situation of women in the Third World. It is becoming increasingly apparent that without special back-up measures, development programmes often do not improve the situation of women and may even be detrimental to their interests.

As industrialization progresses, women find themselves placed in situations comparable to those obtaining in the early days of industrialization in our own countries: low wages, long working hours, poor working conditions and serious problems in combining work outside the home with work in the household are all characteristic features which are harmful to the raising and education of children. At the same time there is increasing inequality between men and women. Agricultural reforms also often have negative consequences for women who have traditionally played an important role in that sector.

The first conference in Mexico made a start on defining the role of women in the developing countries and highlighting their economic importance. It is estimated for example that 65 % of the female population of the developing countries take part in the employment process as against only 35 % in the industrialized countries. EEC programmes for cooperation with Third World countries have up to how unfortunately given scant attention to equal participation by women in the process of development. But it is a fact that an improvement in the situation of women can also be beneficial to the development of a country. Here too the Copenhagen conference is expected to bring useful results.

The motion for a resolution requests the Council to report officially on specific measures to improve the situation of women in the Third World, particularly in

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the ACP countries. The report should cover both measures already taken and those planned for the future. In the Community itself the Mexico objectives have only been attained on a very limited scale. Thanks to the EEC directives important progress has certainly been made towards the attainment of equal pay and equal treatment on the labour market and in the area of social security, but we are still far removed from equal social participation of men and women. Equal rights, duties and opportunities without distinction according to sex or way of life are readily accepted as basic principles but their practical implementation leaves much to be desired. The *ad hoc* Committee on Women's Rights has now been considering this whole subject in detail for six months.

The interim report makes no claim to cover the whole subject exhaustively, and I shall now look in rather more detail at our motion for a resolution. It sets a number of priorities and includes certain economic and social measures which, although recommended by the World Action Programme and the preparatory committees for Copenhagen, are still far from generally implemented. The statistical programmes still do not provide sufficient data, information and indicators to determine the special situation and problems of women. The World Action Programme sets high priorities here because adequate data and information are imperative for the preparation of the necessary policy guidelines and socio-economic changes. The available EEC statistics on unemployment for example still only give an incomplete picture of the situation of women in this respect. The European Parliament has already referred to this aspect specifically, e.g. in the report by Mrs Dunwoody, which formulated precise criteria that have still not been met.

The World Action Programme indicates that the following aspects must be assessed in detail: the participation of women in policy-making and planning in all sectors of society; the economic and social contribution of their household work and other household activities and home-based economic activities and comparison of the time spent by women on these activities with the working time of men; also, a comparison of their leisure time.

One of the minimum requirements laid down in the World Action Programme is the formation of general emancipation committees to promote the attainment of equal opportunities for women and their complete integration into social life. The EEC conference on equal rights for women held a few weeks ago in Manchester also favoured the creation of an equal opportunities committee at Community level.

In addition to its advisory and coordinating task, this committee will also watch over the implementation of EEC directives and measures in this area. There is a surprising gap at present: the absence of a special agency to follow the far-reaching process of emanci-

pation and the creation of equal rights for men and women which is surely the most important movement of this age, and also an area in which the EEC has played and will continue to play in future an important role. This absence is particularly surprising, considering the many sectors and areas for which Community agencies do specifically exist at present.

A further point is the participation of women in all levels of decision and policy making — an objective which is still far from practical attainment. We need only look at the Commission itself to see that there is no woman Commissioner and never has been up to now. Our resolution makes proposals for concrete improvements to the dominant patterns of employment and promotion as they exist at present. In the area of paid and unpaid work the World Action Programme calls for public measures to give implementation to the generally accepted right of men and women to work under equal conditions, regardless of their marital status, and to create possibilities everyone to participate equally in the economic process. In the developing and developed countries alike, it remains true to say that the majority of women are concentrated in a limited number of professions with low levels of skills, responsibility and remuneration. Women all over the world find that they suffer discrimination in terms of payment, promotion, working conditions and recruitment practices. In addition, their employment prospects are hampered by cultural obstacles and family responsibilities. When few jobs are available and unemployment is high, women always have less chance of finding paid employment even if official policy is to avoid discrimination against them. So much for the World Action Programme.

Unpaid household work is for the most part done by women, even when they have a career outside the house. As Commissioner Vredeling told us only recently: an official study conducted in Denmark, which can certainly be described as a progressive country, has shown that where a man and woman perform the same number of hours of work each day outside the house, women on average spend three hours each day on household work as well, while men do not spend more than 15 minutes on similar work. This clearly shows how far removed we are from an equal distribution of tasks and responsibilities. In the absence of a fundamental redistribution of paid and unpaid work starting out from the industrialization of work and working conditions, equal participation of men and women in the life of our society will, I am convinced, remain all illusory objective.

The development of new technologies is a further important topic at present in the Community. There are strong indications that this development will have adverse qualitative and quantitative consequences for the employment of women if our policies remain unchanged. Studies conducted by the ILO and UN show that the loss of medium-level supervisory jobs as

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a result of technological developments in the past ten years has had particularly harmful consequences for the working situation of women. While men moved up to higher duties for which they were often not sufficiently qualified, women have dropped to lower levels of employment where they have often been working below their degree of qualification. A disturbing factor is that the new technologies lead to transfers towards the very sectors in which there is already a high concentration of female workers. In addition, without appropriate policy measures the new developments are likely to be particularly detrimental to the working conditions of women in particular. The benefits of the new technologies should on the contrary benefit women in equal measure.

In the short term practical measures are needed to counteract the adverse consequences for women, for example training facilities giving access to new forms of employment. The close relationship between professional training and labour market prospects is self-evident. The prospects of women on the employment market are still much lower than those of men, even where their levels of training are identical. If women are to be motivated to participate more actively in professional training measures they must have a better prospect of subsequent employment.

Further important measures include equal responsibility for rearing children, special leave for parents, availability of social services and shop opening hours. Our report covers all these points. The specific problems of the wives of migrant workers who are faced with particularly sad and hopeless situations require special attention in the near future.

Mr President, this report does not in any way claim to represent a complete approach to the problem of the emancipation of women and men. We do seek to outline certain priorities, however, and give further guidance for implementation of the objectives subscribed to by the EEC countries at Mexico and now at Copenhagen. The EEC has an important part to play not only within its own frontiers but also in relations with other parts of the world where we can give support. The European Parliament can surely play a unifying role here and give incentives for further action.

Internally, the existing EEC directives have already shown that considerable progress can be made through a common approach. That approach is vital to maintain the balance between the different national social and economic systems and to prevent existing distortions from deteriorating further. To ensure an adequate contribution by the Community and the European Parliament at the Copenhagen conference we must obtain a sufficient insight into developments within the Member States themselves. The Council is therefore asked to report in detail on the state of implementation of the objectives agreed at the Mexico

world conference, on practical programmes for the next five years and on specific measures to increase the share of women in development programmes with the Third World. The Commission for its part is asked to report on the position of women in the applicant countries with particular reference to employment, remuneration, education and training; finally the Commission is requested to prepare an action programme on the basis of the results of the Copenhagen conference.

We would also hope that the Commission will adjust its contribution to the conference to the views expressed by the European Parliament. The Copenhagen conference can mobilize interest and encourage action but it can only outline the present situation. Implementation must then be effected by each country in the Community context through a continuous process. The European Parliament must prove itself capable of action in this area and live up to the expectations placed on it.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mrs Roudy to speak on behalf of the Socialist Group.

Mrs Roudy. — *(F)* I thank Mrs Dekker for her excellent report, with which I am broadly in agreement. This is not, of course, the report of the *ad hoc* Committee on Women's Rights, which we are currently preparing and which will come up for debate at the end of the year, but an interim report in anticipation of the forthcoming Copenhagen conference.

The Copenhagen conference, as everyone knows, is a follow-up to the United Nations conference held in Mexico five years ago, which drew up 14 objectives to be achieved between 1975 and 1980. And on this there is something I must say. It is a fact that very few, if any, of these objectives have been achieved, even though the text of the Mexico conference, the Convention that is, was adopted and signed by a great many nations. Which goes to show that it is not enough just to adopt and pass these major declarations of principle: there has also to be the means to apply them. Now, if the vote that took place here following the adoption of the Mexico Convention on 14 March of this year showed me one thing, as some of you may remember, it was that we have a lot of soul-searching to do. We were being asked at that time to vote on a proposal that was the embodiment of these fine principles that we had just voted for unanimously, and this House rejected this specific point which ultimately was calling for the implementation of one of the points in the Mexico resolution.

The report we are debating has been drawn up by the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment and deals with employment. The priority objective of the

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ad hoc Committee on Women's Rights at the present time is to analyze the employment position of women and, indeed, the currently widespread unemployment among women in Europe.

It is no accident, therefore, that these two committees, having been given the task of deliberating on the position of women's rights in Europe today, should both have adopted the employment of women as a priority. As we know, the present employment difficulties, the crisis caused by industrial reorganization, the third industrial revolution — as it is being called — represent for thousands of women a daily anxiety, namely the security of employment. The crisis and the introduction of new technology means that women, more than men, are being hit by unemployment. Handicapped by inadequate vocational training and by an education system that from their earliest childhood gives them less encouragement than their male companions to prepare themselves for a job, they are experiencing enormous difficulties in defending their place on the job market. And we have analyzed the reasons for this downturn in female employment and, what is more important, the means of escaping this dilemma. We have to find a way to reverse the present trend towards a proliferation of job markets. Part-time, half-time, temporary work, working hours by arrangement, home work (which is coming back into fashion), moonlighting — all these are indicative of a very serious situation.

But these are really just illusions and nothing more than a trap set particularly for women in these times when jobs are scarce and the job market is becoming more and more fragmented. Women today can no longer be treated as the reserve army of the world's economy as it is under the capitalist system. We shall have to find a way of reducing these secondary markets in order to end up with just one single job market. And the most obvious way — although not the only way — of doing it is to reduce the length of the working week for all.

The Community has succeeded in adopting three excellent directives: on equal pay, on equal treatment and on social security. One of the findings of the Manchester conference, organized at the instigation of Mr Vredeling, was that the intentions behind these directives have not been matched by actions. It is essential for us to have the will to apply ourselves to giving effect to the provisions without further delay. We must find other remedies, we must put forward new proposals. That will be one of the tasks of the Ad Hoc Committee on Women's Rights, which is arranging for a debate on this at the end of the year. The Copenhagen Conference has provided us with a good opportunity of mentioning it here.

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

The House will rise.

(The sitting was suspended at 12.55 p.m. and resumed at 3 p.m.)

IN THE CHAIR: MR ROGERS

Vice-President

President. — The sitting is resumed.

10. *Urgent procedure*

President. — I have received from Mr Aigner and others, on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party — (Christian-Democratic Group), and from Mr Curry, on behalf of the European Democratic Group, a motion for a resolution with request for urgent debate, pursuant to Rule 14 of the Rules of Procedure, on unusual movements in the trade of milk products exported by the nine Member States of the European Community and abuses of the provisions of the EAGGF Guarantee Section to the detriment of the Community budget (Doc. 1-246/80).

The justification for urgent procedure is set out in the document itself.

I shall consult Parliament tomorrow morning on this request for urgency.

11. *Votes*

President. — The next item on the agenda is the vote on the motions for resolutions on which the debate has closed.

We shall begin with the *Muntingh report (1-152/80): Convention on the conservation of European wildlife and natural habitats.*

(Parliament adopted the preamble and paragraphs 1 to 6)

On paragraph 7 I have Amendment No 4 by Mr Sayn-Wittgenstein-Berleburg seeking to replace this paragraph by a new text:

7. Forcefully brings to the attention of the Council and Commission the World Conservation Strategy, although the priorities which it lays down will have to be reshaped in detail to suit the specific situation in the European Community.

What is the rapporteur's position?

Mr Muntingh, rapporteur. — I am in favour of this amendment, Mr President.

(Parliament adopted in succession amendment No 4 and paragraphs 8 to 11)

President. — On paragraphs 12 and 13 I have three amendments:

— Amendment No 2 by Mr Lyngø seeking to delete these paragraphs;

— Amendment No 5 by Mr Sayn-Wittgenstein-Berleburg seeking to replace paragraph 12 by a new text:

12. Notes that the Convention also applies to whales and that the Community is not only committed to protecting them for that reason but also, for reasons of solidarity, to cooperating in international bodies;

— Amendment No 6 by the same author, seeking to replace paragraph 13 by a new text:

13. (a) Urges the heads of government of the Member States, if they have not already done so, to have their countries accede to the International Whaling Commission by a procedure to be agreed;

(b) Is of the opinion that the Environment and Consumer Protection Service should bear full responsibility for further measures concerning whales and particularly for support for measures to stop the importing of whale products into the European Community.

What is the rapporteur's position?

Mr Muntingh, rapporteur. — *(NL)* Mr President, paragraph 12 notes that the Convention also covers whales and must therefore ensure their protection. This is no more than an observation, but one that must not be overlooked. As you know, the Convention has been signed by the Community and cannot now be changed. That is clearly pointed out in paragraph 17 of the resolution.

The Commission has now submitted to the Council and Parliament a proposal for a regulation covering imports of whales with a view to protecting these animals. Parliament has repeatedly made it clear through questions and resolutions that whales must be protected. That is the intention of paragraphs 12 and 13 which must therefore be maintained. Why does Mr Lyngø want to delete them? Because he wishes to keep open the possibility for his compatriots in Greenland to kill a given number of whales each year. I would, however, remind Mr Lyngø that unless vigorous and rapid measures are taken to protect whales his fellow-countrymen will in the foreseeable future find no more whales to kill because there will simply be none left.

He is doing no service to his compatriots with this amendment and merely jeopardizing the future of the whole species. I therefore strongly reject this amendment to paragraph 12. As regards paragraph 13, the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection feels that the service responsible for the environment and consumer interests should be given responsibility for measures to protect whales because the committee feels it wrong for the whale fishers who have up to now been the cause of the extermination of the species to be asked now to take care of their protection. That is tempting the devil. Parliament cannot accept this amendment because in its resolution on the World Conservation Strategy last month it said that commercial interests cannot be allowed to prevail in matters of nature protection over the interests of natural science. Parliament, the Commission and your rapporteur therefore reject the amendment by Mr Lyngø.

As regards amendments 5 and 6 by Prince Sayn-Wittgenstein, I view amendment 5 favourably. In amendment 6 Prince Wittgenstein calls upon the heads of government of the EC Member States, where they have not already done so, to ensure through a procedure coordinated between them that their respective countries accede to the International Whaling Commission. My question is whether Prince Wittgenstein implies that all our countries should accede separately to the International Whaling Convention or whether he means that the Community should accede to it as the representative of the nine countries. There is a difference, because in the first instance it is possible that the different Member States could vote against each other in the agencies of the Convention while in the other eventuality the Community would speak with a single voice. I should like the author of the amendment to indicate what his intention is as I do not understand it clearly. I cannot therefore give an opinion on his amendment.

President. — The author of the amendment is not present, so I am afraid, Mr Muntingh, you will have to give us the benefit of your wisdom without his advice.

Mr Muntingh, rapporteur. — *(NL)* Well in that case, Mr President, I shall place my own construction on this amendment and my view is that it gives the Community the possibility...

President. — Mr Muntingh, it is for the Members themselves to interpret the amendment before deciding on their vote. We only want to know whether you are for it or against.

Mr Muntingh, rapporteur. — *(NL)* In that case I leave it to the Members to decide, at least on point a). I shall give no advice myself.

(In successive votes, Parliament rejected amendment 1, adopted amendment 5, amendment 6 and paragraphs 14 to 18)

President. — On paragraphs 19 and 20 I had Amendment No 1 by Mr Verroken, on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (C-D), which has been replaced by Amendment No 3 by Mr Verroken and Mrs Schleicher on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (C-D), Mr Sherlock, on behalf of the European Democratic Group, and Mrs Pruvot, on behalf of the Liberal and Democratic Group, seeking to delete those paragraphs.

What is the rapporteur's position?

Mr Muntingh, rapporteur. — (NL) Mr President, we discussed this matter in detail in the Committee on the Environment, and we felt these paragraphs to be among the most important in the Convention in the sense that we reject the egocentric, anthropocentric approach. By this I mean that we cannot simply view nature from the angle of man's mastery over it but that we must see man as part of nature. Mr President, from that angle . . .

President. — Mr Muntingh, it is not for you to put the case for or against the amendment. I am asking whether you accept it or not.

Mr Muntingh, rapporteur. — (NL) I appeal most strongly to my friends in the Christian-Democratic, Conservative and Liberal Groups not to adopt this amendment. It would be completely wrong to adopt the anthropocentric approach. I therefore firmly reject this amendment.

(Parliament adopted amendment No 3 and paragraphs 21 to 32)

President. — I call Mrs Squarzialupi to give an explanation of vote.

Mrs Squarzialupi. — (I) Mr President, I rise to give an explanation of vote on behalf of the Italian members of the Communist and Allies Group. We are in favour of Mr Muntingh's report and also of the Commission's proposal, despite its limitations. We applaud the intention to do something to protect our natural environment by conserving certain species of wild animals and plants and their natural habitats in our continent. We believe this is the course to be followed and so get rid of the idea that the exploitation of nature means less exploitation of man.

There is, of course, a close connexion between the two and the protection of nature must be treated as the

protection of man since, among other things, it provides an opportunity to increase employment and a means of enhancing physical and psychological wellbeing. We also attach importance to the effect which the work of nature conservation can have on young people, who are reluctant to work because it so often affects their health.

Another reason why we shall vote in favour is that the working class fully appreciates the importance of safeguarding the environment as the birthright of all and as a decisive influence on general health. In this connexion, I should like to mention an inquiry carried out at a very big Italian factory, Fiat of Turin, into the subjects which interested its workers most. The subject which came first was the protection of health and of the environment. So we must support this course of action and ensure that nature is no longer treated as a consumer asset but as common property producing other assets; like man, it must stop being regarded as a source of maximum profit and, in consequence, of exploitation.

President. — I now put the motion for a resolution as a whole to the vote, incorporating the amendments which have been adopted.

The resolution is adopted.¹

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President. — We shall now consider the *Mertens report (Doc. 1-54/80): Discharges of aldrin into the aquatic environment.*

Before considering the motion for a resolution, we must vote on the amendments to the directives.

On Article 5, paragraph 1, of the directive on limit values Mr Ghergo has tabled Amendment No 2 seeking to amend the paragraph as follows:

5. Member States shall bring into force the measures necessary to comply with this directive by 1 January 1982. They shall forthwith inform the Commission thereof.

What is the rapporteur's position?

Mr Mertens, rapporteur. — (D) Mr President, this amendment adds clarity and I would recommend its adoption.

(Parliament adopted the amendment)

¹ OJ C 175 of 14. 7. 1980.

President. — On Annex I, paragraph 1, of the directive on limit values Mr Ghergo has tabled Amendment No 3, seeking to insert after the first indent a second indent:

- from 1 January 1984, µg/l, for a monthly load of 7.5 kg.

What is the rapporteur's position?

Mr Mertens, rapporteur. — (D) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, this amendment concerns a matter of substance and proposes that an average figure be again introduced as regards time limits for the introduction of the limit values in 1982 and 1986. This morning Mr Natali made it very clear that this would lead to technical difficulties and I am therefore no longer in a position to recommend the House to adopt this amendment. I ask you to reject it.

(Parliament rejected the amendment)

President. — On Article 1, paragraph 1, of the directive on quality objectives, Mr Ghergo has tabled Amendment No 1 seeking to amend the paragraph as follows:

1. This directive fixes quality objectives for the aquatic environment with regard to aldrin, dieldrin and endrin, and the monitoring procedure to be adopted in accordance with the standards set out in Annexes I and II.

What is the rapporteur's position?

Mr Mertens, rapporteur. — (D) I would recommend the adoption of this amendment.

(Parliament adopted the amendment)

President. — As those amendments have been adopted, the last paragraph of the resolution must be amended to include in the text of the motion for a resolution the proforma phrase: 'Calls on the Commission to adopt the following modifications'.

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

The resolution is adopted.¹

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President. — We shall now consider the *Fuillet* report (Doc. 1-55/80): *Discharges of mercury into the aquatic environment.*

Before considering the motion for a resolution, we must vote on Amendment No 1, tabled by Mrs Weber seeking to amend the second paragraph of Annex I of the proposal for a directive as follows:

2.2 Existing lost-brine plants

Such plants may not discharge, on an average monthly basis, directly into the waters referred to in Article 1 (2) more than: (*delete the first two indents*)
— 2,5 g mercury/t chlorine at 1 July 1986.

What is the rapporteur's position?

Mrs Fuillet, rapporteur. — (F) In light of the situation in most of the Member States, which have already achieved the levels we are calling for, I recommend the adoption of Mrs Weber's amendment.

(Parliament adopted the amendment)

President. — I put to the vote the motion for a resolution as a whole, incorporating the amendment which has been adopted.

The resolution is adopted.¹

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President. — The next item is the motion for a resolution contained in the *supplementary report by Mr Albers on social security for employed persons moving within the Community (Doc. 1-140/80).*

I put to the vote the motion for a resolution as a whole, incorporating the modification made by the rapporteur to the first indent of the preamble during the debate.

The resolution, thus amended, is adopted.¹

12. *Position of women in the European Community* (continuation)

President. — The next item is the continuation of the debate on the interim report by Mrs Dekker on the position of women in the European Community (Doc. 1-78/80).

I call Mrs Maij-Weggen to speak on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (C-D).

¹ OJ C 175 of 14. 7. 1980.

¹ OJ C 175 of 14. 7. 1980.

Mrs Majj-Weggen. — (NL) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, when my group tabled a resolution last September in conjunction with the European Democratic Group on the preparations to be made by the European Community for the UN World Conference on improving the situation of women, we had three objectives in view. Those objectives which are set down in the resolution annexed to the Dekker report were as follows: we wanted the Commission to prepare three reports on topics which were bound to be discussed in Copenhagen: the position of women in respect of employment, education and health. We also wanted the responsible parliamentary committees to consider these reports in preparation for a debate in plenary session. Finally we asked for a delegation from Parliament to attend the Copenhagen conference in order to put forward the views expressed here. Eight months have passed since our resolution was tabled and there are still six weeks to run before the conference opens; at long last we have embarked on our debate.

In all honesty, I must say that we are in a rather difficult situation. The three reports requested by us have not been submitted and consideration in the committees has fallen behind schedule. All that we have is an interim note from the Social Affairs Committee and we should probably be pleased by this since otherwise there would have been no opportunity to open this debate on the Copenhagen conference.

I want to say a word about the conference itself. There are three important items on the agenda. Firstly, the achievements of the past few years in different countries as regards the improvement of the position of women are to be evaluated, special attention being given to employment, education and health. Then the draft action plan in favour of women for the period 1980-1985 is to be discussed. That action plan was already prepared in 1979 through regional and sectoral conferences: regional conferences such as that organized by the Economic Commission for Europe (its recommendations are annexed to the Dekker report) and sectoral conferences such as that organized by WHO in Alma-Ata, the ILO in Geneva and more recently the OECD in Paris.

The draft plan of action was ready in the spring of this year and is now being discussed on a wide scale. The third section of the Copenhagen agenda is to be devoted to the role of women in major political conflicts. The discussions will cover the problems of women refugees, in particular the position of women in Palestinian refugee camps and of women suffering from the South African policy of apartheid.

Some people consider these political topics to be of less importance. I do not agree but I shall return to that in a moment. I just wanted to say a word about the three items of the Copenhagen agenda. Firstly, the attainments of the past five years for the benefit of

women in the areas of employment, education and health, both in Europe and in the third world. The reports compiled by the United Nations on these three topics do not leave us with an optimistic impression. The general conclusion of the reports is that progress is slight and only selective. Progress, if only slight, has been attained in the industrialized countries and scarcely at all in the third world. Moreover this minimal progress is confined to the middle and higher social groups, at least for the most part. In most countries of Europe and elsewhere, the situation of women from the lower social groups and from vulnerable groups in society has deteriorated rather than improved in recent years. That is the reality which transpires from the UN reports.

In the past five years the percentage of illiterate women in the third world has grown rather than diminished. Educational facilities in these countries cannot keep up with population growth and women are the first victims. 40 % of the world's women can neither read nor write as against 20 % of men. In the Western countries, especially in the European Community, the number of illiterate women is fortunately small, but on the other hand in the EC countries twice as many girls than boys leave school early without completing their course of study. The position of women on the labour market is obviously influenced by factors such as this. It is true that the number of women in active employment is gradually increasing but most of them work in poorly paid jobs requiring little skill. This applies to 50 to 75 % of women in the Western world while 90 % of women are in the same situation in the third world.

Moreover the economic crisis is taking a particularly heavy toll on women. In the developing countries and in the industrialized world, including the European Community, the percentage of unemployment among women is appreciably higher than among men and in the third world women who do not enjoy the protection of European directives, work for wages which are 1/3 to 1/5 of those paid to their male colleagues. I should like to make a marginal observation at this point: the multinational undertakings are only too well aware of the availability of these low wage-earning groups. The ILO report drawn up in preparation for the Copenhagen conference states that in South East Asia over 20 million girls between the ages of 10 and 14 are working for very low wages in the electronics and textiles industries whose production goes mainly to the western countries. The situation should be the subject of detailed study by the European Community and by our Parliament, Mr President.

The second part of the Copenhagen conference is to discuss a new world action programme for the benefit of women. The striking feature of this draft programme, and I quote one of the introductory paragraphs, is the emphasis placed on the fact that an improvement in the situation of women cannot only be

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seen in terms of social development but must also be interpreted as an essential part of the economic, social, juridical, cultural and political dimension of human life. A striking feature is the great importance attached in these reports to the reform of economic structures as a condition for improving the position of women. I refer to macro-economic structures and the introduction of a new code of conduct for relations between the industrialized and developing countries. I have in mind also the discussion of a new world economic order, as well as economic structures at lower levels than this involving the redistribution of labour and incomes. Both these aspects are vitally important to the European Community.

The draft action plan also places emphasis on extra activities for the benefit of women in vulnerable situations, for example women in the lowest social strata of society, in rural areas, women working at home, women employed in family businesses, migrant women and handicapped women. Here too the European Community has a great deal of work to perform, particularly in the area of social policy.

The third part of the Copenhagen conference deals with the role of women in major political conflicts. Mr President, there is, as I have already said, a tendency to play down this aspect because it is said to have nothing to do with the position of women. I do not agree. I even see that attitude as the typical ostrich kind of policy. When we look at the refugee camps which are filled by political conflicts we find that they are populated mainly by children, women and elderly people. 90 % of the population of the Ogaden desert camps and Polisario Front camps are women. The so-called homelands in South Africa consist of villages populated by women — villages which the men left on a large scale to work in the South African mines and harbour areas. Women are naturally seriously affected by these political problems and they have every right to be heard in Copenhagen.

The question remains as to the lesson which we can draw from conferences such as that held in Mexico and the forthcoming Copenhagen conference. Mrs Dekker has tried to translate this lesson into the social policy of the European Community and her report certainly contains a number of useful suggestions. However, it is strictly limited — limited because economic, cultural, legal and political factors have been disregarded, and limited because, in the opinion of my group, the resolution pays too little attention to vulnerable groups of women who definitely form an important aspect of social policy. I see that a large number of amendments have been tabled on this point by the Communist, Liberal and by my own group and I would urge the rapporteur to endorse them, otherwise the nature of her report will be too elitist.

We hope and expect this debate to be the point of departure of a wider European approach to the prob-

lem of the difficult position of women in our society. We must be grateful for all that Commissioner Vredeling has done in the past with his staff. We must be grateful too for the work devoted to these problems by the Social Affairs Committee of our Parliament. An emancipation policy which goes no further than a social policy can be no more than a dressing on the wound since the deeper causes remain undiscussed. Attention to the role of women in our society implies attention to every dimension of human existence. This means that we must consider the role of women in the economic, cultural and juridical contexts: in matters relating to development aid, external economic relations and war and peace. That was the lesson of Mexico and that too will, I expect, be the lesson of Copenhagen.

If we are willing to remember those lessons in the European Community, the Copenhagen conference will have been a valuable event. Valuable to our Parliament because it means that a large number of committees will be considering the role of women in our society and valuable for women themselves because their role in every aspect of human existence will have been recognized. That role has not yet been fully taken into account — to the detriment of women and above all to the detriment of society itself. We consider it to be an important task of the Christian-Democratic Group to work towards changes in this area. After all the concept of justice is among the most central themes of our policy. Women in Europe and women in the third world can therefore count on our loyal support, as we have repeatedly shown in recent months and as we shall continue to prove in future.

President. — I call Miss Roberts to speak on behalf of the European Democratic Group.

Miss Roberts. — I would like to start on behalf of the European Democratic Group by thanking Mrs Dekker for the hard work she has put into the preparation of this report. There is not a lot in the report with which my group would take issue but that is, I think, simply because there is not a very great deal to the report itself. I do not criticize Mrs Dekker on that score. Rather, I criticize the interim nature of this report, which divorces the employment and unemployment problems confronting women from the wider issues of, for example, social attitudes and education. I think, therefore, that the interim report is rather fragmentary and that we must await the final report, which I earnestly hope we shall receive before the end of the year, in order to prepare positive proposals and recommendations as to ways in which this Parliament can help the cause of fairness between men and women.

I do not think it is difficult to identify the problems faced by women in the field of employment and unemployment — we need to look no further than our own

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Community where the figures prove that there is greater unemployment amongst women than amongst men. This applies particularly to school leavers. Furthermore, there is a much greater concentration of women than of men in low-paid jobs. These two points demonstrate the lack of fairness in the system and we must look to the causes. I put it to the House that the root cause is prejudice, prejudice in the family, in education and amongst employers. Girls are not encouraged to go on to higher education in the same way as their brothers are. Employers are reluctant to employ a woman if they can employ a man — again because of prejudice, they have an idea that perhaps the rate of absenteeism might be higher, that women might be less reliable. Prejudices for which there is no foundation in fact but which nevertheless exist.

I think it is very important that we should not propose remedies which will exacerbate that situation and one of the two amendments which have been tabled in my name is intended quite specifically to remedy that situation because I think that a reduction in working hours, as if in some way that is going to help the cause of women's employment, will only serve to encourage the very prejudices that we are fighting against amongst employers. I would like to see some more positive remedies proposed — the sort of remedies which the Community and the member nations have it in their power to implement, such as more opportunities of apprenticeships for girls — there is very, very little opportunity in the United Kingdom for a girl to obtain an apprenticeship —, an extension of part-time working — there are plenty of jobs, plenty of fields of employment where the work would not suffer at all if it were properly organized to provide more part-time employment, which would again help women who have domestic responsibilities —, more flexibility in working hours and the facility for the husband and father to take a share of the domestic responsibilities, in which context I have tabled an amendment dealing with paternity leave for fathers who have dependent children. On this last point I think that this is something which we are far too slow to grasp upon within the Community. Many of the fathers and husbands are very ready and willing to share domestic responsibilities with their wives but their employers do not recognize that they have this obligation. So the burden does tend to be put upon the woman.

In the field of scientific education, far too little opportunity is provided for girls to advance and, here again, one sees one of the reasons why women tend to be concentrated in low-paid employment. I therefore hope that we will look at positive proposals and that those of our representatives who go to Copenhagen will be advocating measures which we can put into effect in the Community.

Of course, we all feel deeply for the position of men and women in other parts of the world compared with

whom we are all of us, men and women, very much better off within the Community. But at least let us make a step forward where we are able to do so. And I hope therefore that we shall be advocating some positive measures that we can put into practice which will help us then to help those men and women in the Third World. I have concentrated on saying men and women because I have expressed the view in this House on a previous occasion that I do not think the cause of equality of opportunity for women is furthered by trying to secure a privileged position for them. I myself am a great advocate of equality of opportunity for both men and women and for fairness of treatment for both men and women. I believe that in that way one can overcome many of the prejudices and make real progress. It is for that reason that I hope that the *ad hoc* committee will produce its final and full report by the end of this year because I think that having an *ad hoc* Committee on Women's Rights within this Parliament is in itself inimical to the attainment of fairness and equality of opportunity for men and women. We should be dealing with these subjects within the appropriate parliamentary committees and we should consider the position of men where they are disadvantaged every bit as much as we consider the position of women.

President. — I call Mrs Squarcialupi to speak on behalf of the Communist and Allies Group.

Mrs Squarcialupi. — (I) Mr President, on behalf of the Italian Communists and Allies, I should like to thank the rapporteur, Mrs Dekker, for a report which represents an intermediate stage in the massive document to be produced by the *ad hoc* Committee on Women's Rights. It is a kind of dress rehearsal. On this as on other occasions, the interest aroused whenever women are the subject of discussion is the result of a realization of what a vast and important subject it is.

The job at Copenhagen will be to paint a portrait of European women and to identify her needs and aspirations. Decisions will have to be taken on priorities and, above all, on the remedies to be applied. During our discussions, including those we have as women members of Parliament, there has, perhaps, been too much emphasis on what the Copenhagen conference can achieve. Some have contrived to exaggerate its importance. The UNO conference there will certainly generate considerable pressure but this will be of no use if it is not followed up with the requisite political will and with women playing their due part. That there is no political will was, as Mrs Roudy pointed out, made clear in this House when, just now, different decisions were taken within a matter of minutes of each other: one in favour of one of the UNO conventions and the other against its practical application.

On the question of widening women's opportunities, it is, in our view, no accident that the economic crisis has

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put a brake on progress by putting jobs out of their reach and trying to make them stay at home. This happened because there was no pressure on governments to show the necessary political determination if a law is to be anything but a dead letter. As far as we are concerned, the important thing is to ensure proper planning of productive employment and not leave job-creation to be determined by events, because this has always led to the devaluation of women as workers, in terms of both quality and quantity. We have to adopt a new investment policy designed to create employment and not merely profits. Investment must be undertaken with a view to widening the basis of production and opening up fresh opportunities of work for those seeking it, women not least. We have to aim for a new life-style, especially as far as women are concerned. We have to establish new values in our society and we shall do this if women make a much greater contribution at the level where decisions and policies are adopted.

The Italian Communists and Allies have tabled two amendments, for the following reasons. The Dekker Report is somewhat feeble in its references to the developing countries and our first amendment calls upon the Commission to draw up a programme for the emancipation of women in those countries. An opportunity to do this may be provided by the report on world hunger by the Committee on Development and Cooperation; it would give us a chance to work out a really solid programme and go further than expressions of good intent.

The second amendment was tabled because we feel unable to rely exclusively on isolated, case-by-case solutions of the problem of the 'individual' emancipation of women. It is better for us to work out solutions in sociological terms in order to give women time to make use of their opportunities and enable them to acquire a consciousness of their power which will be a tremendous influence in the formulation of new policies. We were particularly concerned about the social services catering for children, old people and the handicapped; they should be the responsibility of the local authorities nearest to the people and women concerned. We want new laws, such as we have in Italy, on holidays for both parents, arrangements for flexible working hours in industry, commerce and transport and, finally, a different pattern of urban life; as towns and cities are at present designed, women and all the weaker elements in the community are isolated. We want occupational training and specialization in microelectronic techniques so that we can avoid being left behind, as other speakers have put it, on the road to the third industrial revolution. Nor do we want to see any of the forms of work-redistribution, such as part-time working, rebound to the detriment of women and generate an alternative source of labour which is less able to defend itself. We want firm and constructive decisions on that. And we want these priorities to be extended to cover women immigrants in the countries of the EEC.

If these improvements and other amendments are accepted, we shall vote for adoption of the report.

President. — I call Mrs von Alemann to speak on behalf of the Liberal and Democratic Group.

Mrs von Alemann. — (D) Mr President, I note that so far only women have spoken in this debate on the interim report for the Copenhagen Conference and I am pleased to tell you that in our Group — although I am down as the first speaker — a man — Mr Maher — will also be giving his views on this subject.

Today, I shall be very brief. The temptation is very great to put to the House the ideas of the Liberal and Democratic Group on the whole problem area of women and to set out concrete proposals for the improvement of their lot. As we all know however, and not least the rapporteur who, after all, belongs to the Committee, the ad hoc Committee on Women's Rights is preparing for a general debate in the winter on the problems of women and the measures necessary to improve their position. I do not want to anticipate that debate and I shall therefore deliberately confine myself to a few brief comments on the interim report itself, saying little about the other points. I just want to deal with one point in the recommendations intended for the conference in Copenhagen where it is said: 'the responsibility for children is borne by society as a whole'. I shall come back to this point in a moment. The interim report, as we all know and as is pointed out in the report, was produced in connection with a related motion for a resolution tabled by Mrs Maij-Weggen and others with reference to the second World Conference in Copenhagen. It might have been expected that the writer of that report would have discussed the problems to be raised at Copenhagen in more detail. In our view, as you will see from what I am about to say, she has not done this adequately enough. The purpose in Copenhagen, as we all know, is to see to what extent the catalogue of minimum requirements, drawn up at the first World Conference in Mexico, has been put into effect. Practically all these minimum requirements relate to help for, and improving the position of, women living in particularly difficult conditions, in other words women in rural areas, the urban poor, middle class women, housewives and the many unpaid, voluntary workers, to name just a few categories.

Apart from a comment on the position of immigrant women workers, there is no reference in the whole report to these groups of women. So I wonder whether the rapporteur simply wanted to close her eyes to this part of the Copenhagen Conference or whether there was some other reason why she has not referred to these points. Merely to refer in this report to the position of women in the labour force, which we are also discussing in the *ad hoc* Committee, is — to my mind — not enough.

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Mrs Maij-Weggen's motion for a resolution urged the Commission to produce three reports by April 1980 on the position of women in the areas of health, employment and education. These reports are not yet available. For that reason, I must admit, it was difficult to say anything about them. But I do not understand why the rapporteur requests only general statistics and information which, once again, relate almost exclusively to active women. Although my Group also considers this subject to be very important, as the general debate in winter will show, it has nothing to do with the real crux of the problems to be discussed in Copenhagen.

I shall now revert to the point I wanted to talk about. Responsibility for children is borne by society as a whole. Ladies and gentlemen, the role conflict and the future pattern of our society will be marked by this concept. It is the central concept and the problem that we should be repeatedly debating in this House is the fact that, in broad sectors of our society, women are still today regarded as being really responsible for children with no thought given to the need for role attitudes to change. We ought to take a look at the statistics produced by an American woman sociologist on the breakdown of women's working lives. According to these figures, 40 % (on average) of the life of a woman is spent with partners but without children, 12 % with partners and with children up to 6 years old, 20 % with partners and with children aged 17-18 or 20 and 28 % alone. We can see, therefore, that the problem is far more complex — and needs to be seen as such — than can be covered by a debate on women in the labour force in the Community. Of course the European Community as such must concern itself about the position of employed women. We know that from the discussions in the *ad hoc* Committee, but I would have preferred there to be some discussion, in preparation for the Copenhagen Conference, on the age, health and loneliness of women and other problems as well. What we, as Liberals, want to bring about is the change in society, the change in attitudes towards roles, and I hope that, after the major report in winter, we shall be able to agree on a sensible position.

President. — I call Mrs Chouraqui to speak on behalf of the Group of European Progressive Democrats.

Mrs Chouraqui. — (*F*) Mr President, I do not propose to wait until the end of the year before tackling the problems of substance. I am going to tackle them now, before the Copenhagen Conference, and I am going to look at the position of women in the Community. If necessary, I shall be speaking again after the Conference for I believe, where this subject is concerned, twice is better than once.

Let us take a look at the women of Europe: They represent 130 million human beings, or 51.6 % of the Community's population. They are mothers of fami-

lies, women taking an active part in economic life, citizens. 38 million women are engaged in an occupation, that means one third of European women. Women, then, are at the very heart of European life.

The Group of European Progressive Democrats takes the view that every European woman, whatever her situation, must have exactly the same chances, the same freedom of choice and the same living conditions as are open to any European man.

But what is it like, the life of a woman in the Community, that is to say of a woman living in a modern democracy?

For a better understanding of the position of women in the Community we need to look at it from three main aspects: family life, vocational life and civic life. Men's lives can be compartmentalized in much the same way, but with one still very important difference: for women these three aspects often still remain separate, whereas men partake naturally and fully in these three functions essential to every citizen living in a democracy.

Let us begin with family life. The Dekker report, excellent though it is in its general content, makes very little reference to it. We shall complete the picture. If there is one field where freedom should be exercised to the full, it is in family life. I believe, therefore, that in this field the Community should beware of imposing its views on national legislation. However, the Group of European Progressive Democrats, on the basis of experiments carried out successfully in France, recommends creating a social status that would apply equally to the mother of a family, to the wife sharing in her husband's career and the unmarried mother.

What is the point of this? The point is to allow these categories of women to enjoy a whole set of personal rights instead of and rather than secondary rights that women derive through their husband or from his professional status. It seems a necessary step to create in this way a proper status of mother, married or not, which would go beyond merely improving family benefits and open up a right to social security, which would give the right to post-natal parental leave with guaranteed return to work, a reorganization of working hours, more widespread application of flexible working hours and increased availability of part-time work, and priority access to training or retraining courses for every woman who is a head of household, a widow or has children in her care.

Coming now to the woman taking part in her husband's business or trade, here again we shall have to expand on the Dekker report. The Group of European Progressive Democrats calls for identical statutory privileges to be accorded to both marriage partners, corresponding to the role that each assumes. For example, recognition of the status of tradesmen's and craftsmen's wives, hitherto regarded as having no

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occupation, in other words it must be made possible for them to act for the enterprise and to conduct the business of the enterprise in the event of the husband's death; joint status for the wives of farmers, the possibility for wives of men engaged in a liberal profession to be declared as wage-earning in the same way as any other employee.

These experiments have been carried out with some success in France and so we support Amendments 33 and 35.

Contraception and abortion are governed by laws that differ widely from one Community country to another. Could one hope for harmonization of legislation on these? It is difficult to find an answer here as in this area we have to contend with national sensitivities and moral attitudes.

The Commission would do well to listen to the points of view expressed in Parliament before adopting any measures.

For our part, we endorse the coherent and unequivocal stand taken up by Mrs Gaiotti de Biase and Mrs Cassanmagnago Cerretti, when they said that the strength of the female representation in the European Parliament ought not to encourage the traditional male alibi whereby the problems of women are settled by allowing them to take entirely onto their own shoulders the problems of contraception and abortion, but should instead mobilize the Community's entire planning capability. The Community must promote research projects on contraception, social structure, child care, population forecasting, thereby recognizing that the problem does not belong simply to the 'body' of women but to society as a whole.

We come now to women's working life. Unemployment in the Community stands at 6 %. Breaking this figure down, we find that one-third of the unemployed are men and two-thirds women. Since 1976 the percentage of women unemployed has trebled. If we took into account the women who would like to work, these figures could be doubled or trebled again. Belgium, France and Italy head the league table of unemployed women. Clearly, therefore, the economic crisis has hit women harder than men.

The best way to help women find work, to further their cause, is to improve their basic education and increase their skills, that is by training them.

We are grateful to Mrs Dekker for her detailed treatment of this subject in her report and we note with satisfaction that in it she has taken up the suggestions made by the Group of European Progressive Democrats 18 months ago. I am speaking of an improved vocational advisory service, suitable vocational training, true parity in the matter of pay and a proper European programme for improving the position of women.

We believe that much could be gained by setting up a European 'Women's Committee on Employment', which would bring together employers, employees, trade unions, family associations and women's organizations and would have the task of providing information, of documentation, and of acting in a consultative and advisory capacity.

We need to increase the scope of the European Social Fund with regard to unemployed women or women over 35 wishing to resume work and above all young girls who have finished school. There is also a need for greater flexibility in working hours and for doing away with the notion of 'typical' women's occupations, which are often menial and poorly paid, and finally for the development of the opportunities for job-sharing, whereby one full-time job is shared by two people working half-time. My group also recommends greater emphasis on achieving true equality of pay and equal treatment. We are pleased to say that two Community directives on these points came into force in 1978. But we are rather afraid that the discretion allowed to the national authorities to exclude certain occupations from the scope of the directive will serve merely to perpetuate certain forms of discrimination. Everyone knows about the practice of setting aside in collective agreements certain occupations strictly reserved for women, a practice that makes a mockery of the law of 'equal work, equal pay'.

As for the legal remedies open to women who suffer discrimination, these are very rarely resorted to for fear of losing the job. Consequently it is up to us to make sure that these directives are fully implemented.

I shall end by talking about women's civic life. It is essential that women be given an opportunity to participate in local, national and Community life and so make their own special contribution to the political problems of our time by their approach to them and by their more positive and realistic solutions to them.

Ladies, however happy we may be that there are so many of us in this European Parliament, let us not forget to help the women of our countries to exercise their responsibilities in political and social life: a mandatory presence, or indeed — as the French government is calling for — a quota of local and national elections, a substantial representation on conciliation boards and on regional economic and social committees. And to show that we are willing to assume not only our rights but also our duties, we should play our part in civil defence, for women are the best architects of peace.

In conclusion, let me say that today the European Parliament is devoting an extensive debate to the position of women in Europe. Tomorrow, a delegation from this Parliament will be attending the United Nations Conference in Copenhagen and seeking to ensure that the United Nations Convention is signed,

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ratified and observed so that all forms of discrimination against women are eliminated. And not only in Europe, but also in the rest of the world, where there is much yet to be done. We eagerly await the results of the work of the *ad hoc* Committee and meanwhile we shall be voting in support of the Dekker report, subject to the proposed amendments.

President. — I call Mrs Hammerich.

Mrs Hammerich. — (DK) Mr President, I should like to have said 'Madam President' but of course I cannot — equality for women is still a long way off. Progress is made through political struggle and the fight for women's equality is being waged every day at the workplace and in the home. It is waged actively by participating in the women's movement, in the trade union movement and political parties. It is waged through conflict and with determination in democratic organizations, including the national parliaments.

International solidarity between women is of great assistance, for example the large UN women's conference in Copenhagen this summer and the alternative women's conference. On the other hand, equality cannot really be promoted by issuing commands from abroad, for example, from the European Community. The Dekker report is well meant but it is imprecise and cautious, as one might expect since it is far removed from the real position of women. Each woman finds herself in a particular social class and in a particular country. The report does not point this out. It ignores these aspects. It is a weak compromise worked out in soft armchairs far from the political struggle which is going on in the individual countries and which is spurring real progress.

The basic philosophy of the European Community is hostile to women since it is based on economic competition above all else and because its concentration of power lays waste the more fertile system of grass-roots democracy.

In the European Community huge armies are built up in the form of women labour reserves and when there is a slump, as there is now, they are sent home to become unemployed. The Commission is giving my country, Denmark, instructions on public expenditure cuts which are being turned into cuts in the social services which hit women very hard. The Community's information office in Copenhagen boasts loudly about the directive on equal treatment which has been incorporated into Danish law. Under the equal treatment directive firms cannot advertise specifically for men or for women.

The Dekker report, however, is asking for an analysis of the normal patterns of employment. And here I should like to make a constructive contribution. I have here in my hand a scandalous notice of vacancy from

the European Parliament. Parliament is looking for a nurse having a 'smart appearance'. Ladies and gentlemen, 'smart appearance' means 'attractive looks'. This goes against the Community's own directive since it regards women as something pretty to look at and hence betrays a deep contempt for women. What will be next? Perhaps proposals for directives on a limiting value for female beauty and smartness. The question remains whether this should be a minimum requirement or whether there should be an attempt at the more difficult task of total harmonization which might be quite complicated.

As I said, the equality of women is a long way off. Perhaps not least of all down here in the European Community. The little example that I gave perhaps reveals a double standard of morality which is a lot more deep-seated and a lot more general than I have suggested here.

President. — I call Mrs Spaak.

Mrs Spaak. — (F) Mr President, Mrs Dekker's interesting report comes in advance of the Copenhagen Conference and reminds us of its objectives. May I say, Mr President, how amazed I am that there has been such a succession of women speakers in this debate and not a single man, up to now at any rate, has spoken a word. I should like to say that in other debates that come before Parliament women are never slow to take part, no matter how technical or political the issues raised. Under the circumstances I wonder if it is that the men here are simply shy, which I cannot believe, or indifferent, which I do not want to believe.

In regard to equal rights for men and women, it is now five years since the Mexico Conference and all the problems have been carried out, all the problems have been identified, legislation now covers almost every area where discrimination was still to be met with, at any rate as far as my country, Belgium, is concerned. It seems to me that the time is now come to move on to positive action.

The European Parliament in its present form is a young institution, it is one year old. It is a reflection of our society in that it was elected by universal suffrage. These two characteristics together place on it a responsibility to play a decisive role in the matter of women's rights. Throughout the electoral campaign of June 1979 a great deal of effort was put into awakening an interest among women in European problems and in persuading them that it was of prime importance to them that a solution to these problems should be found. We need to continue with this effort and, given the very positive results it has produced, step it up. To this end, the Commission should place sufficient resources at the disposal of the Information Bureau for Women's Organizations and the Women's Press. Several of my colleagues and I have already

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taken steps in that direction and are continuing to press the point.

Mr President, I should like now very briefly to touch upon two problems which I believe to be of overriding and fundamental importance and which I hope will come up at the Copenhagen Conference and be seen to have the same importance as I attach to it.

The first is that no progress will be made until we succeed in changing the mentality of both men and women. Right from the first years at school reforms are needed, for example from the point of view of infant psychology as reflected in text books, where all too often we still find the stereotyped pictures of mother working in the kitchen whilst father reads his paper. Similarly, academic and vocational training should be the same for both sexes in terms of both content and level, so as to ensure that women have the same choice of careers and acquire the same qualifications.

My second point is that we must give thought to the distribution of the time spent by men and women on work, household tasks, upbringing of children and leisure. It is intolerable that unemployment, the scourge of our society, should hit women harder than men.

I want to say two things by way of conclusion. Firstly, the progress made so far is not irreversible, and we must remain vigilant. Secondly, there is no such thing as the problem of women; what has to be done is to reorganize society so as to make it more just and equitable. This is no easy task. I am heartened by the thought that there will be many of us, both men and women, dedicated to its accomplishment.

President. — Relating to what you said, I can assure you there are three men on the list and it is with great pleasure that I call on the very unshy Mr Albers.

Mr Albers. — (NL) Mr President, I shall use my five minutes to explain two amendments which I have tabled with Mrs Van den Heuvel, Mrs Krouwel-Vlam and Mrs Viehoff. First the additions to paragraph 8; these were in fact contained in the rapporteur's original proposal but were subsequently deleted by a majority in the Committee on Social Affairs. I think that was wrong because these paragraphs make a useful reference to the possibility of safeguarding equal rights for women in the area of equal remuneration, equal treatment as regards employment and equal social security rights. To safeguard those rights it will in fact be essential for women to be adequately represented at all levels of policy and decision-making. I therefore advocate the reinstatement of these paragraphs, especially as regards positive discrimination. That may seem rather a strange expression, but it is a fact that at present out of 100 A grade posts in the

European institutions only five are occupied by women and if things are allowed to continue in the same way there will be no more than 7 % in the year 2030. In other words there will still be 93 men for 7 women. The only way of changing this is to apply positive discrimination. I have added a further point myself to paragraph 9 concerning the abolition of discriminatory provisions against women who are married to foreigners. The report and the conclusions refer to specific problems experienced by women through the status of migrant worker, and we must not forget that even where women are not employed but are married to migrant workers they still suffer various forms of discrimination. In the Federal Republic the women affected by this have set up a special *Interessengemeinschaft* or community of interests which is working to achieve equal rights for women married to foreigners. I therefore consider it essential to make this addition to the report.

Finally, Mr President, there is a serious point which has nothing to do with the rights of women but concerns the rights of parliamentarians. If I understand it correctly, there is still uncertainty as to whether Parliament will be represented in the delegation to Copenhagen. As you know, many national parliaments send members on delegations to the United Nations. I consider this to be very important and cannot understand how there can be opposition to Members of the European Parliament being represented on such delegations. That is a question of parliamentary rights and essential if our Parliament is to acquire greater significance in future; I await the Commissioner's reply with interest.

President. — I call Mrs Lenz.

Mrs Lenz. — (D) Mr President, there is, I think, no subject whereby one could better reform the world with big words than that of the position of women and unfortunately, on this subject, there is always the danger of mixing up one thing with another. That, I am afraid, is precisely what has already happened to us today. If so far, apart from Mr Albers, no male representatives in this House have spoken I can only conclude therefrom that all the lady Members, of course, are for emancipation and there is not a single man against. For this reason there is absolutely no need for them to speak further on this subject and I expressly thank those Members who have already done so.

Here I would like to confine myself — and I must also say that I have no prepared text because I wanted in fact to be ready for anything new I might hear — to an explanatory statement on the amendments proposed by the Group of the European People's Party designed to give back to the whole resolution, which we tabled in September last year, its original significance.

Lenz

We were somewhat disappointed by this so-called interim report, which is no report but a motion for a resolution which embraces everything under the sun and we have tried to make the overall import of our proposals such that this so-called report or resolution merely answers the questions that we put. On the first point, I must of course agree with Mrs Dekker. We did ask the Commission for reports as are now being drawn up by all national governments in preparation for the World Conference on Women. These reports we have not yet received. Nor have we been able to find out from the Commission whether it will in fact be able to speak at the World Conference on Women or whether there is any point at all in deciding on our position in relation to that conference for only then would there be any logic — and this was one of the reasons behind our proposals — in establishing our attitude by a debate on the position of women in the Community. To that too we have so far had no reply. It is not therefore surprising that our debate here has ranged over so far a field because the basic information we needed has not yet been produced.

But to come to our proposed amendments. The purpose of the first that we have tabled is to make the statements or formulations on the World Conference on Women more precise for these, too, have not been very clearly put in the Dekker report. In paragraph 7 — and this is the central point — the purpose is to concentrate the message that Mrs Dekker had presented from the most varied angles under the three main headings that we wanted. I cannot refute all of them; I would refute some of them in detail but I do not propose to do this at this time because, at the request of the other groups, we have set up the *ad hoc* committee that is to study thoroughly the whole of this subject. You know yourselves that it was the wish of our Group that the formulation of our wishes should be dealt with subsequently as a matter for the individual committees. May I say once again, what good will it do us if we talk about equality of rights and at the same time, in an alibi committee, permanently take away our right to talk about these things where they really belong, for women's problems are, after all, a matter for the whole Parliament and not one single committee made up, what is more, largely of women. For this reason we have not included the advisory committee that Mrs Dekker would like in paragraph 8 because, ladies and gentlemen, if we set up an *ad hoc* committee then this is going to consider and discuss in detail, beforehand, what form of institution we would really like and which we consider suitable to put measures into effect. It is nonsense to decide something in advance that we can only discuss after the event. I believe this would not be the correct way of dealing with the matter and others have already made this point as well.

The ratification of the UNO Convention — which, incidentally, is included in the annex and to which an amendment is also proposed which I find particularly

nice — does not need to be included in this report because a resolution on this subject has already been adopted in this House. This is the reason why we want to delete this passage. On the other hand we support all the claims to the effect that subsequent discussions should give special consideration and treatment to those categories of women in greater need than most of us, namely immigrant workers, refugees, women returning home or repatriating, evacuees, and women in the Third World. But here we do not want a piecemeal discussion like today's; instead we want thorough treatment in the responsible committees and a qualified and differentiated debate in this House that does justice to all the problems that these women have and to their needs and wishes. Whether the reference is to world hunger or the employment debate, all these are questions that need to be dealt with on their own; they cannot all be lumped together and dealt with superficially. We ourselves would be denying the importance of these problems if we dealt with them in this way.

Our wish in the last two paragraphs — and this brings my remarks to an end — is that the Committee on Social Affairs should concern itself specifically with two points, women's problems in the framework of employment and education policy. This, ladies and gentlemen, is the keypoint for us too. I would like to say that my Group is particularly concerned that these problems should be dealt with from their beginnings, from their very roots, free of ideology and of sweeping assertions, and there where they really originate.

President. — I call Mrs Le Roux.

Mrs Le Roux. — (*F*) Mr President, in a whole series of sectors — employment, vocational training, pay, family policy, promotion of women in economic and political life — the inequalities suffered by women have become even more marked than before. Communists see this situation as a consequence of the crisis afflicting the capitalist countries, as a consequence of the coordination of austerity measures by the EEC, that bastion of industrial capital, and its restructuring plans. We must put on record our concern at the implications of the enlargement of the Common Market, which is bound to aggravate the crisis and increase unemployment and so exacerbate the difficulties facing women, since they are always the first to suffer when unemployment takes a turn for the worse. Enlargement will have a very adverse effect on the position of women in all our countries.

This view of the situation, on which I cannot elaborate in the time available, leads us to put forward a number of proposals with regard to this resolution, namely that reports be drawn up which will give us a clearer understanding of the position of women, and that immediate and practical steps be taken to improve their lot and meet their genuine aspirations. This can

Le Roux

be done right now because in waging their struggle women have plainly stated their claims, their needs and their wishes. And so a report should be drawn up on the particular situation of women afflicted by poverty, and on its implications for their children; the effects of poverty on the development and future prospects of these children must also be examined.

Furthermore, attacks have been launched in Europe on militant women exercising their democratic rights. This Assembly should also look into what is happening in this area within the EEC itself. The Assembly can already now take practical steps to improve the position of women and put them to the Member States: the 35-hour week without loss of earnings, retirement at 55, a halt to the restructuring operations, as well as a halt to the negotiations on the enlargement of the Common Market, these are but examples of what can be done.

Respect for women's liberties means taking whatever action is necessary to ensure that they are given a genuine right to work and equality at work. This in turn means that the Member States must take specific measures in regard to vocational training, social security, child-care facilities, and so on.

Finally, we consider that a meaningful response to women's aspirations requires that we oppose any action that could lead to war or international conflict. We therefore propose that the European Assembly take the initiative, acting in the context of preparations for the Copenhagen Conference, of launching measures designed to promote peace; détente and disarmament.

The proposals of the Social Affairs Committee are on the whole positive, but in our view far from adequate. If we fail to identify the essential causes of the social inequalities between men and women, if we fail to acknowledge the gravity of these inequalities, if we fail to propose specific measures to remove these causes, then we shall deny ourselves the means needed to fight effectively for the improvement of the status of women. In order to respond to the aspirations of women, and above all those hardest hit by these inequalities, I ask you to adopt this motion with the amendments tabled by the French Communists.

President. — I call Mrs Martin.

Mrs Martin. — (*F*) Mr President, in her report, Mrs Dekker focuses attention on the problems encountered by women in employment in Europe and invites us to give serious thought to the extremely difficult situation of women in the Third World. I feel we must acknowledge her approach to be correct. But I must say that I found it not a little surprising that the problems faced by close on 30 % of working women in the Community were passed over in silence. I am referring

to the unpaid working wives of small businessmen, craftsmen and farmers.

After all, the majority of them make a large contribution not only by their actual work but also by the responsibility they assume in the running of family businesses. It is they as a rule who look after the administrative and secretarial aspects. Despite that, they are classified as having no occupation. Deprived of legal and professional status, they are unable to represent the business in dealings with professional or legal bodies. And yet when it comes to arranging a loan the banks are invariably reminded of their existence and require them to give a joint undertaking with their husbands. And if the husband should die the wife is left in a parlous situation. Such working wives cannot afford to be ill, they cannot have or look after a child under reasonable conditions and they cannot have the time off for vocational training, no matter how necessary it might be. To replace them is simply too expensive, especially in farming, where a highly qualified worker would have to be found and paid for. In this sector there is therefore a need to encourage the development of replacement services such as those which have proved their worth in France.

We cannot go on ignoring the difficulties in which these women find themselves in Europe. That is why, Mr President, I would ask this House to endorse the two amendments which Mr Combe and I have tabled to Mrs Dekker's report. Working wives are entitled to proper recognition and our amendments will serve to gain for them the status they merit.

IN THE CHAIR: Mr VANDEWIELE

Vice-President

President. — I call Miss De Valera.

Miss De Valera. — On behalf of my group I would like to congratulate the rapporteur, Mrs Dekker, and the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment on their excellent report. I would also like to express the satisfaction of our group with the overall content of this report, which in numerous instances sets out the very same proposals that the Group of European Progressive Democrats has been advocating from the very outset. We must create a society of equality. This Assembly has a major role in the creation of a society of equality and indeed I would go further and say that this Parliament has the responsibility of seeing that every measure is taken to contribute to the creation of such a society. At this point in time we must face reality and admit that our effectiveness has been somewhat disappointing. Could it be that the Commission

De Valera

or the Council, or perhaps both, are not interested in Parliament's opinion? I would be interested to know the Commission's point of view. Perhaps at the same time they can tell us what action they have taken on the Dunwoody report which was adopted by Parliament and forwarded to the Council and the Commission over twelve months ago. If we consider that there are 130 million women in the Community, that is, nearly 52 % of the total population, there is no sector of Community policy that does not affect in one way or another the life-style, the financial status or the health of women. Nevertheless, there is only one single article of the Treaty of Rome which is devoted to women. That is Article 119 which provides for equal pay between men and women. This article was not included in the Treaty for reasons of a social nature but rather for economic reasons. We in the Group of European Progressive Democrats consider it to be essential that every woman in the Community, whatever her situation, be given the same opportunities, the same choice of possibilities, the same living conditions, as those enjoyed by men.

Women have a vital role to play in the economic and political life of this Community. This does not mean that we must be identified with men, nor does it mean that we should be totally assimilated to men. What it does mean is that we are entitled to the same dignity and that we must have the same rights and responsibilities as men. There are objectives which we must urgently seek to achieve, such as equality between women who opt for a family role and those who do not and freedom of choice. Women must be provided with better sources of information. Women must be given real opportunities of obtaining better professional training. We no longer want a principle of equal pay, we want equal pay.

In the Commission's report on social development for the year 1979, it is clearly pointed out that the Commission was obliged to initiate infringement proceedings against the governments of Germany, Luxembourg and the Netherlands, which had not yet adopted all the necessary measures to transpose into national law the provisions of the 1976 directive on the implementation of the principle of equal treatment of men and women as regards access to employment, vocational training, promotion and working conditions. Similarly, infringement proceedings relating to the 1975 directive on the approximation of the laws of the Member States relating to the application of the principle of equal pay for men and women were initiated against seven of the nine Member States. I note with satisfaction that there were no proceedings initiated against Ireland on either of these matters. Indeed, despite the harsh economic climate referred to by the rapporteur and its likely effect of preventing improvements in the status of women, our record in Ireland in recent years has been excellent. The number of women trained in Anco training centres rose from 1 400 in 1976 to 2 700 in 1977. Most opted for courses

specially aimed at women. About 8 % of women attended courses in the more traditional male skills. Sex-differentiated pay scales were abolished in the Irish public service retrospectively from 31 December 1975. The minimum of two years' residence in Ireland, formerly a condition for entitlement to the widow's non-contributory pension or the allowances for deserted wives, prisoners' wives, unmarried mothers or single women, was abolished in 1978. In October 1978, single women, girls who have completed their studies and widows became entitled to unemployment assistance on the same basis as men.

The system of financing social security which involved the elimination of flat-rate contributions and different rates for men and women came into effect in April 1979. In 1979, women filled 30 % of Anco training courses. They participated in return-to-work courses and in additional programmes designed to equip women involved in commerce and industry with the skills that would help them to find suitable employment on completion of their training. As you can see, our record of change in recent years in Ireland can stand up to examination at home and in the EEC context. There are, however, still areas of discrimination and difficulty for women in my country, and progress may not be as rapid as many women would wish. Nevertheless, our efforts will continue and we will not be satisfied until such time as women enjoy a stature in our society equal in every way to that of men. The European Progressive Democrats reiterate their demand that measures be taken at European level to allow women once and for all freely to choose their destiny.

Mrs Dekker's report contains more than sufficient material to make a serious and successful start. My group will, therefore, approve this motion.

President. — I call Mrs Hoff.

Mrs Hoff. — (D) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to thank Mrs Dekker for preparing and producing so quickly her report on the position of women in the European Community. With an eye to the forthcoming UNO World Conference on Women to be held this July in Copenhagen, the report deals with a number of problem areas stemming from the unequal treatment of men and women in our Community. Its main content is a list of points on questions relating to the education and training of girls and to unemployment among women. In this way two subject areas are selected from the whole spectrum which I personally consider to be the most important because unemployment among women is a grave problem in the European Community. In the EEC it is disproportionately high and is still increasing. Available statistics do more to mask than throw light on the subject. In Mrs Dekker's introduction, she said that the Commission had some leeway to make up in this respect and I

Hoff

would therefore like to take this opportunity to ask the Commission to give us, for our fundamental work in the future, up-to-date statistics that tell us more and are not so cryptic.

One reason for unemployment among women today, as it was a hundred years ago, is the role-specific and therefore qualitatively worse training for women but this deficiency is not the only cause. On top of that there are the objective living conditions that mean unequal starting opportunities for women. These conditions are an obstacle in the way of retraining and further training particularly for married women with children. There is of course a cause and effect relationship between women's unemployment and training. It is a fact that, in the pre-school areas and also in general education, there is effective equality of opportunity for girls in terms of their access to education and their participation in school careers but this formal equality is not borne out by the real substantive situation. There are still differences and these differences can be eliminated only by the necessary measures such as influence on curricula, text books and appropriate personal attitudes on the part of teachers and counselling and training staff.

Training is the foundation for every individual's position in society and the problems in the training area, as we can see, are similar in all EEC countries. For that reason I feel it would be useful to exchange research findings and experience wherever available. Here the Commission could play an important part but it has so far done little in this field. That is very much to be regretted. Possibly this is because the view exists that activities in this field are not covered by the Treaties. If, however, the Commission is prepared to put programmes for dealing with women's unemployment into effect it should also come to grips with its causes. This would, moreover, help to further the integration that is so often referred to but so little applied, certainly more than all the fat volumes that have so far been written about it.

I would therefore like, from this House, to urge the Commission in the future to be more active than previously in this area. Now I would like to refer to another area. In the future, further training will play a greater part than previously because, in a highly developed industrial society like ours, not only are retraining and further training instruments of public manpower policy, they also govern the position and advancement of each individual at work and in society. Here again women are even more handicapped than in the other training area. The objective living conditions I referred to at the outset, and in particular family and children, conclusively determine the scope for further education and training.

The realization of how little aid and public support is offered to women explains the relatively low participation of women — and particularly unemployed women — in further training schemes. This is often

put down to lack of interest but that is certainly not the case. On the contrary, to argue lack of interest is to be guilty of double discrimination. The Commission has begun to be active in this field but the measures need to be improved and more financial support is necessary as well. The specialists — including those in the Commission — often complain that there is too little statistical material and that too little research is done to plan programmes and measures. I take a somewhat different view and would like to quote, in this context, what Augusta Bebel said in 1902. According to him, a quite remarkable indicator of progress was the vast increase in the amount of literature on the question of women. Whilst noting that quality rarely kept pace with quantity, he treated quantity as a sign of intellectual activity. That was 1902. I observe that things haven't changed all that much since then. All this tells us is that we are on a long road but there is no reason for giving up. If, with this report, we succeed in having women's unemployment in the EEC made a subject at the Copenhagen conference then, to my mind, this interim report has achieved its purpose.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mrs Gaiotti de Biase.

Mrs Gaiotti de Biase — *(I)* Mr President, although my group has considerable respect and approval for the work done by Mrs Dekker, it enters this debate with some embarrassment. The report is based on the resolution tabled by my group but this is not the full-dress debate which we asked for. What we originally asked for was the preparation of three reports by the Commission on the position of women in terms of health, employment and education, submission of the reports to the three Parliamentary Committees concerned and, on the basis of the investigations in these three fields, a full-scale and comprehensive debate.

To our great disappointment, all we have had is the Commission's reports. Mindful of the contents of the resolution, the Committee on Youth and Culture and the Committee on Public Health have, moreover, been unable to complete their reports. This may be partly due to a mix-up between Mrs Maij-Weggen's resolution and the work of the *ad hoc* Committee on Women's Rights which, to be frank, is proceeding somewhat laboriously, as though the subject were exclusively one for women (a comment which applies to the present debate as well). This crossing of wires has undoubtedly produced misunderstandings. The fact remains that, instead of the grand debate we expected, we are presented with an interim report containing things which are undoubtedly welcome and constructive but, as a result of the rather general approach by the Committee on Social Affairs, are neither new nor authoritative.

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In consequence, only one of the topics, that of employment, on which we meant to concentrate is to receive our attention. It is a classic theme of women's century-long struggle, whether in the liberal or the Marxist version. It is also the theme chosen, as an inalienable right of the individual, by the Christian feminist movement and the economic crisis has increased its importance and urgency. At the same time, however, every day that passes gives fresh proof of the extent to which employment is only part of the problem, on which a great deal has been said, considered and suggested but on which the Community has made no advance whatever, either in practical or legislative terms. In my own country, on the other hand, Article 119 of the Treaty has led to the adoption of legislation and trade union practices which we believe to be among the most advanced in Europe although, without the Treaty, they would, in all probability, have never been introduced. However, the victories won on paper will always remain vulnerable and incomplete and at the mercy of every twist and turn of the economy and of the effects of the new technologies unless we pin down with much greater accuracy the reasons why female labour gets second-best treatment.

The enormous increase in the pressure from women seeking employment during the past decade now determines the pattern of Europe's unemployment statistics. It weakens women's contractual position, forces the unions to stonewall in defence of those already employed and encourages moonlighting and illegal employment. It is not true, as has been asserted today, that the division and fragmentation of the labour markets can be cured by what has been described as political will and determination. It is, in fact, collective agreements on hours and conditions of work which ought to be coping with the present market differences, including those affecting the employment of women; such differences should be given equal consideration, without any prejudice in favour of the pattern of male adult labour. I need only recall the different conditions which affect the mobility of female labour, the problems arising from the need for pregnancy and maternity leave, and so on. In this context, realistic arrangements for part-time employment and for flexible working hours are evidence of a willingness to allow for variations in people's circumstances and conditions and not evidence of inferiority. It is for us, with the aid of union safeguards, to ensure that they are not.

Action must, therefore, be taken on two parallel fronts. We must encourage employment on the widest possible scale and have regard to the special characteristics of female labour, while doing our best to harmonize legislation. However, the difficulties experienced by women in being treated as equal members of the work force are the last symptom of discrimination, not its cause, and so long as our attention is fixed exclusively on the effects, we shall not resolve those difficulties. Nor, indeed, will we resolve them by vague appeals to prejudice.

The problem we have to tackle is still the basic anomaly. On the one hand, women's entry into a new world of freedom has established once and for all their right to work and faces modern society with growing pressure from the female labour force. On the other hand, society has not yet found a satisfactory substitute to replace women in undertaking the responsibilities which, in exchange for a position of inferiority, they have hitherto shouldered alone. I refer to responsibility for the next generation, the stability of family life and housekeeping. At one time it was thought that a well-developed social security system would remove the bulk of the disadvantages which handicap women on the labour market. Some of the amendments reflect this attitude. We wish to make it clear that, while a good system of social security must at all costs be preserved, it has two fundamental limitations. The first is financial, since neither our industrialized economies nor those of the developing countries can devote the necessary expenditure to it. The second is the danger of pervasive bureaucratization, loss of identity and the de-humanization which are the hall-mark of total organization.

In the discussions we shall be having, the main topics for consideration will be the organization of society, of political life and of the family on a basis of equality of responsibility between men and women; the legislative measures to which I have referred; the encouragement of initiative; and a system of education which not only trains a woman for the new avenues of employment open to her but equips her to take her share of responsibility and action.

But, mistaken as, in the present debate, we are in concentrating on employment when discussing the position of women in the Community, we are making an even greater mistake in doing so in anticipation of the agenda and challenges which await us in Copenhagen. After the first UNO General Assembly on women, there was a great sense of political purpose in Mexico City but this was soon dissipated by the diplomatic manoeuvring and trials of strength over the hot areas of the globe. This sense of purpose ensured that the discussion was based on the close connexion between the age-long women's question and a pattern of economic development which reveals a growing disparity between the rich and poor countries and intensifies the need for the North-South dialogue. The same considerations of unity and rationalization which made it possible for our countries to achieve standards of life and liberty which were inconceivable in former generations (and which we must beware of disparaging with snide insinuations) have at the same time deprived women of their traditional role and economic status and deprived the countries of the Third World of their survival techniques, with the result that both alike have been the last to enjoy the advantages of modern society — and then only with difficulty.

The challenge embodied in this sense of purpose implies the adoption of a political approach which is

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far more enterprising than a re-statement of the conditions required within the Community to put women workers on an equal footing with men. We women of the West have often gained equality at the expense of conditions in the Third World. And our concept of equality through work sounds hollow to women who do their work against a background of archaic economic systems or gain admission to the present-day labour market only over a period of time and to an extent which is limited in the extreme.

The terms in which the subject of women's rights was posed — and later abandoned — in Mexico City and will be posed in Copenhagen call for a much more down-to-earth and sophisticated approach. In addition to assuring women of access to paid employment, they require due attention to be paid to making the best use of the economy and productive capacity of the family, the village unit and women's cooperatives in the development of services and of forms of partnership wherever economic enterprise and familiarity with political and civic responsibility go hand in hand. In Copenhagen, we shall avoid the danger of repeating the political manoeuvring which took place in Mexico only if our countries can adopt a line which gains the approval of the women of the Third World. Naturally, we realize that South Africa and Palestine are serious problems and that women are among the chief sufferers. But those problems are not the women's question and it is the women's question which we want to discuss at Copenhagen. To make sure of this, however, we must do more than demand equal conditions and opportunities in our developed economies. It is a demand which we have no intention of abandoning but it is not enough on its own and is out-of-date.

The challenge which the women's question throws out today is the assumption, without delay, of the responsibilities which woman has for centuries shouldered alone as, historically, the responsibilities of mankind and of both men and women, jointly and not separately, and as constituting political issues of the same weight and importance as world trade, military parity or technological advance. The real issue may, perhaps, be that of motherhood and fatherhood. Today, the crux of the women's question is to find new ways of educating men and women for their respective responsibilities and they will be found by taking action to consolidate their participation in the political decision-making process at all levels.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mr Maher.

Mr Maher. — Mr President, as one of only three men participating in this debate, which is something that I deplore, it is with some trepidation that I rise to speak. Even though I was born of a woman and reared by one and have been married to one for more than

two decades, I am still anything but an expert on the subject. However, I take the risk of making a couple of points, because my time is very short.

First of all, Mr President, I would like to make a comment on women in rural areas. Most of our farms are very small. Incomes are low, and because of this it is not possible to have paid labour. So we generally find the farmer's wife and/or daughter providing the labour force on the farm and assisting the husband or father as the case may be. They not only do the domestic work in the house and care for the children but also work in the farmyard and in the fields. This is hard work, and the contribution that they make has never really been measured. I would say myself that if they withdrew their labour and went on strike, there would be a serious crisis in the food industry in Europe. In fact, we would have a deficit and not a surplus. Yet in spite of all this, the agricultural experts of the European Commission, in assessing farm income by the objective method as they call it, have never taken into account the contribution made by these women, nor do they indicate in any way that they ought to be rewarded for the work they do. I hope that that situation will change. I think that farm women have every reason to be dissatisfied with the way they are treated. Maybe one day they will withdraw their labour and then we will have a crisis.

Mr President, my second point is about urban women. Here again there are grave reasons for dissatisfaction. When I look up at some of these high buildings where there are hundreds or thousands of flats, I often think that a great crime is being committed, mostly by the menfolk, against women when we make them live in what are very often little better than hencoops and rear families there. It is easily known that it is men who have done the planning and men who have been the architects, forcing families into what are inhuman conditions. I hope that this situation can change. I hope that more women will involve themselves in urban planning and architecture so that the houses of the future will be houses that suit families and women in particular. After all we have to accept that because of the way society is organized, women have to spend a far greater length of their lives in these houses and flats than men. I think it is time that they rebelled too. In fact, this is the only way that real emancipation will come.

13. *Membership of Parliament*

President. — I wish to announce that the government of the Federal Republic of Germany has informed me that, as of today, Mr Elmar Brok has been appointed Member of the European Parliament to replace Mr Pürsten.

I extend a warm welcome to our new colleague and would draw attention to the fact that, pursuant to

President

Rule 3 (3) of the Rules of Procedure, a Member whose credentials have not yet been verified may provisionally take his seat in Parliament or on its committees and shall have the same rights as other Members of Parliament.

14. *Position of women in the European Community* (continuation)

President. — I call Mrs Macciocchi.

Mrs Macciocchi. — (I) Mr President, our group will vote for Mrs Dekker's resolution. I rise to speak on this subject with pleasure and a feeling of frustration. I have never previously had six minutes' speaking time as a member of this House but I am dismayed by its emptiness and by the fact that only three of our male colleagues are to take part in the debate.

This is a sign of the times. Clearly, Mrs Dekker, good paper work is not enough. The resolution is a sort of women's manifesto. It contains claims which reiterate the basic themes of women's parity and equality in the European Community and spotlight the terrible problem of female unemployment. There is no disguising the fact that such wide-ranging and comprehensive statements are above our heads, as we can all see from the number who leave the Chamber or contribute generalities. What we ought to do is to list clearly identified issues and make them the subject of debate from time to time.

In common with Mrs Gaiotti, I am glad that the most original and interesting part of the report before us is that dealing with the position of women in the Third World; for the first time, it is almost the central theme.

If European women's movements are in a state of crisis or, in many cases, are facing or suffering defeat, the explanation is that they are wholly or almost wholly based on the claims of women, such as ourselves, in the most highly developed countries. There has hardly ever been any sign of the sisterhood or of an international women's movement which I should like to see taking the form of solidarity with the women of the Third World. With the help of contraceptives and abortion, we claim the right not to have children but there are millions of women in the world who long for the children they cannot have because, in circumstances and conditions which pass sentence of death on the born and the unborn, they cannot have a successful pregnancy.

This formidable subject is one of those which ought not and can not be exhausted in today's debate; the *ad hoc* Committee on Women's Rights must tackle them 'in the flesh' when the House considers the budget.

Copenhagen will undoubtedly constitute a more appropriate and original location for what I regard as the 'regionalist' struggle inspired by one of the largest regions in the world, in other words, the United States, on the basis of the far-reaching and well-founded demands of American feminists. Supported by the corresponding claims of the countries involved, the fight has been extended to Europe but it has never succeeded in linking up the position of women in our own countries with that of women in the poorer countries, who are doomed to look on helplessly as their nearest and dearest perish. This, by the way, is something we discussed on our return from Cambodia, where we were shattered to see children die of hunger in their mother's arms.

It is not enough, therefore, to have a general framework, a sort of women's liberation manifesto, as I described the report just now, on which practically all of us in this House can eventually agree. What we must do is concentrate on the basic inequalities, in economic, political and, above all, cultural terms. I really do not believe that it will suffice to change the social and economic set-up, much as, of course, I want to see it.

The question is much more subtle and involves the superstructure. What we need is a change of mentality — what I would describe as a sort of cultural revolution in the attitude of society towards women. This is the issue which demands full and frank discussion — and appropriate action — from this Parliament.

Reference has been made to the gulf between North and South and between rich and poor. Its most serious effect is on women, who are still condemned, among other things, to illiteracy in many areas of Southern Europe. I suggest that the European University in Florence would be the ideal place for research into this question, on the basis of a specific resolution, provided, of course, that the university devoted at least a year to study of the social, economic and political position of women in Europe. I suggest that the university institute in Florence should set aside its normal programme of studies in favour of a 'women's year' in which, on the basis of a year's study and research by women appointed for the purpose, a new *élite* should be created and European women provided with a new system of academic and technical education.

This could form the subject of a concrete proposal for future discussion. As far as the university in Florence is concerned, however, I realize that the gulf between that Europe and the world of culture is a wide one, at times a chasm. Nevertheless, the issues which, rather hurriedly and perhaps superficially, we have discussed today must be made the subject of long and careful study if we are to equip the coming generation in Europe to shoulder the burdens of responsibility, elective office and decision-making.

Macciocchi

As I look around, I am heartened to see the seats in my favourite colour, blue — such a suitable one for women — occupied by women in a greater proportion than in any of the national parliaments.

In our lives as politicians which, in my case, has been neither easy nor short, we here have recognized that women have equal rights in the cut-and-thrust of politics. Unlike the national parliaments, this House accepts this without demur. This gives us a good start and, in supporting the resolution, I earnestly hope that consideration will be given to the points I have raised.

President. — After that important speech by Mrs Macciocchi, I should draw attention to the fact that a large number of Members cannot be present during the debate. More than 20 meetings are announced on the notice board, a delegation is visiting us from China and a certain number of working parties are holding meetings. Everyone will therefore understand that although they are in the House, a large number of Members cannot be in three places at once. The big debate that has been asked for is still to come however as the report by the *ad hoc* committee will enable us to hear Mr Vredeling and many Members in much greater detail.

I call Mrs Salisch.

Mrs Salisch. — (D) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, as a member of the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment, Mrs Dekker has framed her interim report on Mrs Maij-Weggen's motion for a resolution on the position of women in the European Community with the Copenhagen World Conference in mind and the claims she presses relate mainly, and certainly not by chance, to the problems of training and unemployment. These are legitimate areas of study for the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment but above all they are fields in which the breakthrough to equal treatment for women must succeed if we seriously intend to leave the era of empty rhetoric on the question of women behind us. The fact that the *ad hoc* committee on Women's Rights has up to now given these problems priority in its discussions makes the significance of what I have just said even clearer. Developments since Mexico City have certainly not been encouraging and not only in terms of the awful situation of women in the Third World. Developments for women in the European Community as a whole have not been encouraging either.

Not only is not enough being done to put the EEC directives into effect (and my own country the Federal Republic of Germany is an inglorious example in this respect), but also the major reform effort, essential as an accompanying measure in the field of the public institutions seems likely to fizzle out. On the contrary, employment in the public institutions is being reduced to the detriment of women, which means a further loss

of jobs for them. The real tragedy is taking place on the Community manpower market. We have just heard some overall figures. With your permission I will give you the percentages again: 5.6 % in 1979, men 4.9 % and women 6.7 %. Belgium 14.9 % female unemployment, Italy 10.2 % female unemployment and even the Federal Republic, otherwise such a good performer, 4.7 % female unemployment. What really are the prospects? The whole world is talking about technological development but is anything really being done to intervene and control? On the contrary, what we find in the European leaders' list of priorities is, as before, the fight against inflation. An active employment policy does not appear in the list. But I would venture to say that this continued fiscal and monetarism policy will have very serious consequences for employment, in other words for job security.

Let me give you some forecasts on this subject. The German Institute for Economic Research expects 1.3 million jobs to be lost annually because of technological innovation and the Institute for Manpower and Vocational Research of the Federal Institute for Employment claims that 3 % of jobs in industry and craft trades will have been lost within five years because of technical progress.

The Rationalization Committee for the German economy forecasts that in the next ten years 10.5 million jobs will be lost, corresponding to an unemployment figure of 2.5 million purely on account of this technological development. Why do I say this? Because, ladies and gentlemen, women will be hardest hit by all this. Chorus, see today's unemployment figures. The higher figures for the future will, for certain, have an even larger core of women's unemployment. It will become all the worse in that, up to now, primarily those employed in the production sector have been elbowed out by technological development but for a few years now it is clear that the white-collar sector —and here women are again especially affected —is becoming very much involved in the development. Today, every second unemployed person may be said to be a white-collar worker. One result of technological development as a whole will certainly be that lower qualifications will be required for very many jobs. It may further be said that today, women are employed precisely in those lower income jobs requiring relatively low skills. This means that if jobs are downgraded from the top then women at the bottom will be completely squeezed out of the labour market. The figures for the South West German watch and clock industry show that, in a very short space of time, practically one half of the workforce has been laid off and you can imagine that, in that industry, women are very much affected. We have 38 % fewer employees in the public service, 38 % jobs lost because of the introduction of micro-electronic equipment. From all this, ladies and gentlemen, you can see that action —and I mean action —is essential. It is needed, for one thing, in the sphere of training and Mrs Hoff has

Salisch

already dealt with that subject. My point however — and I would like to say this again plainly and clearly in this Parliament — is that, if catastrophic consequences are to be avoided, it will be essential to shorten working time. Whence my complete failure to understand the members of the Christian Democratic Group who say that there can be a solution, as regards equal treatment for women on the labour market, without a radical shortening of working time. On the contrary, this seems to me to be a central point.

I would also urge that we should at last reactivate our public services. From what I have said, it is clear that active women and men need public services to a greater extent. Of course, we also need special programmes for women. Here allow me to touch on a point which will certainly continue to be a controversial issue in the future. To my mind, it is really unacceptable that we should create enormous riches through technological innovation that do not, however, in the last resort benefit man, at least not directly, and that private profit should be made on the one hand whilst unemployment has to be paid by the whole of society on the other. So we shall have to work out a system for the future whereby the riches created by the machines is used for others — and I would say mainly for women. I refer to the so-called machine tax that is, I realize, bitterly debated and disputed. In the long term, however, we shall certainly have to talk about this question.

I would also like to ask that we be given a structural report on the situation of women here in Europe and that a scheme for the promotion of women be drawn up based on that report. That too I would accept. Personally, I am also in favour of introducing a quota system, simply to achieve the breakthrough.

In conclusion, allow me to make the following brief comment. We have tabled an amendment to paragraph 13. Mrs Dekker's wording — wholly understandable from her standpoint — was that the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment alone should be responsible for continuing with the preparation of the report, with Copenhagen in mind still. My view is that, since we have an *ad hoc* Committee on Women's Rights, this proposal should extend at least to that committee so that, in substance, paragraph 13 would then stipulate that the Commission, the Committee on Social Affairs and the Committee on Women's Rights or any other committee that may be affected should work on the position of women in Europe. If this comprehensive approach is taken we shall certainly find resources when the budget is discussed for increased occupational integration and also for the betterment of women in other ways.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mr Enright.

Mr Enright. — I rise as the third statutory non-female speaker in this debate, and I do so with great pleasure because frankly unless we fight for the status of women, we degrade the dignity of man.

(Applause)

I should like on behalf of the Socialist Group to say how very pleased we are to have listening to this debate Baroness Lockwood, who is the chairman of the Equal Opportunities Commission in the United Kingdom, her vice-chairman and members of her staff. They have done some very splendid practical work in the United Kingdom and, in spite of snide attacks from some quarters of the press, have gone forward and have done a very great deal practically for women. And I hope that when we report from the *ad hoc* Committee on Women's Rights, in the end what we say will be of assistance to them.

I do not intend to go over some of the ground that has been previously and very well covered, but I would like to underline some points.

First of all, nursery school provision. It is not often that you will hear me praising Margaret Thatcher, but when she was Minister of Education, she did set as an aim universal nursery education. Now, alas, in the winter of her discontent, the economic policies which are being pursued mean that in the United Kingdom nursery provision is being reduced and particularly reduced in very poor areas with gross economic consequences for women. And therefore I do think that the Commission needs to look, even though the Council of Education Ministers is not noted for meeting regularly, at the varying provisions of nursery school education, because this is the crucial infrastructure required if we are to have equality for women.

The second area which we must examine very closely and which certainly gives cause for concern in the United Kingdom at the moment is that of home workers — people who are frankly exploited in their own homes, not unionized, given very poor rates of pay and protected in no way. This needs examining carefully.

I would just like briefly to back up what Mrs Hoff said on education. If you look in the United Kingdom at the way in which one applies for a place to read medicine at university, if you are a girl and you are to get a place you have to be an absolute genius. There is a very clear bias there particularly but also in other areas. And this would seem to be true throughout the entire Community. Then, too, I think something must be done about the unemployment figures and the way in which they are prepared in the different Member States. If I take an area within my own constituency of Batley, I know that there is immense female unemployment there, but the statistics are quite impossible to come by. It is caused by a decline in the textile industry. Figures are not available, quite simply

Enright

because the government is not prepared to assemble them. So if we had the true statistics there, it would be something in the region of 35 % of women unemployed who are wanting a job of some sort and there must surely be some means whereby Member States can collect this sort of data.

Finally, if I could quote Virgil, 1980 years ago he said: 'Varium et mutabile est semper femina', woman is a changeable and fickle thing. That attitude still persists and I should like to give two examples from my own country. My secretary was travelling out to Strasbourg this week with her young son. Under the provisions which exist for the exchange of health services, she was not able in her own right — and I assure you that she is more than a full time worker — in her own right she was not able to bring her son out. He had to be registered under her husband's name. The other example, and this is something that I have written to Commissioner Vredeling about already, is the Club and Institute Union. This is an amalgamation of Working Men's Clubs in my country which, although heavily dependent upon women for its organization and for the money that it needs, does not allow women to vote. Equality in this social area is crucial. Another very good example of such attitudes is provided by a club in Wales, a club that one of the Vice-Presidents may know very well, which relies heavily upon women to play in its darts team, allows them to make sandwiches for the darts team, but will not allow the women into the 'men only' bar to practise their darts. We have a similar situation in my area where women are not allowed to play snooker in clubs, even with their husbands.

Now, these examples may seem silly and trifling, but in fact they do reflect an attitude which I think we should attempt to eradicate.

I am proud to have spoken as a man and spoken in the company of so many splendid ladies!

(Applause)

President. — I call Mr Vredeling.

Mr Vredeling, Vice-President of the Commission. — *(NL)* Mr President, this debate, which is undoubtedly extremely useful, can of course only be interim in its nature pending the UN Conference to be held next month in Copenhagen. As you know the Community has been invited to the conference with observer status. The Community delegation will include two representatives of Parliament in addition to the representatives of the Council and Commission. Mr Albers, who is not in the Chamber at the moment, asked me what the exact position was on this and whether there was opposition to the inclusion of Members of Parliament in the delegation. I cannot answer that question because the Commission is at present meeting in this

very building. But I can say that we have made a proposal in the Commission through my colleague, Mr Natali, who has particular responsibility for relations with Parliament. I hope that the Commission will take a favourable decision in this matter. The delegation will of course be led by the Commission. For the purpose of coordination at Community level, consultations are to be held with the social attachés in Brussels on 2 July. The agenda of that meeting includes coordination at Community level of the signing - not the ratification, that is something different - of the Convention on which the governments are expected to agree in Copenhagen. We shall submit the matter to the Member States and ask them to sign the convention preferably before the beginning of the conference. I would add that the Community cannot subscribe to the convention in its own right because it also covers subjects such as the Palestinian problem, apartheid in South Africa and the refugee problem. These subjects are covered by European political cooperation in the Community, but do not formally fall within the sphere of the Treaties.

The purpose of the Copenhagen conference is first and foremost to take stock, half way through the decade of the woman, and to prepare a programme for the next five years. This will also be particularly useful for the future work of the Community. When we look back on the past five years, there is little cause for satisfaction with the achievements. In the Community, we must add that the past five years have not merely brought disappointments as regards the attainment of equal rights for men and women: in the first place, the relevant directives have been adopted. That is a particularly important development because it enabled the subject of equal pay for men and women to be raised in the context of national legislation. At the initiative of the Commission, the Council has set a number of measures in motion. We have created a juridical structure. The Court of Justice has itself done pioneering work in the area of case law. All this has made an important contribution to the improvement of the position of women in the employment process.

I am aware of course that the legal structure is not in itself sufficient to make good the prejudice suffered by women. But it can help to remedy the situation. In this area, action taken by women's organizations, especially the union movement, can be very useful. An extremely active policy should be followed on this. Miss De Valera asked just now why Ireland is never accused of infringements. The answer is quite simply that Irish legislation gives no reason for critical observations in this area. However, as I have already said on a previous occasion in Parliament, the content of the legislation in fact presents no guarantee whatever that discrimination will be less than in other countries. Be that as it may, to the best of our knowledge, Irish legislation accords with our directives.

As regards new legislation we certainly have no intention of standing idly by. We are continuing our activi-

Vredeling

ties and will be guided by the outcome of the Manchester conference to which repeated reference has been made. I should like to take this opportunity to thank the Equal Opportunities Commission, Baroness Lockwood who has already been mentioned, and Mr Enright. I willingly endorse all that he said because I myself had the opportunity to attend the conference, if only briefly. I am particularly grateful to the Equal Opportunities Commission for all the work, the almost superhuman work, which it put in with the Commission's staff. The results of the conference, the content of Mrs Dekker's report, Parliament's resolution and the report which Mrs Maij-Weggen will be submitting on behalf of the *ad hoc* committee at the end of this year, will certainly provide sufficient material for the compilation of an action programme, we hope before the end of the mandate of the present Commission. That programme can then provide a basis for the activities of the new Commission. There is some particularly useful material already. I think that in compiling the action programme we can make good use of the activities of the old Parliament, in the shape of the report by Mrs Dunwoody. I would hope too that one of the points made in the Manchester resolution will soon be given practical effect. I refer to the creation of a European emancipation agency. We still need to discuss its exact composition but the need for such a body at European level seems perfectly clear. We have examples of similar bodies in various countries. I have already referred to the Equal Opportunities Commission in the UK and similar bodies exist in the Netherlands, Denmark and other countries. We must accordingly give shape at Community level to a body representing the different Member States.

As regards the actual tasks to be performed, I would hope that paragraph 3 of Mrs Dekker's resolution will be maintained. The amendment by Miss Roberts is extremely limitative as regards the tasks of the new body and does not fully meet the wishes of the Commission. As regards preparatory activities, I would refer you to the Commission's supplementary memorandum which was sent to you earlier this year and contained proposals for special leave for parents. The Commission has taken a bold step forwards here. I realize that the matter is far from being settled in the Member States but, as I have already said on many occasions, if we in the Community are to pursue a genuine Community policy, we must not be afraid of developing a policy which represents more than the sum of its component parts. Here we have a specific example of the pioneering work that can be done. It is abundantly clear that the provisions governing special leave of this kind need to be updated. We all know that women are at present heavily burdened with the work of caring for their families. The figures quoted by a Member earlier to the effect that a woman works four extra hours each day in the home, while men only work for fifteen minutes, serve to illustrate the biased nature of the way in which housework is shared. Here I believe Mrs von Alemann was quite right when she said that as far as employment and the raising of chil-

dren are concerned, the problem is not just one for women but a more general social problem, as Mrs Spaak also rightly said, indeed one of the social problems to which our society can and must find a solution.

As regards our future work I cannot give an assurance to Mrs Hammerich, who is not with us now, that we will prepare a directive on nursery nurses. She made a point on this which seemed to be directed more to the secretariat of Parliament than to the Commission, because the nurses to whom she referred are by definition women. She made an interesting point but we do not intend to draw up a directive defining requirements for women in this particular area - we should not venture to do so.

The introduction of new technologies which is referred to in Mrs Dekker's report was also discussed in Manchester and the Commission is paying particular attention to this point. The Standing Committee on Employment has considered the problem of microelectronics and the implications for employment opportunities. It is quite true that women are likely to suffer most in that the jobs which will be lost have traditionally very often been held by women, in banks, insurance and general administrative professions. The studies which I shall be initiating in conjunction with Mr Davignon, will certainly include an evaluation of the consequences of the introduction of 'micro-chips' for the employment of women. This must take very high priority in our practical action. I agree with Mrs Salisch who said that the European Council is not giving priority to employment but prefers to combat inflation by monetary instruments. I agree with her criticism. It is true that we cannot pursue a responsible employment policy if Community policy in general is based on the tenets of monetarism in order to combat inflation. The net result is simply an increase in unemployment and the price is far too high.

The question of the redistribution of work is particularly relevant in this context. The conclusions reached in Manchester show that shorter daily working hours are needed rather than a free Friday afternoon or longer holidays which do not facilitate the work of women. A shorter working day can help, but is not in itself a guarantee of better conditions for women. Perhaps it would enable family responsibilities to be shared more fairly between men and women.

The Social Fund makes provision for professional training. As you know, we have made a modest start with appropriations which will be increasing but are not sufficient to cover the special programmes for women over the age of 45 wishing to return to employment or for older women who wish to take up their first jobs. The Member States have not even requested the relevant subsidies. I had to send out a special letter which did bring results but 80 % of the applications came from the Federal Republic, to its great credit. The other Member States have not been

Vredeling

active enough in this area. The fact that subsidies can be requested for programmes of this kind is often unknown. There is a considerable gap in information on this and it needs to be closed. I expect the European emancipation committee to prove very useful in this respect because it will be able to act on behalf of the similar bodies in the Member States.

Reference was also made to the need for better statistics, particularly by Mrs Hoff. In fact the Community's statistics are not very much worse than those of the Member States and sometimes they are far better. Two publications are to appear shortly reproducing in detail both national and Community data and statistics. These will of course be made available to Parliament.

Then there is the subject of women in third countries, to put it briefly. I willingly promise Parliament to contact Mr Cheysson on this point since he has particular responsibility for relations between the Community and the developing countries, in order to ascertain whether the Commission could undertake more effective special actions for the benefit of women in the developing countries, with the cooperation of international agencies and the countries themselves. I turn now to the subject of the report which we had promised to submit. The fact is that we have a limited staff and were obliged to do a very great deal of preparatory work for the Manchester conference; moreover we give maximum priority at present to the preparation of reports on the application of directives in the Member States; because of all this we were unable to complete in good time the reports requested by Parliament. We are now working on a general report which will deal with the situation in the Community as such; we have promised to forward it to Parliament by 15 August and I hope that we shall be able to do so.

Finally, I turn to Mrs Hoff's question about the exchange of experience. I think she was referring to experience in the area of professional training with which she did not seem particularly satisfied. However, we do regularly exchange information on this already.

As you may know, Ireland, a country which joined the Community not so very long ago, has particularly benefited from this. Effective use is made in Ireland of experience acquired in the area of vocational training for women and the handicapped as well as other sectors of the population in Heidelberg, the Netherlands and other Member States. This may not be spectacular but the exchange of experience is particularly important. We are working with pilot projects and we hold meetings with experts on professional training. In other words we are not idle in this area. Of course more could be done but one of the most important activities is the exchange of experience already acquired in the Member States themselves. The special programmes for vocational training of women which have now been introduced on a modest scale in the

Social Fund and must be further extended are extremely important from the angle of the position of women in general.

Mr President, that brings me to the end of my remarks. As I said this is an interim debate. However, the Commission found it most interesting because it revealed the very great concern felt in Parliament for the social problems of women and we shall try to meet Parliament's wishes with a view to pursuing the debate in the second half of the year.

President. — I call Mrs Dekker.

Mrs Dekker, rapporteur — (NL) Mr President, I want to make a few observations following the remarks made by participants in this debate about the character and nature of our interim report. I know that time is very short, but I want to take this opportunity to react to the remarks made by Mr Vredeling in the context of the dialogue between the Parliament and Commission.

This is an interim report not only as regards the Copenhagen conference because the motion for a resolution indicates that we intend to make further use of the results of that conference, but it is also an interim report in the sense that we now have an *ad hoc* committee which is dealing extensively with these problems. I shall repeat what I said in my introductory statement: the interim report lays no claim to dealing with the whole problem. All that we are trying to do is to indicate the views of Parliament before the Copenhagen conference, to set certain priorities and point to options for the Council and Commission so that they can be taken into account in Copenhagen. We have also referred to the need for careful coordination with the *ad hoc* committee to prevent overlapping between this interim report and the more extensive work being performed by the *ad hoc* committee. We did not intend there to be such an extensive debate today. Agreement had even been reached on a limitation of the discussion. A second aspect which needs to be emphasized....

President. — Mrs Dekker, you may not embark on a new exposé. I must remind you that we have to close the sitting at 7 p.m. and that I still have 16 speakers on my list. Perhaps you would therefore bring your comments to a close.

Mrs Dekker. — (NL) Mr President, I am responding to observations made in the debate about the nature and extent of this interim report and I am doing so in order to avoid misunderstandings. As rapporteur, I am entitled to ask for matters to be clarified. I hope that you will allow me to do so, and I am doing my best to keep my remarks as brief as possible . . .

President. — Please end now, Madam.

Mrs Dekker. — (NL) I find this a very strange procedure. The Rules of Procedure allow me to respond in order to clarify the report in the light of the debate but without reopening the debate. We must vote on this ...

President. — Mrs Dekker, you no longer have the floor. The amendments and the motion for a resolution will be put to the vote tomorrow, Thursday, at 3 p.m.

I call Mrs Hoff.

Mrs Hoff. — (D) Mr President, I would like to know whether the Commission will be able today or tomorrow to answer the question of whether a parliamentary delegation will be taking part in the Copenhagen Conference. That question has not yet been answered.

President. — Mrs Hoff has provided us with an example of a precise question to the Commission which only requires a very brief answer. I would ask the House to refrain from reopening the debate or raising points of order because otherwise we shall lose altogether too much time.

I call Mr Vredeling.

Mr Vredeling, Vice-President of the Commission. — (NL) My position is particularly delicate because the Commission is meeting at this very moment. Perhaps the Commission will now find a solution and you will be informed tomorrow. I assume there will be no objection to that but I must observe some reticence at this moment: I cannot be in two places at once, in the Chamber and at the meeting of the Commission. I do not know whether Mr Natali who has just come from the Commission's meeting can say anything now.

President. — I call Mr De Goede on a point of order.

Mr De Goede. — (NL) Mr President, this is the first time that the President of a sitting has asked a rapporteur to stop speaking after responding for only three minutes to a debate which had lasted for several hours. This is a unique occurrence. You were not entitled to act as you did. I ask you to indicate which Rule of the Rules of Procedure entitled you to take that course of action. The agenda provides for a debate on the report by Mrs Dekker. The debate was on the agenda and both the Commission and the rapporteur are entitled to respond to points raised during the debate. If you cannot complete the debate on the next report it can be continued on Thursday morning's agenda. I there-

fore ask you which Rule in the Rules or Procedure entitles you to treat the rapporteur in this fashion?

President. — It is the President's right to steer the course of debates. I do feel that three minutes should be ample time in which to give any necessary explanations. It is in no way my intention to obstruct speakers, but, to enable us to complete our agenda, I would kindly request Mrs Dekker not to proceed any further.

The motion for a resolution will be put to the vote at the next voting time.

The debate is closed.

15. *Accident hazards of certain industrial activities*

President. — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-220/80) by Mrs Roudy, on behalf of the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection, on the proposal from the Commission of the European Communities to the Council (Doc. 1-265/79) for a directive on the major accident hazards of certain industrial activities (Doc. 1-265/79).

I call Mrs Roudy, rapporteur.

Mrs Roudy. — (F) We now come to consider, ladies and gentlemen, the report drawn up by Parliament's Environment Committee on the Commission's proposal to the Council for a directive on the major accident hazards of certain industrial activities. In a few days' time the Council of Ministers is expected to approve the Commission's proposal. It is important in that connection that Parliament should call to mind the background to the proposal and the principles on which it is based.

This directive has been referred to as the Seveso directive. It was on 10 July 1976, close on four years ago, that it happened. Everything appeared normal that day in Seveso, the town in Northern Italy where Hoffmann LaRoche, a multinational company based in Switzerland, had established a chemical plant. All of a sudden the accident had occurred, the 'major hazard' as the experts call it, the situation that was not expected to arise, that should not normally have arisen. A valve not shut correctly — or perhaps defective — and disaster strikes. Dioxin, a colourless substance, leaks out and spreads into the surrounding countryside, destroying plants and animals; 447 persons develop skin disease and other complaints, 5 000 persons over an area of several square kilometers are affected, 1 730 are evacuated. Even today, four years later, Seveso is still a prohibited area. But Seveso was by no means unique. In 1974 at Flixborough in

Roudy

England an explosion was caused by an escape of cyclohexane, leaving 28 dead and 89 seriously injured and damage to the value of 100 million dollars. That was a major hazard. In 1975 at Beek in the Netherlands there was a polypropylene explosion with 14 people affected in the short term and also damage to property. In 1976 an explosion occurred in a chemical plant in Manfredonia in Italy, releasing 10 tonnes of arsenic and exposing a large number of people to health risks in a contaminated area extending over several square kilometres. And we know that death is but one of the consequences of such disasters. A toll of 104 serious injuries and damage estimated at 40 million dollars followed the recent accident in New York State, which focused attention on the problems of storing dioxin waste.

In the case of Seveso the extent of the disaster could have been reduced if only certain precautions had been taken, if the company employees, the local population and the authorities had been better informed about the nature of the activities at the plant. In point of fact no one had been warned of the potential hazard and, worse still, it was not until several days after the accident that the company alerted the local authorities and it was only then that evacuation got under way.

It is to prevent such accidents that the Commission drew up the directive before us today, which represents a step towards a harmonized authorization procedure. It requires the Member States to ensure that manufacturers take the measures necessary to prevent this type of disaster. The directive, somewhat daunting by virtue of its wealth of technical detail, falls into two parts. Firstly, under Article 4 all undertakings handling one or more dangerous substances are required to submit a written safety report to the appropriate authorities. Secondly, the directive stipulates that any manufacturer using or handling particularly dangerous substances, above a certain minimum quantity, must provide full information to the authorities. The directive also lays down a system for informing the national government departments.

The purpose, then, is to ensure that the public is told about every kind of dangerous substance present in their locality and the hazards they pose. The directive provides for written safety reports. All employees in any given establishment must be informed and appropriately trained, irrespective of their status within the company.

This means that the health and safety committee of the establishment must be provided with all the technical data. It is necessary to expand the outline article in order to make it effective. Deadlines by which the appropriate authorities have to take action must be laid down. Provisions are needed to cover situations affecting more than one country, since many plants are located near a frontier.

This directive provides a minimum safety level for workers, the population, animals and plants in the vicinity of industrial installations. The fantastic progress made in science and technology and especially in the chemical industry has brought increasing hazards to man in its wake. These hazards are multiplied as new discoveries are made. In a world increasingly dominated by the quest for profit the need to protect human life and health is often neglected. A major hazard is by definition unforeseeable, but the Seveso disaster demonstrated that its extent could have been reduced if certain precautions had been taken. This directive gives us the means of preventing other Sevesos. We must neither weaken it nor delay its implementation.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mrs Seibel-Emmerling to speak on behalf of the Socialist Group.

Mrs Seibel-Emmerling. — *(D)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the Socialist Group welcomes the tabling of the Directive on the hazards of serious accidents. In far too many places in our Member States, people have industrial accidents with severe consequences. Seveso, about which the rapporteur, Mrs Roudy, has just given you a vivid report, has become a synonym of the hazards threatening our population. We know that Seveso can happen anywhere and in many cases exists. Because of the events in Seveso and the poisonous cloud that came on 10 June 1976, to be identified only ten days later as dioxides, and because of the silence of those who knew what it was all about, those who were responsible for the plant in Seveso and those responsible in the parent company, countless people went through a frightful catastrophe. So normal life went on although disaster threatened and although warning of disaster had already been given. Ten days passed during which no-one knew what was really going on, neither the workers in the plant responsible, nor the population in the area under primary threat, nor the authorities who could only stand helplessly by. Those who must have known must have kept silent although the hospitals were filling up with victims and although everywhere animals began to die. And the most necessary counter-measures failed to be taken because no-one knew what was responsible. Only when the substance was identified could counter-measures begin. On 6 August 1976, the EEC offered, as a contribution to the decontamination work, all the information it possessed on dioxine and the assistance of its data processing units. So practically a month went by before a start was made on what is now to be ensured by the new directive in terms of emergency plans, precise descriptions of production processes, preventive measures and reconnoitering processes. The industrial accident — the catastrophe — of Seveso took place in July 1976 followed by numerous debates in the European Parlia-

Seibel-Emmerling

ment and in national and regional parliaments. In June 1980 — four years later — we are about to adopt a strategy designed to prevent similar horrors. For once, too, there is a prospect that our work will not be swallowed up in the capacious archives of the Council. Hopefully this directive will not moulder away where so many urgent projects unfortunately lie dormant or dead because of the mean delaying tactics of the Council. The Italian Presidency has given us to understand that the Council of Ministers of the Environment will be meeting at the end of this month with Italy providing the president and will consider and adopt this directive — a tiny ray of hope — from the Council to which we are indeed not accustomed.

The dangers of sudden disasters like fire and explosion are obvious to everyone in the Community but there is also increasing awareness of the long-term hazards arising from the storage of toxic wastes and the contamination of our environment by highly poisonous substances. Unfortunately, for our progress towards this realization we are paying an ever-mounting price in life, health and even the economic existence of our population.

Mr President, we need policies to be completely coordinated with priority given to environmental policy that protects life. Only then shall we fulfil one of the greatest tasks and most vital hopes of those from all our Member States who have sent us to represent them in this House. Today and tomorrow we are called upon to take our stand clearly and plainly on a directive and to decide whether we are going to create a useful instrument to protect mankind or, once again, just an alibi, a kind of figleaf, because we do not want to hurt those who prefer to keep quiet, as in Seveso, and not say what is wrong. For this reason I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to approve amendments 1 to 6 that we have tabled. In our opinion, the analysis of the hazards and the question of informing the people living in the threatened areas and inside and outside the plants are particularly important. This is why we appeal to the Council and the Member States to be particularly watchful and strict in the implementation of this directive. Our proposed amendments make some suggestions in that regard. You, ladies and gentlemen, I warmly urge to vote in favour of our proposed amendments. I just cannot understand how you — and here I would address my words more particularly to the Italian members of all parties — can go before your electors with a good conscience without agreeing that more information be given to the public and preparations made for their protection.

I thank the Commission for proposing this Directive which, with the changes that the Committee has set down in Mrs Roudy's report, is clearly excellent. I would however stress that what has been dropped from the report is necessary and vital for the real protection of the public. In the very last minute — too late I might almost say — my attention was drawn to a disturbing matter about which I now have no other

possibility than to put it to the Commission. Experts are afraid that, in the list of relevant products given in Article 5, section 1, the word 'by-products' would, if narrowly interpreted, mean only intended or unintended by-products which arise in the normal way when a product is being manufactured. We also meant, of course — and here I know that I have the agreement of the overwhelming majority of the Committee if not of each one of its members — those products which, for example, arise if a process goes wrong, like dioxine in Seveso.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mr Estgen to speak on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (C-D).

Mr Estgen. — *(D)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to voice the satisfaction of the Group of the European People's Party that the Commission of the European Communities should have drawn up this proposal for a directive on the risks of severe accidents in certain industrial activities and thus fulfilled the repeated wish of this House to introduce regulations about this vitally important issue. We therefore assure you of our gratitude.

We were all shaken by the events of the years 1974, 1975 and 1976. Seveso has been mentioned as an example and we want to do everything we can to prevent such a thing happening again. Good resolutions are quickly made in such situations but also, unfortunately, just as quickly forgotten. Good regulations are therefore better than good resolutions. Such regulations have to be clear and useable or applicable. By and large I feel that the Commission has, in its proposed directive, met the requirements of clarity and effectiveness. The Christian Democrats also see evidence in this that European policy is concerning itself not only with the merchandise of Europe but also, at last and to an increasing extent, with the people of Europe. The draft directive before us relates to safety and health at work but it also goes to some extent in the direction of environmental protection, in other words the protection of the people living in the neighbourhood. This gives it a particularly political expressiveness. It is essential that the population living in the neighbourhood of a danger centre be protected in exactly the same way as the people who actually work there. Our Group would like to stress particularly its opinion that it is essential for such protective measures to be valid across international frontiers.

Today, the safety and health motivation is particularly strong with both sides of industry and the public at large, to such an extent, in fact, that it is very easy, in this area, to take up an intransigent attitude with the result that the baby is often thrown out with the bath water. Safety and health have their price. I naturally agree with all those who maintain that, when it is a

Estgen

question of human life and the health of generations, the price can never be too high. That is true and yet we have to distinguish between real dangers, that have to be eliminated, and potential dangers, in other words risks, that may arise from a combination of various factors. Human life is always full of risk. Progress always means risk. We know the statistical risk of car accidents per 1000 km and per 1000 driving hours and on that account we strive to make cars safer, introduce stricter regulations and perhaps even drive more safely. But that effort cannot and must not be allowed to make driving impossible. *Mutatis mutandis*, the same applies in the industrial sector and in particular in the chemical industry, where dangerous substances are involved. We must require the industry to take every justifiable safety precaution and we do in fact demand that. But justifiable means that there is a reasonable relation between the risk and the regulations and that the activity itself is not shackled by futile bureaucratism. It is our view that the Commission, overall, has striven successfully to achieve this object. It deserves stressing that the question of informing the public has also been given more importance, even though information is a double-edged sword. There must be no question of information diminishing responsibility. Nor must it be allowed to generate insecurity and panic, or, finally, work against the interests of industry by bringing with it the danger of the divulgence of industrial secrets.

The Commission's proposal has been substantially improved in some not insignificant points by Mrs Roudy's report and by the work done in the environment committee. We are very gratified. This result came about largely because good, though hard, work was done in the committee itself. Although, in her first draft, Mrs Roudy went far beyond the target in our view, we must compliment her on the fact that she took due account of the objections, made particularly by my Group, and incorporated them in her second and much improved draft. This version, finally, was further improved by the work in the committee itself.

Thus my Group is in full agreement with the work that has been done and with the text before us and — having, after all, taken a decisive part in it — will vote in favour of the text as formulated in committee.

With the amendments that have been tabled — Mrs Schleicher will have something else to say on this point — we cannot agree because they betray excessive fearfulness and, in our opinion, fear has always been a bad counsellor. On this issue, my Group shuns any psychosis policy and will always place man above reckless profit-seeking.

In that light, we are particularly pleased that the directives have a minimal character, in other words Member States which already have or are planning more elaborate regulations are not required to do away with them but purely, for example, to make their experience available to the other Member States. We

therefore express the urgent wish that the Council will adopt this directive quickly and in full.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mr Sherlock to speak on behalf of the European Democratic Group.

Mr Sherlock. — Mr President, as I observed earlier today, the world reaction to Minamata was horror, followed by a determination to prevent a recurrence. The same reaction followed the Seveso disaster, and the EEC in particular began work to prevent a recurrence. But that was nearly four years ago now. How many such disasters could have occurred in the meantime? Mrs Seibel-Emmerling's remarks about the particular situation in Italy must call for some initial comment by one who has spent a large part of his working life involved in this sort of topic. Had the authorities in Italy read the paper published a long time before in the United Kingdom and translated into every civilized language in the world, and written by a very good friend of mine, of a similar but smaller incident in England, they would not have needed such impassioned pleading on their behalf as Mrs Seibel-Emmerling has made. There was a large element of neglect on the administrative side, no matter how reprehensible you may judge the manufacturer; of that there is no doubt.

We are all dedicated to this same end. We all want a clean environment, we all want to prevent these accidents. But some of us approach it from a rather more practical, more pragmatic point of view than others; it gives us some caution in the shaping of documents.

Seveso, you see, was triply unfortunate. Seveso, the inspiration for this directive, had a big bang effect. Very nasty materials were dispersed by that big bang — very nasty materials: dioxine and caustic. One of those nasty materials happened, triply unfortunately, to be a material which is very persistent. I feel that a directive which was aimed at the prevention of this type of accident in this type of situation could have gone into effect more swiftly and with more likelihood of being implemented. It would have meant applying the rules to fewer sites, which would have stood some chance of being efficiently monitored. In its present form, this directive, even after some very hard work in committee, is made to cover every risk situation of every size, shape and description, and that cannot be done. It cannot be done. The next big bang is just as likely to take place in a flour mill as a result of dust, or in a colliery as a result of coal dust or, even take place like the last, fairly reasonable-sized bang that we had in the UK industry, when the stuff being manufactured was animal feed. Not the sort of thing you would connect with explosions, but it can happen.

The bureaucratic requirements of notification, inspection, reports, licences and permits will need a whole

Sherlock

army of highly-qualified inspectors if they are to be effective. That army of officials does not exist; it will take, in my opinion, at least ten years to train them, and those who are already in posts will have their duties spread so thinly as to be at risk of error. The will to implement is greatly impaired and disrespected if it is not matched by the ability to implement. In many instances, the paperwork will eventually be done by the equivalent of an office boy or a second-class clerk, very likely on a low salary and open to bribery.

I am aware that the thrust for this directive has strong political significance for the Italian presidency and I am always willing to do my utmost to help the Italians. I know that in Germany the boundary between *Bund* and *Land* as to who implements what in industrial safety is blurred, and that sometimes this Parliament forms a very convenient stick for the one to beat the other; but I am very pleased to help in that process too, if it clears administrative boundaries.

This is a poor directive, a late directive, and I am afraid the proposals which eventually go to Council will have to be very, very different if there is to be any hope of the Council of Ministers accepting them. I hope that when it does reach the Council it will have been greatly modified from its present form. I and, I hope, my colleagues, will vote for it because it is just, but only just, better than nothing at all.

President. — I call Mrs Squarcialupi to speak on behalf of the Communist and Allies Group.

Mrs Squarcialupi. — (I) I shall refrain from speaking so as not to take up the time of my colleague, Mrs Boserup, who has asked to speak.

President. — I call Mr Combe to speak on behalf of the Liberal and Democratic Group.

Mr Combe. — (F) Mr President, the Liberal and Democratic Group welcomes the Commission's initiative in submitting a directive on the major accident hazards of certain industrial activities. We also congratulate Mrs Roudy on an excellent report.

The accidents at Seveso, Niagara Falls in the USA and recently in the Netherlands show the urgent need for action at European level. The measures that have to be taken by both the private and the public sectors are likely to place a substantial financial burden on industry. Steps must therefore be taken, as the Commission points out, to prevent distortion of competition. It is a sound policy to graduate the measures called for in the directive according to the type of industrial activity and the quantity and potential dangers of the substances manufactured, processed or stored. We also endorse the requirement that the employees of the establishments concerned be given full information.

Some points of the directive are, however, open to question. We feel, for example, that the definitions given for industrial activity, major accident and dangerous substance are not sufficiently clear. The annexes to the directive should be updated to keep pace with new discoveries. The list of substances seems to us not exhaustive enough and the toxicity criteria are inadequate and inapplicable in many cases. A distinction ought to be made between the risks to which the workers at the plant itself are exposed and those menacing the inhabitants of the surrounding area. We need a list of substances liable to cause a major accident, but we also need a list of processes giving rise to such hazards.

General information on hazards and on the prevention and intervention employed to limit from the outset the frequency and consequences of accidents can be disseminated by European agencies. But it is only reasonable that information on a given major accident should be the exclusive province of specialists and that everything should be done to avoid a proliferation of sources of information on the accident. Such proliferation can lead to confusion and disrupt emergency measures and — on the basis of what has happened in the United States — it can even result in panic. For, whilst information is necessary, it must be sound and appropriate to the situation. If workers and the inhabitants of the area surrounding the plant are correctly informed by specialists they will be better able to follow the instructions issued to them by the authorities on the spot in charge of operations.

In conclusion, Mr President, I wish to say that, provided the report is not distorted by amendments, the Liberal Group will support it in its entirety.

President. — I call Mrs Boserup to speak on behalf of the Communist and Allies Group

Mrs Boserup. — (DK) Mr President, like most members of this House, I can only applaud the efforts being made to prevent accidents like the one which has been mentioned so often today, the one in Seveso in 1976. For many of us this accident was but one example of the terrible effects of a servile acceptance of industry's demands and the completely uncontrolled growth of capitalist society. There is no evidence that a directive such as the one proposed will prevent new accidents. The only sure way to prevent accidents is to impose strict standards and restrictions on companies. Application of these standards must not depend on profitability. No such standards are included in this proposal. It is typical that, according to its own explanatory memorandum, the Commission has held talks with the manufacturers, but not with the trade

Boserup

unions or consumer organizations. It is also typical of the main premises of the proposal that they link it with conditions of competition and investment and not public health. One may easily take the Commission's proposal to mean that these are the important factors, rather than the need to inform workers and the local population about potential hazards.

I was trained as a chemist and, before I came here, I did a lot of work on the harmful effects of chemical products on workers' health. With the knowledge I have, I consider that the limits laid down in Annex II for obligatory notification are very high. It is alarming that companies will be allowed, for example, to store 20 tonnes of fluorine and 20 tonnes of phosgene or 10 000 tonnes of liquid oxygen without having to notify them. I cannot see any clear scientific reasons for these limits and to require notification of a stock of materials is in itself a very mild measure.

There are, moreover, other dangerous substances apart from those designated toxic, harmful to health or corrosive. In this annex a very primitive division is made based on the amounts of the materials which can kill a rat. This is an internationally recognized way of measuring the toxicity of a substance, but it is quite inadequate for these purposes. If the aim is to protect the local population, account must be taken of the path and speed of dispersal. Even so, the aim can only be to prevent very large accidents. There is no doubt in my mind that smaller quantities than those indicated in the annex can cause accidents which workers and the local population will certainly regard as very serious.

We are very pleased that the proposal, at least in its present form, will not obstruct the strict rules we have in Denmark. I must, however, insist that the adaptations committee remain a purely consultative body. The voting system used in committees of this type to keep the small countries down, is anathema to us. It is very true that many environmental problems can be solved only by means of international co-operation. This proposal, as far as I can see, does not offer any solutions. All in all, it does nothing more than to set up an office to collect notifications and reports. This is a very meagre achievement and leads me to think of a fairy tale by one of our few well-known writers, Hans Christian Andersen, entitled 'The Emperor's new clothes'. If any of you in this House remember this fairy tale, you can work out my conclusions for yourselves.

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

Mr Nyborg. — (DK) Mr President, I should just like to make some general observations.

Mrs Roudy's report concerns the Commission's 'Seveso' directive dealing with the possible hazards of

major accidents in industry. Technological development has brought with it unknown dangers of dimensions which one simply could not envisage earlier. The risks of injury to men, animals and the environment have become all too obvious as a result of the accidents which have been mentioned. The direct effect on living organisms has already been described. However, one should not forget the more general harmful effect which such accidents have on our environment as a whole. The rapid development of our technology means that our natural environment can suffer damage and be completely devastated by accidents in industry and by a lack of understanding of how to protect the environment.

The effects will be felt not only today, but also by future generations. For example, one might mention the felling of timber without replanting, the fall in ozone production etc. The reaction to the pollution problem in the past has been to geographically isolate the factories causing pollution from built-up areas. However, now that we are aware that pollution spreads from one area to another, this geographical solution is no longer adequate. Pollution has become an international matter and solutions to it must therefore be found at an international level such as, for example, the European Community.

In my opinion the proposed form of the directive is well chosen since it is flexible enough to allow national states — or at least give them the opportunity — to lay down implementing provisions at their own discretion and, at the same time, because the proposed requirements are minimum requirements. This means that the Member states can introduce or maintain stricter national provisions on environmental protection.

On the subject of hazards, the report supports the proposal in as much as it transfers the burden of proof on to the manufacturer since this is often such a technical matter that the man in the street who has suffered injury will not have any reasonable chance of producing such evidence. I do however think that it will be necessary to revise the safety standards and provisions on liability to keep in reasonable step with technological development and scientific progress.

Mr President, before I exceed my speaking time, I should like finally to say that the Group of European Progressive Democrats as a whole supports the present motion for a resolution.

President. — In view of the late hour, I propose that, after hearing Mr Natali, we suspend the debate and terminate it on Thursday morning.

I call Mr Newton Dunn.

Mr Newton Dunn. — Mr President, I am one of the speakers you are putting off until Thursday. Will the

Newton Dunn

Commission be present on Thursday morning to hear my points, because they are very important?

President. — If you wish to put an urgent question to the Commission and are prepared to use your speaking time for this purpose, you may give priority to your question.

Mr Newton Dunn. — Mr President, I wish to ask two questions on the annex to the Commission's proposal. Ammonium nitrate is included in Annex II, Section 1. I have an amendment down to delete that because the Commission has not understood the difference between fertilizer grade and explosive grade, and it is important that we make a distinction. The two materials are quite different. Does the Commission accept that it should be excluded?

Furthermore, I understand that according to the draft before the Council of Ministers, but not the draft before us, compound fertilizers are to be included in this directive. Is it true that compound fertilizers are included in the Council's draft and, if it is true, why is Parliament not being consulted?

President. — I call Mr Natali.

Mr Natali, — *Vice-President of the Commission.* (I) Mr President, I apologize to members who are waiting to speak but I must, with respect, point out that this debate was brought forward and the agenda changed and that I have to meet the Portuguese Prime Minister in Brussels on Thursday. Although, as you said, Mr President, the Commission will continue to be present, I must offer some comments in the light of Mrs Roudy's report and all the speeches made on behalf of the political groups.

Reference has been made to the profound disquiet which we all felt after the Seveso disaster and other accidents of the same kind. While it is true that the risk of accident is an everyday part of our lives, we cannot and must not, Mrs Boserup, adopt an attitude of resignation to the risk of death or serious illness to workers and their families and everyone who lives near a dangerous installation. On the contrary, we wish to abide by all the recommendations and conditions which, so far as humanly possible, will ensure that accidents do not occur.

We agree with the principle which has been propounded that the best ecological policy is one that prevents pollution and interference with the environment. It is, in fact, embodied in the Community's programme of action for the environment and the Commission keeps it constantly in mind.

Of course, Mr Estgen, we have no desire to impede technological progress or industrial activity but we do

want to make them safer, in the knowledge that this is the best policy from every point of view. The proposal for a directive before us today embodies this principle and is one of a number of similar legislative proposals made by the Commission and adopted by the Council, such as the 1967 directive on dangerous substances and the 1975 and 1978 directives on dangerous waste. The directive now proposed is intended to eliminate the risks which may exceptionally arise in abnormal operating conditions.

It has two objectives. The first is to ensure that both when the plant is on the drawing-board and when it is in operation, everything is done to reduce the risk of accident by taking account of potential sources of danger, monitoring the critical points, preventing the initiation of a chain of events which could lead to disaster and introducing even stricter security precautions. The second objective is to prevent accidents from becoming disasters by the application of surveillance and security measures restricting their knock-on effects.

I am, accordingly, very grateful to Mrs Roudy for her report and I should like to make the point that, although there was lively discussion in committee on the different aspects of the problem described in the proposed directive, the decision was an unanimous one and this lends enormous weight to the document produced.

I have three comments on the wording of the resolution. I follow others in emphasizing that there is nothing in Community law against the application of stricter national measures. So far as lies within its power, the Commission will encourage the search for alternative substances and industrial processes which involve less risk. The motion for a resolution comments on the transportation of dangerous substances. I should like to assure you that, in conjunction with the Commissioner responsible for transport, Mr Burke, I shall consider the possibility of improvements, although the relevant international conventions appear to be adequate at the moment.

I must make my position clear on the textual amendments proposed. Parliament was consulted about nine months ago. Since then, we have done our best, at the Council and elsewhere, to arrive at conclusions which would make it possible for the directive to be adopted on the coming 30 June. I still hope that it will be adopted, although some of the comments I have heard may cause difficulty. We have come a long way and I believe that all of us, Parliament included, have everything to gain by its adoption without delay. In order to make this possible, the technical complications which are bound to arise if the Commission accepts all the amendments must be kept to the minimum. There is a gap in the Community's present rules and this must be filled as a matter of urgency, so the Commission cannot, repeat, cannot hold up adoption of a directive which is awaited so eagerly by the various interested

Natali

parties in the Community. I trust, therefore, that Parliament will appreciate why I shall be unable to accept drafting amendments or amendments which do not improve on the original. Mrs Roudy can rest assured that we accept the new Article 9 a on the risk of accidents which have trans-frontier repercussions; it fills an important gap. The Commission also accepts the amendments to Article 5(1)(c), second indent, and, in addition, the amendments proposed in the case of Annex V.

The answer to Mr Newton Dunn's question is that the Commission did originally propose to include ammonium nitrate. I have noted his comments and will try to bear them in mind.

I should like to conclude by once more expressing my thanks to Mrs Roudy and others who took part in the debate and by endorsing the comment made in his speech by Mr Estgen.

With all its limitations, I regard this directive as a substantial step towards the creation or improvement of a Europe which is concerned not only with markets but also with measures to protect and safeguard the human condition.

(Applause)

16. Urgent procedure

President. — I have received a motion for a resolution from Mr Boyes and others, with request for

urgent procedure, pursuant to Rule 14 of the Rules of Procedure, on the closure of the Consett steelworks (Doc. 1-247/80).

The reasons supporting the request for urgent procedure are contained in the document itself.

Parliament will be consulted on whether or not urgent procedure should be adopted at the beginning of tomorrow's sitting.

17. Agenda for next sitting

President. — The next sitting will be held tomorrow, Wednesday, 18 June 1980, at 9 a. m. and 3 p. m., with the following agenda:

9 a. m. to 1 p. m. and 3 p. m. to 7 p. m.:

- Decision on urgency of two motions for resolutions
- Council and Commission statements on the European Council in Venice and review of the activities of the Italian presidency (followed by a debate)

5. 30 p. m. to 7 p. m.: Question Time (questions to the Council and the Foreign Affairs Ministers)

The sitting is closed.

(The sitting was closed at 7.05 p. m.)

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IN THE CHAIR: MRS VEIL

President

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

President. — The sitting is open.

1. Approval of minutes

President. — The minutes of proceedings of yesterday's sitting have been distributed. Since there are no comments, the minutes of proceedings are approved.

2. Documents received

President. — I have received several motions for resolutions, details of which will be found in the minutes of proceedings of today's sitting.

3. Agenda

President. — At its meeting yesterday the Committee on Agriculture adopted the report by Mr Davern on aid to producers in the hops sector. The report is entered as Item 125 on the agenda of Thursday's sitting.

Since they were not adopted by the Committee on Agriculture, the reports by Mr Colleselli on areas under vines and by Mr Blaney on the flax and hemp sector have been withdrawn from the agenda.

At its meeting yesterday the Committee on Agriculture adopted the report by Mr Buchou on certain derogations granted to Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom in respect of swine fever. This report, which follows a request for urgency by the Council which was accepted yesterday morning, will be entered for joint debate with the report by the same author on African swine fever in Portugal, on Thursday's agenda.

4. Statement on motions for resolutions

President. — During the sitting of Monday, 16 June the House was informed that since the Presidency intended to forward to the Commission for urgent consideration the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-213/80), tabled by Mr Narducci and others, on the plight of nomads in the Karamoja region, it invited the authors of the motion to withdraw their request for urgent debate.

Mr Narducci, as first signatory of the motion for a resolution, informed the Presidency yesterday that the request for urgent debate had been withdrawn. The motion for a resolution is therefore referred to the appropriate committee.

A telex was sent to the Commission yesterday to draw its attention to this matter. I particularly wish to thank

President

the authors of the motion for accepting the Chair's proposal. The procedure adopted in this case could be applied to similar requests in future, and this would alleviate considerably Parliament's workload.

5. *Decision on urgency*

President. — The next item is the decision on the urgency of two motions for resolutions.

We shall consider first the *motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-246/80) by Mr Aigner and others on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (CD Group) and Mr Curry on behalf of the European Democratic Group: Abuses of the provisions of the EAGGF Guarantee Section.*

I call Mr Klepsch.

Mr Klepsch. — (D) On behalf of the other signatories, Madam President, I wish to withdraw this request for urgency, since we intend to table the motion again on the occasion of the budget debate.

President. — Since the request for urgency has been withdrawn, the motion for a resolution is referred to the committee responsible.

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President. — We shall now consider the *motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-247/80) by Mr Boyes and others: Closure of the Consett steelworks.*

I call Mr Boyes.

Mr Boyes. — Madam President, I should like to ask two questions before I speak to this request for urgent procedure. The first one is whether the motion for a resolution has been circulated, because as its author I am very conscious that I have not got a copy on my desk. I do not know whether that is what Mr Klepsch is wishing to indicate.

President. — I call Mr Klepsch.

Mr Klepsch. — (D) I got a copy yesterday, Mr Boyes.

President. — I call Mr Boyes.

Mr Boyes. — The sixth indent says:

Notes that the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation has issued a writ to be heard in the High Court for a declaration that the British Steel Corporation is in breach of its statutory duty to consult the union before closure, as laid down by the Iron and Steel Act 1975.

My question is — and I am asking it on the advice of one of our British Members — does that make this resolution *sub judice* in this Parliament? If we have not got copies, and if we are not aware whether or not it is *sub judice*, I would like to suggest that we consider the urgency of this resolution tomorrow morning.

President. — Mr Boyes has asked for the decision on urgency to be taken tomorrow morning.

Since there are no objections, that is agreed.

6. *Tribute*

President. — Ladies and gentlemen, the European Parliament has two losses to mourn. It was with great sadness that we learned at the beginning of June of the deaths of two of our Members, Giorgio Amendola, chairman of the Communist and Allies Group, and Albert Pürsten, Member of the Group of the European People's Party.

Albert Pürsten died at the age of 57, following a sudden but serious illness, on 10 June 1980, exactly one year after he had been elected to the European Parliament. He scarcely had time to fulfil his duty, as he would have wished, before death took him. Although he was one of the new Members of this House after the June 1979 elections, Mr Pürsten had for a long time championed the cause of Europe. It had been one of his major concerns since the end of the Second World War. The horrors of that war had convinced him of the need for reconciliation and for the political and economic union of the countries of Europe.

In this respect he had special faith in the young, who for him represented the hope for Europe. He devoted his work in politics to helping young people and he encouraged meetings, especially within the Union of Young Christian Democrats. In 1958 he was elected to the *Landtag* of North Rhine-Westphalia, the *Land* with the largest population, and in 1966 he became First Vice-President of his Group, a position which made him at the same time deputy leader of the Opposition. He paid special attention to the problems of education and culture. As one who had been forced to flee Thuringia, Albert Pürsten always took a keen interest in efforts to integrate newly-arrived refugees from Eastern Europe. Espelkamp, the town where he

President

settled, set up after the war an outstanding transit camp for refugees. It is in this small town, which he adopted as his home and where he breathed his last, that Albert Pürsten now lies buried.

He was elected to the European Parliament in June 1979 and played an active part in the work of the Committee on Regional Policy and Regional Planning. As chairman of the Delegation to the Joint Parliamentary Committee of the EEC-Greece Association, he was particularly active in seeking solutions to the problems connected with the accession of Greece. His warm and conciliatory approach was a great asset in this. His death takes from us someone who was a friend as well as a gifted politician.

I extend my deepest sympathy to his family and his relatives, to all those who knew and esteemed him, and especially to his friends in the Christian-Democratic Group.

Giorgio Amendola, chairman of the Communist and Allies Group in the European Parliament, died in Rome on 5 June 1980 as the result of a long illness which he had always borne with tremendous courage.

As a member of the Enlarged Bureau and chairman of the Communist Group since his appointment to the European Parliament in 1969, Mr Amendola quickly revealed his outstanding talents. His experience, his affection for this democratic institution and his intellectual integrity were an invaluable aid at times when this Parliament of ours was struggling to assert its role.

Unhappily, he was struck down by the illness which was to be the cause of his death and was unable to assume the full burden of his wide-ranging duties. We shall never forget his elegant but increasingly frail figure, with his wife at his side. She was his caring and beloved companion throughout his life and they were a remarkably close couple. She was unable to live without him and died less than twenty-four hours after her husband. We shall also retain the memory of his face with its expression of discerning intelligence and his extreme courtesy, which went hand-in-hand with genuine warmth of personality.

Quite apart from the place he held in our Parliament, we cannot forget his past and the brave and determined opposition to fascism which he exhibited as early as 1926, at the age of 19, as he followed the heroic example of his father who — let us not forget — as a former minister of the Liberal Party had been one of fascism's earliest victims.

When peace and liberty were restored, Giorgio Amendola was to remain a militant, fighting for his party and for Europe. He had been one of the leaders of the resistance in Italy, and after the war he entered the political stage in the Parri and De Gasperi governments from June 1945 until July 1946. He entered the Constituent Assembly in 1948 and became one of the

founding fathers of the new Italian Republic. He was a member of the Central Committee and the leadership of the Italian Communist Party from the time of the Fifth Party Congress. He served as a Member of Parliament without interruption from 1948 until 1979, representing the constituency of Naples, the birthplace of his father, the fount of his cultural and political education, the very symbol of the Mezzogiorno whose civic and economic revival meant so much to him.

From 1969 he sat in the European Parliament as a representative of the Italian Chamber of Deputies. He was elected to this House ten years later and he never ceased campaigning for European union, because he saw in this Community of ours an opportunity for the strengthening of peace and liberty. This was still his message when he made his last speech here on 19 July 1979.

Giorgio Amendola was a gifted writer who has left a body of work which bears witness to his tremendous culture and to his brilliant and incisive mind.

Constancy, courage and vigour were the watchwords of his life, and he lived for no other purpose but to defend his ideals. We shall never be able to forget the strength of his personality, his struggle for liberty and his dedication to Europe. His memory will live on in this Parliament, where our only regret will be that he left us so soon. To his family, to his friends, to all who knew and esteemed him, and especially to his comrades in the Communist and Allies Group, some of whom were his lifelong companions, I extend my deepest sympathy.

(Parliament stood to observe a minute's silence)

I call Mr Natali.

Mr Natali, Vice-President of the Commission. — (I) Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the Commission and on my own personal behalf I wish to express my sympathy to this Parliament which has lost, with the deaths of Giorgio Amendola and Albert Pürsten, two prominent figures who were deeply committed to the work of this institution.

Giorgio Amendola spent many years in this Parliament. He was always regarded with esteem and affection by those who are or have been part of the various Community institutions. Political differences aside, Giorgio Amendola was a colleague whose political acumen, courage and human qualities won our admiration. He was deeply dedicated to the idea of Europe. It was only natural that this great European figure should bring to this Parliament a strength of character and an intellectual insight which were at times unforgiving.

The Commission was particularly grateful for this, because throughout the years Giorgio Amendola was

Natali

always ready to bring out into the open the real issues of political significance which have troubled and still trouble the European Community. With his death the Communist and Allies Group has lost its chairman. I extend to the group, on behalf of the Commission and myself, our deepest sympathy.

The direct election of the European Parliament brought Albert Pürsten to this Chamber. During his year here he won our esteem for the range of his interests and for his devotion to the cause of Europe. As chairman of the Delegation to the Joint Parliamentary Committee of the EEC-Greece Association, he impressed upon us his commitment to the challenge posed by the further enlargement of the Community. We express our deepest sympathy to the Members of the Group of the European People's Party.

President. — I call Mr Zamberletti.

Mr Zamberletti, President-in-Office of the Council. — (I) On behalf of the Council, Madam President, I wish to second the fine words which have been spoken by way of tribute to two prominent figures of this Parliament who contributed so much to the life and to the development of the European institutions. I offer my condolences to the Group of the European People's Party and the Communist and Allies Group. There is no doubt that Albert Pürsten and Giorgio Amendola were two important poles of reference in these difficult years.

Madam President, as I recall that Giorgio Amendola led the first group of Communist Members in this Parliament and as I look back on the life and work of Albert Pürsten, I have the feeling at this particular moment — at a time when the European Parliament is celebrating its first year of directly elected existence, albeit at a time when the people of Europe, and particularly the younger citizens of the European Community, are concerned at what the future may hold — that the mention of these two great figures provokes a deep feeling of sadness but at the same time provides reassurance and encouragement. Their work and their belief in freedom and the construction of Europe are a spur to look with hope to the future of the European Community. It is a Community which must face up to the great challenges of the present age and which in men like Albert Pürsten and Giorgio Amendola can find the important points of reference for the difficult struggle that lies ahead.

President. — I call Mr Pajetta to speak on behalf of the Communist and Allies Group.

Mr Pajetta. — (I) Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, the Communist Group would like first of all to express its sincere and heartfelt thanks to the President for representing the European Parliament at

the funeral of Giorgio Amendola in Rome, and we wish to thank her for the words she spoke there and here in the Chamber. I am sure that her words were prompted by her feelings as a woman, as a democrat and as an opponent of fascism, and as one who knows the meaning of sacrifice. At the same time, ladies and gentlemen, I should like to think that Mrs Veil was expressing the feelings, the esteem and the sense of loss of everyone in Parliament.

We have paid tribute in sadness to our comrade Giorgio Amendola, to one who was our friend. I am proud to have known him for half a century. But he who has departed has bequeathed something to all of us. He was a dear friend to us and he was admired by you because he was an example for all of us. He was a man who remained true to himself and to his choice in life — which was in fact the title of the book he wrote about the decisive years of his youth — a choice which led him, when barely a young man, to the ranks of the Communist Party. He joined the Communist Party in order to remain true to the ideals of freedom passed on to him by his father, a democrat and Liberal minister. He wanted to remain true to the ideals of his youth and to fight alongside those who had the strength to say no to fascism. He wanted to share with them his unwavering belief in the Italian people, the progressive elements among whom were able to resist, instil courage and then unite the forces of the workers and democracy to achieve, as they did, ultimate victory.

Giorgio Amendola remained true to himself and to what was his and our party. But he was always open to new ideas and to innovation. He was a faithful and willing party member but at the same time he was ready to extend the hand of friendship to those who wanted to stand shoulder-to-shoulder in the battle and to those whose opinions perhaps differed but who shared the common aims of freedom, justice and brotherhood. There is no time here to relate the events of more than fifty years, events in his life which have become a part of our common past. With our French comrades he battled in France, in the France of the Popular Front and then in the resistance. He fought with French and Italian comrades in Tunisia, alongside the Arab militants who believed in national and social liberation. He was a patriot, a partisan, an internationalist.

Allow us the honour, ladies and gentlemen, of having had Giorgio Amendola as a member of the Italian Communist Party. However, here in this Chamber, I want to remember him above all as a European. He realized and impressed upon others that history was offering, and indeed urging upon us, a unique opportunity. He was no dreamer, engaging in empty rhetoric, but played a decisive part in all that the Italian Communists sought and achieved, in Italy, on the question of migrant workers, in this Parliament, and for the cause of European union. He wanted a European union of free nations, a united Europe where the

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workers could fulfil their historical role and have their rights recognized.

Ladies and gentlemen, you knew him as an ardent but realistic comrade, ready to listen and willing to work with those who wanted to campaign for a new Europe which would be a friend to other nations, independent but cooperative, eager to promote peace and *détente*. Let me remind you of the words he spoke here on 19 July last year. After lamenting the inauspicious beginning of the new Parliament, he went on to say:

I now hope that we shall not be prevented by head-on confrontations and a spirit of sectarianism from examining more calmly and without ideological preconceptions the problems which face us, Europe and the world — problems whose extreme seriousness cannot be overemphasized.

Giorgio Amendola concluded his speech with an appeal to all of us and with a reference to this Parliament:

in which I know there to be a majority of anti-fascist democrats of all persuasions, who will now unite, just as in the resistance they united, to fight the barbarism of the Nazis, to give Europe a new function of promoting peace and disarmament in the world.

I wish to pay tribute also, as the President has done, to his wife, Germaine Lecocq, whose heart could not bear the bereavement and who was buried with him on the same day. On behalf of the Communist and Allies Group in this Parliament, let me express, together with our deep sadness, our pledge to honour the example of fervour and commitment bequeathed to us by Giorgio Amendola.

7. Speaking time

President. — I call Mr Coppieters.

Mr Coppieters. — (NL) Madam President, given all the items on the agenda, I think I am right in saying that we have only seven hours for the most important debate we ever have here, on statements by the Council and the Commission. Could you, or perhaps the enlarged Bureau, not see to it that there is some adjustment to speaking time for the benefit of the non-attached Members, whose time was allocated before this sitting, as speaking time gets less and less as the groups get smaller?

President. — Mr Coppieters, speaking time has been allocated in accordance with the Rules of Procedure and it is too late to change things now because the rest of the time has already been set aside for other items, particularly Question Time.

In any case, the rules on speaking time do anything but penalize the small groups or the non-attached Members.

I regret to inform the House that the proceedings will have to be suspended for a few minutes. The aircraft bringing the President-in-Office of the Council has been delayed and Mr Zamberletti, who is here, would rather that Mr Colombo presented his report in person.

The House will rise.

(The sitting was suspended at 9.30 a.m. and resumed at 9.50 a.m.)

IN THE CHAIR: MRS VEIL

President

President. — The sitting is resumed.

8. Council and Commission statements on the European Council of 12 and 13 June — Review of the activities of the Italian Presidency

President. — The next item is the statements by the Council and the Commission on the European Council of 12 and 13 June 1980 and the review of the activities of the Italian Presidency. A debate will follow.

I call Mr Colombo.

Mr Colombo, President-in-Office of the Council. — (I) Madam President, before beginning the debate on the European Council held in Venice, may I first apologize to you, the Members of Parliament and the Commission for my late arrival here, caused by a flight delay.

May I also express my regret that I was unable to take part personally and directly in the tribute that was paid here at the beginning of this sitting to Giorgio Amendola. With your permission, Madam President, I should like to add a few words to what Mr Zamberletti said.

The Council of Ministers wishes to associate itself with the European Parliament in commemorating today a great Italian parliamentarian, who was also an active and committed member of the European Parliament — Giorgio Amendola.

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On behalf of the Italian Government, I should like to thank Parliament and its President for this tribute and for the presence of Madam Veil at the funeral in Rome.

I believe that these tributes have drawn attention to an important aspect which characterized especially, in a very clear and significant way, the last stage of Amendola's long political career — his faith — not uncritical, but fruitfully dialectical and participatory — in the democratic Europe which we see emerging and growing around us.

At a crucial time in his life, when Nazism appeared to be triumphing and was inexorably crushing those who shared his beliefs, Giorgio Amendola, anguished and stricken, found solace in the world of poetry and recalled the challenge which the aging monarch Philip II in Schiller's tragedy 'Don Carlos' hurls at his enemies: 'The world is still mine', he proudly claims 'at least for one evening!' But he wished to make the most of that evening, as Hitler was preparing to do in the thirties, so that 'no sower may reap a harvest from the arid soil for ten generation's.

This is what Amendola wrote, revealing a characteristic side of his personality — a wholly political personality, devoted to politics to the point of sacrifice, but capable of rising above everyday politics and looking even his most implacable opponents straight in the eye at the height of the confrontation, as if to demand of them at least a shared awareness of the historical and human drama which every generation is called upon to act out, on one side or the other of a seemingly insurmountable ideological barrier.

Amendola was a strong and determined fighter for the cause in which he believed, but for all his deep dedication he never saw the need to sacrifice his personality, culture and friendships. This constituted his nobility and the attractive and restless, sometimes contradictory, but always highly estimable side of his character.

I was also personally aware of this over the many years of fair political combat which took place in full awareness of our respective beliefs. These beliefs diverged on many essential questions, but found a meeting-point in the example of his father Giovanni Amendola, a distinguished representative of the Italian liberal democratic tradition, who resisted Fascism and was martyred by it. Similarly, I regarded the son, Giorgio Amendola, as one of the noblest and most distinguished representatives of the culture and political life of the Italian Mezzogiorno — one who made a priceless contribution to Italian and European culture and politics.

Elsewhere, Giorgio Amendola writes: 'It was a fast waltz, difficult for me as I was unable to whirl round at such a speed. Alongside me, the young workers were accomplishing feats of prowess. I was bewitched by the charm of my partner, whose beauty was not

gaudy or painted, but self-contained and modest, open and honest, revealing itself slowly with an irresistible effect'. That is how Amendola recalled his first meeting with his wife Germaine, whose life was to end a few hours after his, through one of those mysteries which have a profound sweetness. That fast waltz, that meeting which opened up an incomparable understanding to two human beings, seems to me to be one of the most significant and instructive recollections which Giorgio Amendola has left us. And it is also the symbol of his forceful personality, fighting spirit and lasting devotion to politics and to his beliefs.

I would like to pay tribute here to Giorgio Amendola's advocacy, in this Parliament and elsewhere, until a few weeks before his death, of peace, cooperation among peoples, and détente in a Europe which would be able to seek and find in the heritage of its culture, tradition and political struggles the origins and nature of its own identity.

Madam President, I would also like to associate myself with the tribute paid to another European parliamentarian, Albert Pürsten, a member of the Group of the European People's Party, who did so much to bring Greece and the European Community into a closer relationship.

Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, it is clear from the events of the last six months that the Community has been going through a considerable crisis. It suddenly became apparent that the problem of the United Kingdom contribution was not merely a question of accounting methods but that it had deeper roots relating to the way in which the Community has developed.

The Presidency considered that it had to give absolute priority to solving this crisis, which it felt was a threat to the very existence of the Community. During these six months, as never before, the nature of the disagreements, the tensions arising from them and the uncertainty regarding the cohesion between the Member States and consequently also regarding the international credibility of the Community have come very close to destroying the European ideal. These fears, coupled with a difficult and even critical international situation, have compelled the Presidency to do everything in its power to ensure that the Nine regained their cohesion and stability as quickly as possible.

I wish to emphasize to the European Parliament today that the decisions taken by the Council of Ministers on 30 May were a very positive step towards achieving these fundamental aims.

It would be wrong to speak of winners and losers in the decision taken. It would be wrong and unfair to try to make a distinction on the basis of debits and credits. The stakes were very high. Leaving rhetoric aside, the overriding result was the unity of the Nine and consequently the credibility of the future of the

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Community. This proved yet again the Community's capacity to solve its own problems, however serious. At this point I must express my gratitude to the Commission for its contribution to achieving this hard-won result.

The European Council in Venice was pleased to endorse the positive solution worked out by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs to the problem of the United Kingdom contribution and noted that this had enabled agreement to be reached on the agricultural problems and had paved the way for finalization of the 1980 Community budget.

At this point, I would like to stress one important aspect of the outcome of the Council meeting in May. This was the Community's commitment to carry out the necessary structural changes to ensure that each Member State could feel it was constantly becoming more closely involved in the construction of Europe and in the strengthening of European integration which is the ultimate objective of the Treaty of Rome.

The Council meeting in May gave the Community a breathing space, which it should use to consider its intentions thoroughly. The proposals to be made by the Commission, the examination of the proposals by the Council of Ministers and the proceedings in the Community institutions should result in a blueprint for a Community which is in keeping with the interests of all the Member States and which for that very reason is capable of overcoming the recurring dangers of the 'fair return'.

Several points need to be made at this stage. It is evident that we must now reconsider the fundamental workings of the Community. It would, however, be a mistake to limit this rethinking to the situation of individual States in relation to the Community budget. This is, of course, an important aspect of the problem: within realistic limits the budget should be an instrument for the distribution of resources to contribute towards economic convergence. This is, after all, one of the objectives on which the Community is based.

However, at the present stage of European integration, this aspect, however important to those countries which benefit and to those which contribute, cannot and must not be the only aspect considered. Similarly, it would be a mistake, as I see it, to place any automatic limits on net benefits and net contributions by means of budget contributions. This system would render Community policy meaningless and would inevitably bring us back to the 'fair return' question. Of course, certain changes need to be made. We only need to consider the resources allocated to surpluses in the milk-products sector. However, it seems to me that the required changes could be achieved by progressively limiting Community aid and support measures for the main products in which there is a surplus, particularly in the milk-products sector.

This would not be a new system. We already have an example of such a system in the case of sugar quotas.

This is not, however, the main problem we need to consider. When correcting certain anomalies existing at present, we must above all endeavour to avoid a situation where the ultimate results would be merely to restrict aid under existing Community policies. On the contrary, we must extend rather than restrict the scope of the Community's actions. To do this we need to establish a new form of solidarity by developing in particular those policies which can help us cope with the challenges of the 1980s.

The main problem facing us is the energy crisis. We will have to try to reduce the ratio between economic growth and energy consumption, to reduce our oil consumption and to develop energy resources other than oil, principally coal and nuclear energy.

To speak only of coal, I would like to indicate the extent of the Community's potential contribution towards setting up all the necessary infrastructures to re-establish coal as a predominant source of energy and, at the same time, the importance of a joint effort to avoid damage to the environment.

I would like to mention at this point that the energy sector has been one of the main priorities of the Italian Presidency. During this six-month period there has been considerable progress towards defining an overall and coherent policy which takes account of the energy requirements of the Member States. I intend to return to this point in greater detail later on.

The challenges of the 1980s also call for certain structural changes in our economies, industrial innovations, an employment support policy, greater monetary stability, management of balance-of-payments difficulties caused by the constant increases in oil prices, and development of the North-South Dialogue as an essential condition for stabilizing international relations.

We hope that the result of the forthcoming discussions will be a joint plan, a basis for solidarity in keeping with the times. Never has this been as important for Europe as at present.

The current political crises show how important it is for Europe to play a role of its own. Individual States are of course constantly making their own contributions towards the development of this role, in obedience to historical factors. But this role has also been developed in accordance with history and the Treaties, by the powerful economic and commercial entity, constituted by the Community. The Community is now becoming a political entity as well, through strengthened political cooperation. In this way, the nature of the Nine is becoming a reference point for the Member States and at the same time a point of stability for the international community. The posi-

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tions recently adopted by the Nine on Afghanistan, Iran and the Middle East are practical examples of Europe's desire to assert and to be itself, despite its internal problems and its limitations.

The elected European Parliament can contribute to the Community's role through the strength it derives from being elected by direct universal suffrage in addition to its role under the Treaties. The Presidency considers that Parliament has the authority, as well as the capacity, to provide a stimulus for progress towards the European ideal. As a former member of this Parliament and now as President of the Council, I hope that, while respecting the institutional procedures, Parliament will play a major part in the future debates on the proposals to be made by the Commission to solve the Community's problems. It is for this Parliament to debate the major options and to express general strategies to keep the Community's ideas up to date and to help it face new crises.

At this point I should also inform Parliament that its repeated decisions on political cooperation have not only been examined but have also, in many respects, inspired the decisions and conclusions reached at various times — notably at the last European Council — on such pressing problems as those posed by the international crisis.

With the decisions taken on 30 May, the Community has been able to resolve other important problems relating to the budget. It has been able to work out a system of agricultural prices for the 1980-1981 marketing year, thus honouring its commitment to farmers. It has been our constant concern to restart the necessary procedures for adoption of the budget and to achieve progress on the economic and financial agreements which are the prerequisite for this. I hope that this debate will be useful for completing the procedure to permit the beginning of the budget debate in Parliament.

These major points of agreement illustrate the extent of the recent crisis and the value of the joint position reached after the difficulties of the past six months.

Certainly the decisions adopted on agriculture this year — and I refer in particular to the prices for the 1980-1981 marketing year, the fixing of the co-responsibility rate in the milk-products sector, the maintenance of quotas and levies in the sugar sector for one year, the abolition of negative monetary compensatory amounts and reduction of the positive ones — do not fully satisfy the need for agricultural markets, particularly those with large surpluses, to return to a more satisfactory balance. On the basis of the Resolution adopted on 11 February 1980 and taking into account the attitudes emerging from the debates in this Parliament, the Council has committed itself to continuing along these lines. Further measures will certainly need to be considered in the overall discussions which the Community will have to conduct

as soon as possible to achieve a more satisfactory balance between its own policies in the near future. There is no doubt that the decisions already adopted, inadequate as they are in relation to the aims we must set ourselves, nevertheless constitute a step towards what we all hope will be improved control of agricultural surpluses and expenditure and more positive and effective Community measures to strengthen agricultural structures.

The six-month period now drawing to a close has been one of the most dramatic and most difficult that the Community has ever experienced. The Presidency's attention, efforts and initiatives have been directed firstly at establishing the conditions necessary to overcome the crisis and secondly, and I would say above all, at creating the conditions for the changes I mentioned earlier.

Although we committed ourselves, as was to be expected, to achieving agreement on the problem of the United Kingdom contribution and related problems, we have also unfailingly worked towards progress and agreement in the various sectors of Community life.

I will try to give a brief outline of the results we have achieved.

In the energy sector, I should mention the agreement reached by the Energy Ministers — with the help of the European Parliament and the Luxembourg European Council — on a Community energy strategy for the 1980s. This strategy laid down, in the form of energy guidelines for the Member States as a whole, the objectives which the Community should try to achieve in this decade, so that it can reduce its dependence on imported oil.

These aims are of considerable significance. They concern reduction of the ratio between the rate of increase in energy consumption and the Community's general economic growth rate, a reduction of the percentage of oil in the overall total of energy used from the present 55 % to about 40 % and greater use of alternative energy sources, principally coal and nuclear energy, so that these two sources can provide between 70 % and 75 % of energy requirements for electricity production.

Clearly these decisions must be seen — as was stated at the European Council in Venice — in the context of long-term measures to cope with the increasingly serious international energy crisis, the latest manifestation of which was the recent OPEC decision to raise the price of crude. The European Council stressed that these rises were not justified by objective considerations and expressed grave concern regarding their negative effects on the economies both of the industrialized countries and more particularly of the emergent countries.

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Still on the subject of medium and long-term problems, I would like to mention the important Resolution adopted by the Council of Energy Ministers on new Community energy-saving measures.

During the Italian Presidency, the Ministers responsible have also conducted an initial examination of a number of Commission proposals to promote Community investments for greater use of alternative energy sources. Detailed examination of these proposals should make it possible to work out the methods and financial means to facilitate national investment programmes in this sector.

Particular attention has been given to the problems caused by the uncertainty on the oil market. In this connection a Regulation has been adopted on the registration of imports of petroleum products and it has been agreed that the possibility of a Community strategy on prices and stocks will be studied.

In the nuclear energy sector, Directives on the management of radioactive waste, the reprocessing of irradiated fuel and the use of fast-breeder reactors have all been adopted during the Italian Presidency.

The trilateral agreement between EURATOM, the IAEA and the United Kingdom has been adopted, thus completing the series of verification and safeguard agreements concluded by the Community countries with the IAEA. The IAEA Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Materials has also been signed and standards have been laid down on the protection of the health of the public and of workers against radiation dangers.

In the research field, the main aim of the Presidency has been to obtain approval for the new four-year programme of the Joint Research Centre. The extent of the financing thus assured — more than 510 million units of account — should give a new impetus to the Joint Centre's activities, among which the work on the safety of nuclear reactors is of particular significance. New financing for the research programme on fusion problems has also been approved.

In the field of industrial policy the Presidency has tried to encourage systematic measures leading towards a single concept of sectoral aids which would provide an adequate response to the problems raised by the new technologies developed in the most highly industrialized third countries and by the new international division of labour.

During a very recent informal meeting, the Industry Ministers have discussed industrial adaptation policies and the need for innovation and investment in European industry, with particular reference to advanced technology sectors such as informatics and telematics.

In the iron and steel sector, the Community has concluded several voluntary restraint agreements with

third countries. There has also been progress in the administration of the restructuring and conversion plan for the Community industry, including wide-ranging regional and social initiatives (such as Bagnoli).

Regarding environmental policy, we have undertaken during the past six months a demanding programme of activities based upon a number of priority objectives. These include the Directive on the accident hazards of dangerous industrial activities and the initial application of the framework Directive on the control of discharges of toxic substances into the aquatic environment, which will be submitted for the Environment Council's approval on 30 June.

In the transport sector, the Presidency had hoped that, during this six-month period, significant progress might be made on reviving this important policy. Our expectations have been, at least partially, frustrated, although discussions have been actively pursued on certain aspects of this policy, including Community financial aid to infrastructure projects of Community interest, to which this Parliament rightly attaches particular importance.

At its next meeting on 24 June the Transport Council should give its approval to two important Directives, under discussion for some time, on the harmonization of national provisions on driving licences and those on summertime.

I should like now to describe briefly the progress made in negotiations for the introduction of a common fisheries policy. On 29 January the Council approved two measures on total allowable catches and on the procedures for notifying catches. At the meeting on 30 May, the Foreign Ministers outlined, as part of the agreement on the United Kingdom's contribution to the Community budget and related problems, the general principles of a common fisheries policy, which is intended to come into force not later than 1 January 1981. The Fisheries Council, meeting on 16 June, confirmed the readiness to act swiftly in seeking solutions to the remaining problems. The Commission will as soon as possible submit proposals on allocating catch possibilities between Member States and the Council will discuss them on 21 July.

At that meeting on 16 June, agreement was reached on formal conclusion of the agreements so far negotiated with various third countries, and authorization was given for a further extension, by one year, of the bilateral fisheries agreement with Yugoslavia. During the last six months the Commission has continued the negotiations with certain third countries, including talks with Tunisia, aimed at working out possible forms of co-operation.

On regional policy, we agree with this Parliament on the need for an adequate and constant increase in the overall endowment of the European Regional Deve-

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lopment Fund, which continues to be the chief instrument of Community regional policy. We hope that this approach will be clearly reflected in the budget.

But regional policy cannot consist merely in an increase in the financial resources allocated to it. I believe that a careful study, which should also take place in the context of enlargement, should result in these resources being used in accordance with the particular requirements of every region of the Community. The need to take a geographical approach to economic policies is, I believe, one which will have to be emphasized during that general reappraisal to which I have referred and on the outcome of which depends the success of the action we have only just begun.

In the social sector, the Italian Presidency has concentrated above all on the problem of employment. The introduction of an active Community policy on employment was given impetus by the European Council in Venice, when stress was laid on the worrying employment situation, especially as affecting young people, and the priority need for 'short-term structural measures in the context of an active employment policy'.

Regarding co-operation in matters of education and culture, the Presidency has been actively seeking to arrange a meeting of Education Ministers before the end of June. We are deeply convinced — as is this Parliament — that European integration cannot pass over the aspirations and expectations more and more fervently expressed in this sphere in our countries. We are therefore certain that from the Ministers' discussions practical and effective suggestions for co-operation will flow.

On the economic level, increasing inflationary pressures constitute the most serious threat to the stability and development of our economies. The European Council meeting in Venice on 12 and 13 June confirmed that the struggle against inflation must be the main short-term aim to be pursued through careful monetary and fiscal policies combined with measures to maintain investment and to deal with the employment situation.

With regard to the European Monetary System, we are pleased to note the resilience and the high level of cohesion which have so far been shown by the participating currencies.

The international monetary situation still seems to be dominated by the problems of managing the substantial balance of payments deficits caused by repeated oil price rises.

For the Community, the problem — as was made clear in Venice — is to establish the conditions and scope of the part which the Community itself can play to assist the process of recycling; taking account of the activi-

ties of the private capital market and of international financial institutions such as the Monetary Fund and the World Bank. I should like to remind you that at their meeting on 9 June the Finance Ministers suggested that this recycling process might be achieved by the Community taking over from the Member States prime responsibility, to be exercised by possibly expanding and by introducing greater flexibility into both the Community loans mechanism and the other financial instruments (ECSC, Euratom, EIB) and, as regards the countries which have close links with the Community, through the possible introduction of an oil 'window' in the Community loans mechanism.

To round off this part of my speech on the economic situation of the Community and the Community's part in the major international problems, I should like to mention the very frank discussion held by the European Council in Venice on the various topics of world-wide inflation, the employment situation and the consequences on growth rates in the various areas of the world.

You are aware of the closing statement by the President-in-Office in which he summarized the tenor of the proceedings.

The European Parliament will have noted that in Venice strong emphasis was placed on the gravity of the crises created by the periodic increases in crude oil prices. The repercussions of the unceasing increases in energy costs as I have already mentioned have a destabilizing effect on the entire world economic system and in particular do irreparable damage to those countries producing goods with low added value.

This state of affairs is also a source of political tensions and will make the global approach in the North-South negotiations more difficult.

I can confirm for the European Parliament that the importance of these topics will ensure that they are aired at the Economic Summit to be held in Venice on 22 and 23 June.

We are on the eve of further enlargement. For the Community and for the Nine this is a political objective of paramount importance.

Greece's accession will become effective on 1 January 1981; the ratification procedures have already been carried out by the majority of the Member States and may we hope be completed within the next few days.

As regards Spain and Portugal, the Presidency has done its utmost to ensure that the negotiations proceed with all possible dispatch. To date four meetings at ministerial level and six at deputy level have been held with Spain; with Portugal there have been two at ministerial level and nine at deputy level. Further meetings at deputy level — one with Spain

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and one with Portugal — are due to be held before the end of the month.

Thanks to this intense activity examination of the bulk of the 'chapters' which are the subject of the negotiations have now reached an advanced stage. If there has been some delay in completing what we have agreed to call the 'overall picture', this is mainly due to the internal difficulties which the Community has had to face in the past six months.

In conducting the negotiations the Community must take account of what its policies will be in future. If, on the one hand, this introduces a further complication, on the other hand it offers the applicant countries — and the Community itself — the guarantee that the looked-for entry of the new members, taking account of the projected timescale, will take place in clear-cut conditions and in an awareness of how the enlarged Community of the eighties can proceed along the path towards the construction of Europe.

While remaining faithful to the privileged ties which bind it to its preferential partners, the Community has continued its direct action to strengthen its links with the other parts of the world, convinced as it is of the need to develop broad-based, balanced relations with all countries, in all areas of the world.

I have already had occasion, on 23 May, to report to this Parliament on the conclusion of the new Agreement with Yugoslavia, but I should like once again to stress the major importance of this Agreement by virtue of both the scope of its content and the prospects which it opens up for co-operation with a non-aligned European and Mediterranean country which is a member of the Group of 77 developing countries.

As regards Turkey, the Community responded promptly to the Turkish Government's invitation to reactivate the Association. This common desire should now be given practical expression in the form of renewed economic and financial support for Turkey. The forthcoming meeting of the Association Council in Brussels on 30 June, following on a recent detailed assessment by the Council of Ministers, will be an important milestone.

The Community's relations with the other Mediterranean countries have on the whole progressed satisfactorily, despite the emergence of unmistakable common concern for the consequences which the enlargement of the Community could have on their exports to the Community market. This is an aspect which should be thoroughly examined in the context of the current accession negotiations.

As regards the initiative of a dialogue between the EEC and the Gulf States, which should result in the conclusion of economic and trade co-operation agreements with each of these States, the Presidency has

taken soundings in all the capitals of the area. These have shown an overwhelmingly favourable reaction to the Community's overture: forthcoming contacts at technical level should give a clearer idea of the possible content of the agreements.

Similar contacts are in progress with North Yemen.

In our review of the relations between the Community and the countries in other geographical areas, we have focused our attention especially on Latin America. In this connection, I would remind you of the ministerial meeting in Brussels on 5 May with the countries of the Andean Pact, while on 18 April, the Community initialled a new economic and trade agreement with Brazil.

The co-operation agreement with the ASEAN countries was signed in Kuala Lumpur in February — an occasion which coincided with the holding there of the second EEC-ASEAN Ministerial Conference.

Among the other positive developments to have occurred during the past six months in the relations between the Community and third countries, I should like to mention briefly the opening of negotiations for a co-operation agreement with India, the agreements with Rumania on the setting up of a joint committee and on trade in industrial products, the Ministerial Council meeting with the ACP countries in Nairobi in May and the acceptance of the framework Regulation on financial and technical aid to non-associated developing countries.

In the context of our relations with developing countries, a matter of supreme importance is the intensification of the North-South dialogue — regarding which the European Council in Venice expressed its determination to provide fresh impetus. To this end, the European Council confirmed the significance of the political commitment entered into with a view to the global negotiations planned in the framework of the XIth United Nations Special Assembly, to devise a Third International Development Strategy and the agreements on the Statutes of the Common Fund, to stabilize the prices of raw materials and to continue the negotiations on commodities.

At the more general level of international trade relations, the European Council in Venice reaffirmed the Community's determination to make an active contribution to strengthening the open and multilateral trade system, as the member countries stated at the OECD Ministerial meeting in Paris on 3 and 4 June. The European Council hoped in particular that all industrialized countries would undertake to tackle the trade problems still outstanding through solutions which were consistent with the results achieved during the Tokyo Round.

The six-month presidency now coming to a close has been set against a background of a series of particu-

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larly grave international events which have had negative repercussions not only on the stability and peace of the regions directly concerned but also on the whole complex of international relations, as well as on détente.

In an international context such as this, it is natural that European Political Co-operation should also have been intensified and that the very structures engaged in this exercise should have great demands made upon them. I am sure, therefore, that I am voicing not only a personal view but one which is widely shared when I say that precisely because of the exceptional circumstances which have characterized this period and the manner in which the Nine have responded to the succession of events, the six months of the Italian Presidency mark a significant period of testing and of growth for this system which the Nine have gradually built up over the last ten years.

Even a brief review of the overall situation would need to cover numerous complex aspects. The fact that I myself, and my predecessor in this office, had ample occasion from time to time to inform the European Parliament obviates the need for me to dwell on too many details.

In brief, I would point out that the last six months have been dominated on the Political Co-operation front by two major international crises: the occupation of Afghanistan and the capture and detention of the hostages at the US Embassy in Teheran. In addition to these crises, with their extremely acute and dangerous aspects, this period has seen the increasing need for the Nine to help find a solution to a chronic crisis resulting from the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The attention with which the Nine have followed these dramatic events is evidenced, at the practical level, by the considerable number of meetings at various levels in the context of Political Co-operation, involving in some cases extraordinary meetings and, in others, meetings invoking procedures laid down for particularly urgent cases. Thus, meetings were held on 15 January, 5 February and 18 March in Brussels alongside the Foreign Affairs Council, on 10 April in Lisbon prior to the opening of the meeting of the Council of Europe Foreign Affairs Committee, on 22 April in Luxembourg, on 27 and 28 April on the occasion of the Luxembourg European Council meeting and, most recently, on 12 and 13 June at the European Council meeting in Venice.

If I were required to express an objective opinion on the last six months. I should be tempted to say that Political Co-operation has experienced, if not a leap forward in quality, certainly some major developments destined to point the way for the future. Under the pressure of the exceedingly grave problems brought about by the various international crises, the Nine have shown that they possess not only an automatic 'consultation reflex' but also a growing determination

to look together for solutions and possibilities which individual national responses appear increasingly ill-equipped to provide. We have thus succeeded in establishing common positions and in carrying out concerted and significant initiatives which are certainly likely to exert a positive influence on the course of international relations. I am thinking particularly of the positions adopted on each of the three major problems facing us: Iran, Afghanistan and the Middle East. I find it particularly significant that this should have happened at a time of grave crisis in internal Community relations.

With regard to the prospects for a solution to the Afghan crisis, the Nine have arrived, as stated at the end of the ministerial meeting on 19 February, at a formula for an Afghanistan lying outside the contest between the super-powers. This formula was and is still an independent contribution to the search for a peaceful outcome in line with the UN Resolution condemning the Soviet intervention and calling on the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops.

In the search for a solution to the problem of the hostages held in Iran, the Nine have, in a spirit of solidarity with the United States, made their contribution in the form of unremitting action at the political and diplomatic levels. A package of measures against Iran was decided on at the Luxembourg ministerial meeting on 22 April, was confirmed at the Luxembourg European Council meeting on 27 and 28 April and translated into action at the informal ministerial meeting in Naples on 17 and 18 May.

The European Council meeting in Venice was marked by a detailed, up-to-date review of the major problems in the field of international politics, in respect of which the Nine are conscious of the responsibility they bear in making an active contribution to the search for peaceful solutions.

Faced with the most recent dramatic developments in Afghanistan, the European Council in Venice noted the increasing evidence of the genuinely national character of popular resistance. The call was therefore restated for an end to Soviet military intervention and the return of Afghanistan to its traditional position as a neutral, non-aligned state. The essential role which in the view of the Nine should be played by the Islamic and non-aligned countries had been emphasized by the European Council at its Luxembourg meeting. Considerable interest was therefore expressed in Venice at the initiatives taken by the recent Islamic Conference with a view to finding suitable ways of achieving an overall solution to the crisis. The Nine will make every possible contribution towards the success of these initiatives.

In the declaration on the Middle East made in Venice the European Council further defined the positions of the Nine and a common line of action for them, thereby giving appropriate expression to Europe's auton-

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omous identity on the international scene. Notwithstanding our profound solidarity with our friend and ally the United States, the Nine saw it as their duty to assume unequivocally their responsibilities at this stage of the international negotiations to solve the problems of the Middle East.

In this knowledge, at their informal meeting in Naples on 17 and 18 May of this year, the nine Ministers for Foreign Affairs discussed in depth the various possibilities for action and instructed the Italian Presidency to establish the most suitable contacts to obtain information and assessments from the parties most directly concerned. I therefore had detailed exchanges of views on the current Middle East situation with the American Secretary of State, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Israel, the Secretary-General of the Arab League and the Egyptian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs.

In Venice, on the basis of the information received and the subsequent discussions within the European Council, the Nine first of all reaffirmed their complete adherence to the fundamental principles laid down by the international community for an overall solution to the Middle East conflict. An essential condition for seeking such a solution is that the right to existence and security should be mutually recognized by all the parties concerned, by both Israel and the Arab countries. A prerequisite for the fulfilment of this condition is that there should be justice for all peoples and hence also a recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. For this reason, it is part of the Nine's concept of overall peace in the Middle East that provision should be made for an appropriate process of self-determination for the Palestinian people.

Every step towards a solution, every significant scheme suitably devised to achieve its goal, every endeavour such as the important step accomplished through the Egypt-Israel agreements and negotiations which emerged from Camp David, is welcomed by the Nine with every wish for success. They do not intend to adopt a competitive stance vis-à-vis initiatives such as Camp David, which are fully assured of support from Europe, in line with our traditional attitude. The essential thing is that all efforts should be directed towards the objective of an overall solution, even if individual aspects have to be tackled first.

The prerequisite for any such overall solution is that the principles laid down by the UN as a basis for negotiations should be accepted by all the parties concerned, including the PLO. The prerequisite of accepting the above-mentioned principles — i. e. recognition of Israel's right to existence and security — therefore holds true for the PLO too, particularly with a view to its involvement in the discussions which will determine the future of the Palestinian people.

Violence and unilateral initiatives, whether they occur in Jerusalem, the Transjordanian territory, Gaza or Lebanon are deplored and condemned by the Nine,

convinced as they are that a climate of trust is the precondition for a settlement of the Middle East conflict.

These are the principles and assessments which formed the basis for tactics decided on by the European Council in Venice. The Nine will establish specific contacts with all the parties involved through a specially appointed mission. The object of such contacts will be to obtain information on the positions of the various parties with regard to the Resolution of the Security Council and the principles laid down by the Nine in their declaration and determine, in the light of the results of those consultations, what form an initiative by the Nine might take.

Another aspect of Middle East problems has the constant attention of the Nine, namely the situation of the country and people of Lebanon — a long-standing friend of Europe. The European Council reaffirmed that the Nine would support any action and initiative likely to restore peace and stability, in the knowledge that Lebanon is an essential stabilizing factor in the region. This is borne out by the commitment and sacrifices — even in terms of human lives — which some countries of the Nine have made and are still making to help Lebanon and its people by sending men to the UN Peace Force.

With regard to Euro-Arab co-operation and understanding, the Nine are aware of the political dimension which their dialogue with the Arab world enjoys in all sectors (cultural, economic, technological, etc.). The European Council reaffirmed its desire also to develop the dialogue with meetings at appropriate levels, pursuant to the decisions adopted by the European Community in the second half of last year.

As regards Southern Africa, the European Council devoted its attention to the Nine's attitude to the countries in that area, where the positive developments in Zimbabwe must be set against the continuing conflicts. With regard to Namibia in particular the Nine confirmed their support for the efforts made by the Group of Five Western Countries which in 1977 was given the brief of promoting the speedy implementation of the UN Resolution on the accession of Namibia to independence.

The references I have made to what is being done to tackle the most serious international crises certainly does not give a complete picture of European Political Co-operation in the sixth-month period now drawing to a close. The European Community is aware that it must give impetus and full support to the Madrid Conference on European Security by defending in that forum the objective proposed by the Nine at Lisbon, namely that, within the framework of the general decisions and initiatives concerning the three headings of the Helsinki Agreement, sufficient efforts should be devoted to seeking realistic means of strengthening mutual trust, and the terms of reference should be laid

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down for a European Conference on Disarmament. Furthermore, I should like specifically to mention two political initiatives by the Nine in these six months which deserve particular attention and which I have already mentioned for their economic co-operation aspects: the meeting in Kuala Lumpur on 6 and 7 March 1980 and the meeting between the EEC Foreign Ministers and their counterparts from the Andean Pact countries in Brussels on 5 May. On both occasions there were fruitful exchanges of views not only on economic problems but also on current world problems of major interest.

Turning finally to the institutional problems of the Community, I wish to report that the Council has examined the report by the Three Wise Men. A common approach emerged on a number of suggestions contained in the report and relating in particular to the working of the Council. Other points which remained upon or which directly concerned the European Council were placed before the latter by the Foreign Affairs Ministers and the European Council is to examine them at its next meeting.

I feel obliged to say in order to be frank with Parliament, that in this context Parliament and the other Institutions must make a further effort to ensure that such reports are not carried over from one part-session of Parliament or one meeting of the Council to the next and that definite conclusions are reached at least on some major points in the report by the Three Wise Men.

(Applause)

As regards the European Council's decision to nominate the new President of the Commission six months before his term of office begins, I can assure the European Parliament that following an initial exchange of views at the European Council in Venice, direct consultations are being held between the Governments with a view to arriving at a suitable choice as soon as possible.

The European Parliament elected by direct universal suffrage has in its first year given proof of a vitality and political strength which cannot but be a source of deep satisfaction to me, a former member still bound to individual members by ties of friendship and by recent memories of the work we accomplished together.

By the commitment which you have shown, by the breadth and importance of the topics which you have discussed — from the more strictly Community questions such as energy, convergence, social problems to more truly political matters such as defence of human rights, the international situation, the world role of Europe — this Parliament has plainly shown that it is and intends to remain a driving force and source of stimulus for the development of a European Community whose dual objective is to ensure the prosperity

and wellbeing of its citizens and to act on the international scene as a factor for balance, stability and peace. This, in my view, is a task well worthy of this Assembly, a task in which we must seek, through you, to associate all the political, economic and social forces in our countries.

True to the intentions which it described to you last January, the Presidency has done everything in its power to overcome any difficulties which may have arisen in relations between our two Institutions and, in practical terms, to improve our relations. It sincerely hopes that a further effort will be made to draw up the Community budget. It has always tried to explain the situation regarding the problems at issue clearly and frankly to you, to keep the dialogue open and to see to it that every piece of information or request from the Parliament was given the Council's fullest attention. In the past six months our talks have been frequent and fruitful. I hope that this will continue and that the principle of a sincere and amicable exchange of ideas and opinions will always prevail in our relations, in the knowledge that even when our ideas and opinions do not coincide their aim must always be the practical and rapid progress of European integration.

(Loud and prolonged applause)

IN THE CHAIR: MR POUL MØLLER

Vice-President

President. — I call Mr Jenkins.

Mr Jenkins, President of the Commission. — Mr President, President Colombo has, appropriately and comprehensively, given us a survey of the six months of the Italian presidency which is now within two weeks of its end. It has been a distinguished presidency; it has been a pleasure for me to work with him and its other representatives.

(Applause)

It perhaps reached its apogee during that long night when he presided with outstanding brilliance over the Council of Foreign Ministers. I had the occasion at the time to pay spontaneous tribute to it, and I believe equally spontaneous tribute was paid in this House this morning by the exceptional reception which he was given upon his arrival and on getting to his feet.

Now, Mr President, my task is a different one. It is to make a statement on the European Council, which I habitually do at the meeting of the Parliament after a European Council, and to single out certain limited

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points for comment relating to that and other Community events.

The European Council in Venice on 12 and 13 June achieved nothing dramatic. But in many ways a lack of drama about Community affairs represented a welcome change after the previous three Councils. Indeed, it was right and appropriate that on this occasion the European Council should have concentrated, as it did, on international questions of pressing and major concern. I believe that the Community can take satisfaction from the way it has responded over recent months to the challenge of successive international crises. Its ability so to respond has now been strengthened and enhanced by the solutions reached at the end of last month on a range of internal Community issues.

In Venice there was indeed a widespread sense of background relief at the solution of the problem of the British contribution to the budget. This has opened the way for progress on a series of other related issues. Although these issues were not formally upon the agenda at Venice, they represented an important background to the European Council's deliberations. The House will therefore expect me to say something about the agreement reached on 30 May on the budgetary problems that have for too long divided the Community and hindered its progress.

I do not need to rehearse the details of the agreement. They are by now well known. But I do wish to emphasise that no single Member State has emerged victor, nor were there any vanquished. It was rather that the agreement achieved was a true victory for the Community. It was a reaffirmation that the cohesion of the Community remains overridingly more important to all its Members than the maintenance of national policies or interests that might risk its disintegration; it was a confirmation that answers to Community problems are still to be found by the Community's Institutions, and that within these Institutions all sides are prepared to argue to a solution rather than to an impasse. Each Institution played a role. The agreement was found in the Council, but it was built on the basis of proposals from the Commission both at an earlier stage and at the beginning of the final meeting itself. At the same time, the Parliament through its Committee on Budgets and its Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs, contributed useful guidance on the form which an agreement was to take.

Broad political agreement has now been reached, but the implementing legislation has still to be approved by the Council and the Parliament. Here the Parliament has a particular role. First, as the House will know, we have sent forward two proposals, one on the financial mechanism, the other on supplementary expenditure measures in the United Kingdom. It is important, if I may say so, that these proposals should be considered and adopted rapidly. I hope that all the necessary

procedures can be carried through before the summer holiday. I therefore ask the Parliament to take this matter in hand as soon as possible. Second, there will be need for discussion in the Parliament about our proposals for extra expenditure in the United Kingdom to be entered into the 1980 and 1981 Budgets. I will only say now that this can, I hope, be dealt with by all concerned in the same spirit in which the agreements themselves were reached. Everything possible must be done to avoid undermining the progress made in the past weeks. In this context, it is helpful that much of the extra expenditure in the United Kingdom will take the form of contributions to the development of regional infrastructure. This will not only make a contribution to some of the problems facing Britain but it will also help move towards the better balance of policies within the Community budget that the Commission and the Parliament have sought.

But if, following the agreements of 30 May, there is work ahead for the Parliament there is also major work ahead for the Council of Ministers. I underline three main areas in which the Council has pressing tasks over the months ahead. First, at Venice the European Council stressed the Community's commitment to carry through those structural changes which are a fundamental requirement for progress if unacceptable situations are not again to arise in any of the Member States. The Commission will fulfil its mandate to report by the end of June 1981 on the development of Community policies with the objective of ensuring that the time we have gained is used wisely to build the next stage in the Community's development. This will be on the basis of existing foundations. The present Commission will soon be setting the necessary work in hand. The responsibility for major decisions will then devolve upon its successor and upon the Council of Ministers.

Second, the European Council devoted particular attention to the worsening international energy crisis. It noted the progress made by the Council of Energy Ministers on 13 May and 9 June on coordinating energy investment, setting up guidelines for 1990 and establishing new lines of action for energy saving. The Commission believes strongly in the necessity of Community action in this area rather than purely dispersed action by its Member States. National responses to successive oil crises since 1973 have actually widened differences within the Community. I fear this will continue unless we can agree on a common framework of policy comprising energy prices and additional investment. On energy investment we are still only at the beginning of what must be a long-term effort and we still need to determine the right means. On the other ideas put forward by the Commission, including the need for energy price proposals and progressive harmonization of energy taxation throughout the Community, I am concerned that little or nothing has yet been done. It is important therefore that the Council of Energy Ministers give a thorough examination to all the elements in the Commission's

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proposals of 20 March and conclude their work before the next European Council.

Third, the European Council in its review of the economic and social situation now facing the Community laid emphasis on the urgent need to give priority in some of the Member States to short-term structural measures to promote employment. Here, as the Council emphasised, it is essential that the Community should be in a position to look systematically at the impact on employment of the various Community policies, to ensure a better coordination of employment policies at the Community level and to harmonize Community actions in the field of economic policy with those taken in the social and employment field. The Commission will continue to provide all the necessary information in regular reports to the Council on employment to assist the achievement of these objectives.

Mr President, as the House knows, the next in the series of Western Economic Summit meetings will take place in Venice on 22 and 23 June. The timing of the European Council ten days earlier was not a coincidence. Those Member States of the Community attending the Summit, and the President of the Council and I, representing the Community as such, will now be prepared and fortified by the proceedings of the European Council. It will be of particular value that the European Council should have discussed, and broadly concurred on, the main subjects likely to come up at the second Venice meeting.

There will now, in contrast with recent experience, be a considerable gap until the next European Council in the last days of November or the first days of December. I do not think that this need be a bad thing if the Community Institutions together — Parliament, Commission and Council — can use the interval to push forward the Community's business, particularly, but not exclusively, in the three areas I have mentioned. We have to some extent recently broken the previously growing and dangerous habit of believing that difficult decisions can be left to the next European Council. We have seen the Council of Ministers succeed where the European Council had failed. That is not a bad thing; we need more decisions from the Council of Ministers, as part of the normal rhythm of Community business. I hope they will proceed vigorously with renewed morale between now and the end of the year.

(Applause)

9. *Welcome*

President. — On behalf of Parliament I welcome to the official gallery a delegation from the *Bundesrat* of the Federal Republic of Germany.

(Applause)

The delegation, which is led by Dr Hasselmann, has the task of examining how contacts between the *Bundesrat* and the European Parliament can be developed.

10. *Council and Commission statements on the European Council of 12 and 13 June — Review of the activities of the Italian Presidency (continuation)*

President. — I call Mr Glinne to speak on behalf of the Socialist Group.

Mr Glinne. — (F) Mr President, Minister, ladies and gentlemen, I have listened very attentively to the speech of the President-in-Office of the Council, whom I should like to congratulate on his excellent work during the six months of the Italian Presidency. However, for the main part, my speech will be devoted to a critique of the European Council held in Venice on 12 and 13 June. It is a European Council which has been called ordinary — in the words of one well-known commentator — though one which certainly cannot be considered a total failure since certain decisions were taken, particularly in the field of foreign affairs.

However, it must be said, and deplored, that in the purely Community sphere — which is where we must above all focus attention — no real answer has been found to the challenges facing Europe, whether it be economic problems — and this just a few days before the summit of industrial nations — whether it be employment, or energy. The European Council, let us be frank, thus reinforces the suspicions which many people harbour against it. While no provision is made for it within the Community's institutional system, the former 'Summit' of the Heads of State and Government, under the new name of 'Council', has had the effect, by the prestige it enjoys, by the publicity given to its activities and in spite of dubious results, of upstaging to an unfortunate extent, or even inhibiting, the work of the Council of Ministers meeting as a specialized body. This has a negative and disturbing effect on the functioning of the Community.

The European Council would have an essential political function if it systematically suggested ways of overcoming the Community's extremely serious ills. Among these is the insidious infiltration of free-trade concepts, which are damaging to the fabric of the Community. Then there is the constant increase in inter-governmental cooperation to the detriment of the Community decision-making machinery and, in particular, to the qualified-majority rule. There is the own-resources crisis and the need to restructure the Community's finances. In view of all this, it is difficult to say where Europe is heading: perhaps towards ruin, towards a break-up. Faced with such an uncertain future, the European Council is certainly not

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emerging as the guide that is needed. One might even ask what it has done in the past year. What has it achieved that measures up to recent events? What, in particular, is the position concerning the Community policies which it examined, or touched on, in Venice?

Here I should like to contrast extracts from the Venice communiqué with concrete proposals put forward or concerns expressed on the floor of this House, particularly by my Group. Let me repeat that the Socialist Group drew up concrete proposals on energy for last July's part-session. Amongst other things these called for the creation of a European Energy Agency, one of the objectives of which would be to control the multinational oil companies and to ensure better security of supplies on a Community basis. Another proposal concerned the development of the public in the field of energy, alongside the private sector, with particular attention being paid to the problems of the refining industry. Since the election of this Parliament, the policy of the Socialist Group on nuclear energy has been quite clear. It can be summed up by saying 'safety first'. This is why our Group has always been opposed to massive use of nuclear energy, to its rapid uncontrolled development in the absence of adequate guarantees as to its safety. This is also why we advocate public control and management of this sector. But the Council in Venice responded to the 5 % oil price increase announced by the OPEC countries by calling for even greater use of nuclear energy, regardless of the conditions mentioned. In addition, an overall decision on energy policy has again been postponed, in spite of the fact that, according to press reports, Mr Jenkins insisted on the importance of such a policy.

In passing, let me point out that the increase in oil prices is not due solely to a decision by the OPEC countries. It is no accident that the oil industry in Saudi Arabia, which plays a key role in fixing OPEC prices, is controlled by a well-known company, Aramco, the principal shareholders of which are Exxon, Mobil, Southern California, Texaco and so on. It is no accident that the Saudi company Petromia plays an important role in that Aramco's bank is the Chase Manhattan, which is itself controlled by a well-known North American family. Thus, while the oil price increase may benefit the producer countries, it also and above all benefits the multinationals, whilst penalizing the consumers and our economies.

Another crucial point is that the Community has at present almost 7 million unemployed, of which 2.5 million are young people and 2 million are women. Solutions must be found to this tragic problem. We must use every means at our disposal to combat unemployment. General economic measures are necessary as well as specific measures to help young people and women. Here also the Socialist Group has put forward concrete proposals which to date have met with very little response. It is not sufficient to show willing, to make very laudable but not

very concrete statements concerning the fight against unemployment. In this area the very credibility of the Community is at stake, it is a question of winning confidence of millions of sceptics. We for our part are convinced that only with real political determination can the climate for employment be improved. In this context I am sorry to have to repeat various proposals made by our Group on several occasions, namely longer-term structural reforms, economic planning with public corporations playing an essential role in certain key sectors, the stimulation of demand with regard to unsatisfied traditional needs and above all to new needs lined to the quality of life and public services. We consider it indispensable that there be public control of the major industrial groupings, of those which enjoy a dominant position, and also of the multinationals. At present, almost the whole of the world trade is in the hands of a thousand multinationals, over which neither the workers nor the authorities have any power, in spite of the fact that these companies play a crucial role in employment.

Also on the question of employment, it must be said that the few lines devoted to the subject in the Venice communiqué are very disappointing, especially since we know the European Trade Union Confederation went to Venice and submitted to the European Council very concrete proposals on employment, and in particular on the problem of relationships between the trade union movement and the Community institutions. We regret the silence of the official communiqué on this matter, just as we also regret the feebleness of the speech made elsewhere by the Commissioner, Mr Vredeling, to the International Labour Organization, and as we regret the limited scope of the decisions taken by the Social Affairs Council on 7 June, despite some improvement in one respect, in that relationships between both sides of industry appear to be 'thawing' to the extent of permitting — we hope — a revival of the Tripartite Conferences, in the hope of arriving at tangible results.

Another aspect is investment policy. For us it is self-evident that the Community must have instruments to enable it to influence the use of company profits and the manner in which they are reinvested within the Community or, indeed, in the Third World. The multinationals invest a lot in Third World countries, which would be laudable if these investments were undertaken in the interests of the workers in the industrialized countries and of the local population. Unfortunately, this is not the case. Global strategies are determined by company interests and not by the potential and needs of the host countries, nor for that matter of the workers in industrialized countries.

Today, let me repeat, the multinationals control 55 % of Third World trade, with the richer countries benefiting most. This immediately poses the problem of our relations with the developing countries and of the North-South dialogue, which the Venice Council

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quite rightly proclaimed as being of capital importance for the stability of international relations.

We must in fact rethink our economic and trade relations with the Third World, and develop an economic and trading system which will enable the developing countries to realize their full potential and bridge the gap between rich and poor countries, for only by sharing the world's riches equitably between industrialized countries and raw material supplier countries will it be possible to work together to safeguard the interests of all peoples concerned.

With regard to the Venice communiqué, the Socialist Group notes with satisfaction that the Council considered that the report of the 'Brandt Commission' could make a particularly valuable contribution to a positive outcome of the work of the 11th General Assembly of the United Nations. But here again, declarations of intent by the Council are not enough, because over the last thirty years numerous attempts have already been made both nationally and at international level. Literature on the subject abounds.

But the fact is that this has not prevented the situation of the developing countries from deteriorating, particularly since the onset of the crisis. Thus it is more urgent than ever to set up the new international economic order about which so much has been said and written.

While efforts have been made by the Community to boost international aid and cooperation, the Lome I and Lome II Conventions alone cannot resolve all the problems of restructuring the international economy.

Likewise, we regard the North-South dialogue as essential. The attitude of the industrialized countries must be one of responsibility and not of charity or imperialism, that of the developing countries be one of trust and openmindedness. As a Socialist I can assure you that our objective is to ensure that all men live a life of dignity, justice and material and spiritual well-being.

As Kurt Waldheim reminded us recently, the present structure of international economic relations is unsuited to the needs of the world community. If Europe has a role to play in this community, it is to seek out and perfect all possible measures for developing a new international economic order. However, if the Community is to play an active role on the world scene, in the interests both of its own peoples and of those of the Third World, it must first — and we come back to this point time and again — succeed in resolving its internal crisis. But here again the European Council of 12 and 13 June was a disappointment, because nobody can deny that the Community is at present going through a serious crisis and that the Venice Council, while it was obviously aware of this, was able to respond only with unsubstantial suggestions.

Mr President, after the Luxembourg Council, at which in particular a decision was taken on the British contribution, the problem has come to the fore of restructuring the budget. For us Socialists, the question is not primarily whether the Communities' own resources are to be increased nor not, but rather of deciding how and for what policies we should use the overall budget whether this be the amounts we have now or what we will have in the future. New policies are absolutely indispensable, particularly in the energy sector and also in the sphere of industrial reconstruction, while regional policy and social policy must also be taken much further, in order to reduce the existing disparities between the Community regions and redistribute income from rich to poor.

If we as a group almost unanimously rejected the European budget on 12 December, this was because we considered that the budget should be thoroughly restructured, that it should be able to contribute to the economic and social development of the whole Community, of all its regions, on a many-sided basis. This is why we have always opposed and still oppose what is known as the 'concept of fair returns'. Indeed, we consider that a special effort must be made, in a spirit of solidarity, to help the poor, the poor regions, the less well-off throughout the Community.

As regards the Common Agricultural Policy, our group considers that while it should be maintained as provided for in the Treaty of Rome, and in particular under the terms of Article 39, it must however be redefined as regards its implementation, so as to take account of new circumstances. Other members of my Group, Mr President, will be going into this question in more detail. I believe that we must be aware of the dangers for the Community of maintaining in its present form the Common Agricultural Policy, which has been inherited from the early sixties, because this policy is no longer a satisfactory instrument for maintaining market unity, and the necessary relationship between production and demand or for adapting structures to new circumstances, while at the same time it fails to protect farm incomes or to provide consumers with produce of the right quality and quantity, at the right price. A new Common Agricultural Policy is called for if common policies are to have a future in this particularly important sector.

There are two further points I should like to raise, Mr President. First of all, there is the appointment of the new President of the Commission of the European Communities. As you know, the main political groups in the Community conferred together on this question on 27 May in Brussels. Present were Mr Leo Tindemans, Mr Gaston Thorn, Mr Joop den Uyl, — the latter, representing the Socialist parties — as well as the chairmen of the three Parliamentary political groups, including myself. We unanimously adopted — and for all of us this reflected a deep conviction — a communiqué from which I quote the following:

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With regard to the composition of the new Commission of the European Communities, the participants have agreed on the following criteria to be respected:

- a) In the Community's present critical situation, the Commission of the European Communities has an extremely important political role to play. This should be taken into account in choosing the President.

I should like to pause for a moment here to point out that this penetrating truth does not seem to have been appreciated at the Venice summit.

- b) In accordance with the results of the discussions held at the European Council in Dublin in 1976 and according to the Tindemans Report, the President is to be designated six months before the Commission is appointed. Consequently, this designation must be made at the European Council in Venice on 12 and 13 June.

I pause again to note that this has been the case.

- c) The President designate shall explain his ideas and his plans to Parliament.
- d) The President designate shall contact the national governments with regard to the composition of the Commission.

During the first part-session of the European Parliament following the appointment of the Commission, there shall be an investiture debate followed by a vote.

I quote this extract from the communiqué in order to urge the governments and the European Council to appoint the President of the next Commission of the European Communities without delay so that the political procedure I have just outlined which is backed by several political parties, including my own, can get under way and also so that the directly-elected Parliament can have a real say in this matter.

Mr President, I should like to mention another aspect of the Community policy which was not raised at the Venice Summit, but which, I am glad to say, Mr Colombo broached. In Venice, a strange and yet significant silence reigned on the problem of the geographical enlargement of the Community. One Head of State has made surprising declarations on this subject which have caused something of a stir. So let me just repeat our political viewpoint.

First of all, since happily the two southern European countries in question have now shaken off the odious régimes of certain dictators, whereas in the past the reason we rejected any approach to the Community on their part was our dislike of their political systems, we owe it to them now to adopt a particularly welcoming attitude. We must support the political democracies of Western Europe, and if they choose to apply for membership of the Community, we must apply the open door, in a spirit of good will and without reservations.

Secondly, since it appears to us that neither of the two governments in question appear to want to call into question in advance the outcome of the negotiations in which they have been, are or will be participating, we must adopt towards them an attitude of trust and must presume their absolute good faith.

Finally, there must be an end to the kind of dispute between two capitals in the present Community which goes so far as to use as hostages the capitals of two applicant countries which have at present nothing to do with individual lateral differences. For our part, we repeat that Community enlargement cannot be called into question. One can, of course, discuss certain conditions and the duration of the transitional period, but there any expression of reticence or reservations should cease.

Mr President, I will conclude by saying that we believe in the Community and want it to survive. As Socialists we have made a series of concrete proposals during the year since direct elections. We have shouldered our parliamentary responsibilities, the Council of Ministers has done its part, the Commission has put in a great deal of effort, but to judge from the sum of work of the European Council in my view, it has yet to take the necessary initiatives at its own level to establish its credibility and, of course, promote the cause of Europe.

(Applause from the benches of the Socialist Group)

President. — I call Mr Klepsch to speak on behalf of the European People's Party (Christian-Democratic Group).

Mr Klepsch. — *(D)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I too should like to comment on the comprehensive report on the first six months of 1980 during which Italy held the Presidency of the Council. It is only natural on a day such as this to wonder whether to lament the European Community's still unsolved problems or whether one should instead seek to assess the work of the past six months. I intend to concentrate on the latter, and it is my pleasant duty on behalf of my Group to congratulate Mr Colombo, Mr Cossiga and the Italian Government most sincerely on the exemplary work they have put in during the Italian Presidency.

(Applause)

As we all know, the Community was facing a serious crisis because the number of questions remaining unsolved and which had been put off again and again had become so great that the Community's existence was threatened by divergent, centrifugal forces at work in the Member States which had even penetrated through to Government level. We are therefore all the more grateful to you, Mr Colombo, and your Govern-

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ment for your tenacious and indefatigable efforts in this situation to find genuinely Community solutions and thus enable the Community to get a grip on these urgent questions. We believe that the events of 30 May we have been hearing about and the other developments connected with what was achieved on that day are as a whole held in great respect, and we are pleased that someone we know so well as you, Mr Colombo, has managed to come up with such good results for the common cause. You found these solutions by respecting the spirit of the Treaties. My Group is particularly pleased to see that the process started by this House's rejection of the budget has now developed into the first signs of a solution to the outstanding problems. I should like just to concentrate on a few points. We welcome the Council's decision to increase farm prices by 5 %. That is in line with the recommendation put forward by my Group and — I think I can say — a majority of this House. I am glad you decided to take steps to restrict surplus production — particularly of milk — and thus keep the Common Agricultural Policy manageable in the future. The essential thing, though, as far as we are concerned, is that you managed to find Community solutions, and that your increasing cooperation in the field of foreign policy enabled you to come up with Community policy statements. I believe that we shall have to follow that example much more in the future to enable us to overcome the problems we have complained about so often in the past few months, namely that — as a result of internal problems — increasing insistence on individual Member States' own interests was jeopardizing the Community as a whole.

I should like to stress that, in our view, the achievement of a balanced solution with regard to cooperation with the United Kingdom is a great step forward.

My Group will do all it can to support anything which is done to make further progress in this direction.

I should now like to go into a couple of points which Mr Glinne referred to in his assessment of the Venice Summit and which call for comment. Firstly, there is the question of the appointment of the future President of the Commission. This House has asked for the same procedure to be followed as last time and for it to become established practice that the appointment should be made six months in advance to enable the political groupings and this House to initiate a dialogue and prepare for the investiture debate which is always held here when a new Commission takes office. The absence of a puff of white smoke in Venice was a great disappointment to us. We have listened very carefully, and it would seem from what Mr Colombo had to say — let us not forget that the six months of the Italian Presidency are not yet over — that efforts are being made to ensure that we still have six months for this dialogue. My Group would support and welcome this. After all, we believe that the Council has given us its word in this matter.

(Applause)

Secondly, Mr Glinne was right in saying that we are faced with a worrying situation as regards energy policy. Mr Colombo did not pull any punches in his accurate diagnosis of the difficult situation we are now in. Perhaps I may be allowed to elaborate a little on what he said. Bearing in mind that the balance of payments surplus on sales of oil will amount to 115 000 million dollars in 1980 and each of the following years, while the balance of payments deficit run by the industrialized countries will amount to 68 000 million dollars and that of the developing countries to 47 000 million, it is of course extremely important that we should give some thought to ways of recycling these funds. That will call for fresh thinking on the part of the industrialized countries and the oil-producing countries, particularly with regard to the Third World, which is becoming more and more impoverished as a result of these developments.

I should also like to point out — as you yourself so rightly said, Mr Colombo — that the European Community's dependence on oil in 1980 is still 55 %, which is an extremely high level. We have talked about the need for serious efforts to be made, and here I should like to address a comment to Mr Glinne. We have all discussed the possibilities open to us, energy saving is obviously very important, then there is coal — and the question of developing alternative energy sources, where we are trying to use the budget to bring as much influence as possible to bear on this sector. We have also discussed nuclear energy, and here I must say that it is already clear that by 1985, the European Community will have only 70 gigawatts available, instead of the 160 gigawatts originally planned. By saying, Mr Glinne, that this process should be postponed still further, I think we are running the risk of failing to meet one of our demands — namely, ensuring an adequate supply of energy for the Community, its economy and our peoples.

(Applause)

What we need is a forward-looking solution. I should like to comment briefly on the enlargement of the Community and underline what Mr Glinne said earlier. As far as my Group is concerned, Greece is already a member of the European Community. 1 January 1981 is merely the formal date on which accession takes effect. For Spain and Portugal too, my Group sticks to the word we have given in this House and which we have heard the Council repeat . . .

(Applause)

. . . We are determined that the Community should be enlarged to take in these new Member States. I believe that the difficulties which may accumulate as regards the Community's internal development call — as Mr Colombo said, somewhat to our amusement — for the Council to concern itself rather more with the numerous extant proposals for improving the Community institutions, such as the report of the Three Wise Men,

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and that the important thing for us is to ensure effective co-operation between the three institutions — Council, Commission and Parliament. We are grateful to the Italian Presidency for giving us a lead here, for showing respect and a willingness to co-operate with Parliament, and we expect future Presidencies to follow the Italian example. Once again, our thanks for your efforts.

Of course, convergence is a subject we shall have to tackle in the next phase.

My Group believes, Mr Colombo, that the further improvement of political co-operation deserves the prominence you gave it, and we believe that the European Community has a duty to safeguard the peace and liberty of its peoples and that we are making our contribution towards safeguarding world peace and ensuring respect for basic human rights throughout the world.

Finally, let me address a personal remark to Mr Colombo. (*The speaker then continued in Italian.*) Once again, Mr Colombo, you have shown that you have a happy knack. We look forward to long and fruitful collaboration towards our goal of building a united Europe capable of safeguarding our political liberty.

(*Applause*)

President. — I call Mr Scott-Hopkins to speak on behalf of the European Democratic Group.

Mr Scott-Hopkins. — Mr President, may I first congratulate the President-in-Office, Mr Colombo, on his speech. It was very extensive and covered many subjects of enormous importance and interest to this House. I will be able to pick out only two of the issues he raised, but I am sure that others of my honourable friends will be dealing with other matters. First of all it would only be right for me to join in the congratulations offered to him in a personal capacity for the work that he has done as President-in-Office. I feel quite certain that without his skill and ability, particularly during what must have been a very traumatic meeting in Brussels on 29 and 30 May, there would not have been a successful conclusion to those very difficult negotiations. On behalf of my group I would thank him very much indeed for the part that he personally has played during these difficult days which have just passed.

(*Applause*)

If I may now turn to the agreement he negotiated with his colleagues in the Council of Ministers, I would thank them and him for the understanding which has been shown of the difficulties my country, the United Kingdom, has been facing over the past months. I thank them for their help in solving those problems. In

addition to this help and understanding at Council level, we United Kingdom Members have been very conscious over the past months of the understanding we have received from other colleagues in this House. I would thank them all for that.

I am fully aware, Mr President, of the burdens that other Member States have had to shoulder as a result of this agreement. That applies especially to the Federal Republic of Germany. The payments it will have to make over the coming months have increased substantially. This is also true, of course, for other Member States, but particularly for the Federal Republic. We know in my country what that means. We understand the burdens and the problems this will cause the Federal Republic and we thank it for its understanding and acceptance.

I should now like to turn to the other part of the agreement, namely, the farm price review. The settlement that the Ministers for Agriculture arrived at — an average increase of 5% — was not all it seemed. This is the first time for many years that agricultural spending will increase at a rate less than the rate of growth of our own resources. In addition, products in agricultural surplus sensibly receive a lower increase than non-surplus items. I particularly welcome what the President-in-Office, Mr Colombo, said in his speech concerning the amount of attention that the Council in the months ahead is going to devote to dealing with this problem in the agricultural sector. We really cannot go on supporting expensive and wasteful production at farm level which is completely unrelated to consumer demand. I welcome very much his assurance that the Council will be looking into this matter as a matter of urgency.

I also applaud the subtlety with which the proposed settlement for sheepmeat has been arrived at. When it is implemented there will no longer be any fear of lamb being priced out of the consumer's reach nor on the other hand any devastating slump in the price for lamb in France and in Europe, which could have decimated sheep flocks. I sincerely hope that that agreement will very soon be concluded satisfactorily after the negotiations with New Zealand.

Finally on this point I welcome the initiative taken by the Chancellor of the Federal Republic, which was also mentioned by Mr Colombo. This agreement only foreshadows a far more radical review of the financial mechanisms, including also those financial mechanisms relating to the common agricultural policy. Chancellor Schmidt argued that there should perhaps be a maximum rate of contribution. This is something that should be examined. We in my group welcome these statements, which indicate that the Council is moving towards a real revision. So many times in the past I have heard promises and hopes for the future, but I do believe that now, as a result of this agreement in Brussels on 29/30 May, we really will see proper

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initiatives being taken in these fields. The President-in-Office has certainly underlined that fact.

I am also glad to hear him say that Parliament should be included in these negotiations and deliberations and, I hope, in their speedy implementation as well. Some may think — and have thought in the past — that we British are not Community-minded. That is not so. Let me give you an example. Our trade with the Community in this year alone has increased by 30 % until it is now 46 % of our total export trade. That is a figure which I think is worth remembering. It shows the attitude within my country. Both the President-in-Office and President Jenkins, whom I also thank for his speech, made a point of saying that no victory has been won. That is true — no victory has been won on either side. What has happened is that a workable agreement has been arrived at. All such compromises can be a little uncomfortable for somebody, and there is no doubt that it is a little uncomfortable. However, I sincerely hope that we can now move forward in the budgetary field and get these problems behind us as soon as possible. I sincerely hope that during the two remaining weeks the President-in-Office will be able to give us much help and I can assure him that this side of the House and my group will do what we can to help him.

The other question I wish to talk about is that of the Middle East. I believe that the two principles universally accepted by the international community, which are enshrined in the United Nations' resolutions 242 and 338 and in no way run counter to the Camp David initiative, are ripe for implementation. My own Prime Minister, speaking in the House of Commons on Monday, stressed the right of all states in the region, including Israel, to existence and security and justice for their peoples, and this includes the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. I do not believe, and I cannot believe, that this is a betrayal of anyone. Rather is it a sincere effort to help secure peace in the Middle East. All the peoples in that region want peace. All the peoples want security and peace and have the right to self-determination. Surely we in Europe have a duty towards these people. History shows that we from Europe have played a great part in these areas over the centuries from the times of the Crusades up to now. Europeans of all creeds have interested themselves — indeed many have lost their lives — in the sands and valleys of those ancient lands. I believe that our abilities and our subtle minds and our deep knowledge and understanding are, at this moment in time, crucial in the quest for a just and lasting peace between Arab and Jew.

How I despise, Mr President, those that meddle purely to sow discord in this region, as the Soviet Union has done over the past decade! Let us in this House, with our deep attachment to human rights throughout the world, welcome the declarations made by our European statesmen. Let us wish them 'God speed' in their work and success to all those whose

duty it is now to carry out theirs and our intentions in this area.

Mr President-in-Office, I thank you once again for the part that you have played in all these very important developments.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mr Denis to speak on behalf of the Communist and Allies Group.

Mr Denis. — *(F)* Mr President, there is a lot that could be said about Mr Colombo's speech. However, I shall restrict my remarks to the main theme on our agenda, that is the European Council in Venice, the communiqué issued afterwards and the follow-up to that. I have some remarks to address to the Council on that subject on behalf of the French Communist members and their allies.

The first thing I noted was that Mr Colombo was somewhat discrete as regards the essential details of the European Council. In my opinion, this is in keeping with a desire, which has been evident ever since this body was set up to keep its discussions secret. In spite of all your assertions of respect for Parliament, Mr Colombo, you are trying to maintain this secrecy even before elected representatives such as ourselves.

Your outline of the situation betrays a desire to end Italy's presidency on not too despairing a note by deliberately trying to minimize the grave crisis we are faced with.

The Venice Council took place exactly one year after the European elections. Such are its results that one might be excused for thinking that you went to some lengths to contradict once again the fine promises made during the election campaign about a Europe of social progress, peace and independence. But then this has already been the experience of the French people and of others: experience over the past year has continually demonstrated that Europe as you see it and as you wish to make it is the opposite of what was then put forward and that this Parliament serves as a democratic façade to mask all the attacks on the rights of workers in town and country, on the policy of détente in favour of subservience to the Atlantic alliance.

We are aware that our stubborn refusal to go along with anything which went against the just demands of the people and the spirit of national independence we have done much to thwart the plans of the integrationists and to disrupt the consensus which would reign here were we not actively present as a disturbing factor. This is definitely true in France, and not only there. A good example is the meeting which took place between the chairmen of the three 'supranational'

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European groups in this Parliament — the Socialists, the European Peoples' Party and the Liberals, together with other like-minded groups on 27 May in Brussels, when agreement on what they call 'points of common interest', one of the most important of which was clearly the way in which jobs should be shared out in the next European Commission.

In fact, the Venice Council merely confirms that Europe, for the big-business predominate in the European Community, is a means of stepping up austerity and intensifying the exploitation of the masses.

In your communiqué, you kept very quiet about the pressing economic and social problems which exist in all our crisis ridden countries. Even the Commission admits that the situation is deteriorating since it forecasts 11.3 % inflation for 1980 as against 9 % in 1979, an increase in the current balance of payments deficit from 5 to 14 000 million ECU, a growth rate of 1.2 % compared with 3.3 % in 1979, and a further increase in unemployment. And all you can find to say about this is that you have decided to carry out an 'active employment policy' and that you have instructed the Commission to provide a 'periodical report on the employment situation'.

When one thinks what these jobless figures mean in terms of unhappiness, privation and even tragedy and that in France the number out of work is almost 2 million many of whom are young people who are unemployed before ever having had a job, when one reads the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Boyes on the subject of that British steelworks whose closure will mean a 35 % unemployment in one single town, then this attitude is quite simply indecent.

You literally dodge the issue of enlargement, which has nonetheless been widely discussed recently albeit for political and electioneering motives, which in fact brings out all the more clearly the good reasons behind the struggle we are proud to have taken up and we are alone in this House in having done so.

In the final communiqué, you wisely made no mention of the Brussels compromise, nor of the huge cost of that compromise and the effect it will have on the Common Agricultural Policy. By this act, you have taken a dangerous step towards the abandonment of whole sectors and this is bound to have serious consequences.

No mention is made either of where the 15 000 million francs given to Britain are to come from. Who will pay and how? The fact of the matter is that you do not dare to tell us (even if Mr Schmidt has made some worrying noises), you do not dare admit that you wish to make the very people who are the victims of this bad deal foot the bill, in particular the French farmers, who have already been unable to protect their purchasing power which has fallen this year for the seventh year running, and the workers whose liveli-

hood is threatened by the effects of your restructuring policy, Davignon plans and the redeployment of industry dictated by the large monopolies.

These are the people you want to make pay, not just once but twice. This at least you can agree upon, even if you are in glaring disagreement on other matters! And as if to divert attention from all that is wrong with this Europe of yours, you turn the spotlight on your ventures in the international field.

Let us take a look at them! Much play was made in advance — in particular by Giscard's Government — of alluring declarations designed to delude people as to a supposedly 'independent' European initiative on the Middle East. We are forced to conclude that, just as we feared, the Nine have once more given way to President Carter. No real initiative has been taken, on the contrary — as the Palestine Liberation Organization so rightly remarked — a further encouragement has been given to the Camp David deal which in its present state of deadlock is sorely in need of help.

It must be said that the French Government is in our eyes especially guilty of having hidden behind the Nine instead of taking steps itself, steps which France is quite capable of taking. The stance which has now been adopted falls short of what was so proudly flourished before. This is always the case with this method, which only stifles the true voice of our country and which we reject.

But why should we be surprised at what has happened? We all saw how the Governments of the Nine hurried across the Atlantic to get Washington's permission, which was refused. We only have to look at how the President of the United States boasted that he had succeeded in 'preventing any modification to Resolution 242'. The United States, he went on to say, is 'closely observing' the discussions amongst the Nine in order to ensure that they do not harm the position of the United States. And you have shown no indignation at this interference from outside or at the revealing tone of these words.

As a Frenchman jealous of my country's dignity, I can remember a time when the rulers of France — who were already speaking about the 'third force' — went to Washington in order to seek the American overlord's blessing on their appointment. This was one of the things which led to the fall of the Fourth Republic. Now it is even worse, since it is at European level that the Nine indulge in these acts of fealty. Where does this leave that independent Europe, free of the major blocs and acting as a factor for world peace, which some people acclaim so wildly? When Europe speaks with a single voice, is it no more than the voice of America? Once again, experience has shown that a Europe such as this is a humbled Europe.

Do not forget that the European Council was no more than Venice I. All the real decisions will be taken at

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Venice II, when Mr Carter holds council this coming week. Although this is the third time that the European Council of the Nine has sat as a meeting between 'first-team members' and 'reserve-team members' to prepare the summit of the imperialist countries, this time they did not even bother to change the venue. The situation is even clearer as a result, and you can be sure that we will bring this fact home to the workers and patriots and to all the French people.

This Europe is in fact a Europe in retreat in the face of demands from Great Britain, a country which said from the outset would be America's Trojan horse, one which is subservient to West German capitalism with its domination of Western Europe, one which systematically aligns its position on that of the United States. Clearly, an independent Europe is still a long way off!

(Applause from certain quarters on the extreme left)

President. — I call Mr Bangemann to speak on behalf of the Liberal and Democratic Group.

Mr Bangemann. — *(D)* Mr President, I should like to begin by congratulating the President-in-Office of the Council, our friend Mr Colombo, most sincerely on behalf of my Group both on the results achieved during the Italian Presidency and — in particular — on his personal efforts which have helped to make all this possible. Perhaps a new report on the structure of the Community should incorporate the rule that no one who has not been a Member of this House should be allowed to take his place in the Council of Ministers. Perhaps that would improve the dialogue between the Council and the European Parliament. At any rate, our sincere thanks are due to Mr Colombo for his efforts in the common cause.

As other members of my Group will be commenting on detailed aspects of Mr Colombo's report, I shall restrict my remarks to a few general matters. It is true that we have overcome a crisis, and as usual in such cases, there is inevitably a certain sense of relief. But we should not forget that the essential reasons why we found ourselves in a state of crisis in the first place still exist, despite the solutions that have since been found. There is no guarantee that another crisis of this kind will not blow up in the future. The countries concerned may be different, as may the specific problems, but the basic structure which gave rise to this crisis remains unchanged, so I should like to make the point that we must do more to eliminate such crises in the future. As Mr Colombo pointed out, we should develop different options to enable us to tackle any such future developments better and more productively than in the past. But before I go into these questions, I should like first of all to express my unstinting approval of what has been achieved by the Council, the Italian Presidency and the Venice Summit as

regards the role that the Community should be playing, and wants to play, in the international community. In this respect, my Group and I should like to dissociate ourselves entirely from what the Communist Member said at the close of his remarks. I believe that the positions adopted by the Venice Summit with regard to the Afghanistan crisis, the critical development in Iran and the Middle East issue have clearly demonstrated that the Community is dependent on nothing and no one in the world, and that — as regards these major political options — we are prepared to adopt an independent stance, to safeguard our own interests and to make our own contribution towards the peaceful development of the world. The criticism advanced prematurely by a leading Western statesman of the planned Middle East declaration has been disproved by subsequent developments.

The fact that the balanced position adopted by the Community will not please everyone is another matter entirely. We shall be coming back to this point later, but I should like to say on behalf of my Group that a peaceful solution to the Middle East problem can never require one side or another to abandon essential positions. As far as we are concerned, this means that we fully subscribe to what the Summit had to say about safeguarding Israel's existence as a sovereign state and the rights of the Palestinians to found a homeland of their own and exercise their right of self-determination. The two are simply inseparable aspects of any peaceful solution. A peaceful solution to the problem will be impossible without recognition of the existence of the state Israel and without recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

As regards what we must do to avoid such crises in the future, I should like to discuss in more detail how the problem of the United Kingdom's contribution to the Community budget has been solved. I should like to say to Mr Scott-Hopkins that, for the time being, I am perfectly satisfied with the solution achieved. We must, however, be on our guard in the future. For the very first time in my own country — where such sentiments have hitherto been practically unknown — I have heard critical, anti-European opinions being voiced, and the financial burdens placed on my country as a result of this compromise have prompted certain people to cast doubt on the existence of the Community in decisive and even nationalistic terms, much like the sentiments expressed by the French Member just now. In fact, this merely serves to confirm my view that the opponents of the European Community are the same kind of people everywhere, in no matter what Member State. These are the people who exploit the weaknesses of the Community to claim, playing on the electorate's concern, that our Community is a disaster for those people living in it. Of course, the opposite is true, as anyone can clearly see from the figures.

(The speaker continued in French) On three occasions, I have visited Valenciennes, Denain and Dunkirk,

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where I had discussions with all the positive and constructive trade unions. I learnt that last year, the Community spent a thousand million French francs in that region to create new jobs where they were needed. I did not have a chance to talk to the CGT; they were otherwise engaged smashing windows in Paris. That is the sum total of the contribution your comrades were making to the problems of Europe and the problems facing the people in that region . . .

(The speaker continued in German) Our task, Mr President, is to improve the Community's structures, and it was with that aim in mind that the three chairmen of the European party federations and of the three parliamentary groups in these federations met in Brussels. We regret that the Venice Summit was unable to nominate a new President of the Commission, but I very much hope that what Mr Colombo said here will come to pass, and that a decision will be taken before the end of the month — not in the interests of any one person or any one party but simply because, as the communiqué pointed out, we believe that the importance of the political problems now facing the Community and the role of the European Parliament must influence the choice of those who are to help solve these problems. I should like to see the Commission placed under the leadership of a President who — like the present incumbent, Mr Jenkins — will make an active and energetic effort to see that these problems are solved. That was the only reason why we expressed this demand in Brussels, and I hope — as I said earlier — that the Council will still manage to come up with its nomination.

One final problem I should like to touch on is that of energy policy in connection with the financial and budgetary problems. In my opinion, it is not enough merely to formulate joint guidelines which the Member States' energy policies may or may not comply with. We must develop a joint European energy policy; in other words, we must not content ourselves simply with discussing the available options and deciding on one or the other; what we need are the necessary financial resources and facilities.

Mr Colombo mentioned one possibility, that of financing our efforts in this field by way of credits and loans and those funds which are taken out of the Community's economy by the higher prices we have to pay for our imported energy. That is one very good possibility. It will, however, Mr Colombo, necessitate the Community's actually developing these loan facilities. As you know, one of the points made by this House in the course of the present budgetary procedure is that the Community's future policies can be financed by way of loans, given the approval of both arms of the budgetary authority. If we really manage to develop a facility of this nature, I think we shall have done a great deal for this Community.

I should like to conclude with a personal remark in the form of a comparison which may not be quite appro-

priate to the problems we are facing, but which is of great topical interest, coming from the world of sport. This Italian Presidency has been a match for the Italian football team, which has so far played very well in the current European Football Championship. The Italian Presidency has tackled the problems in a highly efficient and elegant manner. Unfortunately, though — just like the Italian football team — it has missed two or three chances which would probably have made the final score look even more impressive. One of these missed opportunities was, in my opinion, the question of the Community's internal structure and how future structural crises within the Community should be tackled; that is something we shall not be able to ignore in the future. It is something we should take very seriously. If we do not get round to taking majority decisions in this Community — in whatever institution — we are bound to have more such crises in the future, because the outcome of this crisis is bound to tempt others to abuse their position — a position which should never give rise to a crisis in a democracy because it is, after all, only a very individual position — to impede progress in the Community as a whole. That is something we must prevent. We need majority decisions — in the Council as well — not only for the sake of this Community's democratic development, but — as is now clear — to safeguard the very existence of the Community. The fact that the continued existence of the Community depends on the need for such decisions, Mr Colombo, means the Community is faced with a major structural problem which has still to be solved.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mr Ansquer to speak on behalf of the Group of European Progressive Democrats.

Mr Ansquer. — *(F)* Thank you, Mr President. First of all, we wish to thank the President of the Council, Mr Emilio Colombo, very sincerely for his brilliant report on the entire range of events during the Italian presidency. We also wish to thank him for the effective action he has taken during this particularly difficult period. As he has stated, it was high time for the Community to show proof of its cohesion so as to avoid further failures and demonstrate its ability to overcome its difficulties, to find appropriate European solutions and to restore political credibility to the entire Community. All the same, Mr President, we would like to single out several points which, for us, constitute a cause for concern. One important aspect of the agreements that have been concluded is the undertaking by the Community to effect structural changes with a view to ensuring a more balanced development of common policies in keeping with their basic principles and preventing any unacceptable situations from recurring. These changes should enable Member States to feel increasingly associated with the future of the Community and the strengthening of

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European integration. You, however, stated in your report, Mr President-in-Office, that the Community had to review the basic mechanisms that govern it. We wonder whether the Community is not, under the pretext of reviewing its basic mechanisms, falling into a trap which could, under the guise of improving these mechanisms, lead to the destruction of all the efforts that the Community has made and thus encourage dreams of better solutions than those we now have.

Secondly, we cannot but mention the Common Agricultural Policy. Are the decisions which have been taken intended to maintain or, on the contrary, to destroy the basic principles of this Common Agricultural Policy? Are our British partners really pursuing the same policy? Are they really guided by the same intentions or, on the contrary, are they very cleverly trying to lead us to a system of deficiency payments? That is the question we still ask ourselves. In practice, the decisions that have been taken involve a reduction in agricultural expenditure and a transfer of resources to the United Kingdom. This transfer must not harm the interests of the farmers themselves. Besides — and here I am addressing our British colleagues — the Common Agricultural Policy is a Community policy; it is not just a French, German, Italian or Dutch policy — it is a European policy. It belongs to the entire Community. This policy comprises not only those involved in agriculture, but also the economic potential that has been built up with years of effort. The British must use it like we intend to: this economic potential is at their disposal. We must not disappoint all those who have placed their hopes in the strong development of agriculture in Europe.

Thirdly, I have just referred to the problem of the British contribution which is also causing us concern. The United Kingdom is undoubtedly experiencing difficulties and it is only right, for purposes of solidarity, for the European Community to assist the United Kingdom. Such assistance must not, however, change into the concept of the 'juste retour', which you yourself, Mr President-in-Office, have termed a trap. This could in fact become a trap for the entire Community, if helping the United Kingdom overcome its difficulties led to the introduction of the concept of the 'juste retour', which is totally at variance with the concept of European solidarity in force since the very beginning of the Community.

Lastly, Mr President of the Council, is it not yet time to talk about the depletion of our present resources and consequently of the need to think about new resources to finance the construction of Europe as a whole and to meet the needs arising from the policies pursued until now particularly with regard to agricultural and regional policy, of course, but also with a view to initiating new common policies. You know that this Assembly — and you were one of us not so long ago — has placed great emphasis on energy, research, employment, transport and other policies. The urgency of this problem is further aggravated by

the procedural delays inherent in any amendment of the decision of 21 April 1970 particularly as regards ratification by the national parliaments.

With regard to external relations, I will only briefly refer to the North/South dialogue. Here again, it is important to revive this dialogue by preparing the meetings and encounters thoroughly and then discussing the real problems, the major issues, so as to arrive at appropriate solutions and, above all, with a view to enabling the European Community to play a vital role in the dialogue.

Mr President-in-Office, you stated that the Community was a political entity. Although I believe it is probably more of an economic entity, at least for the present, the latest decisions at Venice nevertheless show that it is also a political entity. The Community has provided evidence of its resolve, of its desire to assert itself. Our wish is that the Community should find solutions suited to it in terms of both internal and external policy. We hope that our European Community will be fully involved in all the major issues besetting the world, without reneging on its alliances, and that the Nine will, as you have stated, give practical and timely proof of their cohesion, so that instead of dragging its feet the European Community makes economic progress, and so that the people of Europe who have placed their confidence in us may continue to nurture hopes of seeing the European Community play a vital role in all the major forums.

President. — I call Mr Bøgh.

Mr Bøgh. — (DK) Mr President, I am speaking on behalf of the four Danish opponents of the European Community in my group.

The fact that the Danish voters decided in favour of joining the European Community in 1972 depended entirely on two conditions: firstly, that the Community did not involve itself in foreign and defence policy and secondly, that the Community agricultural policy was the inviolable essence of the Community and that Denmark could therefore confidently invest in its most natural industry on the basis of these conditions.

It has become patently clear from the two most recent summits that these two conditions no longer apply. The Community is now deliberately involving itself in the conflicts in the Middle East and Afghanistan and Denmark, which has traditionally cooperated with the other Scandinavian countries with a view to pursuing a moderate policy in this field, is now dutifully falling in with the up-and-coming Community superpower. In just the same way, the economic terms for Danish membership have been radically altered at the most recent summits. It is unreasonable enough that Denmark, which is faced with serious monetary difficulties, should be required to pay out something in the

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region of an extra 1 000 million Kroner in order to keep the United Kingdom, which is even more critical of the Community than Denmark, in the club, but it becomes downright unacceptable if, like Chancellor Schmidt in Venice, one draws the natural conclusion, i.e. that all the Member States should be treated in the same way as regards promises concerning receipts and payments. It is not often that I agree with the Danish Prime Minister, Anker Jørgensen, on matters concerning the Community, though on other matters I share the same views to a considerable extent. However, in this case I can only agree with what he said in Venice to the effect that the budget does not give any indication of the advantages which certain countries enjoy in the industrial and commercial sectors, and that an obvious possibility for savings within the agricultural policy was to be found in the monetary compensatory amounts, which currently represent 10 % subsidies to farmers in the Federal Republic.

On hearing Chancellor Schmidt's statements, which were in fact an attack on Danish agricultural incomes, I could not help thinking of the many young Danish farmers who, relying on the Community agricultural policy, took the risk of making massive investments and have now found themselves saddled with an insupportable financial burden. It seems to me that we are moving towards a Community in which everyone must get back in the form of subsidies the same amount as he paid in, the difference being that the money would now have been earmarked by the Community bureaucracy. There should be no doubt that, as long as Denmark remains a member, we Danish opponents of the Community will continue to insist that the conditions promised to the people of Denmark are maintained. It cannot be right that the big Member States should settle their squabbles about who should pay the bill by pushing it on to the small Member States' table.

President. — I call Mr De Goede.

Mr De Goede. — (NL) Mr President, the Italian Presidency — and, indeed, all of us — have been through a difficult six months, and I should like to address a special word of thanks to our erstwhile colleague, Mr Colombo, who has proved to be a skillful negotiator in the true European spirit. The gathering storm clouds of the past few months have now cleared somewhat to allow a few shafts of sunlight to penetrate the gloom. The problem of the British contribution to the budget has — for the time being at least — been solved without violating the principle of the Community's own resources. Farm prices have been fixed for a further year, and there has been a general improvement in the standing of the Council. The sheepmeat problem has been dealt with, and there is an agreement in principle as regards the fisheries problem. All this is no mean achievement and I too am delighted with the results. But there is of course still

the other side of the coin. The whole financial problem will reappear in all its gravity when the Dutch Presidency gets down to work at the beginning of next year. Will we then still be in a position to uphold the principle of own resources?

The need to broaden the base of own resources will be more urgent than ever next year, and there is a very real chance of this problem becoming deadlocked yet again. The shadow cast by narrow-minded British nationalism, which has taxed the spirit of European cooperation so severely in the present highly dangerous international situation, remains ever-present. Then there is the Iran boycott, which the United Kingdom reneged on at the last moment. As a result, the tortuous path towards European cooperation will require great vigilance and tenacity on the part of all of us.

Last week's European Summit produced a number of good results. The Nine's Middle East declaration meets with our approval, which is more than can be said for the French President's view that the accession of Spain and Portugal to the Community should be postponed. We agree, however, that the internal cohesion of the Community should be our first priority, and that it is essential for this aspect to receive our full attention. We are of course also pleased that the Council is now at last going to present Parliament with a new draft budget for 1980. Here again, I trust that Mr Colombo's commitment to the European cause will not waver and that he will do everything in his power to enable the European Parliament to match the overwhelming majority for the rejection of the budget last year with an equally clear vote in favour of the coming proposal. But we shall have to wait and see.

One point which remains unclear is whether this House will be consulted on the appointment of a new President of the Commission. The fate of the Spierenburg Report and the report of the Three Wise Men is likewise unclear. I should appreciate a word of explanation on this subject from the President-in-Office of the Council, and I should also welcome the Council's comments on a number of points made by Mr Vredeling — which, incidentally, meet with my full approval. These points made in the 11 June 1980 issue of *Europa van morgen* in an article headed 'Bankers rule in Europe'. As Mr Vredeling says, all the Member States of the Community are currently pursuing a restrictive monetary policy in an effort to combat inflation. But however excellent the aim, the means chosen are too one-sided. The slide into monetarism will have serious repercussions on the employment situation, and for us this is too high a price to pay. Mr Vredeling then goes on to say that when the European Monetary System was set up — and this is something I should like to emphasize — it was agreed that accompanying measures would have to be formulated for Community economic and social policies. So far, though, nothing has become of that, nor is there any sign of a European employment policy. Mr Vredeling concludes by

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saying that nothing is more serious than responsibility without power, and that in the European Community, power rests with the European Council, which is calling on the Commission to get down to work but — according to Mr Vredeling — refuses to grant it any more powers.

Mr President, with a new Commission about to take office in the near future, I think the least we can expect is a little more clarity as to how the Commission is supposed to function. That is a fundamental demand on the part of this House. In conclusion, I should like briefly to make a few other points. We insist that, under the forthcoming Luxembourg Presidency, careful attention must be given to the production of a budget for 1981 better than the ones we have become accustomed to. Obviously, a good Community budget can play a more important role than hitherto in promoting the necessary convergence of Member States' economies. At the moment, this is made impossible by the structure and the modest scale of the budget. Our present budget is even an obstacle to convergence, for instance as regards the question of an effective regional policy. A more intensive structural and general investment policy is also much-needed, particularly in the fields of energy, transport, technology, industrial development, structural improvements to agriculture and the strengthening of our economic potential. In my view, what we need to bring about greater convergence is for the annual Community budget to be extended to cover modern longer-term planning; in other words, what we need is a multi-year programme. When the new Commission takes office at the beginning of 1981, the European Parliament must call upon it not just to present a policy programme for the coming four years but to ally this with a clearly-formulated, quantified multi-year programme. This is what we want, and as of now expect a clear answer to our request from the Council and the Commission.

IN THE CHAIR: MR BRUNO FRIEDRICH

Vice-President

President. — I call Mrs Van den Heuvel.

Mrs Van den Heuvel. — *(NL)* Mr President, I should like to make a few remarks on behalf of the Socialist Group on the question of European political co-operation. Many of the statements made after the European Council in Venice were to do with the Middle East problem. In the opinion of my Group, that is how it should be, in view of the very grave situation in the Middle East, which is a threat to world peace, and of the close ties between Europe and the countries concerned. We therefore fully understand

why the European Heads of State and Government — thinking also of the currently deadlocked negotiations between Israel and Egypt on the implementation of the Camp David agreements — considered launching an initiative of their own in this matter.

I must say, though, that an initiative of this kind will only have any chance of success if the measures involved are carefully planned. What we have witnessed recently — an unexpected statement issued by the Head of Government of one of our Member States followed immediately by a threatened veto from the United States — is not exactly a fine example of the careful planning I had in mind; nor is it a good example of efficient political co-operation. Mr Colombo was very optimistic on this point in his statement this morning, and however much I appreciate Mr Colombo's determination to rescue and intensify European co-operation, I do not believe that everything is in fact as rosy as he gave us to believe this morning.

I also believe — and you will notice here that I take a rather different view from that of one of the previous speakers, Mr Denis — that this goes to show once again that consultation between the European Community and the United States is still not working properly. Please do not get me wrong here — I am not advocating submissiveness on the part of the European Community. My Group believes that the European Community has a distinctive political role to play, but this involvement it can only be effective if there is proper mutual consultation, particularly as regards the Middle East, where the United States has of course — and we approve of this — an important role to play. I should like to hear from Mr Colombo whether steps have been taken to prevent any recurrence of the kind of 'short-circuit' we suffered recently.

The Venice declaration on the Middle East emanates a spirit of balance and circumspection which meets with the Socialist Group's full approval. It is precisely because we are aiming at this kind of balance that we have carefully sought the views of all the various parties concerned in these problems.

The Socialist Group has had an exchange of views with representatives of the Palestinian National Council, but has of course also been given a thorough briefing on the position of our sister party, the Israeli Labour Party. I think, Mr President, that the European Parliament would do well to intensify existing contacts with the parties involved in the Middle East question. The Socialist Group shares the Council's view that a solution can only be found to the Middle East problem if all the countries and parties involved are consulted. The starting point in any such process must always be the security of the State of Israel and the creation of an independent Palestinian State. Regrettably, so far neither the Israelis nor the Palestinians seem inclined to bury the hatchet and take positive steps towards a peaceful settlement. The Socialist

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Group believes the statement made by the Palestinian leader, Mr Arafat, after the recent PLO Congress to be another obstacle along the road to peace, but the same goes for the present Israeli Government's intransigence in particular as regards the settlement issue.

The Socialist Group is pleased to note the change in attitudes has been in Europe on the question of the Middle East. In our opinion, too much attention used to be paid to only one aspect of the problem. The right of Israel to exist within borders deserves the support of everyone, ordinary citizens, politicians and the leaders of Europe; that must continue to be the case, but it is not the whole story. We cannot and must not close our eyes to the sufferings of the Palestinian people. They too have a right to our protection. Their interests too should be our concern. The European Council was therefore right to refer to both sides of the problem in its declaration following the Venice Summit. Mr Begin's reaction to this statement is not only disappointing but also an insult to the European Heads of Government. However, Mr President, the Socialist Group has a number of questions to which we would appreciate concrete answers from Mr Colombo.

What does the European Council mean by saying — with regard to the security of Israel — that it is prepared to 'participate within the framework of a comprehensive settlement in a system of concrete and binding international guarantees'? Do the ministers envisage providing military assistance? If so, does Mr Colombo think that agreement on the provision of military assistance is the Council's responsibility? Will Mr Colombo also undertake to keep the European Parliament informed of the outcome of all discussions held on this subject to enable this House to express its opinion — if it so wishes — at an early stage on the steps to be taken? In my Group's opinion, the Council would be better advised to strengthen the powers and influence of the European Parliament in this way rather than simply make do with appreciative phrases such as Mr Colombo expressed at the end of his statement.

I should like to endorse what Mr Colombo had to say about the Lebanon question. Peace in this region is essential for the maintenance of equilibrium in the Middle East, which is why a number of Member States are endeavouring to play their part in the maintenance of peace, especially by contributing troops to the UN peacekeeping force. The Foreign Ministers were quite right to condemn the behaviour of the so-called — and I am reluctant to use the word in this connection — 'Christian' militia under Major Fadat, who have been responsible for the deaths of a number of UN soldiers. In our opinion, it would help the peace process if the Israeli Government were to dissociate itself more clearly from this organization. As regards reactivating the Euro-Arab Dialogue, the Community could make a positive contribution here. Perhaps the shift in political attitudes I referred to earlier, which may have reduced the tendency to weaken this

dialogue by applying a purely economic and technocratic approach, will improve the prospects for fruitful consultations. Has the Italian Presidency already taken steps in this direction?

I thought Mr Colombo was being rather too optimistic with regard to the problems of southern Africa. There is no sign whatsoever of the efforts made by the six Western nations to implement the UN resolution on Namibia having any chance of success. I should have liked to hear more about the views of the Council on recent events in South Africa in connection with the schools boycott. Any country in which pupils demonstrating peacefully and the local leaders who support them are suppressed in this way deserves to be roundly condemned. It is highly regrettable, particularly in view of the decisions we have taken in other situations, that the efforts made by the Netherlands Foreign Minister to organize a European Community boycott on oil supplies to South Africa has met with so little support.

The Socialist Group is sympathetic towards the unenthusiastic attitude of the European Foreign Ministers as regards sanctions against Iran. I should just like to draw your attention to a motion we tabled during a debate on this question some time ago, but which failed to obtain a majority. It now appears — for instance from the attitude of the present British Government, which has a number of supporters here in this House — or at least, one assumes that is the case — that there may now be more support for such a motion. Of course, I do not mean to say by this that our views are dictated by the same motives as those of Mrs Thatcher and her colleagues. What we are concerned about is how we can help to reduce tension in the world, bearing in mind our duty to show solidarity with those whose basic human rights are being violated. Socialists are prepared to spare no efforts if they think those efforts may be of some use. My Group is particularly appreciative of the efforts made by the Socialist International to get a dialogue going with a representative of the Iranian Government. We cannot expect these efforts to bear immediate fruit — the situation is too difficult and intricate for that — but at least they have helped to improve the general climate somewhat. We hope very much that other political groups will follow this example.

I should like to conclude by referring briefly to the Madrid Conference. At the risk of sounding monotonous, here again we share the Council's views. There is a need to strengthen mutual trust but this requires an equal willingness on both sides — East and West. The Nine will have to have thorough consultations on the strategy they are to adopt, to ensure that their activities in one basket do not cramp their style in another. I do not mean that human rights problems do not deserve a great deal of attention; the members of my Group know better than that after a year's work in this House. But even the human rights issue must be tackled with a cool head.

Van Den Heuvel

We must calculate the effects of our policies as accurately as possible. We must take care to assess when we should stick to our guns and when we should show restraint. Our main objective must be *détente* between East and West; this will inevitably involve other matters being played down somewhat precisely, because we shall then have more chance of reaching a solution. I should like to hear from Mr Colombo whether the Nine have already had consultations on the formulation of such a carefully balanced strategy.

President. — I call Mr Blumenfeld.

Mr Blumenfeld. — (D) Mr President, I hope you will allow me to go on speaking a little beyond the time-limit of 1.15 p.m. announced by your predecessor because I cannot say my piece in just six minutes.

I have the following to say on behalf of the European People's Party (Christian-Democratic Group) and also — as its Chairman tells me — on behalf of the European Parliament Delegation for Relations with the Knesset; and let me remind you that I am referring exclusively to the Heads of Governments' Venice declaration on the Middle East and the Lebanon. Gradually — if reluctantly — ladies and gentlemen, Europe and the United States are coming to realize that the events in the Middle East amount to more than an occasional unpredictable flare-up or a post-script to British and French colonial rule. Moscow has been trying ever since the early 1950s to bring this geo-political nerve centre under its control and thus to extend its sphere of influence to Western Europe.

The Soviet Union has long used the Arab rejection of the Balfour Declaration on the Palestinian Mandate and the UN-backed right of Israel to exist as an independent state as an effective instrument in its attempts to achieve a dominant position in the Middle East. Soviet strategy is to gain control of the oil-fields, the shipping lanes and the airspace in this region and to set up Communist-influenced regimes in place of the traditional and monarchist governments. In furtherance of these aims, Moscow is pursuing an active policy from Morocco to Pakistan, throughout the whole of Africa, exploiting and sometimes even generating regional conflicts, and in at least three of the four Arab-Israeli wars, has provided military support and equipment to the Arab countries. All this is documented as part and parcel of the history of the last thirty years, but it is hardly reflected at all in the declaration issued by the Heads of Government in Venice. Like all such statements, the Venice communiqué bears all the hallmarks of a compromise. The European People's Party has joined with other political groups in this House for years past in calling on the Community to accept its share of political responsibility in the world, and particularly in the Mediterranean and Middle East regions. We therefore welcome

the responsibility accepted by the European Council in Venice; we welcome its endeavours and also a number of the points in the declaration. However, one is bound to wonder what effect, what reaction this statement will have. In fact, they range — in the United States and the Middle East — from total rejection to the complacently condescending remark that Europe may be setting out along the right path, but that it still has a lot to do to earn itself the goodwill and the approval of certain Arab governments and certain — naturally Soviet-influenced — propagandists in the region.

I should like to say, Mr Colombo, that we particularly welcome the principles laid down in paragraphs 2,3,4 and 10 regarding the implementation of UN Resolutions 242 and 348, the right of all states and peoples in the region to exist within secure borders and the renunciation of violence and violent attempts to achieve a settlement in the region. It was important that all these points should be made; after all, the UN Security Council Resolutions 232 and 338 remain the unshakable legal basis on which any political solution must be based. We would, however, criticize the fact that nowhere does the declaration mention the importance of the Camp David Agreement and the responsibility of the Community to support this agreement; nowhere does it say that Camp David is based on UN Resolutions 242 and 338 and that it remains the only tangible and successful attempt to achieve a peaceful solution by way of negotiation. Nowhere else is there any sign of any comparable movement: just escalating terror or digging in and keeping one's head down; in fact, in a slightly revised version of the 1930s novel, *All Quiet on the Eastern Front*. Camp David remains an exception, even though negotiations may have been broken off from time to time.

That is why, Mr Colombo, the Heads of Government of the Nine should — instead of referring to a comprehensive solution over and over again in their declaration — have stressed the Camp David negotiations and the active peace negotiations I referred to earlier and should have called on those concerned to continue these negotiations in a spirit of trust and purposiveness and to bring the whole thing to a satisfactory conclusion. In particular, they should have tried to get the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan to take part in the negotiations and persuade the representatives of the Palestinians from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to take part in the negotiations on political autonomy designed to achieve a political solution to the problem of the right of the Palestinians to their own identity and their own development and the right of the state of Israel to exist in peace with its neighbours within secure, guaranteed and recognized borders.

Making a case for a comprehensive solution — as the Nine's declaration has it — and not even mentioning Camp David amounts to the risk of undermining current negotiations, consolidating the intransigence

Blumenfeld

of non-involved Arab governments and delegations and bolstering up the counter productive settlements policy pursued by the Begin government. The idea of associating the PLO with the negotiations — and I realize that there is a nice distinction between association and participation — amounts, though, to the PLO participating in the negotiations in the future with its own delegation, which will have more than the mere observer status it enjoys at the United Nations. As the Heads of Government of the Nine very well know, none of the political parties in Israel will have any truck with the PLO until it at least clearly acknowledges the right of the State of Israel to exist. I wonder whether we are not perhaps in the act of paying court to this many-headed organization with its many different sections, which still openly declares terrorism and murder to be a legitimate political instrument and acts on that principle? A few weeks ago, their National Council called for the liquidation of the State of Israel, a Member State of the United Nations created by the UNO in 1948. That remains their aim. Ever since President Sadat expelled the Soviets in 1973-4, the PLO — as every involved and responsible politician well knows — has been the Soviet Union's hatchetman in the Middle East. National frontiers nowadays in the Middle East are synonymous with barbed wire, tanks, machine-guns and heavily-armed soldiers — the kind of thing that fills us Germans in particular — in our situation immediately adjoining Communist Europe — with sadness and loathing. But when will the longing for peace, which is common to the large majority of the Arab population and the people of Israel, lead to the creation of the kind of border crossings we have had for decades in the free part of Europe? What is meant in paragraph 5 of the declaration by: 'The Nine declared that they are prepared to participate within the framework of a comprehensive settlement in a system of concrete and binding international guarantees, including (guarantees) on the ground'? And what is meant in paragraph 8 by the statement that the Nine 'will not accept any unilateral initiative designed to change the status of Jerusalem'? Which status of Jerusalem, I should like to ask — the present status or that of a partitioned Jerusalem? Why does the European Community shy away from stating that, in addition to the Egyptian-Israeli negotiations, if they are really serious about making progress towards peace, Jordan and Lebanon are now Israel's most important partners in negotiations to find a political, administrative and legal solution for the problem of the rights and duties of the Palestinians? 35% of the Palestinians live in Jordan, 15 % in Israel, 15 % in the Lebanon and 35 % in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. That is where Europe should and must start if it is to cooperate with the USA in a spirit of solidarity, as Mr Colombo said in his speech.

We shall only achieve success if we talk in specific terms and not about the need for a third Palestinian state, which will not be a realistic aim for a long time. On the contrary, it brings with it a great risk of the

outbreak of a fifth war in the Middle East and an attendant risk of a new global conflagration.

(Applause)

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

The House will rise.

(The sitting was suspended at 1.20 p.m. and resumed at 3 p.m.)

IN THE CHAIR: MR PFLIMLIN

Vice-President

President. — The sitting is resumed.

11. *Urgent procedure*

President. — I have received three motions for resolutions with request for urgent debate pursuant to Rule 14 of the Rules of Procedure:

- motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-250/80), tabled by Mrs Gaiotti de Biase on behalf of the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport, on the forthcoming meeting of the Council of Ministers for Education;
- motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-253/80), tabled by Mrs Castle and others, on the political rights of the people of South Africa;
- motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-254/80), tabled by Mr Colla and others on behalf of the Socialist Group, on the sale of arms to Uruguay by Belgium.

The reasons supporting the requests for urgent debate are contained in the documents themselves.

Parliament will be consulted on the urgency of these motions for resolutions at the beginning of tomorrow's sitting.

12. *Election of the chairman of a political group*

President. — The Communist and Allies Group has informed me that it has elected Mr Guido Fanti as its new chairman.

On behalf of the House I congratulate Mr Fanti on his election.

(Applause)

13. *Membership of committees*

President. — I have received from the Group of the European People's Party (CD Group) a request that Mr Brok be appointed a member of the Committee on Regional Policy and Regional Planning and that Mrs Lentz-Cornette be appointed a member of the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection to replace Mr Estgen.

I have received from the Communist and Allies Group a request that Mr Segre be appointed a member of the Political Affairs Committee, Mrs Cinciari Rodano a member of the Legal Affairs Committee, and Mr Papapietro a member of the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport to replace Mrs Cinciari Rodano.

Since there are no objections, these appointments are ratified.

14. *Council and Commission statements on the European Council of 12 and 13 June — Review of the activities of the Italian Presidency (continuation)*

President. — The next item is the continuation of the debate on the statements by the Council and the Commission on the European Council of 12 and 13 June 1980 and the review of the activities of the Italian Presidency.

I call Lord Bethell.

Lord Bethell. — Mr President, I would like to join with other Members who have expressed their great admiration and thanks to the President-in-Office, Mr Colombo, not only for his eloquent address this morning but — what is more important — also for his great achievement in negotiating over many hours and many weeks the agreement on the new budgetary system. One can safely say that Mr Colombo gains a large measure of the credit for this vital agreement, without which we should not be assembling here in reasonable spirits; and when Europe is something more than it is today and when its history comes to be written, I predict that Mr Colombo's achievement during the past few weeks will be duly acknowledged and future generations will have much to be grateful to him for.

(Applause)

The statement by President Jenkins was of no less interest, and one of the two points in my brief speech concerns his plans for the distribution of the sums of money which will now be available for various projects in the United Kingdom as a result of the budgetary

settlement. One of the greatest opportunities is now open to the Commission to deal effectually with the disillusionment and in some cases despair which has grown up in the United Kingdom regarding our Community membership as a consequence of the difficulties of the past few months. And it will be a tremendous responsibility, the burden of which will fall squarely on the shoulders of the Commission first of all, to see that this windfall of funds is made available to the right areas, for the right goals, so that something can be done to lay to rest the myth that the United Kingdom has gained little from its Community membership. Next year there will be something in the region of £500 million more than the United Kingdom would otherwise have received and in the following year twice that sum; and it is the Commission that will have to see that these large sums are spent wisely on projects which will improve the difficult British economy, particularly in its industrial weakness.

I would simply like to issue a plea to the Commission for a little more flexibility in the administration of the funds than has been possible in the past. I know the Commission are not their own masters in this matter: very often they have to work through governmental departments in the Member States — in the United Kingdom as in other Member States. However, I hope that they will urge governmental departments to see that these large sums of money, which, in the case of my country, will be coming as an unexpected bonus, are spread carefully and more flexibly than has been the case in the past. To be specific, I hope that the lion's share of this enormous sum will not go exclusively to the regional development areas that have enjoyed the greater part of the Community's bounty in recent years. The necessity is there just as much in various black spots in non-regional development areas as it is in areas in the south of England such as Brent, for instance — one of the parts of London that I represent — where there are high levels of unemployment and immigration, and it is important that the Regional Development Fund and the Social Fund take careful note of the various demands that will be made upon our Community by the necessities of unemployment and immigration and see that something fair is done to bring this matter to a satisfactory conclusion.

This is a unique opportunity to bring the benefits of the Community home to many millions of people who in the past have not seen any really tangible result of our membership since 1973.

My second and final point concerns the statement on the Middle East, which was only briefly touched upon by Mr Colombo. When one considers the echoes and the ramifications of the statement that have spread throughout the world, not only in the area in question but also in the United States — an editorial in the *New York Times* has called us 'pathetic and absurd' — there is no doubt that our deliberations last week have had an effect on the American election and it is, I think, necessary to pay a little more attention to what the

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nine Ministers have decided and to work out exactly where we stand.

The most important point, I think, was made by my honourable friend, Mr Scott-Hopkins, when he said that in many areas there is nothing that divides our statement from statements that have been made on our behalf in the past and, indeed, those made by American Presidents. There is no argument about the fact that we stand fair and square behind Israel, behind Israel's security, and that we support the rights of Israelis to live in peace and security with all their neighbours within firm and recognized frontiers.

(Applause)

This cannot be repeated too often. There is I imagine, no difference of opinion on this point within the European Parliament, nor do we differ in this with the United States or any other Western country. There is also the clear, common position that we recognize the rights of the Palestinians to their own homeland and support all efforts to build up a feeling of national identity among the Palestinians.

Speaking entirely personally, I feel that our efforts to build up a feeling of national identity among the Palestinians are not helped by the policies of the present Israeli Government in permitting settlements to be erected on Arab land on the West Bank. I feel it must be made clear to this Israeli Government that that policy does not have the support of Europe and not even the support of friends of Israel in this Assembly. There is clearly a long debate going on about this matter; the Chief Rabbi of the United Kingdom, for instance, has made a statement very much along the lines I have just indicated about the settlements and this is clearly a legitimate matter for internal debate in this Assembly, among Jewish communities abroad and in Israel itself.

There can be no doubt, however, that this point, which was highlighted in the statement put out by the Nine, is not the only obstacle in the way of progress towards peace in the Middle East. If I criticize the statement, it will be to point out that there are other serious obstacles to peace which were not mentioned, and the statement should perhaps be attacked for what it does not say rather than for what it does say. There was no mention, for instance, of PLO terrorism. There was no mention of the PLO's covenant under which they still claim the right, indeed the duty, to eradicate what they call 'the Zionist entity'. Most important of all, there was no appeal to the PLO, to the Palestinians or to Arab countries to recognize Israel's right to exist. To that extent the statement was one-sided, and it might indeed have been better if rather more of the important criteria and elements in the dispute had been brought out instead of picking on two or three important issues such as the matter of the settlements.

I would like to look more positively on this matter and build on the Camp David agreement, which, while it has not provided peace in the Middle East, has, I think we would almost all agree, been an important step in the right direction. I am disappointed that we in our Community have made so little progress in our relations with Egypt since the Camp David agreement was signed. Building on that agreement, it should surely be possible for us to make a team to exploit the desert areas of Egypt and Israel in Sinai, using Egyptian manpower and skills, Israeli manpower and skills, and European equipment and capital. This, I think, would be a great contribution that Europe could make towards peace in the Middle East, and I hope that it will be pursued.

I will conclude, Mr President, by referring to the words of the President-in-Office, Mr Colombo, that the Council is now committed to introducing structural changes. It has promised to rethink the fundamental mechanisms of our Community. This, I think, is the measure of the success of the six months of Italian presidency and of Mr Colombo's personal success. He has left us in the European Parliament. This is very sad, but our loss is Europe's gain and will be Europe's gain in greater measure in the future.

President. — I call Mr Segre.

Mr Segre. — *(I)* Mr President, Mr President of the Council, ladies and gentlemen, why is it that such large shock waves were set off on the other side of the Atlantic, on the other side of the Mediterranean and even here in Europe, by the sole point upon which the Venice Summit appeared to commit itself — inadequately perhaps, but at least with the intention of not being wearily repetitive? Seven years have elapsed since that first declaration on the Middle East, which the Foreign Ministers of the nine Member States of the EEC made in Brussels on 6 November 1973, and the essence of which the Heads of State and government reiterated a few weeks later at the Copenhagen Summit. Seven long, tortuous, dramatic years, which were vainly spent in the expectation that, in accordance with what was defined in the official communiqué from the Summit as 'an initial contribution to the search for an overall solution to the problem', some definite steps would be taken in that direction with suitable ideas and initiatives.

If now, seven years later, a mere updating — somewhat tardily, as we have seen, and moreover, in our opinion, still inadequately — of the real terms of the Middle East problem was enough to give rise to such shock waves, this confirms above all, in our opinion, the great political potential of our European Community and the extent to which it could help to shape future world events.

If a Community which is going through one of the most serious crises of its history — and Mr Colombo

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admitted as much this morning in his report — is capable of provoking so many reactions, albeit contradictory and conflicting reactions, over what for the moment only amounts to taking a stand and is not in the nature of a genuine political initiative, what, Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, would be the weight of such a Europe in this tormented world of ours, a world in a state of transition, if its personality were more clear-cut and if it were really capable of taking on a genuine political dimension, of becoming a real political entity? At a distance of exactly one year from the election by universal suffrage of our Parliament, we are called upon to reflect upon this central political point, on the question that is being put to Europe and on the answer which the Community is, or is not, in a position to give, just as we must reflect on the reasons for this dichotomy and this disparity. What is the reason for so many delays, so many hesitations, so much fear of taking our courage in our hands, so much frustrating or frustrated immobility?

The real reason is not to be found in the internal crisis of the Community, in its by now ingrained inability to do what was pointed out to us this morning by the President of the Council, namely to rethink the fundamental mechanisms of the European Community and thus establish new political approaches, new economic and social approaches to carry out a profound renewal, to proclaim new goals and to give constructive answers to the challenges of the '80s. Nor is the real reason for this dichotomy to be found in the objective difficulty of steering a prudent course in international politics, in seas which are dotted with so many electoral pitfalls and traps.

The primary reason, in our opinion, is to be found in the fact that the need to rethink properly the most serious problems of the contemporary world — from the questions of détente and peace to the question of the armaments race, which is already swallowing up a million dollars a minute, from world hunger to ecology, from the growing imbalance between developed countries and developing countries to energy, the waste of resources, inflation, the economic crisis — this need is frustrated first and foremost by those trends which — at the very moment in which we see, as did the President of the Council, that there has never before been such a demand for Europe — prevent Europe from becoming a real political entity — and here I am quoting Mr Colombo once again — and from asserting itself, from being itself, in spite of all its internal difficulties and its reservations.

But what are these reservations? What is the cause of them? What is the soil in which they grow? If we look closely, we see that there is really only one: it consists in the reluctance, and ultimately, the refusal, to redefine in up-to-date terms, appropriate to the '80s, the relationship with the United States which was built up during the '50s. Since then 30 years have gone by. The world is a fundamentally different place, so many political and economic factors have changed and

Europe has matured, in spite of its difficulties and its recurrent or structural crises. But even now there are those in the corridors of power of some of the countries in the Old World who think, through sheer mental laziness, that the only philosophy they must not change is the philosophy that hitherto sustained the relations between the United States and Europe, and these people thereby make themselves objectively co-responsible — it is of no consequence whether they do it knowingly or unknowingly — for the deterioration that in recent times has inevitably tended to develop in relations between the two sides of the Atlantic, because the old framework in which Europe grew up has become constricting and now threatens to asphyxiate it.

In view of this fact and emphasizing the, by now overdue, need to establish a new philosophy of American-European relations, we Italian Communists do not for a moment think that Europe must change partners, nor are we succumbing in any way to third-force or neutralist temptations. We are well aware of the historical reality of European-American relations, as we are also aware of the vital interest which countries have, within the framework of the existing alliances, in a constructive and fruitful relationship with the United States. But, for this very purpose of creating a constructive and fruitful relationship, we must innovate and renew and steer things in the direction of a genuine partnership. If we make no effort to meet this need adequately, we shall end up by damaging Europe's wish to assert itself and to be itself, and it will be Europe's own fundamental political and economic interests that will be neglected, or even sacrificed.

We are not, of course, the only ones to remind you of these things; there is a variety of political, economic and social forces doing the same thing. To convince oneself of this, all one needs to do is read the recent statement by the President of the German employers' association, Mr Wolf von Amerongen, or the article written by Mr Gianni Agnelli for the magazine 'Foreign Affairs', or think back to the statements made by various politicians from various Community countries. But we did not, alas, find any conviction that this was also one of the great challenges of the Eighties, which Europe will be called up to face up to, in the report by Mr Colombo on the six months of the Italian presidency, designed, as it was, wholly, or almost so, to demonstrate the efforts that have been made — and which we acknowledge — to tackle the Community's internal dissensions, which, as Mr Colombo said, could well bring about the death of the European ideal, as well as those efforts that have been made to induce the Europe of the Nine to return to what has been called 'a normal way of life'. Now it has also been said that 'the Community is taking a breather'. But is it really conceivable, Mr President of the Council, that we can take a breather that the Community's present mode of existence is normal? The truth is that crisis is knocking on all the doors, and the President of

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the Liberal Group, Mr Bangemann, was right this morning in his speech to emphasize the fact that, even though the surface causes of the crisis have been overcome, the fundamental reasons remain and the crisis is still there, and if new basic Community mechanisms and new guidelines are not laid down the European ideal really does risk being destroyed by the confrontation, the clash, with the challenges of the Eighties. It would be a misfortune, a tragic misfortune, for each of our countries, for Europe as a whole and for the world. Have we the strength to prevent this misfortune coming about? We cannot answer in the negative, we do have the strength to do it, just as we know that it is not only necessary but feasible.

The recent demonstrations by European trade unionists and the document which the European Trade Union Federation handed to Mr Cossiga on the eve of the Venice Summit constitute an important confirmation of this fact, even if in Mr Colombo's report — and this is a lacuna which has already been pointed out in different terms today by Mr Glinne — there was no trace of this factor, in spite of its importance, namely the commitment on the part of the principal trade union organizations of our Continent to the struggle against inflation, against growing unemployment and for a programme of genuine economic development.

And yet if this Europe of ours wishes to shape its future, give itself credibility, promote progress and peace, if it wishes to assert itself, if it wishes to be itself, it must base its programme of renewal and structural transformation on the broad masses of the people. A juster Europe and an internally more balanced Europe, a Europe which is more open, will also be a Europe capable of performing in international politics that role of justice, wisdom, moderation, peace and cooperation which the Venice Summit, in spite of all its limitations, was still capable of claiming, at least as regards the essential features, in respect of one of the acutest and most serious problems of the times we are living through. To make a serious contribution to an overall solution of the Middle East problem, by means of negotiations involving all the parties concerned and leading, at the same time, to the affirmation of Israel's right to peace and security and the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, is without doubt an undertaking that requires clarity of intention, concrete efforts, tenacity and patience. What we must overcome are the ambiguities and evasions still to be found in the Venice communiqué, the atavistic distrust, political and psychological obstacles of every sort, that have only just emerged, in the form of the uncompromising attitude adopted by the United States, in the insulting reactions of Mr Begin and in the admittedly open and flexible reply given by the PLO, as also in the reaction given by the Arab Bloc as a whole.

Can Europe achieve this much? The answer is 'yes'. Europe may set out to do this much because, however complex and difficult it may be, it points in the only

rational direction there is, which is that leading to an overall peaceful solution involving all the parties concerned. But if it is to set itself such tasks, Europe must be fully aware of the difficulties to be overcome, just as it must also be aware of its own capabilities, and it must have faith and a strong political will: consequently we expected something more from Mr Colombo's report on the central part of the Venice Summit. We fully understand, Mr President of the Council, your diplomatic caution over the contacts with the persons involved, in order to determine on the basis of the results of these contracts what form a European initiative could take, as was indicated in the Venice declaration. We also understand that the various stages of such an approach can not all be worked out in advance on paper. But that extra something which we expected, and which we hope we shall find in your reply at the end of this day's debate, does not so much concern these aspects, with regard to which caution and prudence are in order, but something else, something different. I am speaking of the unambiguous assertion that the Nine deeply and unitedly believe in taking this particular road and will pursue it tenaciously in the historical, political and cultural, conviction that this Europe — which has been obliged to undergo and overcome so many tragedies and so many internal conflicts in order to succeed in uniting the efforts of its peoples — can do a great deal to contribute to seeing that the Middle East may also overcome its tragedies and its conflicts, and that it may come to know justice and peace and contribute to political and economic cooperation, making its own contribution to progress in the interests of its peoples and of the world as a whole.

Let me come back, just once more, to the problems of the Community. Amongst the other questions, amongst so many other questions, on the agenda at the moment there is the question of whom we should appoint as the new President of the Commission. I am in agreement with the points which Mr Glinne and Mr Klepsch made this morning. Our hope is that the appointment will be made without delay, so that we can have an investiture debate, and we hope that the choice will fall upon an individual capable — in his actions — of the authority, competence and autonomy necessary to head the Commission during a period of serious problems, during a period of great challenges and during a period involving that enlargement of the Community which is already a definite Community commitment and a commitment which must be upheld.

Let me just say, in conclusion, Mr President of the Council, how much our group were grateful this morning for the moving words which you spoke in memory of Mr Amendola.

President. — I call Mr Israel.

Mr Israel. — (F) Mr President, careful analysis of the statement concerning the Middle East issued after

Israel

the Venice Summit raises the question of whether this statement was intended to serve any particular purpose.

This document reveals a lack of caution. The Community might have been able to take worthwhile action at a different time, in a period of relative calm. But today certain parties involved in the conflict have shown willingness to compromise, and at a crucial stage. Was it worth the Commission's while to intervene at this stage, and what did it have to say? Did it want to remind us that Israel, like all Middle East countries, has a right to exist and to live in safety, or that the Palestinians also have legitimate rights? Egypt, Israel and the United States agreed on this months ago. The zeal of our Heads of State or Government appears very ill-timed. Moreover, these principles are restated ambiguously, at least as far as the obligations to be met by the Palestinians are concerned. Indeed, in expressing the hope that the PLO should take part in negotiations the Venice text completely fails to mention that the PLO's participation in the talks cannot be contemplated if Mr Arafat's organization rejects the idea that Israel has a right to exist and that its legitimacy must be recognized by the Palestinians. The statement by the nine Heads of State or Government suggests that the PLO will be taking part in the negotiations anyway even if it persists in its objectives, which, as we all know, include the annihilation of Israel. The zeal of our Heads of State or Government appears very contradictory.

Finally, the announcement, amid heavy publicity, that the Community is going to hold a series of talks with the parties concerned is odd, to say the least, now that definitive statements are being made. Is the intention simply to justify the unilateral approaches to the PLO with no prior conditions? Sadly, this appears more than likely. The zeal of our Heads of State or Government is highly dangerous for Europe and world peace.

President. — I call Mr Bettiza.

Mr Bettiza. — (*I*) Mr President, Mr President of the Council, ladies and gentlemen, more than anything else I want to stress the role that this Parliament has defined and won for itself during the second six months of its existence, a period which has been marked, and sometimes perhaps not in positive terms, by the Italian Presidency.

This is not a reference to my friend Mr Colombo, whose arrival during the six months in question at the Council of Ministers, brought with it, on the contrary, a significant element of dynamism. We must acknowledge Mr Colombo's success at the Luxembourg Summit on 30 May, at which, quite apart from the compromise which was reached between the United Kingdom and the other eight Member States of the Community, he, with the skill of the former Member

of this Parliament that he is, was able to promote a compromise between the Community institutions and Parliament's views on the agricultural policy and on the budget. But for reasons to do with the continuing crisis in Italy which deprives the country of continuity of government and which, in consequence, has also deprived the European Community of continuity of leadership, we have sometimes had the impression that the Council has not always risen to the occasion and exploited to the full the various important opportunities that these six months have offered it.

Mr Bangemann has already alluded to the problem of the internal structures of the Community, but there have also been moments of disturbing reluctance to assert the solidarity of the West at a time when — to repeat what was said this morning by Mrs Deng, leader of the Chinese delegation visiting Parliament — the Soviet Union, in its expansion to the south, is aiming at outflanking western Europe. There is no doubt that during this half-year many conflicts and imbalances have got worse, which has severely tested the cohesion of the Community. We have witnessed a chain reaction of conflicts in which the governments of the individual Member States have disagreed violently on various matters, such as agriculture, the balance, or rather the imbalance, of the regional policies and the contribution of each Member State to the Community coffers.

Then there were the major world events, from Iran to Afghanistan, which also prompted reactions on the part of the individual Member governments that were by no means always unanimous and harmonious. On the contrary, in some cases it seemed as if some of these Member governments were more interested in intervening in the international crisis in order to exploit it for their own benefit, rather than to solve it. As a result we have seen this Parliament of ours move to the centre of the Community stage, often taking the place, in spirit, of the Commission, the Council and the nine national governments, adopting at every moment and at every turning of this crisis-ridden year an unambiguous attitude, more in harmony with itself than that of the other Community institutions, and all on behalf of Europe, on behalf of the real Europe almost in opposition to the legal Europe. There has been no important aspect of the international crisis on which Parliament has not taken up and asserted a responsible and authoritative attitude.

This triumphant entry of the European Parliament onto the European stage has finally shown up the restricted, restraining role of the Commission, which still, unfortunately, seems to act as the secular arm of the Council, the means by which a body which is sometimes more similar to an international directorate than to a supra-national organization expresses its own determination to oppose change and distribute blame. If there is a European crisis, it is thus a crisis of growth and development of the institutions, of Euro-

Bettiza

pean awareness and European will-power against the background of an unprecedented world crisis.

The most serious error, Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, would be to confuse disagreements within the Community, which have also — and perhaps mainly — been sparked off by the birth of this very special Parliament, with the Community crisis and the bureaucratic silence, the bureaucratic muteness, which are what we should really be afraid of. 'Movement is everything', said the Socialist, Bernstein, whom I am freely quoting.

Mr President of the Council, ladies and gentlemen, the attitudes adopted at Venice were also undeniably inspired by the need for movement. My Group is not in full agreement with the decisions taken at the political level, but we must recognize that the gestures made at Venice did at least serve to assert the presence of the Community on the international scene. They contain the seeds of originality and creativity, even if we must admit that one or two of the fundamental problems and one or two of the decisions taken puzzled us somewhat. Suffice it for me to remind you of the decision to associate the Palestine Liberation Organization in any future Middle East negotiations. Now we are certainly not hostile to associating the Palestinians in this way — on the contrary, we approve of it, just as we hope to see the creation of a homeland for the Palestinian people. But what are we to make of this request on the part of the Community when, 24 hours before, Mr Arafat had reasserted the validity of Articles 11, 19 and 22 of the Beirut Charter which, as is well known, call for the extermination of the State of Israel?

We are not against associating the Palestinians in any negotiations, but we are against a contradictory position that takes no account of the vital interests of the Israeli people.

Europe is in demand, Mr President of the Council! But what we Liberals hope is what this Europe has to offer will always be equal to the demand.

President. — I call Mrs Castellina.

Mrs Castellina. — (I) Mr President, in the minute and a half which has been granted me I certainly do not intend to attempt an analysis of these six months of the Italian presidency nor do I intend to expound my own point of view. My purpose in speaking is a simple, shall we say, 'reassertion of our line' with regard to the Council's foreign policy decisions.

I shall make very brief allusions to the two essential problems. Firstly, the problem of Iran. I shall not go into the substance of the problem, but limit myself to one observation. What was the meaning and point of adopting a completely subordinate attitude, the atti-

tude of the United States? I think that it has been tantamount to undermining the position of people, such as President Bani Sadr, who were attempting to devise a rational solution to the problem of the hostages. The result was tantamount to fanning the flames of the Iranian crisis with the purpose of preventing the new Iran from consolidating its position, which is something it needs to do. From this point of view I think that it was a completely irresponsible attitude to adopt and, in other respects, completely contrary to the immediate interests of Europe. I think it is a serious matter that the President of the Council of Ministers, Mr Colombo, did not make any reference, as he ought to have done, to this problem, which remains one of our major problems. Nor did he even make an effort to reply to the question: What do we want to happen in Iran? Do we want his country, this new and fragile democracy, which has only just been created, to disintegrate, or do we instead want to try to pursue the policies needed to consolidate a balanced democratic process?

Secondly, the problem of the Middle East. I do not underestimate the value of attitudes such as the one taken up at Venice. In this respect I am in disagreement with Jacques Denis. At last we are distancing ourselves somewhat from the position of the United States. I say only 'somewhat', because it seems to me that reading through the document reveals an incredible mass of contradictions between one sentence and the other and between one word and the other. What is the point of speaking of self determination for the Palestinian people if in the same document we once again refer to the disastrous resolution 242 of the United Nations? What is the point of asking the PLO to recognize the *a priori* right of Israel to exist, a right which, as we are all well aware, Israel has exercised for some time and in which it has gone well beyond the limits which even the United Nations recognize, when at the same time we are speaking of self determination? In that case we should first of all ask Israel to recognize the national rights of the Palestinian people, something which, as we know, is not being demanded of them.

What is more, what is the sense of speaking of Camp David, when it is evident to everyone that that initiative has failed — as it was bound to — nor can it be revived, seeing that it was based upon a mechanism which excluded one of the very protagonists who were essential for any possible negotiation, that is to say, the Palestinian people?

So, the point is this; what is the sense of the Community's continuing to play with words — because it is playing with words — that is to say relying upon a diplomacy based on verbal casuistry which does not bring a solution to the problems one inch nearer. I believe that if it continues along this road Europe will remain subordinate and eternally vacillating, incapable of summoning up the strength which it needs to achieve real autonomy, a strength which can be found

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only in a clear and positive relationship with the countries of the Third World.

A short while ago Mr Segre said: Let us not be taken in by third-force temptations! I, on the contrary, am convinced that we *must* let ourselves be taken in by third-force temptations, that is to say, that we must construct a Europe which will be a third force in this world, independent of the Soviet Union and of the United States, and not just for reasons of principle, because today the logic of both of the two super-powers appears misguided, but also for reasons of political opportuneness with regard to the same worry that has been repeated here so many times, that is to say the danger of Soviet aggression.

If we really want to prevent the developing countries of the Third World from ending up as Soviet satellites — obliged to do so by the need to defend themselves against that oppression which they resent most of all, the oppression contained in the mechanism of dependence which the capitalist world continues to maintain and to exercise, or by the need to free themselves from the oppression which they resent most of all (in this case I am thinking of the Arab world), i.e. Israel: oppression, — if we want to do this, then we must offer these peoples some other point of reference. Europe can do this; and if it does it may be something which will not only be of use to Europe but will even be of use in warding off the dangers which we fear. If, instead, we remain content with mere words, deluding ourselves that we can continue to carry on playing games, then I think that Europe really will fail on all fronts.

President. — I call Mr Romualdi.

Mr Romualdi. — (I) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, we cannot but be delighted at having emerged from the *impasse* into which the attitude of the United Kingdom had driven the question of the Community budget. The problem was extremely serious, and the attitude of the British came close to being incompatible with the spirit of the Community itself which, in the opinion of some people, was even in danger of breaking up.

It is obvious that this was no mere accounting problem. It is beyond dispute that the difficulties had their roots in the very nature of our Community — as Mr Colombo pointed out. But it is just as obvious and indisputable that overcoming the difficulties, and, more particularly, strengthening the intervention policies by means of which this regrettable slide towards a system based on the notion of the 'fair return' may be avoided, will not be possible if the requisite political will and a feeling of Community unity are lacking, and these qualities have often been in short supply in recent months. The existence and the actions of the

Nine must bear the stamp of a feeling of common destiny.

We cannot, Mr Colombo, deny — or better, we cannot hinder it, as you yourself said — that Europe ought to express itself through the individual Member States, and their individual idiosyncrasies, just as the logic of history requires. We have always denied, and we still deny, that the Community can be built in defiance of the logic of history and in defiance of the natures and the particular interests of the individual Member States, of the individual countries. But woe betide us if we were to think that we could set up our economic Community without at the same time becoming a solid political Community, each country singling out from its own history the elements that make up a common civilization, a common form of social life as Europeans and as representatives of western civilization, identifying the fundamental problems inherent in our lives and in our evolution that have been brought about by the inevitable interdependence of the things of this world. No individual country can seriously expect to be able to tackle, let alone solve, its own problems, which are to a significant extent common problems, on its own.

This is the background against which we should look at the problem of the energy crisis in all its aspects, from the reduction of energy consumption to the protection of sources of oil supply, transport and prices — all topics which Mr Colombo has discussed. This, too, is the background against which we should look at the return to the use of coal and the use of nuclear energy, but with all the problems and the dissensions that arise around these questions, and as well as the need for better organized and better financed research into alternative sources of energy. This is also the background against which we should look at the problems of restructuring, retraining and innovation in our industries, as well as the problems of monetary stability, inflation and management of the balance of payments, widening the North-South dialogue, as well as the many other problems of political cooperation which constitute the real critical nexus upon which the future of our Community depends.

No one should delude himself that we can become an effective Community if we continue in not speaking with a single voice concerning our own interests and the difficult international balance of power. It is indispensable that we should speak with one voice in order to be able to help, while also bearing in mind our own particular interests, in the creation and the defence of peace and security, constantly threatened as they are by the imperialism of communist Russia and its satellite countries and parties, which are constantly working actively to promote revolution in the world.

It is not enough to make common declarations condemning the occupation of Afghanistan or the sad business of the hostages in Iran, if, subsequently, we

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do not suit our deeds to our words and if we continue to follow largely independent policies.

As for our most urgent and serious internal problems, which range from the appointment of the new President of the Commission to the review of the working methods of some of our institutions, including the Council, whose functions — as they affect the life of the Community — are not always quite clear, it is, for example, pointless to speak of developing regional policy to promote harmonious growth of the Community regions, if subsequently the constant increase in the funds needed for this policy is not provided. It is even worse as regards social policy and, in particular, employment policy; the constant growth of unemployment has reached intolerable levels. What are the economic and structural elements in the equation which you, Mr President, speak of? We congratulate you on what you said about migrant workers, but when can we hope that we shall proceed from words to deeds, in order to make a serious improvement in the living and working conditions of migrant workers and guarantee them genuine social security?

As for the accession of Greece to the Community, and the commitment we have already undertaken with regard to Spanish and Portuguese accession, about which there has just lately been some argument, no delay is conceivable. We have no alternative but to honour our commitments. In the President of the Council's statement there is a broad allusion to what was the principal subject of the recent Venice Summit meeting namely, peace in the Middle East, a region whose destiny and whose interests concern us very closely. This is a sensitive problem which has given rise to extremely dangerous controversy. For this very reason it is a good thing that we have spoken of it and that we are speaking of it in this House, because we should not like others to take the fact that the European Parliament has not spoken of it as a justification and a right to launch their own particular initiatives.

There is a need for an overall agreement on the Middle East, involving all the countries concerned, all the people of the Mediterranean and of the free world, our firm objective being to put an end to any and every form of violence, any and every act or attitude such as may lead people to believe, rightly or wrongly, that the PLO, for example, continues to be at the centre of every criminal terrorist act, thereby damaging the true image of the Palestinian people and their real rights.

Finally, we must regret that Mr Colombo's speech made no allusion to another serious element of destabilization in relations between the Arab world and Europe, that is to say, the Libyan Government and the criminal acts it indulges in, which we took the liberty of denouncing in this Parliament in the form of a written question and a motion for a resolution. It is necessary and urgent that we should react against what the

Libyan Government is doing, above all by publicly condemning what is going on.

President. — I call Mr Arndt.

Mr Arndt. — (D) Mr President, an interesting aspect of this debate is that views differ in this House as to whether the much-discussed crisis within the European Community has or has not been overcome over the last few days and weeks. Both Mr Colombo and Mr Klepsch have tried to make the point that the essential problems have indeed been solved; others have claimed that the crisis in the European Community still exists. I take the latter view, and this House would be well advised to give some thought to this matter. All that has been done over the last few weeks and months amounts to an attempt to gloss over the problems and postpone any solution of them. During the campaign preceding elections to the directly-elected European Parliament, all the governments of the nine Member States proclaimed their allegiance to Europe. I have got the impression over the last few weeks and months that a majority of these governments are now concerned solely with their own situation and whatever will be of benefit to them. Solidarity is what is missing from this 1980 version of Europe, and that is why I said that Parliament should give some thought to this matter. It is, after all, Parliament's job to produce large majorities to make the voice of Europe known and to force the Member States' governments to break out of their selfish, nationalistic way of thinking and to start acting in a spirit of European solidarity.

The European Council did practically nothing in Venice to solve the problems facing Europe; that is something I very much regret and I know that Mr Colombo made every effort to achieve results but, it would seem, had too little time to put the Council house in order. Whatever happened to preparations for the world economic summit? That is a point the chairman of the Socialist Group raised earlier. In its Venice form, the European Economic Community is nothing more than a customs union. What happened, for instance, to the concrete proposal to go into the problems of employment policy and unemployment? As far as I am concerned, it is just not enough to express our eloquent regret at the OPEC price increases. There are a number of Member States in the European Community which have oil or natural gas reserves of their own and which are delighted at the OPEC price increases because they can then automatically raise their own prices; indeed, they sometimes beat OPEC to it. What about the energy-saving policy proposed by the Commission here in this House? We are still awaiting a proposal on the nomination of the next President of the Commission which, as Parliament agreed, was due at the Venice Summit. What about the Council's statements — as demanded in the debate this morning — on extending the European

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Community? Why did the Council not state its position on the situation regarding Spain and Portugal following the comments made by the President of one of our Member States? I trust that, in this respect, this House will abide by its view that those countries which want to join the Community should have the right to do so, and that new Member States like Spain, Portugal and Greece should receive help from the better-off Member States.

The Brussels Compromise was proudly referred to here today, but I have come straight from a meeting of the Committee on Budgets, where I heard about progress so far on conciliation regarding the draft budget. It is deplorable that we should hear praise of the Brussels Compromise, but that the Council should have made no attempt to reach a compromise with the directly-elected European Parliament on the budget.

Everything that was said in this House last December remains valid. It is about time the Council of Ministers realized that respect for Parliament requires them at least to consider Parliament's proposals. The Committee on Budgets was told by the head of the delegation that he thought there was no real desire whatsoever in the Council of Ministers to discuss Parliament's budget proposals. It seems to me that this Council of Ministers has no feeling whatsoever for the directly elected Parliament. We do not have the wherewithal to criticize the Council as would be possible in our national parliaments. There we have one very crude instrument which normally forces any government to resign, and that is a vote of no confidence expressed by a democratically elected Parliament. I must say that, at least as far as the budget question is concerned, the Council's behaviour is tantamount to contempt for the democratically elected European Parliament.

I know, Mr President, that you personally agree with me on the essential points of this. In your statements to this House you have said very clearly that the European Parliament should carry more weight in the deliberations of the Council of Ministers. It is therefore a source of regret to me that what you yourself say, in all honesty, is irreconcilable with what a majority of the Council actually does. As I said earlier, the Brussels Compromise simply leaves the problems to be solved another day. This House is really united in believing that the Common Agricultural Policy must be saved, and that this must be done by eliminating the pointless surpluses we have at present. But what is the point of fine words when the Council goes back on its promise to come up with specific proposals and instead simply puts the whole thing off again until next year? I believe this House should refuse to accept non-committal statements on the elimination of the agricultural surpluses; I believe we should insist on the Council coming up with unambiguous and binding statements in this respect. We are all aware that the ceiling of own resources has now virtually been

reached. The European Council in Venice had nothing to say on this point other than that own resources should in no circumstances be increased. In other words, the present ceiling is to remain. But what is supposed to happen then? What has happened to the concrete proposal we were supposed to be getting? I am quite prepared to say — as I would in any of our national parliaments — that we may have to call on our people to shoulder a larger burden. But if we do so, we must tell our people precisely what they are being asked to shoulder the burden for. What the European Council had to say in Venice and what the Brussels Compromise amounts to is nothing more than a postponement. What we have is a vague resolution calling for the structural reorganization of the budget. What we do not have is agreement on how this reorganization should take place. The Socialist Group — like the great majority of this House — is in favour of structural reorganization. The resultant European solidarity will enable us to redistribute the available resources and ensure that the poorer regions receive aid from the well-to-do in Europe. We shall then have a genuine regional policy, a genuine structural policy and a genuine social policy, all of which must be given priority. This wailing about the money earmarked for Europe is disgraceful, and that comment applies equally to my own government. What we should be doing is telling the people of Europe and in every one of our Member States what advantages they are getting, and could get, from this Europe: European solidarity, a Europe prepared to help the poorer regions, a Europe prepared to try to solve the problems of employment, regional policy and structural policy. That is the kind of Europe the Socialist Group is prepared to give its all for — in financial and human terms. But, let me repeat, this will require a genuine effort on the part of this House, and I hope that the Council will at last realize that Parliament has seen the light in this respect and that the Council will follow our lead.

President. — I call Mr De Keersmaecker.

Mr De Keersmaecker. — (NL) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the Luxembourg Summit left us all in a kind of vacuum, but the same cannot be said of the Venice Summit. This is something which gives us a certain satisfaction, although it also evokes mixed feelings. But perhaps even this can be seen as a success, because the European Community is currently in a very critical state. It must be admitted that the Council and particularly the Italian Presidency — and not least Mr Colombo, your good self, — have achieved success. The Council communiqué begins, however, with a somewhat complacent claim that the problems of the British contribution to the budget, farm prices, sheepmeat and the common fisheries policy have been freed from the log jam. This simplistic claim ignores the fact that the solution to the farm prices issue was highly imbalanced and inadequate, with the result that

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the displeasure of European farmers has not been dispelled, but has simply turned against the national institutions; that, at least, is what is happening in my country, where farmers are planning a mass demonstration tomorrow.

At the same time, we can only deplore the fact — as we have repeatedly said — that the problem of British contributions, the problem of the Community budget and the problem of farm prices have all simply been lumped together, one being played off against another, with all the inevitable consequences. I trust, Mr Colombo, that we can console ourselves with the United Kingdom's promise not to make this fuss again later — more particularly next year — when we again come to talk about the thorny problem of farm prices. But what kind of promise do we in fact have? I realize that this kind of thing cannot be set down in black and white and is only a political agreement, but the question is nonetheless valid and seems likely to go unanswered on the part of the institutions. No wonder then that there is still a certain disquiet with regard to what has happened. On the other hand, we must make sure that the roles do not get reversed. A solution has been achieved, and it must be said that in order to ensure the continued existence of the European Community on the basis of its original principles, including the Common Agricultural Policy, we have paid a high price. However, the solution to the problem of the British contribution has given rise to so much adverse criticism, indeed displeasure, that we can now expect all that displeasure to be worked off — unjustly — on the Common Agricultural Policy.

While I am on this point, I should like to enquire what exactly is meant in the text of the communiqué by the undertaking on the part of the Community to implement structural changes? This statement practically leaves everything open, and that is something we do not approve of. You lifted a corner of the veil, Mr Colombo, when you said in your introductory remarks that the dairy sector — and we all agree that something must be done in this sector — would be subject to the same quota system as in the sugar sector. However, the dairy sector is not — structurally speaking — entirely comparable with the sugar sector. Our immediate reaction is that there are serious objections to the application of a quota system; and then there is the essential question, as far as we are concerned whether such quotas would be applied per country or per holding. I heard Mr Ginne say just now that what we needed was a new agricultural policy. The Council statement says that structural reorganization — insofar as it is applicable and of course this also applies to other fields, where it is of particular importance — must be carried out in line with the fundamental principles of the European Community which, as far as the agricultural sector is concerned, are laid down in Articles 36 *et seq.* What Mr Arndt had to say on behalf of the Socialist Group was, I think, alright as far as it went, but he left a number of questions unanswered. We can but repeat that everything we have said in the

past with regard to agricultural policy, the budget, own resources and other sectors, relations between compulsory and non-compulsory expenditure and the principles which should govern any changes in these fields is now more valid than ever.

This said, it is nonetheless clear we have managed to avoid the worst, namely paralysis — or, worse still, disintegration — of the Community itself. As a result, the Community can continue to function, for the time being — and I would stress that last point. But we can only really make progress if structural changes are made, and those changes we need most urgently — as you yourself said this morning, Mr Colombo — are in the way in which decisions are reached in the European Community. The very least we can ask for is for the Luxembourg Compromise to be applied in its original form and for the arrangement originally provided for in the Treaty to be reintroduced as quickly as possible. Let us not forget that the Council said as early as 1974 that this must be done as quickly as possible, and now here we are in 1980.

This need for improvements in the decision-making process relates to a large extent to the enlargement of the Community, as the Council itself implies in its statement. The economic difficulties inherent in the whole problem of enlargement are well known. We must counter these difficulties by way of realistic, well-prepared and gradual transitional measures, but the real problem lies in the fact that the Community's decision making procedure is unsuitable when it comes to achieving a consensus, between several parties, especially since there will soon be even more Member States.

The problem therefore lies not so much outside the European Community, or in the quantitative aspects of enlargement, as with ourselves. And those who suggest this is not the case are either troublemakers with other aims in mind or are simply blind to the fact that the problems of enlargement will never be solved unless a joint approach is adopted based on sound preparation, with appropriate transitional provisions and with the rules of the game being clearly spelled out in advance.

A second essential structural development within the European Community concerns working out policies of our own in other sectors, which involves the problem of financial resources. There is, however, very little that is forward-looking in what the Council had to say about the various economic sectors in which it is so necessary for the European Community to give a lead and pursue a policy of its own. As regards the fight against inflation, we are told of the need for a suitable monetary and fiscal policy and of the need for appropriate international cooperation. As regards employment, we are told of the need for short-term and structural measures and for a stronger international trade structure. As regards the monetary situation, we are told of the need for genuine convergence

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between our national economies, and the same applies to the North-South Dialogue. If I may say so, Mr Colombo, these are nothing more than vague declarations of intent. I realize that you rightly pointed out at great length what the Council was doing under the Italian Presidency in a variety of sectors. But what we need is a comprehensive, concrete approach to these various aspects and that is conspicuously absent from the Council's statement. Perhaps that is in fact all we can expect from the Council.

That is why we — and in particular you — must give a great deal of attention to the composition of the new Commission, beginning with the selection of a new President, and to restoring the Commission's role as initiator, originator and, to some extent, executor of Community policy in conjunction with the Council and the European Parliament. If the future Commission is given a fair chance, if the Council continues to discharge its duties in a dynamic fashion and if the European Parliament can continue to play its full political role — which you invited us to do with evident enthusiasm in your statement this morning — Europe can indeed assert its identity and play its part in world affairs.

President. — I call Mr Møller.

Mr Møller. — (DK) Mr President, Mr President of the Council, the last time I spoke in this Assembly last month, I was very much afraid that this Parliament had got into an extremely difficult situation with the matter in hand. I should therefore like to take this opportunity of congratulating the President-in-Office of the Council, as I do not think this compromise would ever have been reached without his diplomatic gifts, his flexibility and his sense of vision as regards Europe.

I fully realize that criticisms are still being made, but the President-in-Office of the Council has been in politics for long enough to realize that it is impossible to achieve results which cannot also come in for criticism. For every problem solved, new ones are created, and the compromise which has been reached thanks to the efforts of the President of the Council clearly forms no exception to this principle. Our fear of a split between eight Member States and the United Kingdom now appears to be a thing of the past and this is such a major step forward, in my eyes, that I can only welcome it and not be filled with new worries that this compromise might entail new risks, as it is inevitable that it will. Action always involves risks. Thank you, however, Mr President-in-Office of the Council. I should also like to add a few further comments to what I said, since it is now possible for us to solve the problems facing us in a number of areas where the budgetary conflict between the United Kingdom and the rest of the Community would previously have rendered a solution impossible. We have now come to

realize that we can settle our own budgetary conflict. Elements which were unknown to us in May have now been brought into play. The jigsaw puzzle will fit together if we make proper use of our abilities and opportunities. There is no conflict between the Council of Ministers and this Parliament. The budget for 1980 will be adopted before the end of this year and will not simply be a supplementary budget. This budget requires cooperation between the Council of Ministers and the Committee on Budgets of this Parliament. Cooperation of this kind is, I think, currently taking place and I hope that it may lead to a result which we will not need to be ashamed of. I would like to say one thing to this Assembly. It is our duty to produce a budget together with the Council of Ministers. The European ideal has survived without a budget and it will continue to survive without needing a Parliament, since if Parliament does not fulfil its duty to draw up and adopt a budget, we will have to go on drawing on the Member States, as has happened in the past, for the funds needed to keep the Community institutions going. And then people will gradually start asking what is to happen to this Parliament? Its first task was to adopt a budget. It rejected one budget and might do so again. We cannot go on in this way so we must draw on the Member States or the European Investment Bank so that life can continue, for the life of Europe will continue. The Community will go on, I am convinced of this, since it is such a natural and obvious thing to attempt to keep this Community alive.

I therefore hope and pray that the work on the budget here in this Assembly and in conjunction with the Council of Ministers may be a success, so that the budgetary authorities, according to the Treaty of Rome, will meet their responsibilities and provide the necessary appropriations so that work can continue.

I should like, if I may, to make a further comment. It is as if we are misusing the patience of the people we represent. The enthusiasm which was in evidence when we acceded to the Treaty of Rome and when you, Mr President-in-Office of the Council, took the major step of signing the Treaty of Rome, has abated, at least in the country I come from. This can be seen from the fact that the largest Danish group in this Parliament is the People's Movement against the EEC, which wishes to see European cooperation discontinued. Mr Bøgh has spoken on behalf of this group here today. I will not repeat what he said, as I have no wish to demean myself.

However, the time has come when, having solved the budgetary crisis, we must achieve results in order to show the people of Europe that something is in fact getting done. We in this House know that things are being done. I have just had the pleasure of spending three days with a delegation from the Chinese Assembly. Since the President also took part in some of the functions, he will know that it was a remarkable experience: it opened up new horizons for Europe as

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regards cooperation with that major power. It also opened up new horizons for China in the form of cooperation with Europe.

I fully realize that these were only informal contacts and as such are easy to dismiss. They were only an expression of friendship. But what is friendship if not the essential basis for understanding and hence for any cooperation whatsoever. Thus, friendship of this kind between China and Europe is something which I regard with great interest. It will establish a new faith in our Community among the people of Europe. It is perhaps a new faith of this kind, genuine confidence and enthusiasm that we are working towards, not merely doubt, scepticism and halfheartedness. Nor do we know, Mr President of the Council, whether the Treaty of Rome would turn out quite as it did if we had to draw it up today, i. e. whether or not, after all these years, it would be other questions which preoccupied the people of Europe rather than the highly economic and material questions contained in the treaty as it stands. It strikes me that the solution of the problems which we simply mention in passing so as to point out that these problems must also receive some attention, could well be the major issues in the future. I am thinking here, for example, of the environment, pollution and energy.

Pollution, the environment and energy — it is in these three fields that we must concentrate our individual and joint European efforts with a view to achieving results which will really mean something to the people of Europe.

In this way they will be able to see that they are getting something for their money, which is always a nice thing for taxpayers, and on the other hand they will be able to see that without a Community we cannot solve these three major problems of our time in a rational manner. These were not significant factors in 1957 when the Treaty of Rome was drawn up, but they are significant for us today and I should therefore like to make an urgent appeal to the Council of Ministers and the Commission, whose President I should also like to thank for his speech this morning. I should be extremely grateful if these matters, i. e. the environment, pollution and energy were given the highest priority so that we can show the people of Europe that we have some new things in mind and are not only concerned with agricultural arrangements and a free trade zone in Europe, however important these things may be. However much importance I attach to these matters, and however important they are for my country, I should nevertheless like to say that the three fields I mentioned before should perhaps be singled out as some of the most important matters we have to deal with. It would be very serious at this time if we had to go back to square one, which fortunately will not be necessary, not least thanks to the work of the President of the Council in recent months. I regret that the President of the Council had such a short period of office, but this is due more to basic weak-

nesses in the Italian democratic system than to this assembly.

President. — I call Mr Haagerup.

Mr Haagerup. — (DK) Mr President, the President of the Council, our highly respected ex-colleague, the Italian Foreign Minister Mr Colombo, rightly drew our attention to the fact that political cooperation between the Nine had not been affected by the serious internal crises which have shaken our Community over the last six months and it is also remarkable that political cooperation has been able to develop regardless or in spite of the difficulties encountered in the cooperation under the Treaties.

This means of course that this political cooperation has acquired an independent significance, not simply as regards strengthening the role of Europe in world politics but also as a cohesive factor within the Community. My Group hopes to see a further development of this political cooperation in the future in such a way as to provide an increasingly firm basis for European initiatives and joint European action, not only so that Europe can demonstrate that it is capable of agreeing on something, but with a view to strengthening the position of Europe and of the West as a whole in the current serious international situation involving the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the threatened Soviet military build up, the hostages in Iran and the serious situation in the Middle East. The Middle East statement from the Venice meeting was fairly balanced on the whole, particularly if one takes just as much notice of what the statement contains as what it does not. In the situation in question, it was a sensible move on the part of Europe to refrain from taking a more dramatic initiative as this could have been a risky business which might have been destructive rather than constructive as regards the establishment of a peaceful and stable situation in the Middle East. Now a European initiative has been announced after sounding out all the various parties involved, and it is perhaps surprising in view of this that the European Council found reason to single out the role of the PLO since the most recent statements by this organization have not been such as to strengthen our hopes that it will play a constructive role in the negotiations, one of the aims of which is to guarantee the right to peaceful existence of all the countries in the Middle East, including Israel. However, my colleague, Mr Yves Galland, will go into this matter further on behalf of my Group.

There should be no doubt that, as explained by the Chairman of our group, Mr Bangemann, we clearly recognize the right of the Palestinians to self-determination. This point is also mentioned in the Camp David Agreement and, in our view, Europe should perhaps have taken a more generous view of the significance of this agreement and the continuation of

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the Camp David procedure than is apparent from the Venice statement. The role of Europe must not and cannot run counter to that of the United States, but this does not mean that Europe cannot act independently even if we have yet to discover what form our actions should take. I should like to say in this connection on behalf of my group that we deplore and indeed condemn Israel's occupation of West Bank because on the one hand it places a serious burden on Israel's friends and will be a source of continued unrest and tension in the Middle East itself. A settlement of the question of the occupied areas on West Bank is vital and Israel must make a major contribution towards a settlement of this kind or otherwise we will get nowhere.

Finally, I should like to say that we will devote the utmost attention to the development of this European initiative which has been announced, since the Venice statement cannot be described as a model of clarity in all respects. There is a risk of falling back on vague expressions such as 'an overall solution' and 'binding international guarantees' and 'a just solution' etc. Part of Europe's efforts to define its role in the Middle East will involve deciding what exactly is meant by expressions such as these before a European initiative is launched.

President. — I call Mr. Flanagan.

Mr Flanagan. — Mr President, after the unseemly wrangling of the past twelve months, it is good to know that, despite certain distasteful aspects, there did emerge out of the Brussels compromise, as it is called, some compensation for farmers' ever rising costs and that this compromise included the West of Ireland package, which had been so unfairly held up for so long. I say unfairly because the people concerned are some of the poorest in the Community. I congratulate Mr Ray MacSharry, no stranger here, on his achievement to that end.

There is still no money available for crossborder projects, though there is talk about it. The counties on the other side of the border from those I represent have an unemployment situation that is about the worst in the Community. It is vitally necessary that such cross-border projects be put into operation if the ideals of the Community are ever to be translated into reality. Unemployment is one of the most serious problems confronting us at present and is likely to reach six and a half million in the Community this very year. I am not satisfied that sufficient effort has been made, especially at Commission level, to devise effective policies and measures to combat this worsening situation. We still have no effective regional policy, something equally necessary if the people in my area and indeed in many other areas, not only in Ireland, are ever to realize the hopes that they had when the formation of a regional policy was originally

announced. The Social Fund is not being used in the way it should be, and here I would particularly stress the need to create or grant subsidies for the provision of employment for young people and women.

However, let us hope that in the year ahead the situation will change for the better and the misery of the past twelve months will be put behind us. Let us hope that before it leaves office the present Commission will bestir itself to do some of the things I have mentioned and that the incoming Commission will set about its work with greater vigour and indeed in some respects with greater fairness. Let us hope that having now achieved most of their goals in the Brussels compromise, our British friends will begin to work actively for the benefit of the Community as a whole and cease to be so self-interested and concerned with their own affairs. Let us hope that the European Council will begin to produce positive results and not end up always in stalemate. Let us hope finally that after the misery of the past year or so, we shall, with the aid of the new budget, be able to go back to our constituents by this time next year and point to a Parliament that has begun to yield the benefits which, during the election campaign a year ago, we claimed they would derive from its creation.

President. — I call Mr Paisley.

Mr Paisley. — Mr President, I have read the statement issued after the summit in Venice and I have listened to the President-in-Office of the Council's able speech in this House today. I well understand and share the concern of the summit concerning Russian aggression in Afghanistan, and also the situation in the Lebanon and the Middle East, but I sincerely regret that the summit did not concern itself with a vital human rights issue — that of proper extradition within the Member States of this Community.

The present arrangements are practically useless. The most basic of human rights is the right to live, and that right is being denied to the citizens of Northern Ireland at the present time by the Provisional Irish Republican Army. Since last I addressed this House I have followed the coffin to the graveyard of the fiftieth Protestant victim of the IRA in County Fermanagh. The IRA is engaged in genocide in that area. So far 50 prominent Protestant businessmen, farmers and part-time members of the security forces have been brutally murdered by IRA terrorists, operating from the territory of the Irish Republic, into which they escape a few minutes after they have committed their devilry. As there is no extradition treaty to bring them back to be tried for their crimes, they are thus afforded sanctuary. Only one of these murderers was able to be apprehended for his evil deeds.

Surely, Mr President, if the bonds which bind this Community together, and of which we are so often

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reminded, are meaningful at all, the first priority of any summit should be this problem of proper extradition. I should like to ask the President-in-Office of the Council whether this matter has been shelved. All Northern Ireland asks is that the extradition rights granted to the Republic by Northern Ireland should be reciprocated. The Provisional IRA has links with the PLO. Only recently, a Minister of the British Foreign Office, Mr Douglas Hurd, said this was so. The voice of the innocent dead from Northern Ireland, mingled with the cries of the widows and orphans, ought not to go unheeded in this House today.

President. — I call Mr Sutra.

Mr Sutra. — (*F*) Mr President, Mr Colombo spoke not only about the Venice Summit, but, in addition to mentioning the 'Brussels Compromise', he practically gave a full account of the Italian Presidency. In this debate we can therefore remain within the context he has outlined in speaking about the possible future of the Common Agricultural Policy following the recent upheavals. The Socialist Group has said time and again — and I have said so myself on several occasions — that the Common Agricultural Policy is by no means completely satisfactory and in our view needs substantial reform. We fear, however, that the latest decisions can achieve nothing worthwhile in this field and, when all is said and done, are a complete negation of good sense. We feel we are gradually sliding in the direction of a free trade area which would abandon Community principles — in particular Community preference and financial solidarity — to which the European Economic Community owes not only its strength but its very existence.

Europe is a Community, and at its inception refused to be set up as a free trade area. A great deal has been said today concerning the enlargement of the Community to the south to include Greece, Portugal and Spain — an issue raised several times by those who spoke before me. We should note that, as a previous speaker has pointed out, as far as Greece is concerned, the matter has already been decided by the parliaments of the nine present Community countries.

The remarks of the President of the French Republic appear to have shocked many people here, including myself. Although no names were mentioned, I heard it said ten times that this was a vote-catching manoeuvre — and this prompts me to make three comments.

Firstly, I do not think he said anything new. Indeed, to say that enlargement should be postponed until after the French elections of spring 1981, even though enlargement is not expected before 1983, 1984 or 1985, is really talking for the sake of talking, and I feel this lends weight to the argument of certain Members that this was a vote-catching ploy.

Secondly, as far as Mediterranean agriculture in general is concerned — the budget and the Common Agricultural Policy bear this point out — the only thing which the Community appears willing to provide generously is time. We were told that the transitional period would last ten years, to which I have replied on several occasions that time has no merit in itself. It may be used to implement the necessary reforms and policies, but should we waste time waiting, and waiting for what? For milk and honey to flow? Or should we wait for the 'natural' laws of the 'liberal economy' to bring happiness to people? Many farmers no longer believe in them.

My third comment is that we have now reached the brink of a precipice. What is happening at this very moment on the border between France and Spain is extremely serious. Lorries are being stopped and set on fire by farmers, Spanish lorry drivers are blocking the frontier, while the French lorry drivers have declared their solidarity and, according to the latest information which I have received, have blacked the agricultural markets this morning. While there are those who urge that we should 'take our time', others reply that they will still be opposed later. But what is being done now in my country and in the Community?

Mr President, I shall finish where I started. What is now happening in my region is symptomatic of the slippery slope along which the recent upheaval in Europe could lead us. It could lead us towards a free trade area in which the principles on which the Community is based would be abandoned. To abandon Community principles and set up a free trade area, even if we were to take our time about it, would be sure to lead to the kind of disorders we are now witnessing. In our view we need to implement policies, but neither the Commission nor the Council of Ministers, nor — for the moment, anyway — Parliament appears to want to do this.

I cannot, therefore, echo the compliments which have been paid to the Italian Presidency of the Council for its work over the past six months. We feel the recent upheaval to be ominous and fraught with danger and appeal for a re-awakening of the Community spirit.

15. *Welcome*

President. — I have pleasure in welcoming to the official gallery a delegation from the Colombian Congress, led by Mr Echeverri Correa, President of the Senate and President-Designate of the Andean Parliament, and by Mr Avila Bottia, Deputy President of the Latin American Parliament.

(*Applause*)

16. Council and Commission statements on the European Council of 12 and 13 June — Review of the activities of the Italian Presidency (continuation)

President. — I call Mr Penders.

Mr Penders. — (NL) Mr President, every time the Nine announces they are going to make a declaration on the Middle East, one's heart misses a beat, for the situation in that part of the world is extremely explosive, particularly since there are other crises involved, with Iran, Afghanistan, the Lebanon and the energy shortage. Moreover, in both political and military terms the balance of power in the area is precarious. Declarations by the Nine must reinforce this balance, not undermine it. More particularly, European declarations must make a positive contribution to resolving the problems and conflicts.

So what is my assessment of the latest Middle East declaration? In view of the alarming rumours in the press about a possible recognition of the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people, the declaration is relatively encouraging. Any upgrading of the PLO is now unthinkable following the resurgence of terrorism and the AL Fatah declaration of 1 June 1980 which talks about the liquidation of Israel.

This is a European declaration, moderate in tone compared with the rumors and that is all to the good. It is also very significant that the PLO has been disappointed in this case. This, however, reveals a weak point in the declaration, namely that it is of more significance internally than outside Europe. It has proved possible to keep a major Member State in line, and that is all to the good, but the political gain is an internal one. I think the declaration is moderate in that it deviates only slightly from the statement made by Mr O'Kennedy to the United Nations General Assembly on 25 September 1979. Instead of talking about a homeland for the Palestinian people, the phrase now is the right to self-determination, and now it is specifically stated that the PLO, which was already mentioned by name in Mr O'Kennedy's speech, must be associated with negotiations, which is not the same thing as participation. There is clearly a need to associate the PLO with negotiations, for without them no solution is possible.

However, when I talk about representatives of the Palestinian people I am not thinking only of the PLO but also of the Palestinian mayors on the West Bank of the Jordan, and also of Jordan itself. In this connection I think it is of great importance that the Nine have agreed on a resumption at political level of the Europe-Arab dialogue. A further weak point in the declaration is that only very indirect reference is made to the Camp David agreements. In my view, Camp David is still a very good reference point. When I talk to members of the PLO who tell me that Camp David

is dead, my reply is always that Camp David can and must still show that it is a successful formula for peace in the Middle East. On this point I found the declaration by the European People's Party on 10 June much more satisfactory. This EPP declaration reflects a clear recognition of the importance of Camp David. The whole EPP declaration was indeed positive and constructive. Personally, I think that mention of a Palestinian homeland or the right to self-determination would have been better than the passage about the rights of the Palestinians to their own identity and development. But whether Camp David is ever successful also depends on the behaviour of Israel; the attacks on the Palestinian mayors give little hope of an improved climate and Israel's settlement policy is a great hindrance to the autonomy negotiations.

There must, however, be cast-iron guarantees for the security of Israel. We should keep in mind the fact that the prime source of security for Israel continues to be the strength of the Israeli armed forces and American support. All those who take too easy-going a view here will share the blame if Israel ever finds itself forced to build up its own nuclear force. All those who talk so lightly of Israeli security are undermining a non-proliferation policy which the EPP also supports. I continue to hope — and this would be a very important step — that it will be possible to involve Jordan in the Camp David process. I thus fervently hope that the position the Nine have now adopted towards the PLO will not as it were squeeze Jordan out of the Camp David picture.

President. — I call Mr Fergusson.

Mr. Fergusson. — Mr President, we must, I think, see the Venice Summit meeting in the light of 1980 — a year of desperate difficulties and menace — social difficulties within the Community and mounting economic troubles, physical danger and bloody aggression outside.

What the summit meeting has shown is that the Nine are together again in spirit. The insinuating insidious comment by *Pravda* that American pressure had emasculated the Venice talks fills me with hope; if *Pravda* found the meeting so vapid, then it cannot have been entirely without merit. Mr Glinne, I think, found it vapid too, but if Europe is not moving in the direction he finds most desirable, I shall not be kept awake by that either. We all know that the Venice meeting took place in an unexpected, unusual calm. We hope that a watershed has come, not just in internal issues which are urgently to be dealt with; we hope that the Council of Ministers, who have met so often this year in political cooperation — meetings which have underlined their mutual interests — can now proceed to *act* in political cooperation. It can be no lasting comfort to ourselves that this House, where the representatives of

Fergusson

the peoples of the Nine are gathered, was first to call for joint action on Afghanistan, first to express united European condemnation of the arrest and exile of Sakharov, first to react on behalf of the Community as a whole to the violation of the American Embassy in Tehran and the only body to demand an all-Community boycott of the Olympic Games. That we could be first may reflect our ability to perceive more clearly than some the close relation between the Community's interests and the national interests of the Nine and to see that Community and national interests do perhaps run in parallel; but it is also a reflection of the fact that our national governments have been at odds on too many occasions in international affairs. We hope this era is now passing.

The internal obstacle having been so skilfully removed, we can let that catalyst of allied unity, Russia's invasion of Afghanistan, do its work. I therefore proceed to the consideration of South-East Asia and of the Venice meeting's part in that, by way of the Middle East, which has already been discussed so ably by my colleague, because the area has to be seen as a whole.

The central problem of the Middle East, rights and wrongs apart, and outside the Camp David developments, in which we must not lose hope, is simply that each side has ruled out the others's most basic demands. We must have a comprehensive settlement. For us, this cannot involve the extinction of either Israel or the Palestinians. Somehow, at some time, both must be accommodated. The apparently incompatible must be reconciled. Mathematics acknowledges insoluble problems — you cannot square a circle, you cannot find a square root to a minus number — but human problems can be solved, and if they are not, one must enquire unceasingly who stands to gain by not solving them. Who, then, stands to gain from the continuing destabilization of the Middle East? Not the Arab Palestinians, not the State of Israel; you know the answer — and the question applies with equal aptness to the conflagration to the east of them.

But before coming to Afghanistan, we must look at that area of crisis quite significantly excluded from the European Council's statement — Iran. Little has improved there since we last discussed it, either for the wretched Iranians, suffering under the internecine strife of religious and political factions, or for the American hostages. It is no easier for them, or us, to know who is really in control. Yet one could hardly say that Iran is in the very front of everyone's minds any more, and rightly so. Mr President, if, like America, you have the misfortune to get an angry hornet down your shirt, you have two clear options: one short-term and one long-term. You can beat wildly at your chest and hope to kill it before it stings you, or — what is sometimes the wiser course — you can keep dead still and await events. America has tried both. I believe it is still in large part due to the strong moral support from her allies in the Community that she has

been able to return to the policy of quiet patience that the situation now demands.

The fading for the present of the picture brings into sharp relief the still ballooning international atrocity in Afghanistan. The European Council has dealt with it in notable terms — not least, I believe, in its acknowledgment of the rôle played, and to be played, by the Islamic Conference.

But what has happened in Afghanistan since we last discussed it here? The Soviet military build-up has increased without inhibition; well over 100 000 troops are now in the country; the new weaponry brought in is more powerful, vicious and lethal than ever. There is no serious doubt that chemical weapons have been used against freedom-fighting tribesmen, or that whole valleys of Afghan communities have been wiped out in suppressing what the Soviets with breath-taking cynicism choose to call a rebellion. In the face of this and a gathering flood of refugees, the resistance has become fiercer, the division between the invaders and the Afghans, including the former army, is more marked and the savagery of the titular government is blossoming. The Soviets are not winning, so it is certain that they will feel obliged to raise the military stakes enormously and will in due course double and redouble their murderous attacks on the Afghan fighters, regardless of the devastation it will bring to the population at large.

We must ask when this will happen, and I have a simple answer. We shall not see the full hell of Russian militarism in Afghanistan until the last race at the Moscow Olympics has been run. If the Soviet Government, obsessively concerned for the face it presents to the world, can do what it has done to the Afghans before the Olympics begin, what do we suppose, what do the Olympic Committees who still support these games suppose (including the British Committee in its blindness), what do the athletes, including the British ones, who are preparing to take part, suppose? What do all these people suppose the Soviets will not be prepared to do when the Games are over? Then, only then, at last and with thanks the Soviet Government will be able to keep politics out of sport. If international affairs in 1980 are to be divided historically, as I suspect, between the pre- and post-Olympic crises, this June has not been too soon for the Nine at last to unite in the spirit of cooperation we began to see at Venice.

IN THE CAIR: MR JAQUET

Vice-President

President. — I call Mr Galland.

Mr Galland. — (*F*) Mr President, Mr President-in-Office of the Council, on behalf of the Liberal and Democratic Group, I wish to express our opinion on the declaration issued in Venice by the Nine on the Middle East. My statement refers principally to point 7 of the said declaration.

I would start by saying that we approve of certain general policies. Yes, Mr President, it is good that Europe should be present in the concert of nations and should speak with one voice wherever disturbing tensions exist, wherever a permanent germ of war exists — and this is true of the Middle East. However, this voice must not be allowed to reduce the chances of success of the peace moves which are already underway. Furthermore, the courage of the politicians who made Camp David a success and who succeeded in opening the prospects of a peaceful solution with that agreement, should be honoured. In this connection, point 1 of the Venice joint declaration seems very timid to us, as Mr Haagerup was saying a moment ago. Yes, Mr President, all the parties concerned should be associated with any negotiations for a lasting peace in the Middle East. And this includes the Palestinians because history has shown that whenever all the belligerents, all the parties concerned do not take part in any negotiations, no peaceful agreement can be reached. What is more, all the conditions should be met for there to be a chance of success in any negotiation. The Liberal and Democratic Group advocates two main conditions. Firstly, minimum concessions should be granted by the parties concerned so that they can become discussion partners with some hope of success. Secondly, the third parties to the conflict have to be credible and accepted by the belligerents so that they can have the authority necessary to be useful arbitrators. Have these conditions been met, Mr President? Unfortunately not. The Liberal and Democratic Group therefore vehemently disapproves of point 7 of the declaration which states that the PLO should be associated with the negotiations. How can the Nine accept that wish to associate with the peace negotiations which involve an organization like the PLO which in its charter twice calls for the destruction of the State of Israel? How can the Nine feel that the PLO could alter its stand when just a fortnight ago, Yasser Arafat reasserted his organization's unchanged objectives in Articles 19 and 22 of its charter: the continuous destruction of Israel. How can they consider the PLO a responsible organization today when Mr Ibrahim Sous, the PLO representative in Paris and one of the leaders of this organization, was telling millions of listeners over a local radio in Paris on Monday morning that 'Mr Begin is a Nazi'!

Mr President, as far as the Liberal and Democratic Group is concerned, as long as the PLO does not repeal Articles 19 and 22 of its charter, as long as it does not abandon this objective and as long as we are not certain that it has done so, this organization cannot be associated with any peace negotiations and the PLO cannot be considered worthy of taking part

in the negotiations. The two conditions necessary for the success of these negotiations have not yet been met. One of the parties, the PLO, has not given the slightest hint of a concession. Europe has not authority to act as an arbitrator for the other party, Israel, as it has not demanded the minimum concessions of the PLO. It is a great pity, Mr President! I repeat that the Liberal and Democratic Group cannot accept point 7 of the Venice declaration. In any case, you are mistaken because the PLO, far from commending you, has criticized you. Next time you should be more strict: you should demand prior abrogation of Articles 19 and 22 of the PLO charter. In this way you will make this organization more responsible and render Europe more effective and more useful.

President. — Since we are a little behind schedule, I urge all the speakers to make their contributions as brief as possible. We will probably have to start Question Time a little later than planned as it is.

I call Mr Nyborg.

Mr Nyborg. — (*DK*) Mr President, we all unfortunately have very little time at our disposal. I must therefore be extremely concise.

In my view, one of the most important events of the last six months was the adjustment of the United Kingdom's contribution. The Council has expressed its satisfaction at the fact that a solution has been found to the problem of the United Kingdom, so that normal work can continue within the Community. I share this satisfaction, but I am not however, so pleased at the way in which the results were achieved, since the reduction should not, in my view, have been so great and I am appalled at the fact that the governments of the other eight Member States have allowed themselves to be blackmailed. The lady responsible could end up behind bars if she used the same method outside politics. I am afraid that all the Heads of State in the Community have lost credibility with the people of Europe by failing to show greater courage. This is a very serious matter as it sets a precedent. I shall be very interested to see what will happen next, who else will try to have their contribution reduced, or whether the United Kingdom will try the same thing again and use other ways of applying pressure.

President. — I call Mr Coppieters.

Mr Coppieters. — (*NL*) Mr President, Mr President-in-Office looking back on one year of the directly elected Parliament we can hardly say that progress has been made towards political unification. On the contrary, what comes out in the Council's statement is much more how the Community has been patched up than how Community policies have been

Coppieters

developed. This weakness is illustrated by the role that the European Council has been playing. Important problems are no longer solved by the Council of Ministers but by diplomatic meetings 'at the highest level' as they are called, of which the recent meeting in Venice is an example.

My first question therefore is: what has this to do with the three-way balance between our institutions? The difficulties we have been faced with in the Community over the past few months have, we are told, been solved for the time being. My second question is: at what cost and at whose cost? Are we not on the verge of dismantling the fundamental principles on which the Community was built? Let me quote what our colleague Mr de la Malène wrote in the opinion column of *Le Monde* on 13 June:

The Nine, without explicitly admitting it, are in fact abandoning that solidarity of joint policies which constituted the originality and the dynamism of Europe. They are beginning to accept the fatal notion of fair returns, under which each must receive as much as he contributes.

Is not the situation we are faced with the result of refusing to develop Community policies in other fields as well, and are we not also responsible for the lack of a genuine regional policy, which could even make a difference to the budget? Finally, I should like to point out that in the Middle East a solution will only be possible if the Palestinian people's right to self-determination is recognized by all parties concerned not only simultaneously but also on an equal footing with Israel's right to exist in safety.

President. — I call Mr Ripa di Meana.

Mr Ripa di Meana. — (I) Mr President, Mr President of the Council, ladies and gentlemen, the time has come for us to ask ourselves how long this reversal of roles and the sequence of events in our Parliament is going to continue. It is always called upon to provide a gloss, *ex post facto*, on the events and the initiatives of the European Council — after the meeting in Luxembourg it was called upon to discuss what took place in Luxembourg and after the Venice Summit it was called upon to discuss what took place in Venice.

This way of working *ex post facto*, enervates Parliament's internal life and seriously reduces its influence. In an attempt to contribute to amending this negative and exasperating situation, I shall allude to future problems, referring, naturally, to the Venice declarations, to Mr Colombo's speech and to the results of the six months of the Italian Presidency.

Anyone who is working towards the goal of a political Europe must acknowledge that the results achieved in Venice point to one new positive factor: at last, when it comes to problems of crucial importance, Europe is speaking with one voice. Nevertheless, from one point

of view, it seems that the agreement on international problems has been achieved at the expense of those Community problems that remain open, nor is everything absolutely clear, in particular as regards the matter of political cooperation. I shall concentrate the questions I have for Mr Colombo on these uncertain points, hoping to obtain some elucidation from his reply.

As regards the declaration on the Middle East, it seems to me that it does not devote enough attention to Camp David, which is only mentioned in passing a propos the Israeli and Egyptian agreements. We know that it is the only existing negotiated agreement — however fragile and imperfect it may be — and it is a negotiated treaty between Egypt, the biggest Arab country, and Israel. It must be defended so that it can be subsequently completed. What is more, this is also the line adopted by one or two political groupings — the Socialist International, for example. Within the Socialist International, we intend to set up and reinforce political contacts with our Israeli Labour Party colleagues and National Republican Party of President Sadat, which has asked to be admitted to the Socialist International.

We concur with the severe criticisms that have been made of the wild-cat settlements in the West bank and those that have also been made of the attempts to force the situation in Jerusalem. We applaud the fact that the problem of the Palestinian people has been acknowledged, an acknowledgement which goes beyond the old and unacceptable definition of the Palestinians as 'Palestinian refugees'. We consider that the proposal to associate the PLO is a positive step, but on condition that the PLO recognizes Israel's right to exist in security, an indispensable recognition which has not yet been achieved and which, on the contrary, has recently been alarmingly denied. Let me add that it seems to me equally indispensable that the European Council should get the PLO to interrupt immediately any and every form of contact or cover with extremist branches of that organization, such as the one led by Mr Habash, extend to European terrorist-organizations, witness the Italian Ortona case involving a Sam-7 missile, which had originated in that organization, and which they asked to have given back to them after it had been seized, and as has also happened recently in Spain.

Now I come to the questions relating to the Middle Eastern document. I know that Mr Colombo's habitual diplomatic tact and the nature of the role he performs will hedge his answers about with considerable caution and prudence; but everyone has a role to play. In front of this Parliament, in full view of public opinion, I intend to ask: which contacts will be made? Apart from the countries already involved, will the Soviet Union also be involved in these contacts? Does the European Council, once the American, German and French elections are over, intend to submit a new resolution to the United Nations Security Council to

Ripa di Meana

replace Resolution No 242? What does the European Council mean by point No 5 in its Venice declaration where it talks of 'guarantees on the ground'? Does this imply a direct European military commitment?

As regards the Lebanon, the declarations of solidarity with the Lebanese people are of course constructive, but not only these, the same is true of the severe criticisms made of the violations of the Israeli-Lebanese border by the Israeli armed Forces and by other armed forces allied with them; and also the request that the role of the United Nations contingents should be strengthened. Unfortunately no mention was made in the Venice declaration of the most serious problem of the Syrian military occupation and the role of the PLO, which are equally worrying for the Lebanese Government and the Lebanese people.

The Venice document in addition, recognizes that the Afghan resistance has its roots in the Afghan people and says that the European Council is still open — rightly — to the proposals put forward by Lord Carrington. Well now, the logical conclusion that follows from these premises is that in the mean time Europe should tackle the problems of providing aid to the Afghan resistance.

I think that the six months of the Italian Presidency are concluding on a positive note, particularly as regards the agreements with Yugoslavia, the Community crisis, which has been resolved without either victor or vanquished, as Mr Colombo rightly emphasized, and Europe's decision to assert itself.

It seems to me that the balance sheet is broadly positive, thanks also, of course, to Mr Colombo's wisdom, restraint, experience and courtesy. Nevertheless, there remain two disappointments. At the height of the crisis in relations between Europe and the United States, my impression is that in Europe no one knew how to draw the attention of the Americans to the situation in Afghanistan, which was so immediately pregnant with strategic implications, reducing the tragic and emotional problem of the unjust detention of the American hostages to the lesser proportions appropriate to that situation and that crisis. These may seem to be somewhat cold-hearted considerations, but they do not seem to me to be, for all that, less justified.

The second disappointment arises from the lack of an explicit disclaimer of Mr Giscard d'Estaing's unexpected turning against the idea of Spanish and Portuguese membership of the Community. The Italian Presidency chose to settle the issue internally. Since it achieved its aim, we feel only a regret that no one dares to say anything publicly. The main task ahead of us is still that of advancing awareness of Europe in the minds of the mass of the people of Europe.

President. — I call Mr Seligman.

Mr Seligman. — Mr President, in the build-up to the Venice Summit of 23 June, the problem which towers above all others is the economic decay of the West, the cause of which is the continuing oil-price spiral — a rise of 135 % in the last 16 months. The OPEC countries know perfectly well how to run an efficient monopoly. Every time we reduce demand by a few per cent they turn off a few more taps and the prices continue to rise. This cannot go on. If we want to break this oil-price spiral, we have to administer a shock, a shock that will drastically change the supply-and-demand position. We have got to take drastic steps in the industrialized world and in the developing world to show OPEC that we intend to be independent of them, and we must do this by stepping up our oil prospecting, drilling and production. As there is no more time left, I shall now stop, but I will let you know in my next speech how to do it!

(Laughter)

President. — I call Mr Adonnino.

Mr Adonnino. — *(I)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, Mr President of the Council, in the report which Mr Colombo gave us this morning on the Venice Summit, we were reminded of the conclusion of the meeting of the Council of Ministers held on 29 and 30 May, which settled some of the most serious problems that had been raised and which, as the President of the Council of Ministers reminded us, will help us to finalize the 1980 budget. Mr Colombo also reminded us that at this very moment a consultation is taking place between the Parliament and the Council in the hope of arriving at a conclusion.

I think that emphasis should be placed on the fact that we were also reminded that a vital element of the agreement of 29 and 30 May was the commitment to carry out structural alterations which would guarantee a balanced development of the common policies in full respect of the basic principles of the Treaties, the ultimate aim being to further the process of European integration. In reminding us of these conclusions, Mr Colombo pointed out that during the six months of his presidency the Community had gone through a period of very serious crisis, a crisis which — I might even say — all things considered, has nevertheless served a useful purpose if it has helped us to tackle all the growth problems which this Community is experiencing and if it helps — I say 'if', but in fact I hope so — to solve these problems and therefore to contribute to the growth of Europe.

I do not wish to dwell on details, such as whether national interests or the spirit of genuine European cooperation were prevalent in dealing with these problems, because — as often happens — these two criteria probably got mixed up, but I think it is necessary and

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right to say that in the end the spirit of European cooperation did without any doubt prevail.

We could say that this was a crisis of growth, a crisis that arose at a moment when the Community had arrived at maturity. And I think it is right to repeat here that this maturity is not just due to the fact that a problem had arisen over the British contribution to the budget; nor is it due simply to the fact that, once again, we found ourselves faced with the recurrent problem of the annual agricultural price-fixing, which has always been a traumatic experience; it is, on the contrary, also due to the fact — we must admit this — that we now have a new Parliament, elected by universal suffrage, which in December, accepting full responsibility for its actions, considered it right and necessary to reject the budget that had been submitted to it, precisely because it wanted to look in detail at some problems which were coming to the fore at that moment and which, in the Parliament's opinion, needed to be solved if — as we all wish — a constructive contribution was to be made to the further development of Europe.

And I think that we cannot omit to repeat that Parliament, when it threw out the budget in December, gave precise reasons for so doing and we must repeat once again that this morning the President of the Council drew attention precisely to the fact that during these six months of his presidency Parliament's prestige, all things considered, had grown and its opinions had often influenced the decisions taken by the Council. This is an extremely positive fact and I believe that in itself it already emphasizes the constructive nature of the actions taken and the attitudes adopted by the Parliament in December, inasmuch as it has done a great deal to help relations between the Community institutions, which is an undeniable prerequisite for the further growth of the Community.

We must thank Mr Colombo, because we know that this process of maturation has taken place partly for material reasons, because the Community has grown, but also, to a significant extent, because of his own personal enlightened actions, as a former member of this Assembly, in taking particular pains to see that his presidency would be associated with an improvement in relations between the various Community institutions and, in particular, between Parliament and the Council.

Of course, Mr President, I think that we cannot help evincing some disappointment, particularly today as this debate is taking place, at the fact that the new draft budget for 1980 has not yet been submitted to Parliament. We know it is in the last stages of preparation — I have already reminded everyone that a complex process of consultation is taking place between Parliament and the Council — and so I wish to express sincere hopes that we may soon see the 1980 budget submitted to us and duly approved. I also want to remind you that Parliament, since it threw out

the previous draft budget, has on several occasions urged the Commission and the Council to submit the new draft budget and today it is ready to carry out its duty with a despatch and take on its responsibilities, precisely because it takes a positive view of the effects of the stand it took in December. Of course, being ready to act swiftly means that Parliament is fully aware of and ready to use all the instruments which the Treaties and the Regulations give it in order to achieve this end, but equally obviously it does not wish that the authority in budgetary matters which it enjoys, along with the Council, should be humbled; on the contrary, it wants it to be acknowledged and above all it does not want it to be directly, or even indirectly, frustrated. There is no doubt that there are tremendous problems facing us. Let me just remind you of the well known problem of the classification of certain items of expenditure as compulsory or non compulsory, a matter on which the extent of Parliament's power to intervene in this aspect of expenditure directly depends. For this reason, not even an indirect frustration of the powers of Parliament would be tolerated. And why not? Because the Parliament is aware Mr President, of the fact that the budget, particularly since this Community moved on from the system of direct contribution by Member States to the system of own resources, is no longer a mere accounting document recording facts as they are, but is rather an accounting document at the moment when it is discussed and then when it is approved, to the creation of Community policies and to the consequent control of those policies by this Parliament. In other words, this is a most important document, the supreme document in which the powers of this Parliament are enshrined and on which Parliament intends to collaborate along with the Council itself.

The problems we have before us are very many, Mr President, I naturally do not intend to go into all the details here, because we shall come to them when we deal with the budget; but I want to remind you that there are some problems, such as one which I shall not call the problem of cutting agricultural expenditure down to size, but rather the problem of achieving a just balance between the structural and the guarantee sides of agricultural expenditure problems — such as how Parliament should use the room it has for manoeuvre on non-compulsory expenditure in order to launch new policies, how to include the development fund and Community loans in the budget and how to make the budget more self-explanatory. Right now I want to confine myself to expressing the hope that today, even as I am speaking, the consultation at present under way will arrive at its conclusion without any difficulties, so that this Parliament, taking on its full responsibilities, may shortly approve the 1980 budget without delay, and, in so doing, once again make a notable, serious, constructive and considered contribution to the development of Europe.

President. — I call Lord Bethell on a point of order.

Lord Bethell. — Mr President, as you can see, the time is 5.35 p.m. I wonder if you could give us an indication of how long you expect the proceedings to continue and of when Question Time is likely to begin?

President. — I have already mentioned the fact that we are behind schedule. This debate must be finished this evening.

After that, in half an hour or so, we shall come to Question Time and we could then conclude at 7.30 p.m.

I call Mr Antoniozzi.

Mr Antoniozzi. — (*I*) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the general debate that is taking place today constitutes without any doubt one of the most important events in the life of this Assembly. Mr Colombo, to whom we owe a debt of gratitude for the constructive work which he has done with dedication and enthusiasm, has reported to us on the achievements of the Italian Presidency during the six month period which is now coming to an end. I do not believe, however, that this is the moment for me to dwell on individual aspects of the problems which have been tackled in the European Community. Of course, we are at liberty to talk about such things as sheep-meat and fisheries, but then we should run the risk of getting bogged down in details.

Mr Colombo has given us a very full report, dealing with every aspect of the work carried out on which, moreover, Parliament itself has also had its say. But politicians should concentrate their attention first and foremost on matters of major political importance. The meeting of the Council of Ministers on 30 May provided an opportunity to solve the complex problems that had accumulated during recent weeks, and the constructive aspect of the outcome of this meeting is to be found, in my opinion, above all else in the political will on the part of the Nine to find a solution to the difficult situation which faced them.

We know that Europe was worried about the direction matters might take if no special effort were made to reach an agreement. I agree with the President of the Council in thinking that the situation evinces political will, much more than the ability to find new means suitable for the purpose of correcting the distortions in the system. The attention of political circles, both here and abroad, has been concentrated on the meeting of the European Council in Venice because it is the most recent and most publicized event. Here too the important thing was the very fact that the Nine made a political commitment — and it was the first time they had gone so far — on matters of international cooperation. This remains true, even though we have, of course, noted the various comments, criticisms and remarks which have been made in political circles, in the press

and elsewhere, about this important event and the press communiqués on the conclusions of the Summit especially those on the Middle East and Afghanistan.

In the case of the Middle East, there has been some concern at the role of the PLO, which appeared to be assuming the mantle of sole, dominant, representative of the Palestinians. It also looks as if due account was not taken in the same declaration of the mediating role of the United States, a constant and influential role, which cannot be suspected of being affected by opportunism.

It is my relief that the United Nations Resolution No 242, for which the European countries voted, has not been borne sufficiently in mind and has not been sufficiently safeguarded. In point 9 of the declaration, the accusation of illegality levelled against Israel could have been avoided, because if we are going to talk about illegality, we should not forget that other parties to the dispute, who are happy bed-fellows of terrorism, are themselves largely responsible for illegal acts. Some newspapers have also pointed out that the contacts promised at the end of the Venice declaration could have been made earlier, otherwise it is hard to see the point of finding out what the parties concerned think after so many judgements have already been made.

I believe, however, that this declaration is a constructive one because of its importance for the Arab countries, with which Europe must intensify its own dialogue. The fact that European international cooperation has set off in a new direction is something to be applauded and in my opinion this is the great merit of the Venice meeting. Let us hope that the European Council was motivated by real conviction and not by considerations of the proximity of certain elections, as some people suspect. But anyway, the fact that all — I repeat, all — the leaders of the Nine agreed on tackling such problems, even if they could not solve them, is a source of encouragement. Consequently, ladies and gentlemen, we must immediately give some thought to the requisite institutional initiatives and rethink the fundamental mechanisms of the Community. If we really want to do so, we can rectify some of the mistakes.

The European Parliament is glad that the political impetus already given by the present institutions has produced some important results. The question of the budget and the question of international political cooperation are definitely new factors which permit us to report back to the people who elected us in positive terms. This is the finest item of news, Mr President, Mr Colombo, Mr Jenkins, which could emerge from this Chamber on the first anniversary of the election of the European Parliament by direct universal suffrage. I believe that the strength to progress called for by Mrs Weiss in her opening speech, a year ago and by Mrs Veil in her inauguration speech, is beginning to

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develop. We ourselves, the 410 members of this institution, have understood even better that we are not alone, but that we are strong in the tradition and the culture of Europe; that we are strong because of the very expectation expressed in different ways by the entire world, that we should take on our role and our function as Europeans, a function which was very well defined this morning as deriving from the logic of history.

Once again, I wish to thank Mr Colombo for the sterling work done by the Italian Presidency.

President. — I call Mr Marshall.

Mr Marshall. — Mr President, I should like to make a number of points about the Venice statement on the Middle East. The statement quite rightly reaffirmed Israel's right to existence and security and then said that the PLO should be associated with negotiations for peace in the Middle East. This was seeking to reconcile the irreconcilable, because only two and a half weeks ago Al Fatah reaffirmed its objective of seeking to liquidate Israel, and this is at variance with the statement issued in Venice.

Much discussion before Venice centred on whether or not the PLO would be recognized. What the discussion should have centred upon was whether the PLO would recognize Israel, because until it does there can be no hope of it being associated with peace in the Middle East. That would be as sensible as making a pyromaniac a member of the fire brigade. Let us remember what the philosophy of the PLO is. It is to glory in genocide, it is to leave a trail of innocent blood across the world and it is to encourage terrorism in the Middle East and elsewhere. Only if the PLO can be sincerely associated with peace will its signature to any peace agreement not be a sham; that would involve a complete alteration in its philosophy and would be the greatest miracle in the Middle East since the conversion of St Paul on the road to Damascus.

The statement refers very fully to the concessions that Israel should make, I wish it had also referred to the concessions that the PLO should make and had spelt those out word by word. The statement stresses the need for Israel to have secure, recognized and guaranteed borders, but then asks her to go back to the pre-1967 frontiers. What we have to accept is that Israel should disgorge most of the gains of war but that the pre-1967 frontiers were a sniper's charter and Israel can never be expected to go back to those. I accept that the settlements Israel has made in the West Bank are provocative and I wish she would give them up and change that policy, but I do not believe that Israel can be expected, as the statement suggests, to accept UN guarantees, because we have to remember that it was the withdrawal of the United Nations in 1967 which led to war in the Middle East. So far as Jerusalem is

concerned, the statement asks for free access to the holy places and ignores the fact that there already is free access to the holy places in Jerusalem. One final point I would make about that city is that 70 % of Jerusalem's population is in fact Jewish.

There will never be peace in the Middle East, Mr President, until there is trust between Arab and Jew. I do not believe that that trust is going to come until the PLO drastically alters its philosophy. I fear that this statement will end up being one of the unfortunate and unsuccessful initiatives for peace in the Middle East, but I welcome the fact that the Community is seeking to have a coordinated foreign policy.

President. — I call Mr Maher.

Mr Maher. — Mr President, I will make one point and address my words directly to the President of the Council. When we are proposing to change direction in relation to the policies of the Community, if we are to change the CAP and apply resources to the Regional Fund and other funds, for God's sake let us first of all do the research and be sure, before we make these changes, that we know where we are going. I have a feeling that in the past a lot of changes have been made for short-term benefits when we could not see the consequences in the long term. Let us do the research. Let us be sure, if we transfer resources out of agriculture into the Regional Fund, that we do not in fact harm those very interests that we want to help through strengthening the regional policy of the European Community.

President. — I call Mrs Macciocchi.

Mrs Macciocchi. — (*F*) Mr President, may I say to Mr Colombo that I agree with him that there has never before been such need of Europe.

I had the opportunity to take part in the talks held with the Chinese delegation and I realized that we could have a new world balance, a new pole of reference providing a counterweight to the two present-day superpowers. During these two days we came to realize that beyond our frontiers there are other vast areas which can help us change our ideas about world balance.

I also wish to tell you that although it contained some weaknesses, I approved of your statement, and consider some of its aspects very interesting. Europe's credibility did indeed gain some ground in Venice. However, a special relationship emerged, Mr President-in-Office of the Council, between Germany and France. In the last pictures from Venice Chancellor Schmidt and Mr Giscard d'Estaing did not even appear on the official end-of-Council photograph. This

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troubled me because it suggests the resurgence of the old temptations of a threefold or twofold *entente* similar to those which once led Europe to disaster. We notice with great concern that a campaign is being carried out, chiefly in Italy, against this independent Europe, this Europe linked up with the vast Third World that is today led by China. Yesterday, the 'Carriere della Sera' violently attacked the Venice meeting. In Italy, the friends of the Soviet Union and America have launched a hostile campaign against this meeting. You are the Minister of Foreign Affairs and I ask you about this, so that we European MPs have the opportunity in our country to speak about such delicate matters. May I also ask you to take up in earnest the matter of culture which you mentioned today while talking about the meeting of the Ministers of National Education.

President. — I call Mr Prag.

Mr Prag. — Mr President, first let me say that the budgetary agreement reached by the Council of Ministers on 31 May has lanced a boil that has been troubling the United Kingdom ever since we joined. It was never to be expected that one single country should bear two-thirds of the net cost of the operation of the Community. Even more, we have the promise of a permanent solution in the form of a radically revised financing system from 1982 onwards and I can only add my congratulations to the President-in-Office of the Council for his role in such a remarkable achievement.

I am surprised, though, at those who doubt Britain's will to remain in the Community. Some talk of Britain wanting to turn the Community into a free trade area. That would mean getting rid of the common customs tariff, and that has never even been remotely considered by any British government. Others say that we want to destroy the common agricultural policy. Let me quote our Foreign Secretary. Just a month ago, in a speech he made in Paris which was not taken up by any of the media, he said:

The common agricultural policy in particular is a major part of the foundations of the Community and it will have a continuing and vital role to play in the Community. The objectives and principles of the common agricultural policy as set out in the Treaty continue to have the full support of the British Government.

What we can say is that, now that this boil has been lanced and its poison extracted, we can go ahead and build a strong and united European Community based not only on a customs union and a common agricultural policy but on the things that really matter, such as the security of Europe, the restructuring of industry, a common energy policy, a regional policy and so on.

Now a word of criticism. I am very doubtful about Europe's venture into the Middle East. It may well turn out to have been a very serious miscalculation. By saying that the Palestine Liberation Organization should be associated with negotiations for self-determination and a comprehensive peace settlement, the Nine, in my view, have almost certainly excluded themselves from any role as a mediator. I fear that they have seriously underestimated Israel's justified mistrust of international guarantees. After all, they have had a very bad experience of them with Sharm el Sheikh and navigation in the Red Sea. They have also underestimated Israel's determination. I would just say in conclusion that no Israeli government, whatever its political complexion, could contemplate taking any steps which might lead to the setting up of a hostile, PLO-dominated Russian-armed state in the middle of its territory. No Israeli government could contemplate it because the inevitable consequence sooner or later would be the destruction of the Jewish state. So I fear that the Nine may paradoxically have destroyed any prospects they might have had of mediating effectively in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

President. — I call Mr Balfe.

Mr Balfe. — I want to speak about two matters, firstly, own resources, and secondly, some points regarding the UK settlement. I think that in the debate on own resources we are liable to lose sight of certain things. One of those things is the purpose, as we in this group see it, of having own resources and, indeed, of having a Community at all. For this Community to be successful, the money that it distributes has got to be distributed in our view from the rich to the poor. The basic tenet of Socialism is that you use the public purse to help the poorer people at the expense of the richer people. All in all, this has not happened within the EEC. Some of the greatest beneficiaries of the EEC indeed are, paradoxically, some of the richest people within the Community. In other words, what I am saying is that the balance of expenditure within the Community is wrong in that there is no redistribution. The idea that public expenditure is always a good thing is a myth, because to raise taxes in order to transfer money from the poor to the rich is regressive and, therefore, not a good thing. So what we are saying is that when there is reform, and there must be reform, it must take the shape of a system under which the poorer citizens benefit from money raised from the richer citizens of the Community.

Now, it has been said in certain quarters that one should not look to reform the common agricultural policy at the same time as one looks at own resources. This is a view which many of us cannot accept, because it implies that only the onset of a severe financial crisis will provide the necessary impetus to reform our agricultural policies. There have been many promises in the past to shift the balance of Community

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expenditure away from agriculture in the direction of greater social expenditure. The promised reforms have not come about. On the contrary, agricultural expenditure has risen even further. Expenditure on the milk sector, for instance, has now reached a scandalously high level. I acknowledge that Commissioner Gundlach has tried to do something about this and maybe a start has been made. Nonetheless the end of own resources must also be the end of waste within agriculture.

The second area which I want to say something about is the position now that the dispute over the UK contribution has been brought to an end, and in this connection I want to look particularly at what are known as the 'special measures', the special instrument that the Community is going to bring forward for schemes within the United Kingdom

It is proposed by the Council that this be classified as compulsory expenditure. That is not acceptable. If the expenditure is to come from here and is to be for Community programmes, we must see some benefit within the United Kingdom in the form of increased social expenditure. If the money is sent to Britain in order to cut taxes for the rich, or to cut the public sector borrowing requirements, that will hardly count. It is fundamental that the ordinary working people of Britain should benefit and should be seen to benefit. It is fundamental that this money should be diverted into social expenditure and expenditure which is fully within the meaning of the social programme of the Community — and I have never heard anyone suggest that the idea of the social programme is to enable governments to side-step their responsibility for social expenditure. We are not willing to give Mrs Thatcher a blank cheque, and we are not willing to establish a precedent of the Council removing power over expenditure from this House, if it is removed in this way. Therefore, in conclusion, I hope that, when Parliament comes to consider this instrument, it will make sure that it is classified as non-compulsory expenditure and is used for genuine social programmes within the United Kingdom and not just to reduce taxes for the rich.

President. — I call Mr Tindemans.

Mr Tindemans. — (NL) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I in my turn should like to congratulate Italy on what has been achieved under the Italian Presidency. Following the meeting of the European Council and the meetings in Luxembourg it is now clear that, as the President of the Commission said this morning, the Council of Ministers can achieve results if there is the will to do so. The Council of Foreign Ministers has cooperated very well with the Finance and Agriculture Ministers, and solutions have thus been found to apparently insoluble problems. I would

therefore call for the Council to be allowed to play its role to the full in future.

This wish, however, involves the question of the European Council's vocation. Here, I think, we must go back to December 1974, when it was decided to establish the European Council. The European Council cannot be a Court of Appeal to solve all the difficult questions which it has been impossible to solve in the Council of Ministers. That means that the European Council has to guide, stimulate and lay down priorities. It struck me that the communiqué issued in Venice talks about European unification but that the expression 'European Union', which has been in use since 1969 or 1972, does not occur in the text. I should like to know whether this was deliberate or whether it was simply a question of drafting. Indeed, it would be interesting to make a collection of the communiqués issued since the European Council started, perhaps adding a commentary. For if I look now at what was said in 1974 I am still astonished at how daring that communiqué was. I shall just read out three points from the text of the December 1974 communiqué which I have here in front of me:

6. In order to improve the functioning of the Council of the Community, they consider that it is necessary to renounce the practice which consists of making agreement on all questions conditional on the unanimous consent of the Member States, whatever their respective positions may be regarding the conclusions reached in Luxembourg on 28 January 1966.
7. Greater latitude will be given to the Permanent Representatives, so that only the most important political problems need be discussed in the Council.
8. Moreover, they agree on the advantage of making use of the provisions of the Treaty of Rome whereby the powers of implementation and management arising out of Community rules may be conferred on the Commission.

I often have the impression that these important paragraphs from the communiqué following the December 1974 meeting and other summit conferences have since been forgotten.

We regret the fact that the Venice communiqué makes no mention of the report of the Three Wise Men. Frequent attempts have been made to improve the organization of the Community and we have had numerous reports. I hardly dare list them. The Vedel report, the Marjolin report, the Werner report, the Spierenburg report, the Tindemans report and now the report of the Three Wise Men — and that is only some of them. Are we perhaps in the process of building up a library of forgotten reports? If I was of the mandarin class, I would propose writing a book entitled 'Remembrance of Past Reports' or perhaps publishing a dictionary of wasted European ideas.

There is nothing in the Venice communiqué about the European Parliament. I was extremely pleased to hear Mr Colombo say that account is taken in the Council of Ministers of the resolutions passed by this Parlia-

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ment. I would argue, however, that there should be an improvement in the relationship between Council and Parliament. There is a great deal of room for improvement here. I nonetheless find it amazing that the Heads of Government did not say a word in their communiqué about the existence of this directly elected European Parliament. I am sorry about this, because the 1974 communiqué said:

The competence of the European Assembly will be extended, in particular by granting it certain powers in the Communities legislative process.

This too was the result of a summit conference. I am glad to see that at present, however strange this may sound, political cooperation in the Community is in fact functioning very well. The results that have been achieved in this field recently are encouraging. My colleagues have talked about a number of sectors — and very important sectors they are — in which there has been cooperation: the Middle East, the world situation and Afghanistan. May I, however, make the point that Europe must above all go well-prepared to the Western Summit, conscious of the fact that the purpose of this meeting is to discuss with the United States the great economic problems of our time. We know how great these problems are, how perilous the economic future is and how worried many people are. Speakers on all sides in this House have also made the point that we must finally develop a fruitful dialogue in this field between Europe and the United States.

I welcome the results achieved with regard to Great Britain and on the Common Agricultural Policy. For agriculture, however, this only applies to 1980, and the problem already arises as to what we are going to do for 1981 and the following years. Parliament must have the courage to tackle the problem quite realistically, having regard to the social aspects. Still, I am worried about the future. For Great Britain a solution has been found for the years 1980 and 81. But for 1982 and the following years we in fact have no solution. In other words, either we seek a solution for the Community or we are heading, although this may not be apparent at the moment, for the deliberate break-up of the European Community, not to mention the end of the European Union. If — and these are phrases that were used in Venice — we are all going to talk about 'fair returns' and 'ceilings' then we no longer have a Community and economic union will never be a reality.

That will then mean the end of the Europe we know today. Once — and these were very fine words — there was talk of developing, completing and enlarging the Community. Now I no longer hear anything about the future of the Community or the European Union or about where the problems lie. I would go so far as to say that the European Community is in danger. It is still in danger following the Venice meeting, because the fact is that we no longer know what we want in Europe. There was no-one here this morn-

ing saying 'We must have the courage to think about the future, about the fundamentals of the Community'. What is Europe for? Is it a customs union, is it a free-trade zone, is it a community, or is it a Union, and what form is this Union to take? These are the big questions to which we must find answers. Mr Colombo, Italy has worked hard during its presidency to save the Community. I hope that your successors will work equally hard to save the Community and make the European Union possible.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mr Colombo, whom I would ask to try to be brief.

Mr Colombo, President-in-Office of the Council. — Mr President, I should like to thank all those who spoke in this debate, including the chairmen and spokesmen for the various groups, who expressed the respective official views.

I should like to make one or two comments immediately. In my speech I stressed the positive fact that we had managed to overcome the most obvious aspect of the Community crisis, which had focused on the question of the British contribution to the Community budget. We must not forget that, in a recent part-session, it was plain to us and many other speakers that the lack of a solution to this problem had blocked every activity: it had blocked progress on the agricultural problem and the problem of agricultural prices, it had blocked the 1980 Budget and was also blocking the drafting of the 1981 Budget. All of this was hampering the functioning of the Community institutions. It is therefore without any doubt an important achievement that agreement has been reached on the British contribution.

Here I must give thanks to the members of the Council, who acted in a spirit of compromise, and I must reiterate my thanks to the Commission for the work it did to help us reach this agreement. There are some who regret this 'compromise'. It has also been said that, ultimately, this compromise is an act of mediation but not an act of inspiration. When there are differences of opinion and when these differences of opinion prevent the institutions from functioning, I don't see how agreement can be reached other than through a compromise. A compromise was the only way we could proceed at this moment, taking due account of how long the political groups and the various people involved had had to reflect on this question. So it seems to me that all this constitutes a positive factor.

I should also like to reply to all those speakers who have pointed out that solving this problem does not mean that we have solved the substance of the Community crisis. I agree with that view — and I

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think I said so, not on my own behalf, but on behalf of the entire Council. For this reason one of the main elements, if not the central point, of the agreement, over and above the redistribution of the financial burden as laid down in the document, is that the Commission is instructed to investigate how we may prevent the recurrence of particularly awkward problems, such as the ones that have been a feature of the Community so far, and I am thinking in particular of the question of the British contribution. How can we tackle the root causes of these problems? It is true that, in the case of the United Kingdom, there is a specific problem connected with how that country should be integrated into the Community, with the characteristics of its economy, with the relationship between its trade policy and the place of agricultural policy within the British economy. But it is also true that, over and above all of this, there are problems which concern the Community as a whole and which we have especially attempted to identify in the varying importance that the different policies have within the Community.

This means not just trying to redesign these different policies so as to balance the advantages to each country more equally, but also singling out policies which contribute substantially to convergence and to a genuine integration of Community policies. This is why I alluded to energy policy, as well as to regional and other policies.

I do not consider — and I should like to make this clear — that having reached a compromise on one or two financial aspects, we can think we have solved the problem. If we have reached agreement on financial matters, the reason is that we first of all settled one or two substantial elements so that we can then go on to resolve the substance of the Community's problems. This seems to me the heart of the matter. Those who speak of 'fair returns', 'ceilings' and so on, are ultimately barking up the wrong tree. The fact is that this is not the course we intend to follow in our examination of Community policies. Instead, we wish to establish the possible causes of these imbalances. This is what I wanted to emphasize to start with.

On the other hand, as regards the relationship between political cooperation and Community policies, I do not think it can be said that increased political cooperation has overshadowed Community policies at European summit meeting. We must not forget that the Community policies were discussed at the meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers just ten days before we ourselves met. Consequently, some of the questions have been solved.

Mr Tindemans rightly stressed an institutional aspect — one which has again been causing trouble and which I think we may have now resolved. I refer to the fact that all the major questions that come within the remit of the Council have tended as time went by to be referred to the European Council, which took a politi-

cal decision without having the power to decide at the legal level, given that the European Council has no legal power of decision. We have handed this question back to the body responsible for dealing with it.

Now I come to the question of political cooperation. I give my thanks to all these — and they were in the majority — who spoke appreciatively of the work that has been carried out by the Italian Presidency and who welcomed the results that have been achieved. Let me remind you that thanks are due not to the Italian Presidency but to all the institutions that have made a constructive contribution.

In the interests of defining the European identity of which we have so often spoken, and in order to achieve more effective European action in international affairs, I think it is important to emphasize, as this Presidency draws to a close, that we have managed to discover — or perhaps been forced to discover, under the pressure of events — points in common, so that we could adopt stances on the main topics of international politics.

Our position on Afghanistan contained nothing essentially new — I say this for the benefit of those who raised this topic — apart from the emphasis which was placed at the meeting of the European Council on one element that seems increasingly significant and obvious. The fact is that, in the face of the Soviet invasion, the significance, the importance and the political value of the Afghan resistance to this invasion is emerging — a resistance which represents the determination of an entire people to reassert its autonomy and to take up once again its rightful position in the concert of nations.

(Applause)

We have taken note of all this and we wished to stress it. Naturally, this does not mean that we wished to draw conclusions from it, as some people seem to think, or that we wished to presume or invite others to draw conclusions.

As for the Middle East problem, here too I have heard various points of view expressed. However, it seems to me that we are all in agreement on one thing, namely that the declaration on the Middle East represents a new departure, compared with previous statements, and is of some importance in view of the moment at which it was made.

I should like to remind those who have spoken about the Camp David talks that we are all in agreement in not wishing to set up something to vie with Camp David, or to hinder the implementation of the Camp David agreements, in that we all desire this embryonic settlement, which we considered constructive, to lead to the best possible results. Nevertheless, we cannot help but note that on 26 May the famous 'target date' for the negotiations on Palestinian autonomy expired,

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just as we cannot ignore the fact that before this date, in spite of all the optimistic statements which I too was given in the consultations I had with the various sides involved, the talks were broken off as a result of the attitude adopted by Tel Aviv concerning the problem of Jerusalem, which made the situation particularly delicate.

I believe that Parliament, in spite of the many different opinions that have been expressed in this House, has an objective view of the meaning and the scope of these declarations. They are based upon two conditions, both of which must be met if a comprehensive solution is to be found.

These conditions are the right of all the states in the region to exist in security — i.e. Israel as well as the Arab countries — and the principle of justice for all the peoples involved, which implies the acknowledgment of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

I should like next to draw the attention of all those who alluded to the PLO to the fact that the declaration made at the European Council in Venice reiterates that the principles laid down by the United Nations for a Middle Eastern peace settlement are applicable equally to all the parties concerned, thus including the Palestinian people and the Palestinian Liberation Organization. It follows that the renewed declarations of hostility to Israel made by Mr Arafat — statements which have been mentioned here — and the attitudes they reflect, do not constitute a basis for agreement. The situation must develop further if those involved are to reach the point of speaking and negotiating around the same table.

If we are frank, we must admit — as I think everyone in this House has done — that in these conditions it is impossible, given the policy on Jewish settlements and the recent proposals concerning Jerusalem, as well as in view of recent tragic events, to believe that Israel's negotiating position itself is best suited to bridging the gap between the sides.

Everyone has pointed out that reactions to the position adopted by the Nine in Venice have been universally negative. But perhaps this very fact is evidence that the Community is indeed on the right lines. The Community has pointed out that all the interested parties must make some concessions if they are to arrive at the point where negotiations can begin on the comprehensive solution which we all desire.

I should now like to make one or two remarks on our relations with the United States and the question of Western solidarity. I had the opportunity to speak of this important topic in the Political Affairs Committee. This is one of the most important problems we must address ourselves to. I have always believed — and I do not think that I was wrong — that the only way for us to ensure a renewed dialogue on *détente* is by strengthening Western solidarity — and not by frag-

menting the West — and this includes strengthening the solidarity between Europe and the United States of America.

Ladies and gentlemen, this solidarity must not, however, mean that Europe slavishly follows the American position as if it had neither the willpower, the ability, nor the desire to express its own opinions, which is the right not only of all sovereign states, but also of sovereign European states united in a Community and which have decided to promote mutual political cooperation. By the same token, if there are differences of opinion, disputes or differing attitudes, this does not mean that the solidarity of the West is definitively shattered.

We must therefore make a joint effort, while asserting our responsibilities, to arrive at a common attitude worthy of great democratic nations which have no prejudices imposed by particular groups within the Member States, but which arrive at a common position through collaboration between free peoples who are struggling to find out how to tackle the difficult situations facing them.

I can assure you that in all the discussions — public and private — beginning with Vienna and the conversations that took place amongst individual countries and about which we have kept ourselves mutually informed at meetings on political cooperation, we have always borne in mind that the goal we must aim at is a return to a dialogue on *détente*.

As for the institutional question — although I don't want to go into details because it would take too long — perhaps I may just express my personal opinion. Let us not make this a cause of confrontation between institutions. Everyone of us, every political group represented in this House, beginning with my own, should take the trouble to ensure that the attitudes adopted in the European Parliament are the same as those adopted in the national parliaments, and that the attitudes adopted in the national parliaments are the same as those adopted at meetings of the Council of Ministers by the various national governments, and that those adopted within the national governments are the same as those adopted at the European Council.

The fact is that there are differences in emphasis — due perhaps to the need for a spirit of compromise — and this is why I believe that the delicacy of those problems is not always matched by a mature overall political attitude on these topics, such as would help us to act decisively. Let us therefore try to make an effort to see that the report of the Three Wise Men becomes something more than the mere product of the elucubrations of these three eminent persons. Let us see that it becomes the expression of the genuine desires of the political forces at work in Europe, even before the institutions. The European Institutions will remain nothing but legal concepts if they are not brought to

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life by political forces whose task is to communicate a determination and an ability to act. Permit me to say that in this respect we all need to make greater efforts, beginning with my own party.

(Loud applause)

President. — The debate is closed.

17. *Point of order*

President. — I call Lord Bethell on a point of order.

Lord Bethell. — I would like to raise a point of order under Rule 47A. Some three weeks ago I sent to the President a question to the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation about the Soviet invasion of the Baltic States 40 years ago and their continued occupation of those three European nations. A week ago I heard from the President that this question had been ruled inadmissible. Could you please, Mr President, tell me, firstly, under what section of the Guidelines for the conduct of Question Time my question was ruled inadmissible? Secondly, under the Rules of Procedure I am entitled to challenge the President's decision, and I indicated on the telephone that I wished to do so. I have heard that my honourable friend Mr Tyrrell's question is being considered by the enlarged Bureau; can you please tell me, Mr President, whether my challenge is being similarly considered by the enlarged Bureau?

I should also like to ask whether the President is aware of the decision taken by the Political Affairs Committee in October 1978 when it expressed the opinion that the term 'sphere of influence of the Communities' could not be bound by the Treaties themselves, but must go beyond the Treaties and did not have any definite interpretation or limitation.

Finally, Mr President, can you please bear in mind the strong feeling in this House, particularly among members of the Political Affairs Committee, that we should not allow any dilution or limitation of the powers of this House, particularly in regard to political cooperation? If the President is allowed to rule out questions in this area, we are on the way to diluting the powers of this European Parliament and stultifying its political development.

(Applause from certain quarters on the right)

President. — I shall answer you, Lord Bethell, by quoting two passages from the Rules of Procedure. Rule 47A states

Questions shall be submitted in writing to the President, who shall decide whether they are admissible; he shall

determine the order in which they will be taken, and how they will be grouped.

The guidelines for the conduct of Question Time under this rule further state:

Should the President decide that the question is inadmissible, the questioner may challenge the decision, in which case it shall be for the enlarged Bureau to rule on the matter. This ruling shall be notified immediately to the questioner.

It will therefore be for the enlarged Bureau to decide on this matter, which it will do tomorrow.

I call Mr Habsburg.

Mr Habsburg. — *(D)* Mr President, the rejection by the Chair of the question by Mr Tyrrell and Lord Bethell seems to me to run counter to Rule 47A, which you have just quoted. In the first place, the rejection was apparently based on the subject rather than the question, and in the second place the exclusion of the Baltic countries . . .

President. — Mr Habsburg, there is no time for a debate on this matter. The procedure adopted is quite in keeping with the Rules of Procedure which I read out a moment ago.

Mr Habsburg. — *(F)* I just want to say, Mr President, that the position is quite indefensible in my view.

President. — I call Mr Penders.

Mr Penders. — *(NL)* The same question: why are you acting more like a civil servant than a politician?

President. — The enlarged Bureau will decide tomorrow, Mr Penders. They are not civil servants but politicians.

Mr Penders. — *(F)* It's a disgrace!

President. — I call Mr Patterson.

Mr Patterson. — You must answer the question put to you by my colleague, Lord Bethell. He specifically asked you on which of the eight criteria under which the President can rule a question out of order the action was taken. You still have not answered that fundamental point.

President. — It is for the enlarged Bureau to reach a decision tomorrow. You will be informed of that decision. I can say no more.

18. Question Time

President. — The next item is the second part of Question Time (Doc. 1-230/80). We begin with the questions addressed to the Council.

I call Question No 52, by Mrs Chouraqui (H-428/79):

What specific measures are advocated by the Council with a view to fully reactivating the North-South Dialogue? Is it adopting the proposals put forward by the Brandt Commission?

Mr Zamberletti, President-in-Office of the Council. — (I) As you know, the European Council in Venice devoted part of its deliberations to the North-South Dialogue. In answer to this question, I think it would be appropriate to sum up the main points of these deliberations. The central importance of the North-South Dialogue for the stability of international relations was stressed. It is intended to give a new impulse to cooperation with the developing countries which should contribute, on the basis of interdependence and mutual advantage, to economic expansion in the context of a restructuring of international economic relations in such a way as to permit the developing countries to make swift progress. Against this background, the political undertaking to draw up the third international development strategy and agreements on the rules governing the common fund for the stabilization of raw materials prices and the conducting of negotiations on basic products still stands with a view to the overall negotiations. We have confidence in the work of the 11th United Nations General Assembly and regard the report by the Brandt Commission as likely to make a particularly interesting contribution towards a positive outcome. Nevertheless, concern was expressed regarding the effects on development policy of the continuing increases in raw materials prices and the resultant economic and political tensions.

Mrs Chouraqui. — (F) I have no supplementary question to put for the simple reason that, at the conference on the interests of Europe in the North-South dialogue held on 2 and 3 June in Brussels, which I had been appointed to attend — together with nine other Members of Parliament — by the Committee on External Economic Relations and the Committee on Development, I listened at great length and with great interest to the views put forward by the representatives of the United Nations. I should like to thank the Council for explaining the European point of view. These two points of view are, I think, complementary. I feel that they are both on the same general lines and that the European Parliament will therefore be able to work towards the improvement of the North-South Dialogue.

President. — I call Question No 53, by Mrs Ewing (H-47/80):

Is the Council prepared within the framework of European common transport policy to participate actively in the introduction and contribute to the subsidization of road equivalent tariffs (RET) in sea transport to and from off shore islands in peripheral regions, e.g. the Shetland Islands, and to consider these tariffs as not being in breach of the competition policy of the Community, a suggestion made in the report of Mr Corrie (E. P. Doc. 113/79), adopted by the Parliament?

Mr Zamberletti, President-in-Office of the Council. — (I) As the Council has not received a Commission proposal on this subject, it has not been called upon to examine the question raised by the honourable Member.

Mrs Ewing. — I thank the President-in-Office for his answer, but it is a puzzle to me, Mr President, which perhaps you can solve. The old Parliament adopted this principle about a year ago. The Commission were asked what had happened to this decision of Parliament and gave me a very unsatisfactory written answer in March this year. This Parliament, Mr President, has shown concern about remote islands, and I am asking that the Council show concern also; otherwise this Community is going to sit by while islands become uninhabited, cleared of people who want to stay there, for the lack of a government policy. So will the President-in-Office assure me that this Community is not going to ignore such a principle, adopted by this Parliament, which could help to keep people living in remote islands?

Mr Zamberletti. — (I) With her question the honourable Member has brought up a real problem which has been discussed by this Parliament on the basis of a report by Mr Corrie on peripheral maritime regions of the Community. However, the Commission has stated that the problem has not been studied in the context of common transport policy.

I personally very much appreciate the points made by Mrs Ewing, but I would point out that the Council must receive a proposal from the Commission for a policy on this matter, and that in the absence of such a proposal the Council cannot take decisions or discuss this matter.

Mr Hutton. — Is the President-in-Office of the Council not also aware of the considerable hardship that the need for these communications, as well as the cost of transport, can inflict upon islands? Mrs Ewing has mentioned the Shetland Islands. The last time the crew of the St. Clair ferry to the Shetlands went on strike, the Shetlands were unable to supply themselves with the simple necessities of life inside a week! Would, therefore, the President-in-Office of the

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Council not feel that if the Commission will not take the initiative in this matter, the Council should?

Mr Zamberletti. — (I) I realize that as a result of particular difficulties regarding the costs and organization of transport, the islands can be faced with hardship which undoubtedly increases the difficulty of maintaining and developing their economy. However, from the point of view of inter institutional relations, the Council can obviously only consider a transport policy which takes account of all the problems concerning transport in this sector after the Commission has submitted a proposal on this matter. Unfortunately — and I say this because, as I have already pointed out, I personally very much appreciate these problems — under the Treaties the Council cannot take decisions in the absence of a specific proposal from the Commission.

President. — I call Question No 54, by Mr Seal (H-140/80):

Does the Council consider that the Treaty of Rome is compatible with socialist economic planning in Member States?

Mr Zamberletti, President-in-Office for the Council. — (I) Within the framework of the political and economic system for which they have opted, Member States must meet the obligations devolving on them under the Treaties, as stated in Article 5 of the Treaty establishing the EEC and the corresponding Articles in the other Treaties:

Member States shall take all appropriate measures, whether general or particular, to ensure fulfilment of the obligations arising out of this Treaty or resulting from action taken by the institutions of the Community. They shall facilitate the achievement of the Community's tasks.

They shall abstain from any measure which could jeopardize the attainment of the objectives of this Treaty.

The Council would also draw attention to the provisions of Articles 83 ECSC, 222 EEC and 91 EAEC:

This Treaty shall in no way prejudice the rules in Member States governing the system of property ownership.

Mr Seal. — I shall certainly look up the articles which the President-in-Office has quoted.

In view of the disastrous monetarist economic policies being carried out in the United Kingdom by the present Conservative Government, there is no doubt at all in anyone's mind that the Labour Party will form the next government of that country. And this will be much sooner than later, I may say.

(Cries and laughter from the European Democratic Group)

Mr President, many prominent members of the Labour Party and of the British public have been calling for the Labour Party to adopt a policy of complete withdrawal from the EEC. And I may say that this has had a lot of support from the people of the United Kingdom.

We have been sent here, Mr President, to try and make changes not only to the budget or the CAP but also to the Treaty of Rome and to examine the compatibility of this Treaty with our ideas of a planned Socialist economy.

Could you therefore give me your opinion as to whether the Council would think it is possible to make substantial changes to the Treaty of Rome?

Mr Zamberletti. — (I) Obviously I can only answer the final question put by the honourable Member, since the statements he made at the beginning of his remarks concerned his own political forecasts.

However, it is often more difficult to predict political developments than to predict the weather and for this reason I will leave forecasts of this kind to the honourable Member.

(Laughter)

In reply to the final question, I should like to say that, as regards making changes to the Treaties, procedures have been provided for and it is to these procedures to which we must refer when there is talk of modifying the Treaties. I should, however, like to remind the honourable Member in connection with his original question, on which the Council based its answer, regarding the compatibility of socialist economic planning with the Treaty of Rome, that in the short but eventful history of the Community, we have had governments of Member States composed, entirely or in part, of socialists, and that the actions of such governments have never been in conflict with the objectives laid down by the Treaties.

Mr Lomas. — Without going into the hazards of political forecasting, I wonder if the Council could just confirm, with a simple yes or no, whether it would be possible for a future Labour Government to impose controls on the flow of goods in and out of the country, that is to say imports and exports? Would it be able to control the flow of capital in and out of the country and perhaps even direct capital investment? Would this be possible under the terms of the Treaty of Rome? In other words, would a future Labour Government be able to carry out these important aspects of Socialist planning?

Mr Zamberletti. — (I) Each government can pursue its own policy provided that the provisions of the

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Treaty are not infringed. A government may therefore implement a policy which is not incompatible with the Treaties, provided that in so doing it does not infringe the rules laid down by the Treaties.

(Laughter and applause from the European Democratic Group)

Mr Enright. — Is it not the case that in fact the present naked monetarist policies pursued by the United Kingdom Government and the possibility that the money that has been given back to us may be used to pursue those same monetarist policies rather than Community policies would be totally opposed to the Treaty of Rome?

Mr Zamberletti. — *(I)* The interests of the Community must be served according to the procedures laid down by the Council.

Mr Welsh. — Could the President-in-Office of the Council, with the urbanity that he traditionally exhibits on these occasions and his renowned sense of tolerance, further assist the honourable gentlemen opposite who posed these questions, and any here who share their confusion, by perhaps explaining that Europe already has a regional economic grouping dedicated to Socialist economic planning called the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance? Could he further confirm that the principal achievements of this body have so far included an unacceptably low standard of living and social progress in its member states, denial of basic human rights to the majority of its citizens and the necessity for one of its members to maintain substantial armies of occupation on the territory of the others? Would he finally convey to the Council the good wishes of the vast majority of the Members of this House who wish them well in their endeavours to preserve our liberties and keep Socialist economic planning at a safe and acceptable distance?

(Laughter and applause)

Mr Zamberletti. — *(I)* One of the nicest things introduced to the European Parliament since the accession of the United Kingdom is Question Time. This does not, however, mean that the President of the Council is at liberty to go into questions of the United Kingdom's internal policy.

President. — I call Question No 55, by Mr Deleau (H-146/80):

Does the Council consider that Article 119 of the Treaty of Accession gives Greece the legal right to grant third country status to countries associated with the EEC, particularly the Maghreb and Mashreq countries, and

thus to exonerate itself from its obligation to implement EEC undertakings?

Mr Zamberletti, President-in-Office of the Council. — *(I)* Article 118 (1) of the Act on the accession of the Hellenic Republic to the Communities stipulates that as from 1 January 1981, the appointed date for the entry into force of that Act, the Hellenic Republic must apply the provisions of the agreements concluded by the Community with certain non-member countries; those countries include the Maghreb and Mashreq countries referred to by the honourable Member.

The same text also provides that the transitional measures and adjustments shall be the subject of Protocols concluded with the co-contracting non-member countries in question. If those Protocols were not to be concluded by 1 January 1981, it would be for the Community, in accordance with Article 119 of the Act of Accession, to take the necessary measures to deal with that situation.

Mr Deleau. — *(F)* Are you then trying to reach agreement? If, however, you fail to do so, what does the Council mean by 'take the necessary measures', and what measures would be taken to fill this gap in our legislation and to remedy the inevitable distortion between the various Member States?

Mr Zamberletti. — *(I)* The Council instructed the Commission to conduct the negotiations. It strikes me as extremely premature, therefore, and — if I may be permitted to say so — inopportune, particularly as regards the third countries concerned, to go into this question now. For the time being, we must wait for the results of the negotiations which are being conducted by the Commission on behalf of the Council and we hope — and it is our duty to hope — that the outcome will be positive.

Mr Marshall. — In view of the outbreak of snide and niggling questions about Greece's accession to the Community, would the President-in-Office of the Council accept that the vast majority of Members of this House and of the people of Europe welcome the accession of Greece to the Community and regard it as only natural that the home of democracy in Europe should in fact join the European Community?

Mr Zamberletti. — *(I)* The answer is simple. Yes, I agree.

President. — I call Question No 56, by Mr Remilly (H-150/80);

As part of the reactivation of the Association with Turkey, has the Council or the EEC-Turkey Association Council discussed the adjustments which Turkey will

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have to make as a result of Greek entry? If so, why has Turkey not been permitted to negotiate an adjustment protocol, which is disastrous for Turkey since this means that it will open to Greece not to implement the EEC Association Treaty and to treat Turkey as a third country?

Mr Zamberletti, President-in-Office of the Council. — (I) As in the case of the Maghreb and Mashreq countries, under Article 118 (1) of the Act concerning the Accession of Greece to the European Communities, a protocol should also be concluded with Turkey before 1 January 1981. On 11 February 1980 the Council authorized the Commission to open such negotiations with the countries concerned. So far, it has not been possible to start negotiations with Turkey. Turkey had previously informed the Commission — which had contacted Turkey with a view to holding exploratory talks — that it did not consider itself in a position to take part in such talks before the Community had given a satisfactory reply to Turkish concern about the development of its relationship with the Community, bearing in mind Greece's imminent accession.

Turkey reiterated its concern at the last meeting of the EEC-Turkey Association Council, on 5 February 1980, which was devoted to the reactivation of the Association. The Community, for its part, reaffirmed its interest in maintaining and developing its association relations with Turkey.

President. — Since its author is absent, Question No 57 will receive a written reply¹.

I call Question No 58, by Mrs De March (H-156/80), for whom Mr Pranchère is deputizing:

The Commission has noted several times that on numerous occasions the unanimity rule in Council has not been applied. In its general comments on enlargement, for instance, it states 'majority voting in the Council has been extended pragmatically and a political code of conduct has gradually emerged which is now accepted by all Member States'. Does the Council believe the Commission's assessment realistic and, if so, does it not consider that this violates the Luxembourg agreement?

Mr Zamberletti, President-in-Office of the Council. — (I) The Council can assure the honourable Member that all Council decisions are taken in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty.

The Council would point out that the Treaties require that many Council acts must be adopted unanimously. They also provide that in certain cases the Council may act by a majority of its members or that a qualified majority is required. The Council considers that

the provisions of the Treaties which specify such majorities do not mean that the members of the Council may not do everything possible to reconcile their views before the Council decides.

Lastly, I would like to point out that the Council bears in mind the conclusions adopted in Luxembourg on 28 and 29 January 1966, while taking into account the passage of the Paris communiqué of December 1974 to the effect that 'in order to improve the functioning of the Council of the Community, the Heads of Government of the Member States consider that it is necessary to renounce the practice which consists of making agreement on all questions conditional on the unanimous consent of the Member States, whatever their respective positions may be regarding the conclusions reached in Luxembourg on 28 January 1966'.

Mr Pranchère. — (F) Mr President, the reply just given to the question by Mrs De March confirms, in certain respects, the fears which the question reflected since Mrs De March's question related not only to statements by the Commission but also to an organized campaign which is currently under way to the effect that the rule of unanimity in the Council of Ministers should simply be abandoned, particularly in view of the enlargement of the Community to include Greece, Spain and Portugal.

On frequent occasion in this House — and it was Mr Tindemans' turn today, we have heard calls for this unanimity to be abandoned. Mr Lückers' report to the Joint European Parliament-Cortes Committee contains a proposal for the straightforward abandonment of this principle.

Why has the representative of the Council not stated a position on this matter? Does he intend to do so now and deny this interpretation?

Mr Zamberletti. — (I) I should like to make two points. In my reply I stated that the Council takes account of the conclusions adopted in Luxembourg on 28 and 29 January 1966, but nevertheless also bears in mind the subsequent communiqué — issued in Paris in December 1974. Indeed, the solution which has been adopted in practice is a balanced one which clearly takes account of the need for the maximum possible convergence in deliberations.

However, I should also like to draw the honourable Member's attention to something else. Our foremost objective is respect for the Treaties, and it is interesting to note that they contain 48 articles requiring unanimity against 25 requiring a qualified majority. We can say, therefore, that the majority of the articles of the Treaties provide for unanimity and not a qualified majority.

¹ See Annex, p. 182.

Mr Collins. — I am struck by the fact that we have to ask questions in order to elicit such information on how the Council conducts its business. Would not the Council agree with me that we could secure a greater democratic control over the activities at such meetings if, instead of codes of conduct, we simply made arrangements for the Council to be a much more open institution by, for example, admitting representatives of the Parliament to some of their meetings and perhaps ultimately by admitting members of the press on suitable occasions.

(Applause from some quarters)

Mr Zamberletti. — *(I)* This is not a question of a code of conduct for the Council, but of checking the extent to which the Council respects the Treaties in its work. For this reason, what we need is not open Council sessions, but checks by means of the procedures provided for, to ensure that the Council respects the provisions of the Treaties.

Mr Sieglerschmidt. — *(D)* Mr President-in-Office, would you agree that the legal status of the Treaties, in which the rules governing decision-making in the Council are laid down, is completely different from that of the Luxembourg agreement over which they take considerable priority and that the Council has therefore not acted illegally but has simply agreed to return to the letter of the Treaties. Can you assure me, Mr President of the Council, that the Council will in future — in connection, for example, with the accession of Greece, Spain and Portugal — do all in its power to return to the rules laid down by the Treaty as regards decision-making in the Council, since it is in this area that the major difficulty for further development of the institutions, including the Commission and Parliament, lies.

Mr Zamberletti. — *(I)* Only a few moments ago, Mr Colombo said towards the end of his reply to this Parliament — and I think he put it very well — that we will not be able to solve institutional problems by indulging in institutional debates but only if we are able to approach them with a firm political resolve. I think, therefore, that over and above the interpretation of the letter and the spirit of the Treaties and certain additional procedures which have come into use over the years, we must all admit that progress will be made by acquiring a political resolve and a greater and more real general commitment.

President. — At its author's request, Question No 59 has been withdrawn.

I call Question No 60, by Mr Purvis (H-169/80):

Will the Council specify any difficulties which might inhibit a listing of the presence and other status, e. g., Minis-

ter, Junior Minister, Official, present as and when each decision is reached at meetings of the Council of Energy Ministers?¹

Mr Zamberletti, President-in-Office of the Council.
— *(I)* As was pointed out by the Council in its reply to Written Question No 1680/79, the press release issued at the end of each Council meeting includes a list of names and titles of the Heads of Delegation who have represented the Governments of the Member States at the meeting. These press releases are also forwarded for information to the Secretariat of the European Parliament.

Mr Purvis. — Many of us who have been on the Committee on Energy of this Parliament for the last 11 months have had a certain feeling of frustration when trying to press the Council to decisions. Mr Colombo, the President-in-Office of the Council, this morning made us something of a compliment when he said that the pressure from the Parliament and from the Committee on Energy was beginning to have some effect on the Council of Energy Ministers and some form of faster decision-making was beginning to show signs of existence. It was in that spirit that in February I tried to get at what was happening in the Council of Ministers and why these decisions were not being made. I asked quite openly: Could we know? Were all the ministers arriving?

I now have the press release of the most recent one in May. Could the Minister tell me if the two ambassadors who represented their countries — not ministers but ambassadors — and the seven ministers who were there stayed throughout the meeting? Did they take part in all the votes and agreements? And may I, incidentally, add that I gather that in the course of this energy meeting they authorized the entry of 60 000 tonnes of potatoes from Cyprus, jute from Bangladesh and processed fruit. What did they have to do with energy?

Mr Zamberletti. — *(I)* Under Article 146 of the Treaty relating to the Council, it is for each Government to delegate its own representative to the Council. I realize, in this respect, that each Government is responsible for guaranteeing this representation within the Council and that this presupposes a correct interpretation of Article 146. As regards the problem of the Council of Energy Ministers, the Honourable Member has brought up a point which might require me to give, perhaps even in a personal capacity, a lengthy reply on a problem of energy policy. Unfortunately, however, the question related only to the procedural aspect of the composition of the Council of Ministers.

¹ See Written Question No 1680/79.

Mr Moreland. — Does the President-in-Office agree with me that the Council is a political body, that decisions in the Council must be taken by politicians and that the situation where a Minister does not turn up to Council meetings but permanent officials do is totally wrong? Does it not give the impression that certain Ministers on the Council are run by their permanent officials instead of giving the institution a political will?

Mr Zamberletti. — (I) I would remind you that the problem of the presence in person of the Ministers at Council meetings is one which concerns the governments of the Nine and is consequently not a question of collective responsibility but of the individual responsibility of the various governments.

I am fully aware of the reasons why the honourable Member brought up this point, but in practice we must be realistic. The fact that a Minister is not physically present does not mean that he is not exercising his authority. Indeed, when the Minister's representative is acting on his behalf he is basically expressing the wishes of the Minister himself.

Mr Poncelet. — (F) We are, as has been stressed, a political assembly. The Council is, I think a political assembly *par excellence*. It is the task of both of us to take decisions of a political nature. We in this House have frequently expressed the wish for a common energy policy. When did the Council respond to the work of the Committee on Energy and begin to draw up or, more accurately, to talk about a common policy?

Mr Zamberletti. — (I) I invite the honourable Member to present this question, which was not a supplementary but dealt with a different issue, to the Council according to the normal procedure. The Council will then reply.

However, as regards the first point made by the honourable Member, which was a genuine supplementary question regarding the composition of the Council, I would like to remind the honourable Member that he himself used to be a minister and knows how the Council of Ministers of the Community works.

(Laughter)

President. — If they are no objections, we will proceed, in view of the time, to the questions addressed to the Foreign Ministers.

I call Question No 71, by Mr Hutton (H-107/80):

In view of the number of questions which successive Presidents-in-Office have ruled to be outside their compet-

ence, would the President-in-Office say which subject he is competent to comment on?

Mr Zamberletti, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers. — (I) The Presidency is not able to list all the subjects which may be discussed within the context of European political cooperation, as the matters covered by political cooperation cannot be defined in advance. The Luxembourg report of 27 October 1970 states that the governments shall consult on all major questions of foreign policy. The Member States may propose any questions of their choice for political consultation.

The Copenhagen report of 23 July 1973 also states that the governments shall consult on all importance questions of foreign policy and fix the priorities, taking account of the following principles:

- 1) the aim of the consultation shall be to attempt to achieve a common position in specific cases;
- 2) the subjects discussed should concern the interests of Europe, both within our continent and elsewhere, in those fields in which a common position is necessary or desirable.

Over the years the fields dealt with within political cooperation have been extended to include international affairs as a whole. This is demonstrated by the wide range of geographical areas which have gradually been brought to the attention of political cooperation, i.e. Africa, Latin America, Asia, the Middle East, the Eastern Bloc countries, the Mediterranean. The role which political cooperation has played in the major international negotiations is another example: I need only mention the CSCE, the United Nations and the United Nations Disarmament Commission.

The Presidency would also draw the attention of the honourable Member to the letter sent on 10 May 1976 by Mr Thorn, the then President-In-Office of the Nine, to the President of the European Parliament, in which he in fact stressed the practical difficulty involved in giving replies regarding political cooperation resulting, in spite of all the good will on the part of the Presidency and the Member States, from the intrinsic nature of political cooperation. Mr Thorn went on to say that it was not possible to reply to questions referring to matters which had not previously been studied within the context of political cooperation or on which a common position had not yet been reached. Under the Luxembourg and Copenhagen reports, political cooperation is in fact subject to the rule of unanimity between all the Member States. The principles and working of political cooperation do not in general permit answers to be given to questions regarding the national policy of one or more Member States.

Mr Hutton. — I thank the President-in-Office very much for the detail and the length of his answer, but I

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would nevertheless ask him if he recalls the Heads of State or Government, at their conference in Paris on 10 December 1974, agreeing that, in view of the increasing rôle of political cooperation in the construction of Europe, it was important to associate the European Assembly more closely with this work — for example, they said, through replies to questions on the activities of political cooperation addressed to the presidency by Members of Parliament. President O'Kennedy, your predecessor, Sir, standing where you are now sitting on 24 October, said that these commitments had led to the establishment of mechanisms for the regular reporting of developments in European political cooperation in replies to parliamentary questions. Can you, Sir, reconcile these statements and those contained in your answer with the replies which Members sometimes get to what they feel to be perfectly appropriate questions, which appear to them to be brushed aside without a proper attempt to give the answers promised in these statements?

Mr Zamberletti. — (I) It is true that, with the Luxembourg and Copenhagen reports, it was in essence decided to involve public opinion in the Member States and hence the representatives of the public, i.e. the European Parliament, in the developments of political cooperation by means, on the one hand, of quarterly meetings between the President-in-Office and the Political Affairs Committee of this Parliament and, on the other hand — and most important in view of their greater frequency — of the replies given by the Presidency to questions put to the Foreign Ministers during Question Time. I realize that it is the very procedures followed in political cooperation that prevent it from being completely up-to-date. The procedures themselves lead to the delays in relation to the time at which Parliament becomes aware of certain problems and hence puts questions to the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation. This fact might certainly lead to matters getting somewhat out of phase, which sometimes means that it is impossible for the Presidency to answer a question since, as I reminded you before, the President cannot answer in a personal capacity but only when the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation have unanimously adopted a decision. In the absence of an unanimous agreement, I realize that Parliament cannot always receive — as a result of matters being out of phase, as I said before — a reply at the appropriate time.

The second problem concerns the criticism of the quality of the replies given by political cooperation, i.e. it is claimed that the replies given do not satisfy the demands of Parliament or the particular Member in question, not as regards timeliness but in terms of the content. This, however, is another question. It is a question of political opinion. A decision reached within political cooperation may be accepted as being precise, positive and to the point, or it may appear to

be the fruit of excessive attempts to coordinate divergent positions and thus, as is the case of everything which results from compromises, seem ambiguous and only partially satisfactory.

I think that in this way the Council has tried to reply, but I realize that there is room for improvement in this field. I can also point out that Parliament has in fact made a certain amount of progress in its relations with the Council in this field, and I think that political cooperation — perhaps one of the most delicate areas as regards the development of our policy of Community integration, the Community is undoubtedly making more progress than in other areas of common policy.

President. — At its author's request, Question No 72 has been withdrawn.

At its author's request, Question No 73 is postponed until the July part-session.

I call Question No 74 (H-168/80), by Mrs Lizin, for whom Mr Radoux is deputizing:

Is it true that the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation agreed not to attend the May Day celebrations in Moscow? Will they continue to adopt such an attitude towards all public events in the Soviet capital?

Mr Zamberletti, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers. — (I) The attitude to adopt regarding attendance at the May Day celebrations in Moscow has not been discussed by the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation. However, the representatives of the Nine in the Soviet capital are keeping each other informed of developments in this respect by means of their regular consultations.

President. — I call Question No 75, by Mrs Ewing (H-189/80):

In this time of international tension throughout the world, will the Foreign Ministers appeal to the Soviet Government to consider a simple but great humanitarian gesture, which would offer fresh hope to men of goodwill everywhere, namely of releasing the remaining Soviet Jews in custody after due process of Soviet law, whose crimes were committed during the frustrating delays unavoidably associated with the granting of permission to emigrate so that they may rejoin their families, and urge this as an opportunity of a great act of clemency on the part of a great nation?

Mr Zamberletti, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers. — (I) The treatment of Soviet citizens requesting permission to emigrate in order to rejoin their families continues to preoccupy the governments of the Nine, which have repeatedly demonstrated the particular attention they are devoting to problems of

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this kind, particularly in cases involving Jews, which are by far the majority.

The Nine therefore would, as they have not omitted to inform the Soviet Government, take a positive view of any decision taken by the Soviet authorities, in accordance with the Final Act of Helsinki, to make it easier for these citizens to emigrate and rejoin their families.

At the same time, the Nine have spoken out against the obstructionist and delaying tactics used by the Soviet authorities in this field and, in particular, the unjust and arbitrary discrimination applied with regard to numerous persons applying for permission to emigrate.

The Nine doubt whether taking action of the kind proposed by the honourable Member would be in the interests of these persons. The Nine will nevertheless continue in their efforts, above all at the next meeting of the CSCE in Madrid, to encourage the Soviet Union to adopt a more liberal policy as regards persons rejoining their families and, in particular, to reduce the time required for the granting of permission to emigrate.

Mrs Ewing. — I am very grateful to the President-in-Office for that answer. It does seem to answer my question. However, I would just like to ask whether in these negotiations he will take into account the fact that for the Soviet Union the presence and the problem of such prisoners is now really amounting to an international embarrassment. We may therefore have got to the point in time when it might be right to try one more push to get them all released, because the tragedy of men separated from their wives, children and parents, who have got visas while their own visas are refused, causes the kind of frustrations that have led to some of them being imprisoned. It is such a human tragedy. I would welcome the President's answer and hope that the next attempt will succeed.

Mr Zamberletti. — (I) The honourable member has, I think, drawn our attention to what is probably the most likely way of obtaining positive results. I should like to say that the Community has constantly followed development in the situation regarding the emigration of Soviet Jews and has born in mind the point which has now quite rightly been made by the honourable Member, i. e. that the Soviet authorities are not under any pressure from public opinion in their decision-making.

At the CSCE, we attempted to include matters of this kind which concern humanitarian questions, in an overall context, i. e. the problems were, as it were, depersonalized, paradoxical as this may seem in the case of problems concerning persons. We linked these human rights problems to the firm demand for an overall approach in the context of the CSCE and hence in the context of a balance between various baskets, in which the Soviet Union also had interest in

connection with certain matters covered by the Conference. It is much easier to obtain practical results for so many people in this way than by taking a polemical approach which would be ineffective. What is needed, therefore, is a careful and apposite political approach which might lead to the saving of human lives and hence the best possible practical results.

Mr Sieglerschmidt. — (D) Are the Foreign Ministers Meeting in Political Cooperation aware that the situation regarding the emigration of Soviet Jews seriously deteriorated last autumn following a considerable increase in the number of emigrants, and may I assume, Mr President-in-Office, that the Ministers will devote particular attention to this situation in their preparations for the follow-up conference in Madrid and — I go along with the President-in-Office of the Council completely on this point — bring up this question together with other questions of this kind in the manner which appears most suitable at the Madrid conference?

Mr Zamberletti. — (I) I share the honourable Member's views, including what he said regarding the slight deterioration in the situation and should like to say that it is for this very reason that the West, and particularly the Nine, must attach particular importance to all the various aspects of the humanitarian side of the Final Act.

We feel, therefore, that in that context the clear balance between the various points arising from the Helsinki Conference make it possible for us to make use of certain aspects to draw attention to and insist — as the honourable Member has rightly suggested — on the problem of the humanitarian aspect of the Final Act of Helsinki. I think this provides a more ample negotiating framework for the achievement of concrete and positive results.

President. — Question Time is closed¹.

I call Mr Welsh on a point of order.

Mr Welsh. — This is an unusual point of order, but since this is the last Question Time under the Italian presidency, we from these benches offer our sincere thanks to Mr Zamberletti for the great good humour and personal charm with which he has fulfilled his very difficult role and express our appreciation of the way in which he has always done his best to assist the House within the confines of his very limited brief. In that spirit, Mr President, may I offer Mr Zamberletti our best wishes for a relaxing summer holiday?

(Applause from the European Democratic Group)

¹ See Annex, p. 182.

President. — I should like to thank Mr Welsh and join him in expressing, on behalf of us all, our sincere thanks to Mr Zamberletti.

19. Urgent procedure

President. — I have received two motions for resolutions with request for urgent debate pursuant to Rule 14 of the Rules of Procedure:

- motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-258/80), tabled by Mr Lomas and others, on European companies operating in South Africa;
- motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-260/80), tabled by Mr Boyes and others, on an interim programme to combat poverty.

The reasons supporting the requests for urgent debate are contained in the documents themselves.

Parliament will be consulted on the urgency of these motions for resolutions at the beginning of tomorrow's sitting.

20. Agenda for next sitting

President. — The next sitting will take place tomorrow, Thursday, 19 June 1980, from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m., 3 p.m. to 8 p.m. and 9 p.m. to 12 midnight, with the following agenda:

- Decision on the urgency of six motions for resolutions
 - Roudy report on the major accident hazards of certain industrial activities (continuation of debate)
 - Jaquet report on the situation in the Central African Republic
 - Robert Jackson report on provisional twelfths for Parliament's expenditure (with our debate)
 - Jürgens report on the market in oil and fats
 - Caillavert report on the market in products processed from fruit and vegetables
 - Dalsass report on the wine market
 - Joint debate on Buchou, Kirk and Lyngre reports on restructuring of the fishing industry
 - Davern report on aid to hop producers for 1979
 - Joint debate on two Buchou reports on swine fever
 - Ligios report on a premium for the birth of calves and the slaughter of certain adult bovine animals
 - Louwes report on Community tariff quotas of bulls, cows and heifers
- 3 p.m.: voting time

The sitting is closed.

(The sitting was closed at 7.35 p.m.)

ANNEX

Questions which could not be answered during Question Time, with written answers

1. *Questions to the Council**Question No 57, by Mr Lalor (H-154/80)*

Subject: The need to urge the OPEC States to increase their share of international aid in the energy sector to the developing countries

In 1979 the European Community (including individual donations by each of the Member States) granted £ 348 million (503 million EUA) as international aid in the energy sector to the developing countries. In contrast to the EEC's commitment to the developing countries, OPEC's Special Fund provided a mere £ 31 million.

In view of this huge discrepancy does not the Council believe that it should request the OPEC countries to show greater commitment to the less developed countries by greatly increasing their grants?

Answer

As the European Council has recently again confirmed, the Community, like the Honourable Member, takes the view that particular importance should be given to aid efforts for the developing countries — especially those which are not oil-producers — in the energy field, as regards both traditional sources of energy and alternative sources.

All members of the international community who are able to do so, among whom are obviously the OPEC countries but also the other industrialized countries and the State-trading countries, should channel additional resources to this end as should the international financial institutions, most notably the World Bank.

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Question No 61, by Mr Ansquer (H-172/80)

Subject: Working of the Rotterdam market

Does the Council intend taking action to end the price anarchy which is again becoming dangerously apparent on the Rotterdam market and could it propose the establishment of constraints on oil prices?

Answer

The Council, which is aware of the importance of the question put by the Honourable Member, held yet another exchange of views, at its meeting on 13 May 1980, on the problems arising from the working of 'spot' markets and in particular of the Rotterdam market. At the end of this meeting, the Council called upon the Commission to carry out a more detailed investigation into a possible exchange of swift, direct and factual information on oil transactions at excessively high prices.

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Question No 62, by Mr Buchou (H-174/80)

Subject: Financing of agricultural markets

Can the Commission say what the state of progress is in financing interventions on agricultural markets for the year 1980/81 and which products seem to it to be affected by problems of financing as a result of the present budget restrictions?

What measures does it envisage taking to ensure the continuous financing for agricultural produce as a whole?

Answer

The Commission gives a progress report on the financing of interventions on agricultural markets for the 1980/81 marketing year in a document dated 7 May 1980 entitled 'The situation of the EAGGF Guarantee Section in the prolonged absence of the Budget', which has been forwarded to the European Parliament and the Council.

This document shows that, as a result of the rejection of the 1980 draft budget, the Commission has encountered or will shortly be encountering problems affecting the following products; rice, milk and milk products, beef and veal, pigmeat, eggs and poultry, fruit and vegetables and wines and tobacco.

In order to remedy this situation on 11 June 1980 the Council forwarded to the European Parliament, for an Opinion, a draft Decision authorizing additional twelfths for the sectors which I have just listed.

In view of the urgency of the adoption of this Decision for the continued operation of the EAGGF Guarantee Section, the Council would ask the European Parliament to deliver its Opinion by the end of June.

The Commission estimates that the additional twelfths to be authorized under this Decision will enable it to meet requirements in the sectors in question up to the end of September.

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Question No 63, by Mr Adam (H-183/80): postponed

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Question No 64, by Mrs Squarcialupi (H-184/80)

Subject: Directive on misleading and unfair advertising

Considering that advertising has economic power on a vast scale; exercises a political influence on the news media and therefore on the freedom of expression; has an uncontrollable effect on the way of life of modern society; is all too often misleading and unfair for consumers, does the Council not think that it should give speedy approval to the directive on the approximation of the laws, regulations and administrative provisions of the Member States concerning misleading and unfair advertising, as this is particularly important in this period of high inflation when a change in consumer patterns is needed?

Answer

The Council considers that, in general, it is not true to say that advertising is 'all too often misleading and unfair' for consumers.

Several months ago the Council began a detailed study of the amended proposal submitted by the Commission in July 1979. However, in view of the magnitude of the problems, particularly the legal problems raised by the proposal, the honourable Member will understand that the Council is unable at present to state a specific date for the completion of its discussions.

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Question No 65, by Mrs Gaiotti de Biase (H-192/80)

Subject: Consequences of recent Yugoslav monetary restrictions for Italian road-haulage companies

Is the Council aware that a recent legislative measure of the Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia has had the effect of blocking payment of transport invoices to Italian road-haulage companies, with the consequent risk of an effective monopolization of road traffic from and to Yugoslavia, and does it consider (in view of the fact that road transport in this area gives employment directly and indirectly to 2 000 people, including some who belong to the Slovene minorities in Italy, and in view of the importance given to road transport services in the cooperation agreement) that the matter raised here could be resolved within the framework of the implementation of the cooperation agreement with Yugoslavia?

Answer

Economic operators who encounter difficulties with third countries with which the Community has concluded agreements may, if they so wish, bring the matter to the attention of the Community Institutions and, in this particular case, that of the Commission so that it may assess the question and if necessary raise it with the partner in question through the institutions provided for in the agreement between that country and the Community.

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Question No 66, by Mr Sieglerschmidt (H-203/80)

Subject: Involvement of the European Parliament in the appointment of Members of the Court of Justice of the European Communities

Does the Council feel that its failure to give a pertinent answer to a question addressed to it by a Member of the European Parliament, and indeed of the Legal Affairs Committee, concerning possible involvement of Parliament in the election of Judges to the Court of Justice of the European Communities, merely referring the questioner to the existing legal situation, can be reconciled with its repeated statements regarding the great importance it attaches to the activities of Parliament, particularly since it was knowledge of the existing situation which prompted the Member concerned to address the question to the Council in the first place, and is the Council now prepared to give an adequate answer to this oral question (H-138/80)?

Answer

I fail to see in what way the answer given to Question Nos H-138/80 and 139/80 is at variance with the Council statements that it attaches great importance to the activities of the European Parliament.

Member States do not think the institutional balance which underlies the Treaties establishing the Communities should be changed.

Since the institutional structure of the Communities differs from that of the Council of Europe it is hard to imagine that the way in which Judges are appointed to the European Court of Human Rights could set a valid precedent for the appointment of Judges to the Court of Justice of the European Communities. This being so, it is difficult to envisage how the practice hitherto followed for appointing Judges to the Court of Justice of the European Communities could be changed.

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Question No 67, by Mr Enright (H-208/80)

Subject: Industrial sectors in decline, other than coal and steel

What discussions have the Council held during the past twelve months on aid for industrial sectors in decline, other than coal and steel; what conclusions have they reached; and what proposals are forthcoming?

Answer

On 20 December 1979, the Council adopted a Regulation permitting Community financial aid for industrial restructuring and conversion operations undertaken by the man-made fibres industry. The Council decided on these priority measures to support the rationalization measures taken in this domain and to facilitate the essential restructuring and conversion operations in the worst affected areas.

The Council has also repeatedly confirmed the importance it attaches to appropriate agreements or arrangements concluded with almost all the supplier countries, which are intended to provide Community industries with a breathing-space to allow them to make the necessary changes.

With regard to shipbuilding, the Council on 20 November 1979 had a wide-ranging discussion on the principle and features of activities designed to encourage the demolition and construction of ocean-going liners.

As for restrictions on aid for shipbuilding, the Commission will be presenting a new proposal to the Council shortly.

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Question No 48, by Mr Didò (H-215/80)

Subject: Results of the Social Affairs Council

Will the Council outline the main issues dealt with successfully at the recent meeting of Social Affairs Ministers?

Answer

The topic to which the Council paid most attention at its meeting on 9 June 1980 was the drawing up of guidelines for a Community labour market policy. The Council approved a Resolution laying down the guidelines to be followed at Community and at national level, on the one hand for the various functions of the labour market policy and on the other hand for the various activities to be undertaken in connection with that policy.

The Council also approved a Directive on the protection of workers from exposure to dangerous agents.

The Council also approved a procedure aimed at improving the working methods of Tripartite Conferences.

The Council considered the problems outstanding in regard to social security for self-employed workers and hopes to reach a conclusion on this important matter at its next meeting on social questions.

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Question No 69, by Mr Battersby (H-218/80)

Subject: The Community's relations with The People's Republic of China

What criteria is the Council using to judge the effectiveness of the Community's trade agreement with the People's Republic of China, signed on 3 April 1978?

Answer

The basic criterion for assessing the effectiveness of the Trade Agreement between the Community and China, which came into force on 1 June 1978, is the achievement of the objectives which the two Parties set themselves in the Agreement; these objectives arise from the various Articles and are

summarized in the preamble, which provides that the two Parties intend '... to develop economic relations and trade between the European Economic Community and the People's Republic of China on the basis of equality and the mutual advantage of the two Contracting Parties and to give a new impetus to their relations ...'.

The second meeting of the Joint Committee set up under the Agreement, to be held in the autumn of this year in Brussels, will give the two Parties an opportunity to take stock of what has been achieved under the Agreement.

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2. Questions to the Foreign Ministers

Question No 76, by Lady Elles (H-209/80)

Subject: Peace in the Middle East

What steps are the Foreign Ministers taking to use the influence of the Community in support of the new Middle East peace initiative by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, guaranteeing the security of the State of Israel in exchange for a Palestinian State?

Answer

The possibility referred to by the honourable Member has not received special attention within the framework of the Nine's political cooperation, although the fundamental issues at stake in the Middle-East crisis are being constantly reviewed. The Nine include among these the question of respecting the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of each State in the area, including Israel, the right of each one of them to live in peace within secure and recognized borders, and that of translating into practical terms the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to give effective expression to their national identity, bearing in mind the need for these people to have a homeland.

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Question No 77, by Mr Battersby (H-219/80)

Subject: The Community's relations with the People's Republic of China

What actions have the Foreign Ministers taken to implement the motion for a resolution approved by Parliament on 9 April 1979, Doc. 6/79, calling on the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation to explore all possibilities for the realization of the proposals contained in the motion for a resolution?

Answer

The Nine view favourably improvement of relations in all sectors with a country as important as China, whose role in world affairs will continue to grow, a fact which is borne out by the ever-increasing number of visits at all levels between the Community capitals and Peking of late.

Further confirmation has been given, in economic terms, by the marked multiplication of contacts between the Community capitals and Peking at the most varied technical levels in the most diverse sectors resulting in numerous cooperation projects in the fields of infrastructures and energy.

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IN THE CHAIR: MR JAQUET

Vice-President

(The sitting was opened at 10 a.m.)

President. — The sitting is open.

1. *Approval of minutes*

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

Since there are no comments, the minutes of proceedings are approved.

2. *Documents received*

President. — I have received from the Council, from the parliamentary committees and from Members various documents, details of which will be found in the minutes of proceedings of today's sitting.

3. *Statement on motions for resolutions*

President. — The minutes of proceedings of today's sitting will also contain details of the decisions by the Political Affairs Committee in respect of several motions for resolutions.

4. *Decision on urgency*

President. — The first item on the agenda is the decision on the urgency of several motions for resolution.

We shall begin with the *motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-247/80) by Mr Boyes and others: Closure of the Consett steelworks.*

I call Mr Boyes.

Mr Boyes. — Mr President, I am appealing to Parliament to support this motion for urgency on the closure of the steelworks at Consett. I have two basic arguments. The first is that the Consett steelworks has proved to be a profitable plant over the last few years. It is also a plant in which there has been major invest-

ment in new equipment so that the company can operate at a high level of efficiency.

The workforce was, some time ago, asked for an agreement between its members so that it might exist in operation for some time to come, and it is not two years ago that nearly 2 000 men lost their jobs; yet a week ago it was announced that the whole plant will have to close by the end of September.

A case for keeping Consett open was made by no less a paper than the *Sunday Times*. People on the right of this Parliament cannot argue, therefore, that it was a left-wing Socialist newspaper that was making a case for Consett. However, it argued quite clearly that, under the BSC's restructuring plans, there would in the long term be a need for a small plant, similar to the one at Consett, that would be flexible and could respond to changing demand on the world steel market. But I am not appealing to Parliament this morning on the economic case. That is simple, it is proven, and reports are available to prove it.

I am asking people to consider this morning the social consequences of shutting a plant with almost 4 000 workpeople in a one-industry town where unemployment is running already at a dramatically high level. I can do no better than use the BSC's own report to argue my case in this House, and I shall make a couple of quotations from the report. It says the British Steel Corporation recognizes the serious impact of the closure of the Consett works on the level of unemployment within the Derwentside area. Some 96 % of the workforce, on the available figures, reside within Derwentside, and 80 % of that number reside in Consett. Consequently, the effects of job losses will be felt almost entirely in the town of Consett — that is 4 000 jobs in one small town in the North-East of England!

In the second paragraph they say, and this is the BSC's case not Roland Boyes's: 'Even before the proposed closure of the Consett iron and steel works, the district of Derwentside has suffered ever-increasing rates of prolonged unemployment for much of its workforce'. In an area with 35 % unemployment, without urgent and desperate action the town of Consett will be a scar on the industrial map of Europe for the next 10 to 15 years, and I say to the Members of this Parliament, ten to fifteen years is a hell of a long time to hide your consciences! So I hope that this House will agree to a debate on this problem on Friday.

President. — I call Mr Spencer, to oppose the request.

Mr Spencer. — Mr President, I think anyone would accept that Mr Boyes has a fair constituency case for raising this matter, and it is of course of extreme importance to the town of Consett itself. But I cannot

Spencer

accept that he has a case for raising it as a matter of urgency. We have known about the intention to close this works for months. It has been debated in the Committee on Social Affairs on at least four occasions. We have held hearings at which the British trade unions and the British Steel Corporation were represented. Mr Boyes has played a full and active part on behalf of his constituents in these discussions. The Peters report, which covers the question of steel closures, was voted through my committee at the last meeting. It will soon be before the plenary sitting of this Parliament. This subject is, has been and will be on the agenda of this Parliament. There is no case for an urgent debate this week, and there is in addition, as I am sure you are aware, Mr President, the delicate question I do not want to get into of whether this matter is *sub judice* in front of the British courts at the moment. There is no case for urgent procedure now and Mr Boyes knows it. I would ask the House to vote against urgent procedure.

(Applause from the European Democratic Group)

President. — I call Mr Caborn to speak in favour of the request.

Mr Caborn. — Mr President, first of all, may I inform this House that what has just been said by Mr Spencer for the British Tories is totally wrong and misleading. The announcement on the future of Consett was made by the British Steel Corporation last week, and quite clearly the time-table that has been laid down is that the announcement was made last week and the date for closure is September 1980.

This, may I remind the House, is a plant that has received considerable capital investment over the last 5 or 6 years, has had a first-class record in industrial relations and has, in fact, shed labour to make the work profitable. It is part of the British Steel Corporation's integrated plan for the production of steel. As Mr Boyes has already said, it is an important strategic plant for small lots of steel and one that can respond to the needs much quicker than the larger coastal plants. But the point made this morning by Mr Boyes is very important.

The closure in September 1980 will destroy the town, and that after a work-force of the Consett plant has for many hours argued the case with the British Steel Corporation that the plant is profitable, a case that can be proved on both the economic and the industrial front. Therefore, Mr President, urgent procedure, is of prime importance for the town of Consett and for the steel-workers within that plant.

(Applause from certain quarters on the left)

President. — I call Mr Calvez to speak on behalf of the Liberal and Democratic Group.

Mr Calvez. — *(F)* Mr President, each one of us would like to see Parliament improving its work methods, but here we have six requests for urgent debate being voted on this morning, of which five were tabled by the Socialist Group. A number of those are closely connected with questions which have been entrusted to committees. That is particularly the case with the third request for urgent debate. A report is being drawn up by the Political Affairs Committee. Just over a month ago we had a debate on the interim anti-poverty programme, which concluded with a vote on a motion for a resolution. Next month we shall be having a major debate on hunger in the world which will likewise end with recommendations to the Council and to the Commission to strengthen the existing arrangements. So please, let's leave the committees to get on with their work! Let's leave them alone! We don't make their work any easier by going about things this way.

The Liberal and Democratic Group is not in favour of the motion for resolution on the closure of Consett Steelworks which Mr Boyes has presented, because urgent procedure is no way to deal with constituency problems. In order not to increase the workload, therefore, our Group will vote against all the requests for urgent debate with the exception of No 2, which does have an element of urgency since the Council of Education Ministers will be meeting at the end of this month.

President. — I call Mr Klepsch to speak on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (Christian-Democratic Group).

Mr Klepsch. — *(D)* Mr President, I should urgently like to address the Socialist Group. I am well aware that it is not the Socialist Group which tabled this request for urgency, but the 21 Members who signed it. However, in this House we have reached agreement on certain basic rules. And I am now addressing the Socialist Group for a specific reason. When a report is submitted by a committee, the House does not deal with the subject of that report shortly beforehand in an urgent debate. Everyone here present knows that the Peters report, which deals with this problem and on which the discussions in committee have been concluded, will be on the agenda of the next plenary part-session, and we really cannot understand why it should be that the people who have collaborated in that report should today wish to debate a part of it by urgent procedure. All this can do is to ruin the work rhythm we have all agreed on . . .

(Applause from the centre and the right)

Klepsch

... We all sympathize with the Members who are elected by a constituency. I too have a constituency in which there are problems from time to time and I would be pleased to be able to describe in detail in the press of my region just how these problems have been dealt with here. However, if all 410 Members were to do the same, then we could not carry on our business. Since, ladies and gentlemen, you will be able to discuss all these problems in the debate on the Peters report next month, I do not understand why you are bothering us with this request for urgency today.

And I shall now explain why it is that I address myself to the Socialist Group. There are three more requests for urgency before the House. We had agreed among ourselves that we should table as few requests for urgency as possible. We keep to this, but of course it will cease to work if one group in this House continues to take upon itself the right to arrive here with a pile of requests for urgency with the aim of scoring propaganda points outside. If this continues, the others will do the same. I consider that this is extremely bad for the functioning of this House.

So I warn you now that we will not vote for either of the two requests for urgency tabled by Mr Boyes. This of course also applies to the request tabled by Mr Colla. I can tell you that now. Because here we are having a subject served up to us which is being examined at the moment by the Belgian Parliament. For the moment nothing at all is known about the outcome of this examination. Why then should the European Parliament hold a debate beforehand and deliver an opinion by urgent procedure? My group cannot understand that. We ask you not to use this procedure any more. Let us keep to our promise to table as few requests for urgency as possible and only genuine ones, and let us see to it that reports submitted by the committees are given priority.

(Loud applause from the centre and the right)

President. — I put to the vote the request for urgent procedure.

The request is rejected.

The motion for a resolution is therefore referred to the appropriate committee.

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President. — We shall now consider the *motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-250/80) tabled by Mrs Gaiotti de Biase on behalf of the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport: Meeting of the Council of Ministers for Education.*

I call Mr Glinne to speak in favour of urgency.

Mr Glinne. — (F) I request urgency for the reasons which Mr Klepsch has just outlined.

President. — I put to the vote the request for urgent procedure.

Urgent procedure is adopted.

The motion for a resolution will be placed on the agenda of the sitting of Friday, 20 June.

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President. — We shall now consider the *motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-253/80) by Mrs Castle and others: Political rights of the people of South Africa.*

I call Mrs Castle.

Mrs Castle. — Mr President, the Socialist Group and members of other groups in this House have put forward this motion with request for urgent procedure, which they hope will receive the unanimous support of the whole of this Parliament, because it is a plea that this Parliament, which has so often taken up issues of human rights, should associate itself with a campaign which has been launched in South Africa and is now spreading throughout Europe to secure the immediate release of Nelson Mandela and other African political leaders imprisoned in South Africa. It is a campaign launched by the *Sunday Post* in South Africa and supported by the South African Council of Churches, by opposition politicians and white Liberals.

Nelson Mandela has been held in a maximum security prison on Robben Island since 1963. During those 17 years, his wife has not been allowed to touch him. She has one monthly visit of one hour, when she has to speak to him through a glass partition and is forbidden to pass on any political news to him at all. So it is the subtlest form of torture to which he has been subjected.

But it is not only on humanitarian grounds that we urgently press for his release, but on grounds of natural justice and political rights. Despite his absence from political activity for 17 years, Nelson Mandela and other leaders of the African National Congress are recognized and accepted by the African people as their natural leaders and their political voice. The South African Government accuses him of sabotage, but it is the South African Government that has sabotaged the basic civil and political right of the oppressed majority in South Africa. We press for urgent procedure because we see hope — if this Parliament will support this campaign and let us get their release.

Castle

Events in Zimbabwe have stirred up a new determination in the majority in South Africa to secure equal democratic rights, if at all possible by peaceful means. Developments in Zimbabwe have shown that in a real democracy you cannot impose political leaders on people. The people have to be free to choose their own leaders and to have them fight for them. Events in Zimbabwe give us new hope that a peaceful transition throughout the whole of Africa is possible, if only we have the courage to extend democratic rights.

The South African Government says that Nelson Mandela is a man of violence. Ian Smith said that . . .

(The President urged the speaker to conclude)

. . . of Mugabe in Zimbabwe. They also said that he was a Communist. These arguments were used and then proved false once Mugabe was given the opportunity to lead his people. He has led them along moderate paths.

I will conclude by saying this. We have a supporter from an unexpected source. General Henry van den Bergh, South Africa's former head of security, has told the *Sunday Express* in Johannesburg that if he were still in charge of security, he would review Nelson Mandela's case with a view to releasing him. He said this: 'I do not believe that he is a Communist. He is a patriot, just as we believe we are patriots, trying to express our political views in our own way.'

We hope that the whole of this House will have the courage of consistency. We have passed many resolutions on human and political rights. How can we now turn down this urgent plea that the majority of the people of South Africa be given the chance to have their political leaders and join in the battle for extending democracy — we all hope — peacefully?

(Applause from the left)

President. — I call Mr Moreland to oppose the request.

Mr Moreland. — Mr President, unlike the last speaker, I shall stick strictly to the purpose of this debate, which is to decide on the question of urgent procedure.

Of course, all of us deplore the actions of the Government of South Africa. I must say personally that I support the content of this motion. I am, however, a little worried about its urgency because, if one looks at the content of the motion, one finds it could in fact have come up at any time over the last few months. It does not relate to anything that has happened in the last few weeks or to a decision that is about to be taken. In fact, what surprises me about the speech of the right honourable lady is that she has not referred

to circumstances that do concern us and which, I should have thought, were urgent: these are the reports over the last few days of considerable violence in South Africa, torture and so forth. Therefore I must say to this House that if this motion is passed we would add an amendment to it referring to these events of the last few days and, of course, to the refusal of the South African Government to remove oppressive legislation and indeed to further the legitimate rights of the blacks, the coloureds and the Asian populations of South Africa.

I am therefore a little concerned about the urgency of this specific motion. The honourable lady usually criticizes the rules of this House and says how often we abuse them; indeed, she usually criticizes the mechanisms of the Community as a whole. I am a little surprised on this occasion that she has not strictly confined herself to the purposes of the Rule relating to urgent procedure. Nevertheless, I must say personally that it is obviously difficult to oppose this motion because we agree with its content . . .

(Applause from certain quarters on the left)

. . . though it must, I think, be amended to take account of the events of the last week. After all, we in our group are obviously a little more up to date on affairs than the group opposite.

(Mixed reactions)

President. — I call Mr Sutra to speak in favour of urgent procedure.

Mr Sutra. — *(F)* Mr President, like the last speaker I shall keep strictly to the issue of urgency. Mrs Castle has said all that was needed on the background. I can simply add that when I woke up and switched on my radio in the hotel this morning, I heard that 60 people had been killed and several hundred injured in yesterday's riots in South Africa. The coloureds are now taking to the streets, after the blacks. I do not think there has ever been a clearer case for urgency and there has never been a more highly topical motion than the one tabled by my colleague, Mrs Castle.

President. — I call Mr Glinne to speak on behalf of the Socialist Group.

Mr Glinne. — *(F)* Everything has been said, Mr President. I feel that Mrs Castle has given us both the background and the justification and Mr Sutra has reinforced what she said. Television, the press and all the media have shown that it is really imperative for this House to express an opinion.

President. — I call Mr Haagerup to speak on behalf of the Liberal and Democratic Group.

Mr Haagerup. — (DK) Mr President, we agree with the substance of the motion for a resolution as it has been tabled, but we do not agree to its being tabled with a request for urgent debate. There are no grounds for this and we shall therefore be voting against.

President. — I put to the vote the request for urgent procedure.

Urgent procedure is adopted.

(Applause from certain quarters on the left)

The motion for a resolution will be placed on the agenda of the sitting of Friday, 20 June.

I call Mr Galland on a point of order.

Mr Galland. — (F) Mr President, I did not want to interrupt the proceedings just now but on behalf of the Liberal and Democratic Group I wish to ask with all respect that you enforce the Rules of Procedure on two points. Firstly, speeches should not last more than three minutes. Secondly, they should keep to the point, namely, the question of urgency. We have just heard something quite amazing in the Chamber. Mr Sutra said that Mrs Castle spoke about the background to this subject, and not the urgency. With all respect, Mr President, please enforce the Rules of Procedure so that we can get on with the business of the House.

(Applause from certain quarters on the right)

President. — This is indeed a discussion of the urgency and not the substance of the matter. Anyway, until now the speeches have barely gone beyond the three minutes which are allowed.

(Laughter)

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President. — We shall now consider the *motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-254/80) tabled by Mr Colla and others on behalf of the Socialist Group: Sale of arms to Uruguay by Belgium.*

I call Mr. Colla.

Mr Colla. — (NL) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I should like to address myself in the first instance to Mr Klepsch, who has already mentioned this motion for a resolution, and to those who have called for a selective approach to requests for urgent procedure. I agree with this principle. But I would ask you to consider a number of arguments for accepting this request. I was glad to see so many members of this House in favour of urgent procedure for the previous motion.

Why am I arguing in favour of urgent procedure here? I am aware of the fact that our group and other groups have already tabled general motions on the situation in Uruguay. These have been under discussion in the Political Affairs Committee for six months now, and Mrs Van den Heuvel has been asked to draw up a general report. However, there is one specific point on which we cannot put off forming an opinion in this matter, and that is the supply of arms to Uruguay. The situation is pressing because of arms supplies to Uruguay by Community countries. There are various aspects to this question.

Firstly, the deterioration of the political situation in Uruguay, as shown, for example, by the Serini affair. In Europe hunger strikes are being held as spontaneous protests at what is happening in Uruguay. This Parliament, moreover, cannot wait for a general debate in the light of what is happening. I am thinking here of the fact that one country has recently decided to proceed with considerable arms shipments to Uruguay, while other countries are supplying Uruguay with less heavy — but nonetheless military — equipment, which will benefit those who are using illegal means to restore order.

Mr Klepsch, it is not true that this matter is at present under discussion in the Belgian Parliament. What is happening is that in a few months there is to be a general discussion on arms shipments. The Belgian Government, however, has decided to supply military equipment to Uruguay. Urgent procedure, which I strongly urge you to adopt, is justified because this Parliament must have a general discussion of this situation and must make its views known, but not in such a way that all it can do is to express its regret in hindsight, in a few months time, at the fact that the Member States have not acted in accordance with the humanitarian position which this House is bound to adopt. We cannot allow ourselves to be bypassed by the individual actions of one Member State, but the present position is that a Member State has decided to supply arms to this abominable dictatorship. That is why, with due regard to selectivity, I appeal for urgent procedure on this matter.

President. — I call Mrs Van den Heuvel.

Mrs Van den Heuvel. — (NL) Mr President, taking up what my colleague Mr Colla has just said, I should

Van den Heuvel

like to insist on the need for this House to adopt urgent procedure for this motion. It is obviously not enough to nominate one rapporteur in a parliamentary committee for five cases of the violation of human rights — it takes time to finish that kind of report. At the moment, the draft reports on four parts of this subject are being translated, but it will take at least until the end of the year for these reports to be dealt with in Parliament. In the meantime one of our Member States launches into escapades which, on the basis of the reports — and when you know all the facts I am sure you will agree on this — we are bound to repudiate. This Parliament is showing itself incapable of political action if it now puts off a decision like this until the general discussion on the report concerning various cases of the violation of human rights. Parliament must have a debate now on this disgraceful action by the government of one of our Member States.

President. — I call Mr Deschamps to speak on behalf of the European People's Party (Christian-Democratic Group).

Mr Deschamps. — (*F*) I should like to explain to you why we are opposed to Parliament's holding an urgent debate on this problem even though we are, as our friends in the Socialist Group know, as resolutely opposed as they are to supplying arms to any country — particularly countries with the kind of regime that Uruguay has.

The already know the answer since they themselves — Mr Colla, Mr Glinne and Mrs Lizin — raised the same problem in a committee of the Belgian Parliament a fortnight ago. Like us, they agreed that the problem was too serious to be discussed straight away without proper background knowledge. Our former colleague, Mr Nothomb, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, offered to build up a dossier which would provide the basis for a serious discussion. The Foreign Affairs Committee agreed unanimously that the debate should take that dossier as its starting point.

I cannot therefore see the logic of insisting here on an urgent debate in a Parliament which does not have the information which the Socialists themselves agreed to have assembled by the Belgian Government. This makes no sense, and I must ask you to treat what is a serious debate seriously.

(Applause from certain quarters on the right)

President. — I call Mr Glinne to speak on behalf of the Socialist Group.

Mr Glinne. — (*F*) Mr President I am sporry to say that Mr Deschamps is interpreting the decision

reached by the Committee of the Belgian Chamber, which we both attended as observers, very oddly. What they agreed was to give themselves several months to examine how to set about amending Belgian legislation on arms production and deliveries for certain Third World countries and on the transit through Belgium of arms manufactured elsewhere and destined for those same countries. Obviously it will take the Belgian Parliament some time to pass this amending legislation, but what we are talking about here is based on a report which has been before the European Parliament for six months — a paragraph dealing with the specific case of arms being supplied by a Member State of the European Community to Uruguay and its notorious regime.

President. — I put to the vote the request for urgent debate.

The request is rejected.

The motion for a resolution is therefore referred to the appropriate committee.

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President. — We shall now consider the *motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-258/80) by Mr Lomas and others: European companies operating in South Africa.*

I call Mr Lomas.

Mr Lomas. — I hope that this is a request that we can all agree to. It is a matter of urgency. You may laugh, but if you were a black worker in South Africa perhaps you would not find it so amusing.

(Applause from the left)

It is a matter of urgency to ensure that the EEC Code of Conduct is applied. It is a very modest code; it asks for wages 50 % above the South African designated rates and, God knows, that is little enough. Anything below that means deprivation and starvation and anything that can help to prevent that surely must be a matter of urgency. It is a fact that there are many many European companies blatantly breaking this code. They are not paying the wage levels laid down under the Code; they are not making progress in other areas like desegregation and recognition of trade unions; they are blatantly attempting to hide this by producing misleading reports, and it was only through the action of British Government officials in carrying out an inquiry into some of these companies that this was found to be the case. There was no way of proving it from the company reports that were published.

Lomas

The disclosures made by British newspapers of all political complexions in the last couple of weeks have all revealed the scandalous behaviour of these companies in South Africa, many of which are very wealthy and making enormous profits. They include such companies as British Petroleum, Burmah Oil, Gestetner, Thomas French and Sons, Rank, Hovis, McDougall and many others, and it is high time that something was done. Now, the British Government has said that it will not publish a black list of such companies since it would be obnoxious to do so. Yet it would not be half so obnoxious as paying the starvation rates that these European companies are paying in South Africa. I therefore hope that Parliament will agree to debate this motion so that we at least can show the black workers in South Africa that we care about their conditions and their working rights.

President. — I call Mr Prag on a point of order.

Mr Prag. — Mr President I want to protest against the gross abuse of the procedures of this Parliament made by the previous speaker. Not a word of his speech referred to urgent procedure. He talked about black lists and the behaviour of companies in South Africa, which has nothing to do with whether this motion should be treated under urgent procedure or not. What we are witnessing is a gross abuse of our early morning discussions by members of the groups opposite to attract the attention of the press whilst wasting our time, distorting the whole operation of this Parliament and delaying these issues which we should be dealing with within our tasks relating to the European Community itself.

President. — I would remind you that speeches must be on urgent procedure and not on the actual subject.

I call Mrs Clwyd to speak in favour of urgent procedure.

Ms Clwyd. — Mr President, I should like to explain why the motion requires urgent procedure. The fact that people are dying every day in South Africa should be enough reason for this House to support the urgency of this motion.

Six years ago, a UK parliamentary committee investigating the scandal of starvation wages paid by companies in South Africa stated: 'Companies should bear in mind that disclosure followed by scrutiny is an essential characteristic of a free society, which no one should fear and from which much good should come.' An allparty select committee recommended that the government should persuade British companies in South Africa to pay wages above the poverty datum line — the minimum level at which people can be expected to survive without permanent damage to

their health. And that is the reason for the urgency of this motion.

This policy was confirmed when the last government persuaded the European Community to establish a code of conduct for all European enterprises in the Republic of South Africa.

It has never been enough in politics to will the objectives of the policy. Governments must also will the means. The last British Government decided that the least it could do was to pressurize the offending companies by publishing their names. The present government has undermined that policy on the flimsiest of excuses. It appears to believe that private persuasion is enough to move these companies and is more effective than public shame. It is indicative, however, that the Trade Secretary has not yet sent a single letter of complaint to any of the companies in South Africa now on his private list.

An authoritative assessment of British companies' employment practices in South Africa made last week suggests that the EEC Code of Conduct is being honoured more in the breach than in the observance. Wages and fringe benefits are said to have improved generally over the past seven years but there has been little change in discriminatory practices and almost no progress in recognizing African unions. British companies generally are still regarded as behaving considerably worse than American-owned companies in South Africa. The reasons for this are twofold and demonstrate why it is important that this House agrees to an urgent debate today: firstly, lack of public pressure on British companies and secondly, the fact that most of these companies are managed by South African nationals. More than 200 British companies submitted reports to the Department of Trade on their employment conditions, but a number either failed or refused to supply the relevant information. I conclude by urging this House to support the urgency of this motion, because continued refusal to publish the names of such companies can only be seen as condoning the immoral and indefensible treatment of black employees in South Africa.

(Applause from some quarters on the left)

President. — I call Mr Marshall to oppose the request.

Mr Marshall. — Mr President, I should like to make it clear first of all, to avoid any distortions, that I find the policy of the South African Government quite abhorrent as do all my colleagues; but what we do not believe — and we have heard not one word this morning to justify it — is that this matter is urgent and warrants urgent debate as Mr Lomas and Mrs Clwyd

Marshall

suggested. They have abused the urgency procedure this morning and they have not given one word in support of urgency on this subject.

(Interruptions)

And what I would like to say is this, Mr President, that Mr Lomas insulted a firm whose head office is in my constituency.

(Loud laughter)

He mentioned the name of Gestetner and Gestetner's employment practices are first-rate. To accuse Gestetner of second-rate employment practices is an insult to one of the most progressive companies in the United Kingdom. When Mrs Clwyd says that the non-publication of names is immoral and is a justification of urgency, I would like to remind her that there was only one minister in the five years of Labour government who was willing to publish those names. Is she saying that the other ministers in her government were immoral?

(Loud laughter)

Finally, may I say that I welcome the conversion of Mrs Clwyd, Mrs Castle, Mr Lomas and others to the cause of the European Parliament, to the voice of Europe and the cause of Europe. May I say it is a very welcome conversion, that after 12 months in this House they realize the European Parliament has a positive role in the world. I don't believe this particular matter is urgent, but I welcome their conversion.

(Laughter)

President. — I put to the vote the request for urgent debate.

The request is rejected.

The motion for a resolution is therefore referred to the appropriate committee.

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President. — We shall now consider the *motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-260/80) by Mr Boyes and others: Interim programme to combat poverty.*

I call Mr Boyes.

Mr Boyes. — Mr President, let me start by saying that I hope I do insult all the Tories who have poverty in their constituencies, if they are not going to support this resolution. And let me say, secondly, to Mr Klepsch, that I, along with, I have no doubt, every

other Member of this Parliament, am very pleased to see that you are recovering from your accident. But I do not welcome you back into this Parliament if you continue to attack resolutions asking for measures to support the less fortunate people in this Community. I particularly refer to people within the Community, because even you, Mr Klepsch, cannot hide your head from the fact that after almost 25 years of the Community's existence poverty is still growing within the nine countries of the EEC.

What we asked for in this resolution — and Parliament supported it — was a very small amount of money. We asked for 9 million units of account. It is a cosmetic, a palliative. We accept that it is not going to solve the problems of poverty within the Community, but at least it is symbolic. It is a gesture, that some Members of this Parliament do agree that some money must be spent on attempting to alleviate the problem of poverty in the Community.

I should like to explain why I am asking for urgent procedure. This measure has already been vetoed by one of the Member States. Yet the old projects end completely at the end of this year and unless we get a decision before then to have the 9 million units of account, then it is going to be impossible to start new projects at the beginning of 1981. All round this Chamber at the last session people from various parts of the Community paid tribute to the high standard of work and dedication of the people working on these projects. Now, I ask all of you in this Parliament to think of the uncertainty with which those people are facing the future. I am appealing to Parliament this morning to support this request for urgency, because we must bring it home most forcefully to the Council that this Parliament wants to see projects against poverty started at the beginning of 1981. We must stress to them that they must meet again to reconsider this decision. I believe that if Parliament says this matter is not urgent, this will be playing into the hands of those governments that are not supporting this resolution as asked for by this Parliament.

So I hope, Mr President, that this matter is seen as urgent, just as urgent as any other resolution moved this morning. I hope that no members in this Parliament would dare to raise their hands against measures to combat the poverty that is prevalent in every country in this Community.

President. — I call Mr Welsh to oppose the request.

Mr Welsh. — Mr President, I merely want to say that Mr Boyes need not trouble the House with his request for urgency this morning. In fact, he ought to be lecturing his German Socialist colleagues, because after all it was their government that voted against and vetoed this measure, whereas we are all for it. Why do they not discuss it in the Socialist Group and stop wasting our time?

President. — I put to the vote the request for urgent procedure.

Urgent procedure is adopted.

The motion for a resolution will be placed on the agenda of the sitting of Friday, 20 June.

5. *Accident hazards of certain industrial activities*
(continuation)

President. — The next item is the continuation of the debate on the report (Doc. 1-220/80), drawn up by Mrs Roudy on behalf of the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection, on the

proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-265/79) for a directive on the major accident hazards of certain industrial activities.

I call Mr Ripa di Meana.

Mr Ripa di Meana. — (*I*) Mr President, the debate on the 'Seveso Directive' might have been finished the day before yesterday if for reasons pertaining to the agenda the President had not decided to adopt the strange procedure of breaking off the debate half way through and asking Vice-President Natali who was present on that day to sum up and to reply, and then paradoxically reopening the debate this morning.

The debate has been so wide-ranging and searching that I shall be brief this morning, and also because the question of lack of time is bringing more pressure than ever to bear on our already overloaded agenda.

If I take the floor this morning for a few minutes on the subject of the 'Seveso Directive' it is above all on behalf of a small community in Lombardy whose name has come to symbolize all the civil catastrophes to which our modern industrialized society is prey, just as some decades earlier the name of Hiroshima had become the symbol for military and civil catastrophes.

The Italian Presidency would like this Directive to be approved on 30 June by the Council of Ministers, so that it can come into force. This request seems to be well founded, since it has been formulated by the Italian Presidency and has a direct bearing not only on the Seveso case but also on a number of lesser incidents which have occurred in Italy since Seveso.

The reasons why the Socialists back this Directive have already been expressed by other members of our group. We support the draft directive in its entirety, and we praise the high quality of the work carried out by the Commission and likewise approve wholeheartedly the excellent report which Mme Roudy has

submitted. As a group, the Socialists would have liked to have seen a larger field of application for this Directive, both wider and more binding for industry, but we know that two Member States, France and Germany, are opposed to any such approach, as these two countries wish to restrict the field of action of the directive to only the most important accidents.

I said that I had taken the floor above all in order to highlight a few points, after a debate which has already gone into the general questions. Seveso is well-known, but there is no mention, and often this fact is not known, of minor incidents and I refer to those which occurred during April and May in North East Italy in a place called Alto-Piave in the Marghera plant. On these occasions, 24 workers were seriously poisoned in the petrochemical plant in Marghera as a result of a gas leak in the FRI department, where chlorine and hydrochloric acid are used to produce freon gas. It is precisely to this problem of the increase in environmental pollution and of extremely serious and even genetic injury to workers and to the population and crops surrounding many industrial installations that we should like to draw Parliament's attention, and we should like to do this by seeking approval for the excellent directive which has been drawn up by the Commission.

We should also like to draw your attention to the need to involve the local authorities as well as the workers concerned. There is an evident tendency to exclude the local authorities — as Mr Estgen said — with a view to preventing the spread of alarmism. Well, the Socialist Group when confronted with this sort of objection, which is preceded by a further objection — once more made by Mr Estgen — that 'a sterile bureaucracy must not be allowed to interrupt industrial processes', and another objection from the same person is that 'the risks and possible fatal outcome of such incidents and catastrophes may in some ways be compared to the risks involved in driving a car', we propose the opposite course of involving and continually informing the workers, the population in the surrounding areas and the local authorities. We know that this in some ways presents a new and perhaps even expensive approach to the problem because of the information network and the expenditure needed to make these installations safe. But we think that this expenditure is no more than our duty. And I say this coming from a city, Venice, which has on its doorstep a veritable chemical time bomb in the two areas of Marghera and Mestre, where the risk of a major incident is higher than that which would exist if there were a first generation nuclear power station in the same area. This problem is known, unfortunately, only to a few specialists. It is not known to the population of Venice, nor to Italian public opinion, nor to European and world public opinion, which is so often moved by the plight of Venice in terms of its water, and of the erosion of its buildings by atmospheric pollution; public opinion does not know that on the edge of the lagoon, only a few yards away from this

Ripa di Meana

historical and architectural centre, looms a major catastrophe in a state of extreme risk as the last accident in Marghera proved, unless enlightened Directives are issued by the European Community, unless urgent measures are taken by the Italian authorities, supported in this matter — I hope — by the experience and powers of local governments of Venice and the Veneto region.

It is in this spirit and with this somewhat simplified outline of Venice's problem that I seek your unanimous approval for the 'Seveso Directive', which represents a first step in the right direction and which in no way interferes with national legislation which is more advanced on this subject, but which gives a firm foundation and provides a definite response to the tragedy which started in Seveso and which is repeating itself all over Europe and affects the environment and mankind.

IN THE CHAIR: MR VANDEWIELE

Vice-President

President. — I call Mrs Schleicher.

Mrs Schleicher. — *(D)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, it is a pity that discussion on this item on the agenda had to be interrupted, and it is not an easy matter to pick up the thread again a day later. Mr Estgen has already made the essential points on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party and said what we want to see done. I should therefore like to concentrate on two points which came up in the course of the debate yesterday. Mrs Seibel-Emmerling described once again the tragic circumstances surrounding the Seveso accident. Regrettable as it may seem, it was nonetheless precisely this incident which led to the formulation of guidelines on the accident hazards of certain industrial activities at European Community level. Nuclear installations and the reprocessing of radioactive materials are exempted from these guidelines as they are already covered by other regulations. The aim of the directive is to ensure that serious accidents of this kind cannot occur in the future, which is why one part of the directive is concerned with the recognition of hazards in connection with toxic, explosive and inflammable materials. However, should anything unforeseen occur, precautions should be taken to deal with the emergency while at the same time causing as little nuisance as possible to the persons affected. For instance, conditions are laid down for the storage of dangerous substances, and the manufacturer is required to draw up a safety report. The directive is also concerned with ensuring that information is passed on to the authorities and the people employed in the works or living in

the immediate vicinity on possible serious accident sites. It is also concerned with the authorities' means of supervising what is going on and, lastly, with the obligation to give notification of an emergency and to report to the Commission on any accidents, linked with a data bank.

I cannot endorse the view expressed by Mr Sherlock and — in particular — by Mrs Boserup on behalf of the Communist Group to the effect that the guidelines would be ineffective. Rigorous provisions are already in force in a number of Member States, and I can tell you that in the Federal Republic of Germany very far-reaching precautions have been taken by virtue of the Federal Emission Protection Act and the Accident Directives.

These promising developments should not, however, be restricted by a directive, which is why, in paragraph 5 of our motion for a resolution, we call on the Commission to use this outline directive to harmonize the Member States' legislation on dangerous activities on the assumption that the most rigorous and most effective provisions in each of the Member States should apply.

Our committee went into the report drawn up by Mrs Roudy in great detail. Our discussions were painstaking, and I would say that we have spent a very great deal of time on ensuring that we reached a good conclusion. Many wishes — even if not all — were taken into consideration, but even so we managed to find a compromise which was acceptable to all parties. I should therefore like to urge you to adopt this compromise in its original form, and I must say on behalf of my group that we cannot support the amendments tabled because we believe that the compromise is acceptable as it stands. Things will become tricky again if any more changes are made, which is why I would ask you — as the previous speaker said — to leave the draft proposal as it is. When a committee has discussed a matter very carefully and has reached a compromise acceptable to all members of the committees, we should not then try in plenary session to tamper with this compromise; after all, the work of the committee is extremely valuable and ensures that things are not held up in plenary session. The point here is surely that we can agree now that the process of harmonization should proceed with all due speed. In individual cases, however, what is important is how the people to whom the directive is addressed will accept their responsibility and, in an emergency, do what we want them to do.

President. — I call Mr Romualdi.

Mr Romualdi. — *(I)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, our Group also adds its support to the report presented by Yvette Roudy. Since the accident at Seveso on 10 September 1976 — classed technically

Romualdi

as 'major accident', but in fact a disaster, as this House has already seen, in its effect on agriculture, animals and people, and especially on hundreds of children suffering from skin diseases, on children born with obscure anomalies and on their mothers — a completely different approach to hazards of this kind is required, indeed imperative. Risk is part of our everyday lives, and is unfortunately inherent in progress, which though, of course, essential must continue only after measures have been taken to protect the plant, animal and human environment from its harmful effects.

Apart from the accident at Seveso, those at Flixborough, Beek, Verlibert, Manfredonia and elsewhere should be giving us food for thought. We must be quicker, more efficient, better equipped to reduce the possibility of such accidents to the absolute minimum and able to act more promptly when these accidents do unfortunately happen.

We are fully aware of the great technical problems, but we must learn to overcome them openly because it is no longer acceptable that factories should be allowed, as in Seveso, for example, not to disclose the nature of what they are manufacturing, and the attendant hazards. Indeed everything should be known, everything should be verified and verifiable. Nothing must be allowed to prevent the free circulation of information: no arguments of freedom, industrial secrecy, economics or politics must be permitted to prevent one man's knowledge becoming public knowledge.

That is why we are in favour of Mrs Roudy's report, even where it deals with the immediate and short-term effects. However, it must be remembered that this kind of hazard has consequences which go beyond the short term, and may affect future generations. That is why the measures we are adopting will enable us to deal adequately with anything, even the most unexpected consequences. They say that in our world of democracy and headlong industrial development the exception can be the rule. As far as is humanly possible we should be ready to deal with this situation, with up-to-date common legislation built on common experience and offering a common response along the lines suggested by Mrs Roudy in her report, and which will give even stricter controls than those proposed by the reporter and the Committee on the Environment.

President. — The debate is closed. The motion for a resolution and the amendments which have been tabled will be put to the vote at the next voting time.

With a view to ensuring that the proceedings run smoothly and in accordance with the decision of the Bureau in the matter, the list of speakers for all today's debates will be closed in half an hour.

Since there are no objections, that is agreed.

6. Situation in the Central African Republic

President. — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-149/80), drawn up by Mr Jaquet on behalf of the Committee on Development and Cooperation, on

the situation in the Central African Republic.

I call Mr Jaquet.

Mr Jaquet, rapporteur. — (F) Mr President, I submit for deliberation by Parliament this motion for a resolution on the situation in Central Africa with the unanimous support of the Committee on Development and Cooperation. The Committee on Development and Cooperation has in fact had to examine two motions for resolution tabled by Parliament.

The first, tabled by Mr George Sarre, concerned the period before the downfall of Bokassa and proposed that the Central African State be boycotted.

The second motion, which was also tabled by Mr George Sarre and a certain number of his colleagues in the Socialist Group, dealt with the period following Bokassa's downfall and was basically concerned with the role played by a Community Member State in overthrowing Bokassa and the subsequent political and military activities undertaken by this State in Central Africa.

I should also like to remind this House that the Committee on Development and Cooperation tabled in May 1979 and again in September of the same year an oral question on the massacres in the Central African Empire. What then, ladies and gentlemen, does the committee suggest? Obviously, the first motion for a resolution which was tabled before Bokassa left power is no longer of any topical interest. However, I feel that it is of definite interest from a political viewpoint. It enables us, without becoming involved in the often passionate conflicts which topical questions may cause, to ask an important question in a calm and serious manner. What should the attitude of the Community be towards a State which has signed the Lomé Convention and which blatantly violates human rights, and how should we behave towards the people of that State?

The Commission and the Council have adopted clear positions of principle on this matter. I venture to repeat two statements which I quote in my report. The first, dated 21 June 1977, was made by the Council and concerns Uganda: 'The Council agrees to take steps within the framework of its relations with Uganda under the Lomé Convention to ensure that any assistance given by the Community to Uganda

Jaquet

does not in any way have as its effect a reinforcement or prolongation of the denial of basic human rights to its people.' A short time later, the Commission made the following statement: 'As regards the implementation of cooperation projects laid down in the Convention of Lomé and the convention that will succeed it, the Community's attitude in all the ACP States was defined by the resolution of the Council of Ministers of 21 June 1977, which states that in the event of flagrant violation of human rights the Community will take any steps necessary to ensure that its aid is actually used to meet the needs of the recipient populations and cannot be appropriated for other purposes.'

The principle adopted by the Commission is thus clear-cut and I heartily approve it. It is quite clear that Community action should not increase the sufferings of people subjected to a government which violates basic liberties. In particular, we feel that food aid should under no circumstances become a political weapon. On the other hand, we think it is self-evident that aid aimed at the population of such countries should not be misappropriated. In other words it should not be used to prolong the existence of the government in question.

However, although this principle is quite clearly stated, a number of questions arise as to its application. The Lomé Convention stipulates that each recipient country should itself draw up an indicative aid programme. In the case I have just referred to, the Council and the Commission no longer recognize the right of the beneficiaries to receive the aid which they feel to be appropriate. Thus, it must be made clear that, in such circumstances, the choice can no longer be made by the beneficiary countries but by the Community. However, it is not clear who decides whether or not to grant aid for specific projects and which authority or institution is accountable for this decision.

Lastly, it is similarly unclear who monitors the use of aid so that it does in fact benefit the population rather than the regime. These are several questions which are not without interest and which we wanted to put to the Commission and the Council.

The second motion for a resolution on which the discussion in the Committee on Development and Cooperation was based dealt with the events leading up to the fall of Bokassa and subsequent developments in the situation. After having discussed the matter, the committee did not endorse the criticisms of the action undertaken by one of the Community Member States in Central Africa. On the other hand, the committee praised the speed with which the Commission drew up an emergency aid programme after Bokassa's departure. It expressed the hope that in this Central African State genuine democratic procedures would be instituted as soon as possible with the participation of the population concerned and that this would be done without any external military intervention.

These, Mr President, are the views which were expressed during the Committee on Development and Cooperation's discussions, our conclusions and the proposals that we submit to this House.

President. — I call Mr Cheysson.

Mr Cheysson, Member of the Commission. — (F) Mr President, it seemed to me natural, as a sign of the respect the Commission has for Parliament, that we should reply to the questions put by the rapporteur on behalf of his committee and its members.

I am very grateful to Mr Jaquet for giving a new opportunity to the Commission to state its position on these extremely important problems. As he pointed out, the remarks made refer to two different subjects. On events in Central Africa I will be brief, all the more so since the rapporteur was kind enough in the first paragraph of his motion for a resolution to make clear that he was satisfied with the way in which the Commission acted during Bokassa's reign. He also at the end of his motion for a resolution, stated his approval for the speed with which we intervened. The fact is that immediately the regime was overturned we sent a mission to that country. An emergency programme of 300 000 EUA which Mr Jaquet refers to in his explanatory statement was approved on 13 November and used in its entirety. We were also able a few weeks ago to adopt in the indicative programme for the fourth EDF a new range of emergency measures for the purchase of spare parts etc. Might I also remind Parliament on the subject of Central Africa, Mr President, that the Commission did not wait for the nine governments of the Member States to put forward suggestions — they would have been unable to do this anyway — and that in August 1979, when the report of the African Committee of Enquiry was published we immediately and publicly denounced the atrocities which were thus made public.

Mr President, the main point of this debate, and the rapporteur agrees with me in this, is what must be our attitude regarding human rights. In April 1978, we had a preliminary debate on this subject — this was during the term of the previous Parliament — at the request of the European Conservative Group. The Commission, speaking through me, reminded Parliament at that time how attached the institutions of the Community are to the observance of human rights. I should go as far as to say that it is one of the basic reasons for the existence of this Community, both within Europe and outside Europe. There is no point in reminding you of the many statements which were made in the past on Spain under Franco and Greece under the colonels and which have been made on Chile under Pinochet and the tragic events in the Lebanon etc.

On all possible occasions, we have made clear our attachment to this principle.

Cheysson

Might I also remind the members of this Parliament that I myself on several occasions have made statements which our various governments considered at times excessive. Respect for human rights, the determination that human dignity should be respected everywhere, obviously also applies to the Third World and especially for countries with whom we have lasting relations. It is in fact one of the prerequisites for economic development. In any country where the population is oppressed there is no point in expecting economic development. But this principle is above all important *per se*.

Having said this, let us look a little more closely at the problem. What are the rights we are talking about? When we refer to our own countries, to the countries of Europe, to the countries which may desire to join the Community, then we are extremely demanding. We demand that this respect cover all the rights which exist in a pluralist democracy. However when we speak of the Third World, this is not what we mean. What we mean then — and I think I can do no better than to quote from the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights of April 1948 — is 'the inherent dignity of all the members of the human family'. This is what we are talking about. We could say that we are talking about those rights which were referred to by the Pope just recently in Nairobi and in other countries of Africa.

Is there any contradiction between our determination to ask for and to encourage respect for human dignity and the principle of non-interference which is the basis of all our relations with the Third World? This is the question which the rapporteur is quite right to ask. We have in fact solemnly promised to respect the complete independence of the countries of the Third World and their right to choose their regime. Mr Jaquet calls this a key principle. He is quite right, but does this prevent us from dealing with these problems with them and especially with those countries with which we have the closest ties. I do not think so. I should equally like to stress that our partners themselves admit that these problems must be discussed between us. May I remind this House that at the meeting of the Joint Committee which took place in Maseru in December 1977 the parliamentarians from the ACP countries and European countries were unanimous in paying homage to the thousands of men, women and children who pay the price of torture and imprisonment and even sacrifice their lives for the right to live in freedom. This resolution was adopted by us all. Our partners accept that we must discuss these problems together.

Discussing human rights is all very well. But when they are violated, what must we do? Naturally, we must reserve the right to denounce such violations publicly and talk about them whenever they occur. On this point we are absolutely immovable and I should like to stress that none of our partners in the ACP countries were either shocked or surprised at this. On a large

number of occasions we have stated our position clearly.

When we act, we do not seek to make brilliant, sermonizing speeches. What we seek is to improve the situation. In order to improve it, we must carefully examine for each individual case the reasons which have led to the violation of human rights. Some of these are difficult to bear, painful and unfortunately inevitable. We can see by looking back through our history, the history of each of our countries, that whenever there is civil war or revolution there is unfortunately a period of atrocities.

What we must above all evaluate is what will be effective with regard to the country in question. On this subject, I should once more like to stress before Parliament that what is effective for a country which has sophisticated economic and social structures may well not be effective in a country with elementary structures. If you take a country which is in the depths of poverty, it is not by breaking off relations with it that the situation may be improved and that real pressure may be brought to bear on its government, but very much the opposite. Taking this as our basis then, we must distinguish between different cases and act, as Mr Jaquet pointed out just now, without heaping new misery on the sufferings of a people which are already oppressed, and to do this we must draw distinctions between various types of aid and ban those which might — as the Council of Ministers said — help to reinforce or prolong the denial of basic human rights. I prefer our own wording. Mr Jaquet pointed out in his explanatory statement that our wording is different from that of the Council of Ministers: aid should be used to meet the needs of the recipient populations and not to be appropriated for other purposes. This is our guiding principle. And I take this opportunity to reaffirm it solemnly once more in this House.

Lastly, Mr President, I should like, by referring to what was said by the rapporteur and what I have just said now before this House, to answer three points which were raised, some of which — and I hope the honourable Member will excuse me for saying so — surprise me.

In his report, Mr Jaquet declares his concern at the 'token' nature of the statements made when Lomé II was signed. Naturally, we should have preferred it if the principles put forward at that time had been included in the text of the preamble to our Convention. The Commission was quite insistent in its requests that this be done, Mr Jaquet. Unfortunately, the Community as a whole was not quite so explicit. The Commission insisted upon it but was defeated. I am sorry this happened and I said so in public.

However, I should like to make clear that had this been included in the preamble, it would not have had any absolute legal value, since we do not wish to have

Cheysson

a system which would automatically entail breaking off relations, even when we feel that the contract should continue to be applied. What we wanted and what we feel to be essential is that the ACP countries and the Community should work together to define the goals of our cooperation and the criteria on which the implementation of this cooperation should be based.

In this context, I am sure you will recognize that it is significant that the President of the ACP Council stated as early as March 1978 that the ultimate goal of our cooperation was to serve mankind, that when the Convention was signed the President of the ACP Council once more referred, on behalf of the whole group, to the statements of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers in Lusaka, that he also referred to the statements made at the summit of the Organisation of African Unity in Monrovia and thus proclaimed his belief in human dignity and in man's intrinsic worth.

It is similarly significant that the President of the Council of the Community also repeated these remarks, that the President of the European Parliament — Madam Veil was present at the meeting — and I myself echoed these sentiments. So it is that these principles were clearly expressed together; this is not to be found in the text of the Convention but it was so clearly announced that one may refer to it without any qualms at all.

In other words, Mr President, what we did under the terms of Lomé I and what Mr Jaquet just praised, namely to suspend aid and direct it in strict conformity with the jointly agreed aims, will be even easier to accomplish now. There is no question of denying that this contract is binding, but rather of applying the contract according to the jointly agreed principles and within the context of those principles.

Mr Jaquet asked two other questions, to both of which I shall give the same answer. Who monitors aid, who decides on it? Well, Mr President, that is the Commission's role! The Commission is not merely an administrative body entrusted with the task of administrative management. It is a political body which is politically answerable to you. I am responsible and the Commission is responsible. If Parliament is not satisfied, it should make its position very clear. I do not mind the Council giving us further opinions from time to time, but in this field I would make so bold as to say that we should not count on the Council to urge us to demand greater respect of human rights.

Who monitors? We do. How do we do it? First of all, by controlling the type of measures taken. There are measures which cannot be ambiguous: food aid measures, the supply of seeds and the artificial insemination of cattle. I do not mention these by chance. These projects and these alone were those which were recognized and accepted when Uganda was governed by Idi Amin. Secondly, we control aid via the non-

governmental organizations based in the country itself. As you know this is what we do for food aid when we have some doubts about our partner — Chile is one example. We have also done this in other cases. In his report, Mr Jaquet asked a question about the supply of lorries to Ethiopia; we supplied these lorries jointly with the United Nations programme, American aid and Swedish aid. But this whole operation is managed using a separate system and a separate budget which is submitted to us at regular intervals. The whole programme is supervised by the United Nations. The lorries all have United Nations plates. The staff using the lorries are United Nations staff. This example answers your query, and there are many others like this.

However, it is above all in the area of decision making that I claim the Commission's right to do what it is supposed to do, i.e. to intervene quickly should the need arise. The Council of Ministers adopted a resolution in June 1977 on Uganda. But we had already been applying this resolution for ages. Had we not been, more than two years after the entry into force of the Lomé Convention we would have committed much more than 2% of the indicative programme to Uganda. On Equatorial Guinea the Council of Ministers never gave us the slightest guideline to follow, but in Mr Macias' Guinea we were never able to apply the indicative programme, except in some minor details, without the Council of Ministers involving itself.

I shall give a final example, Mr President. On 12 April there was a coup d'état in Liberia. Less than 48 hours later, on the 14th, we approached the Liberian authorities. In spite of the reassuring reply we received from them in Monrovia, a few days later, as you all know, a terrible mass execution was carried out. The day after that we decided to recall our delegation. If we had waited for the governments to take this decision, I think that 1980 would have run its course before anything was done.

Mr President, the Commission thus purely and simply claims this responsibility, acts on your behalf and is answerable to you for what it does and does not do. In the field of human rights, Parliament's action is naturally essential since no-one can express better than this directly elected Parliament the interest and sometimes even passion, with which the populations of our countries regard the respect for human rights. This is why I thank you for this debate.

President. — I call Mr Sarre to speak on behalf of the Socialist Group.

Mr Sarre. — (F) Mr President, it is revealing to note that the majority of the Political Affairs Committee wishes to see paragraph 4 of the motion for a resolution, the one which refers to the armed intervention in Central Africa, deleted.

Sarre

And yet it would be extremely hypocritical to try to cover up the circumstances in which the changeover of regime which recently took place in Bangui was carried out.

It is quite clear that the domino theory — which was so dear to Mr Foster Dulles — has left its mark on people's memories. Because it is those same people who for years unflinchingly upheld the bloody regime of Bokassa and who put his successor in his place.

No one should be allowed to block access to this information; this is not a discussion for domestic political reasons; here we are discussing the policies which certain Community Member States apply in an ACP state.

The man destined to become the new President of the Central African Republic was transported in a French military plane and backed up by the engagement of airborne troops in order to ensure military control of the capital. The new regime in Bangui was set up by the French Government in total disregard of the right of the African population to decide for themselves. The draft report states that this coup had the support of the population! How can they tell? The Central African people had a strong desire to rid itself of the tyrant. But might it not have wished to choose his successor itself? Are you perhaps forgetting that this perfectly simple idea is called democracy?

Our Parliament must condemn this new form of colonialism. The Community could afford to be proud of its policies if they helped to bring into being relationships with the countries of the Third World based on independence and respect for all states. The French action seriously jeopardizes the image that Community policy has in the Third World. This must be said. Manipulating puppet governments and putting into power empty figureheads backed up by paratroops means a return to the worst colonialist policies and total disregard for the peoples of the Third World; it is an insult to the whole of the African continent. It is our duty to state clearly that the values which should be the foundation of our development and cooperation policy have been flouted.

What is more the end result is far from being a reassuring one. Once in office Bokassa's successor immediately forbade any form of opposition and placed on the wanted list the leader of the forces opposed to him. In short, if I had been able to speak here on 28 September, I should have said that we needed to change Bokassa to preserve the status quo. When the report states that 'the role played by a Member State in Central Africa requires no further comment' does it not err on the side of a cautiousness which is difficult to accept?

Secondly, the way in which events in Central Africa developed should lead us to ask ourselves exactly how the necessary international aid is granted, and how ties

of cooperation between countries are woven and built up.

It is not my intention to ask the institutions of the Community or the Member States to interfere in the internal affairs of other states. But when crimes, blatant or continual oppression, lasting violations of the basic human rights are perpetrated and clearly seen to be perpetrated by all, do we have any right to keep silent? Does our silence not make us accomplices? How can we continue to ignore the facts and carry on normal relations as if nothing was happening?

We have already followed this path too long. It has led to our being discredited. When one thinks back to the coronation of Bokassa or to the sparkling links which existed between Bangui and Paris, to the brilliance of the meetings and safaris which took place, the absurdity of the situation vies with the disgust one feels at it.

The European Community should not share this attitude. Aid cannot be maintained when it is clear that it is being misappropriated for the benefit of a bloodthirsty potentate. Events in Central Africa show that it is no use hiding one's head in the sand where politics are concerned. This can only lead to a rude awakening and to disservice to the peoples with whom we have links.

Of course the population of the Third World needs aid from the rich countries. But it is also clear that they long for dignity! Will the Western powers not one day understand this fact, they who pretend not to hear the legitimate demands of the people they are helping to keep in slavery and oppression, and that by so doing they facilitate the institution of societies and regimes which will be the product of all this accumulated hatred?

If the European Parliament were to adopt the motion for a resolution put to us today by the Committee on Development and Cooperation, it would not be living up to its ambitions as expressed so frequently by so many Members in this House. We can find a different kind of policy on aid to developing countries. The one which is proposed to us now turns its back on their real needs. I would ask the Members of the European Parliament to reject firmly the text tabled by the Committee on Development and Cooperation.

President. — I call Mr Michel to speak on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (Christian-Democratic Group).

Mr Michel. — (F) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I think we must ask ourselves why we are holding this debate today. When we have already twice before — as the rapporteur reminded us and Mr Cheysson too — in May and in September 1979 had an oral question brought before us on this matter. The

Michel

question was tabled at the request and with the support of the Committee on Development and Cooperation concerning massacres in the Central African Empire.

You will remember that at that time some people spoke of 'non-events' referring to the murder of these children in Bangui. We had to wait until the African Committee of Enquiry published its reports, which is a damning indictment delivered by independent African magistrates and which showed up the true situation in all its horror.

But what we feel to be essential, Mr President, is that we should avoid making this debate on the Central African problem into solely or even basically a French matter. As Mr Cheysson just pointed out, this is a fundamental debate on the respect for human rights, but it is also — I hope you will not mind me saying this — a debate on the justification of our cooperation in the development of a whole range of countries where the State organizations help to victimize and exploit their populations by systematically using force, terror tactics, political assassination, torture, arbitrary imprisonment and by doing away with people.

Public opinion in all our countries is becoming painfully aware of these problems. Our policies on cooperation sometimes seems, in spite of ourselves, to be a reprehensible means of support for dictatorships or for unscrupulous local potentates.

The European public well knows that some aid projects do not sufficiently benefit populations which are in need or distress.

Of course, we are also aware — and we stress this point — that the vast majority of the governments of developing countries bear no resemblance whatsoever to those which have become sadly infamous by spilling the blood of their peoples and denying them freedom, whether those responsible be called Idi Amin, Bokassa or Macias Ngnema. We are aware that we must oppose the growing wave of disenchantment which is gaining ground amongst our public opinion and that in order to do this we must provide real guarantees on how our development aid programmes are managed and on the way in which food aid is channelled towards the right destinations.

We must be in a position to guarantee that our cooperation programmes are of real benefit to the most needy sectors of the population in the countries concerned.

And as Mr Cheysson pointed out, our negotiators did not succeed in having an explicit reference to human rights included in the Lomé II Convention.

We should however note, as he did, that all the signatories to the Convention reiterated in the preamble that the ultimate goal of cooperation between the ACP

countries and the Community is and remains the improvement of the living conditions of the populations concerned.

In my opinion, however, it is a pity that, in the Commission's own words, flagrant violations of human rights must be observed before the European Community may take 'any steps necessary to ensure that its aid is actually used to meet the needs of recipient populations and cannot be appropriated for other purposes'.

I feel that this attitude on the part of the Community should be the general rule at all times for all development cooperation programmes. Naturally, the monitoring of aid must not become interference in the internal affairs of sovereign countries. On the contrary, it must become a constant and joint evaluation of the effectiveness of our projects as they are actually carried out, with both partners being equal and answerable to each other.

I have been entrusted with drawing up, on behalf of the Committee on Development and Cooperation of the European Parliament, a report resulting from a question tabled by Sir Fred Warner, and this means that we will have an opportunity to come back to this matter in more detail at a future sitting.

In conclusion, I should like to say on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party that we agree that the Jaquet motion which in any case expresses the views of the full committee, should be adopted. Secondly, we insist that the Commission and the Council of Ministers swiftly implement, in accordance with the statement of 21 June 1977 on Uganda, clear measures which lay down that, should basic human rights be blatantly violated, the Community reserves the right — as Mr Jaquet stressed in his speech — to ensure that any aid the Community gives to a country guilty of such violations will not in any way have as its effect a reinforcement or prolongation of the denial of basic human rights to its people. Thirdly, and along the same lines, we are firmly convinced that, as Mr Cheysson also stressed, non-governmental organizations and the different sides of industry in the countries concerned must be brought in as much as possible to help in the carrying out of aid and services on the ground.

My fourth and last point is that if we want to have a real and definite effect on the advancement of the populations concerned under the terms of the Lomé II Convention, then what I have just said is an essential and constant prerequisite which must be applied. We must provide the financial means necessary which are requested from the Commission so that the latter may carry out its task, which was explained just now by Mr Cheysson and to which he laid claim; we must give it the manpower necessary, and in this respect we are aware that we are far from having achieved this.

Michel

This is the price we must pay in order to remain credible in the eyes of European public opinion for any future programmes we undertake and in order to foster respect for basic rights for everyone. We must think of all this, be willing to provide the means to achieve it and act accordingly.

President. — I call Sir Frederick Warner, to speak on behalf of the European Democratic Group.

Sir Frederick Warner. — Mr President, we should be grateful to the authors of this resolution for raising what is a very important matter, that is to say, the relationship between the exercise of human rights and the giving of aid by our Community. However, the resolution does present great difficulties. Frankly, it was intended largely as a vehicle for a political attack on one member of this Community, and it cannot be considered as anything else. As such, I think it is difficult and indeed wrong for the Committee on Development and Cooperation to be asked to express an opinion on such matters. The Political Affairs Committee has expressed an opinion on the matter, and that opinion has been totally disregarded. The resolution therefore seems to me to be quite unsatisfactory, and my group will abstain on it when it comes to the vote.

Having said that, I would just like to comment on the political aspects. Of course, it is a general principle subscribed to by all the members of the Community that outside military forces should not intervene in the internal affairs of independent countries. That is right.

Indeed, the history of intervention in Africa has not been a very happy one. We saw what happened in Uganda. The intervention did get rid of a gross tyranny, but the present situation is one of disorder, rapine and great distress for the population. All over Africa we see the presence of Soviet military advisers and forces, Cubans, East Germans — I don't know what else. That is perhaps a matter to which the Political Affairs Committee might address itself on another occasion. Clearly the effect of having such people around has had deplorable results in Ethiopia, Somalia and elsewhere. It is something of which we should be very much aware.

I would like to turn to the, for me, really interesting part of the resolution which is the relationship between human rights and the giving of aid by this Community. We heard an excellent examination of the problem from Commissioner Cheysson. I would just like to say how we in the European Democratic Group see these matters. First of all there is the establishment of the fact that human rights are not being respected. The Commissioner is right in saying that the Commission has a political function, that they are the ones in immediate touch and immediate charge and that therefore they must have the authority to take a deci-

sion and a quick decision. I agree with that. On the other hand, I do believe that it is very important for the Commission and for this Parliament that the Commission's view should be seen to be backed by us. We therefore need to be informed instantly when any situation of this kind arises, so that Parliament can express a view, so that the Political Affairs Committee and the Committee on Development and Cooperation can jointly come to a conclusion that the Commission is right, and I should be very surprised if any occasion arose when we did not consider that they were right.

Having established that there is a serious breach of the exercise of human rights, which calls into question the right of the oppressing government to receive aid, we have to define what we are going to do, what aid will continue and what will not. I agree with the rapporteur that it is very difficult to be precise about this, but I feel that the Commission has established very good precedents in this field. If I have understood rightly what they tend to do, it is to interrupt any aid which can be seen to give prestige, support or encouragement to that government. That means project aid, development aid, where the populace can see what appears to be an act of faith in the oppressing government, where docks can be seen to be built, where railways can be seen to be being constructed or where rural development schemes are being undertaken. These are the things which should be stopped. It is difficult to act because they are all undertaken under terms of contract, but insofar as the Commission has powers they should interrupt the work. Similar considerations apply in respect of loans, financial grants or any kind of financial assistance where the government can claim that it has the financial support of the Community.

Where we should not interrupt our efforts is where the aid is intended directly for the consumption of the population; that is to say, food aid, medicines, etc. In such cases the population cannot be made to suffer for the omissions or the sins of their government, and in such cases the Commission, I am sure, will always wish to continue its efforts. The important thing is that they should not have direct contact with the local authorities, that they should operate through the non-governmental organizations so that they themselves do not appear to be supporting the local government. This system has been applied very wisely and very effectively in Cambodia. It makes control and monitoring difficult and admittedly there are loopholes and faults in such a system, but it can be applied and has been very skillfully applied in the case of Cambodia.

I think that is really all I want to say on this occasion, other than to appeal to the Commission that we should, in the future as in the past, always work together on matters of this kind. The moment that problems arise I very much hope that the Commission will immediately be in touch with the Committee on Development and Cooperation so that we can come to joint conclusions together.

Warner

I repeat once more that we shall abstain on this motion when it comes to the vote.

President. — I call Mr Berkhouwer to speak on behalf of the Liberal and Democratic Group.

Mr Berkhouwer. — (NL) Mr President, speaking on behalf of my group on this distressing subject, I should first of all like to express my support for Mr Cheysson's words, which — as usual — I listened to with great interest and approval. I also entirely agree with what was said by the spokesmen for the Christian-Democratic Group and the European Democratic Group.

What I do not understand, though, is when a rapporteur comes from one political group and recommends us to adopt this resolution, and then someone else, clearly of a different persuasion, comes from the same group and advises us to vote against. That is something that just baffles me for the moment, but perhaps I shall be enlightened later. As regards Mr Jaquet's report and motion for a resolution, I should like to make the point that both refer only nominally to the country going under the name of the Central African Empire, yet another African country which has recently been liberated from the clutches of a blood-thirsty tyrant like Macias and Amin — we all know the names of those who have made their mark on mankind by misdeeds of unimaginable infamy. As the German liberal philosopher Karl Jaspers said, we nowadays have to live — quite literally — with the world before us. Looking at a map of the enormous African continent, I see running right through Africa a belt of violence and misery comparable with Cambodia and South-East Asia. In Western Africa there has been the recent violence in Liberia, and then from Chad to Djibouti we have an enormous area in which millions of people are threatened by death from starvation or disease. A figure as high as 12 million has even been quoted. That, Mr President, is what my group and I are concerned about. We want to do something definite to help, to go beyond mere words.

Let me repeat that we are not concerned about political and military action in a particular state in a particular area. The only thing my group and I are concerned about is the unimaginable misery of millions of people on the very brink of starvation. While we here in Europe are at a loss to know what to do with all our surplus food — especially mild and powdered milk — there are black and yellow-skinned children in other parts of the world staring starvation in the face. Mr President, what is going on at the moment in all those countries — most of which are associated with us under the Lomé Convention — and what is going on, for instance, in Somalia, simply beggars description. Somalia has the highest concentration of refugees: 700 000 in refugee camps and another 800 000 spread throughout the country,

making a total of 1½ million people. Women and children are dying by the thousand of starvation and disease. Bubonic plague, cholera and yellow fever are now rife in Uganda and northern Kenya, and are threatening to spread into Somalia. These are all acute dangers in addition to which, in the north-east of Uganda — and this House has already adopted a resolution on this subject — 400 000 nomads are threatened with genocide, or are on the brink of death from starvation, disease and violence. As I said, that was the subject of a separate resolution.

I fail to understand what the motion for a resolution has to say about a 'Community authority'. I was not one of the authors of the resolution, but surely the authority responsible for matters such as these is the Commission, and I believe that Mr Cheysson has already said as much and that he can only confirm the fact. This suits me better than the creation of any new authority; we can only admire the commitment shown by Mr Cheysson. So I do not think we need any new authority. One point which I think has been made fairly unanimously by all the speakers so far is that we must make sure that the Commission is as well equipped as possible to fulfil its duties, and that we should provide it with more staff to enable it to operate as a permanent aid organization capable of intervening directly in the distribution of food and medicine in all those parts of the world which are dependent on the better-off countries. What, after all, is the essence of the 'human rights', which we have been talking about ever since the French Revolution? Surely what it amounts to is human dignity. But before we can concern ourselves with human dignity, people first of all have a right to live and we have a duty to give life to those people. As far as my group and I are concerned, the important thing is that we and the Commission should provide aid to the people who need it where they need it from our well-off part of the world, where our stores are bursting at the seams with unwanted powdered milk. The really important thing is to send large amounts of food and medicine quickly and directly to the starving and sick throughout the world, and especially in the 'misery belt' of Africa. I am overcome with sadness when I think of our milk lakes and what-have-you, and when I see that we are incapable of helping the starving black children in Africa and yellow-skinned children in India and Cambodia by utilizing, for instance, the powdered milk we have so much of. Mr President, that is what I wanted to say in this debate on behalf of my Group, and I thank you for giving me this opportunity.

President. — I call Mr Habsburg.

Mr Habsburg. — (D) Mr President, I should like to begin by congratulating the rapporteur, Mr Jaquet, most sincerely on the clear formulation of the princi-

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ples which must dictate the Community's position vis-à-vis the signatories to the Lomé Convention. Mr Jaquet rightly points out that it would be wrong to apply our own standards to these countries, which have, in the main, only recently emerged into the modern world from an early stage in their development and which are therefore understandably not in a position to come to terms entirely with this modern world either mentally or materially. It is therefore our job to help them to create a political and economic infrastructure before we try to impose our own superstructure on them. The important thing here is to avoid making unreasonable demands on them and, on the other hand, avoid playing down the essential differences between us. That means that we Europeans must show a firm hand at the same time as adopting a conciliatory attitude. We need a firm hand because we must realize that money — particularly in the large amounts now changing hands as development aid — can be a very double-edged sword. Money is like rainfall is to the agricultural community. It is a blessing when rain falls in moderate quantities, over a long period, on to the parched land. But it is disastrous when it all comes down as a sudden cloudburst. At our hearing on world hunger in Brussels, the Philippines Minister of Agriculture, Mr Dancos, rightly stressed that if we proceed as certain misguided idealists want us to and suddenly increase our aid to the developing countries to the figure we ourselves have laid down — 0.7% of our gross national product — the countries receiving the money would be totally incapable of using it to any good purpose. This just illustrates why it is so wrong to proceed from purely theoretical knowledge and to try to impose this theoretical knowledge in practical conditions. I think most damage has been done here by recent reports which the press has splashed around with great gusto. They have in effect created a level of expectations which we cannot realistically achieve. The result will be growing tension, which will help neither side, because poor people are not helped by placing unrealistic demands on the more prosperous peoples.

Our aim is not so much to redistribute the existing cake as to create something which will safeguard the prosperity of Europe at the same time as ensuring that the disparity between poor and rich in the developing countries is reduced, or at least does not increase. That is the great achievement of the Lomé Convention; after all, it is not in our interests to make the developing countries permanent recipients of welfare — we must enable them to raise their standard of living by their own efforts while retaining their self-respect. The Lomé Convention will then generate the equal partnership which must be the aim of our policy. Our response to the question of human rights must be both energetic and patient. It must be energetic because we do our image great harm — and lay ourselves open to charges of double morality — by condemning racism in one case and keeping quiet in others. It must be patient because we simply must realize that the developing peoples are still different from

us and may therefore adopt an attitude in certain cases which is not to our liking — indeed, which may shock us. Our job here must be to prepare the way for a slow but profound change, and — taken in its true sense — the Lomé Convention is a good means of achieving this provided we do not allow it to fall into the hands of ideologists and romantics. Let us be objective here and acknowledge that the policy pursued by the French Government in Africa has done a lot to prepare the way for cooperation between a free Africa and our Europe on an equal basis. Let us stress too that it was General De Gaulle, more than anyone else, who was the pioneer in this respect and who managed to ensure that the process of decolonization in French Black Africa proceeded more or less harmoniously. I must unfortunately reject certain parts of the report which, in my opinion, do not do sufficient justice to the role played by France. For instance, the explanatory statement claims that the French Government's connections with the Bokassa regime were the main cause of the maintenance of that dictator in power. The rapporteur unfortunately seems to have overlooked France's real attitude to Central Africa. All the African states, including the Organization of African Unity, recognized the Bokassa regime to the very last. If France had indeed broken with Bokassa, there would have been an enormous outcry throughout the world, and Paris would have been accused of neo-colonialism. As a former colonial power, France had to steer an extremely cautious course and, generally speaking, do nothing that could in any way be regarded as interfering in the internal affairs of Central Africa. Any blame here should be laid exclusively at the door of the Member States of the Organization of African Unity.

Point 17 of the explanatory statement seems to suggest that the African Committee of Enquiry forced the French Government to change its policy of support for the Bokassa regime. This may not be what the author had intended, and indeed, the facts do not support the allegation. France was earlier than all the African States in toning down its support for Bokassa, and it was Paris which did the diplomatic groundwork for the setting-up of the Committee of Enquiry in the first place.

I very much welcome the rapporteur's assertion that the bulk of the population of the Central African Republic welcomed the intervention of the French troops, and rightly so, as the French alone were responsible for preventing the threatened blood-bath. Nor should we forget that the French intervened at the request of leading personalities in the country, not least the then President David Dakko, who was the last freely-elected President of the Republic and who therefore personified the republican legitimacy of Central Africa, contrary to what was claimed by Mr Sarre.

Point 18 of the explanatory statement says that it is now time French troops were withdrawn from the

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country. I should like to point out that the current agreement between France and the Central African Republic states clearly that the French will withdraw their troops when the legitimate government of Central Africa requires them to do so. Anyone who is aware of the extremely dangerous situation in which the Republic finds itself at the moment will realize why this has not yet been done. It is therefore not up to us to tell the authorities in Central Africa what to do. They know best what is right for their country.

The call — in the explanatory statement to the motion for a resolution — for Parliament to deplore the role played by France is, in my opinion, unreasonable in the light of current realities. On the contrary, the Community should be grateful to the French for saving the lives of thousands of people by their action. France has thus demonstrated genuine political solidarity with its erstwhile protectorate, and has made a major contribution towards genuine expectations of a move towards liberty and democracy in an important part of Africa.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mr Jaquet.

Mr Jaquet, rapporteur. — (F) Mr President, I shall simply make a few remarks. Just now Mr Georges Sarre expressed his regret that the Committee did not see fit to keep in its text a paragraph he had proposed and which was critical of a government of a Member State of the Community. I should simply like to point out that the Committee replaced this paragraph by another which concerns the future — an aspect not devoid of interest and importance — and which is extremely significant when read carefully. I should like to re-read it now:

wishes to see genuine democratic procedures instituted as soon as possible with the participation of the population concerned and without any external military intervention.

I believe that this paragraph is extremely significant and it obviously applies to the Central African Republic.

Mr Michel was insistent in his speech that aid to the populations — and I emphasize *to the populations* — in countries where human rights are disregarded should not be misappropriated — and I emphasize again *should not be misappropriated*. This is a matter of extreme importance and I give my wholehearted approval to these words.

I should like to finish my very short speech by replying to Mr Cheysson. In his speech just now, Mr Cheysson told us that we had put two questions to him. Who decides on aid and who monitors aid to populations when this aid goes to countries where human rights are disregarded? Mr Cheysson gave us a very clear

reply: 'the Commission'. Well I should like to say here and now that I wholeheartedly approve his statement but that, this being so, I would urge the Commission to be on its guard at all times.

President. — The debate is closed. The motion for a resolution will be put to the vote at the next voting time.

7. *Provisional twelfths for Parliament's expenditure*

President. — The next item is the report without debate (Doc. 1-255/80), drawn up by Mr Robert Jackson on behalf of the Committee on Budgets, in application of Article 204 of the EEC Treaty and Article 8 of the Financial Regulation authorizing further provisional twelfths for Section I (Parliament) of the general budget of the European Community

I note that no one wishes to speak.

The motion for a resolution will be put to the vote at the next voting time.

8. *Common organization of the market in oils and fats*

President. — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-225/80), drawn up by Mr Jürgens on behalf of the Committee on Agriculture, on the

proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-837/79) for a regulation amending Regulation No 136/66/EEC on the establishment of a common organization of the market in oils and fats and supplementing Regulation (EEC) No 1360/78 on producer groups and associations thereof.

I call Mr Jürgens.

Mr. Jürgens, rapporteur. — (D) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, my report is submitted in the form of a motion for a resolution. The Commission proposal is designed to introduce a number of essentially technical amendments to the system of production and consumption aid in the olive oil sector provided for by the basic Regulation No 136/66. These amendments are intended mainly to improve the operation of the system. As you have the report before you, I shall simply summarize it under five headings.

Firstly, the management of producer aid is to be transferred from individual producer groups to their associations. The point of this is to prevent excessive dispersal of activity and to make the task of management and control easier, in view of the fact that in the major producer country, Italy, there are only four such associations, but hundreds of producer groups.

Jürgens

Secondly, it is intended to prevent olive oil producers who do not market what they produce from being completely excluded from the aid, since they are unable to join a producer group. It is proposed that they should be allowed to join the associations on a direct basis. As an exception to the general rule, the latter would thus comprise recognised producer groups and, where necessary, individual growers whose production is intended primarily for their own consumption.

Thirdly, it is now stipulated that the expenditure incurred by the associations in connection with their task of verifying production potential and yields should be financed from a levy on the production aid. This system, which was applied in respect of producer groups during the last 2 marketing years, is thus now confirmed.

Fourthly, as with production aid, the Commission wishes to rationalize the management of consumption aid, which is granted to family undertakings which can or bottle olive oil. The proposal thus provides for the aid to be granted to recognized trade organizations, which are responsible for preparing applications, carrying out controls and allocating the aid among the undertakings represented by them. The expenditure incurred by the organizations in carrying out these duties is to be financed by a levy on the aid.

Fifthly, and finally, it is proposed to include associations in the olive oil sectors which operate in France among the beneficiaries of the Community aid granted to producer groups and associations thereof under Regulation No 1360/78, from which they were previously excluded.

It is evident from these five points that these proposals, which are based on experience of the operation of the system since it was introduced, are — generally speaking — designed to simplify and rationalize it. I believe that a majority of the Committee on Agriculture recommends adoption of this resolution by Parliament, particularly as the proposed measures will have no financial implications for the Community budget. I would therefore ask Parliament to approve the Commission's amended proposal in accordance with the Committee on Agriculture's proposal based on this report. The committee also calls on the Commission to submit an annual report to the European Parliament and the Council on the granting of consumption aid.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mr Curry to speak on behalf of the European Democratic Group.

Mr Curry. — Mr President, I don't wish to call into question the measures which are proposed in this report on olive oil, which are, as the rapporteur has

said, technical in nature. What I do wish to do is to draw attention to the severe imminent crisis facing the Community in the olive oil sector as a whole because, when I see the sort of measures which have been proposed in this document, I am reminded irresistibly of a gentleman who spent his time rearranging the deckchairs on the Titanic shortly after it had hit the iceberg. The problem is that olive oil is governed by three mechanisms: an intervention mechanism, a production aid and an aid to consumption. This doesn't alter the fact that consumption of olive oil is steadily declining and we are faced with the prospect of a steadily rising volume of production consequent in particular upon enlargement of the Community. Already, olive oil represents only 0.8 % of agricultural output in the Community and is absorbing 4 % of the agricultural budget. It is a very imprecise sector — we don't know exactly who owns the trees, we don't know how many trees there are, we don't know how many dependents live off those olive trees and we are not clear as to the patterns of population growth in the areas where olives are produced.

The point I wish to make is that here, and we have recognized this quite clearly in my group, is a very clear case where agricultural policy is being asked to undertake purely social functions. There are more olive-oil producers in the Community than dairy farmers and of course these are concentrated in Italy. Now, we have nothing other than sympathy for farmers in Italy who are producing on a few arid hillside acres which preclude either mechanization or irrigation, but this is an area where the Community should be stepping in with a social policy rather than burdening with entirely social preoccupations a policy which ought to be one of food production.

Now what is worrying is that there is absolutely no evidence that people are seriously thinking about what is going to happen in this sector. Commissioner Natali produced a document on enlargement in which he was very alarming about the whole olive oil question. He said that there could well be a charge to the Community budget of £1 billion a year after full Spanish entry and suggested a tax on oils and fats to recover some of that amount. The Commission, quite rightly in my opinion, did not like this idea and it has now shunted it off to the Council where no decision has been taken.

But equally there is no alternative idea being produced because Commissioner Natali himself has dismissed any idea of grubbing up, of doing anything which might dislocate the social and economic pattern in the region and one can understand why he has done this. However, we are left with a total paralytic immobility which suggests that here we are drifting towards a great new crisis. Now it is curious that, when at last in this Community, people are actually talking about reform of the agricultural policy and the pack-ice is actually breaking around the agricultural policy, here

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we are moving helplessly towards a situation of severe crisis.

I would therefore like to take advantage of this debate to point out that we are very much aware of this crisis, that we are very dissatisfied with the very inadequate response made to it and that we hope that some concrete ideas are going to come out of the Commission and out of the Council towards tackling the crisis before it reaches the scale of abuse with which we have already become familiar in too many other agricultural sectors.

President. — I call Mr Fernandez.

Mr Fernandez. — (*F*) Mr President, the report submitted by Mr Jürgens contains a number of fairly positive aspects on a very important subject, and it is clear that the problem of fats and olive oil has today reached a worrying stage.

What is happening? As a result of aids for production and consumption within the Community, we manage to maintain a relation between consumption and production which just about gives the producers a living wage. This is a fact. Thus the case of the small producers is important, and even more so since the enlargement of the Community, in particular to include Spain, would have extremely serious consequences for them and for overall olive oil production, and this would be true in particular for French olive oil production and ultimately for Spanish olive oil production as well.

If the Community were enlarged, a suggestion which the French Communists and their allies categorically refuse, the Spanish system would be dismantled. Producer prices in Spain would be raised to the level of prices in the Community now, and at the same time Spanish import quotas would be abolished and this would mean, just as is now the case in Europe, that vegetable fats would enter Spain without levy.

This would almost automatically lead to the collapse of olive oil consumption because of both the increased price in Spain and the additional influx of vegetable fats, in particular from America. Simultaneously, production would tend to increase as a result of the higher producer prices and, of course, Mr Mehaignerie and Mr Gundelach would say that in this case the producers who produce surpluses would have to foot the bill.

What we cannot accept today we will not be able to accept tomorrow. The customs duties which were fixed in the GATT agreement must be dismantled, but we must also and above all categorically refuse the enlargement of the Common Market in particular to include Spain.

What people will seek to do to rectify this situation will be to reduce production by grubbing up olive trees and by reducing support for French olive oil production for example. It is a shameful policy calculated to achieve the enlargement of the Community by grubbing up vines and olive trees in the South of France. This is a scorched earth policy which the French Communists and Allies will never accept because it will mean the end of our regions. Naturally, Mr Jürgens' report did not touch on this problem, but I feel it is essential to stress its vital importance. I hope Mr Jürgens will not take offence at this. On other matters, the French Communist and Allies Group will not oppose his report.

President. — The debate is closed. The motion for a resolution will be put to the vote at the next voting time.

9. *Common organization of the market in products processed from fruit and vegetables*

President. — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-226/80), drawn up by Mr Caillavet on behalf of the Committee on Agriculture, on the

proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-56/80) for a regulation amending Regulation (EEC) No 516/77 on the common organization of the market in products processed from fruit and vegetables and amending Regulation (EEC) No 950/68 on the Common Customs Tariff.

I call Mr Caillavet.

Mr Caillavet, rapporteur. — (*F*) Mr President, this report is a technical report which was unanimously approved by the Committee on Agriculture. I wish to give you a brief outline of it.

At the moment, with regard to products processed from fruit and vegetables, I would remind you that the regulation lays down a frontier trading system and a processing premium covering peaches, Williams pears, peeled tomatoes, tomato concentrates, prunes and, from the 1980/1981 marketing year, cherries.

The proposal for a regulation submitted by the Commission deals exclusively with the frontier trading system; it does not concern the processing premium. Basically, this proposal deals with apricot, pineapple and grape pulps.

Until now, that is, until the Court of Justice's decision, ladies and gentlemen, a customs duty and a levy on added sugar were charged on processed products, the levy being more or less based on the difference between the threshold price and a cif price for white sugar.

Caillavet

Subsequently, however, and in addition to the judgment passed by the Court of Justice, the GATT took another decision in Tokyo which compels us to accept the Commission's proposal. It is obvious that fruits, and pulps, in particular, contain sugar and when the average sugar content increases, the levy has to be automatic. The standard sugar content for apricot pulps has therefore been fixed at 9 % and that for bananas, pineapples and grapes at 13 %. But this led to a confusion between the judgment passed by the Court of Justice and the GATT proposal, since the more sunshine there was, the more the sugar content of the fruits increased and the higher the levies, on fruit-tree produce became. This is why, since the GATT decided in Tokyo to apply a 2 % ad valorem duty to all pulp-like raw materials, the Commission has had to envisage increasing the sugar content standard, precisely to avoid having jam manufacturers and consumers pay the new customs duty levy. Accordingly, the duty on average content has been increased from 9 % to 16 % for apricot pulps and from 13 % to 22 % for pineapple, banana and grape pulps. Under such circumstances, the Committee on Agriculture, after examining with its rapporteur the Commission's proposal, considered it both realistic and equitable. This is why it unanimously requests Parliament to endorse its decision.

President. — I call Mr Dalsass to speak on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (Christian-Democratic Group).

Mr Dalsass. — (D) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the rapporteur has already said that the report is a technical one and has already been approved unanimously by the Committee on Agriculture, which has recommended that Parliament should adopt it. I should nonetheless like to make a few brief comments on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party.

This regulation — or rather its amended version — will restore order where order is sorely needed. I would take this opportunity to stress that the Commission proposal is highly commendable, since, from the agricultural viewpoint, it may be said that this measure was not taken for the benefit of agriculture alone, but that it will also benefit industry and, in particular, consumers, because no levies will be applied. The regulation is therefore being amended primarily in the interests of the preserves industry and also of consumers. This point needs to be emphasized, otherwise agriculture will be blamed for everything. The European People's Party is very much in favour of this report and can only recommend that Parliament should approve it.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mr Martin to speak on behalf of the Communist and Allies Group.

Mr Martin. — (F) Mr President, it is obviously not possible here to talk about fruits and vegetables without taking into consideration what is happening at present at the Spanish border.

On Monday, Languedoc and Roussillon farmers intercepted and destroyed trucks carrying fruits and vegetables from Spain. Other demonstrations staged by farmers took place in the department of Bouches-du-Rhône where a goods train from Spain was blocked at Tarascon. Tonnes of peaches, plums and other types of fruit were thrown on the ground. Similar demonstrations took place in Brittany. We can hardly forget ...

(Interruption by Mr Caillavet)

... Mr Caillavet, I had the courtesy to listen to you with patience, you should at least have the same courtesy, the same good manners. I thought people still had some sense of courtesy in this House.

Consequently, we cannot forget the root causes of this legitimate discontent, just as we cannot forget those who are actually responsible for the situation that has arisen. I should say here that the causes of the tensions at the Spanish border and the demonstrations of anger by French farmers reside in the attitude of the French Government and of the authorities of the European Economic Community. The fuse that set fire to the Spanish trucks and caused the explosions of despair that went off recently and that can still go off again at any moment was laid by the anti-farming policy of the French Government and the European Community authorities. No other person is responsible. Today, we have to consider the French Catalan and Languedoc regions, which are among the largest producers of fruit and vegetables, as scenes of the tragedy of farmers in general, and of market gardeners and horticulturists in particular. Those responsible for this tragedy are you, the authorities of the Commission, of the governments of the Nine and of the French Government in particular who, for several years now, have been organizing a drop in the farmers' income by not having the Community preference implemented and by giving a free reign to imports and authorizing speculation by big business. The responsibility is yours! That is the truth!

Last year, the Ministers of Agriculture of the Nine came to Perpignan in Roussillon. The outcome of this visit is that the situation of producers of fruits and vegetables in the French Catalan region and elsewhere has worsened. This cannot continue. This cannot continue when millions of people in France, as in the other countries of the Community, are compelled to cut down, especially on food whereas producers are forced to go bankrupt and to destroy their own produce. We can thus clearly see who is responsible for the

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violence and the destruction of fruit and vegetables. The authorities responsible for this are the same authorities who are responsible for the low income of farmers and for the daily difficulties of families. In France, Messrs Barre and Mehaignerie have, for several weeks now, been refusing to pay heed to the justified request made by fruit and vegetables producers that fruit and vegetables that are not supplementary to the national produce should not be allowed entry into France. This is because the principle of Community preference is flouted. Yet the implementation of this principle was intended to give French producers priority in selling their fruit and vegetables on a market where, within the Government of my country and in Brussels, there aim today is to cut prices without the cuts being passed on to the consumers. It is the profiteers of big business and speculation who pocket the profits whereas the housewife's shopping basket continues to remain poorly stocked. In fact, what we observe today is that an ominous spectre is hanging over French fruit and vegetable producers. The serious consequences of these Spanish imports are a pointer to what will happen tomorrow when the Community is extended to Spain in particular, and you know this very well, Mr Caillavet. This enlargement will not be beneficial to Spanish producers either as their production too will have to be restructured to the detriment, as in France, of small farmers.

This is why I wish to reiterate our position. We French Communists do not speak that 'variable geometry' language which changes time, place and circumstances, such as that of some people — well known in this House — like Mr Sutra, for instance, and others who say 'no' to enlargement in Languedoc-Roussillon, 'no' or 'yes' perhaps elsewhere and 'yes' as it happened a few days ago at a meeting with the Cortes here in Strasbourg itself. As far as we are concerned, we shall not accept enlargement. Our 'no' to this misguided move is categorical, final and even defiant.

With regard to your report, Mr Caillavet, I should point out that, whatever you say, the proposed system of increasing percentages and measuring the maximum sugar content cannot but promote industrialists' fraudulent practices which consist, when the world market prices are sufficiently attractive, in importing sugar free of levies while farmers bear the costs resulting from exports of the Community's production. Consequently we shall vote against your report.

President. — I call Mr Caillavet.

Mr Caillavet, rapporteur. — (F) I have to tell Mr Martin that with 27 years of parliamentary experience, I have always been polite. When I was a minister in France, I even received and courteously welcomed members of his party.

However that may be, Mr Martin, ladies and gentlemen, I am responsible for a report. It is a report on a

specific subject and I am dealing with it at the technical level. It is not possible here in a specialized report to depart from the topic and start discussing the general agricultural policy. That is another debate for which I am ready. Last year, while I was Chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, I organized a round-table conference at Echternach. Some of your friends attended it and we arrived at useful conclusions. In political terms, therefore, we must only pass judgment on this report.

But here, Mr Martin, I do not have to judge the French Government even though in France I am in constructive opposition. Here, I am an MP elected at the European level. I judge the Commission, I judge the Council of Ministers. By trying to go beyond our limits in all discussions, we are bringing the European Parliament into disrepute and impairing its political authority. Furthermore, with regard to the judgment passed by the Court of Justice and the decision taken by GATT, there was some opposition, some contradiction. The Commission suggested a measure and a procedure which the Committee on Agriculture deemed appropriate. I repeat, Mr Martin, that the Committee's decision to approve this report was unanimous.

(Applause)

President. — The debate is closed. The motion for a resolution will be put to the vote at the next voting time.

10. *Common organization of the market in wine*

President. — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-277/80), drawn up by Mr Dalsass on behalf of the Committee on Agriculture, on the

proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-158/80) for a regulation amending Regulation (EEC) No 337/79 on the common organization of the market in wine.

I call Mr Dalsass.

Mr Dalsass, rapporteur. — (D) Mr President, the Community of Nine will soon be a Community of Ten, and that is the reason for the proposed modification of the common organization of the market in wine. The forthcoming accession of Greece to the European Economic Community means that Community legislation needs to be adapted straight away to take account of this new state of affairs. The aim of this proposal for a regulation is to make the necessary adjustments.

Greece produces resinated wines — or retsina — whose distinctive taste is achieved by the addition of

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Aleppo pine resin. Naturally, Greece wants to be able to continue this practice after it joins the Community. Thus, to ensure that Greek wines are in a position to compete on an equal footing with the other Community wines, Regulation No 337/79 on the common organization of the market in wine needs to be amended in the following areas.

In order to adjust the wine-growing potential to market requirements, planting and replanting are monitored on the basis of a communication submitted by the Member States to the Commission containing a statement of the area under vines in their national territory. These statements are drawn up in the Federal Republic of Germany by wine-growing region, in France by department, in Italy by province, and in the other Member States for the entire national territory.

In the case of Greece — and this is the reason for the proposed amendment — this statement will be drawn up by *nomos*, a *nomos* being an administrative unit comparable to the French 'département'. The proposal for a regulation complements Article 43 of Regulation No 337/79 concerning coupage — that is the second amendment. This article prohibits coupage between wines of different types. Consequently, the coupage of a 'retsina' wine with a wine to which Aleppo pine resin has not been added is prohibited. The same applies to musts. Thus, the wines produced by traditional methods in the Community of the Nine will be protected. In addition, the use of Aleppo pine resin to produce wines of the *retsina* type is authorized only in the geographical territory of the Hellenic Republic, thus affording protection both to Greece and to the Community consumer.

It should be pointed out that the second indent of Article 1 (3) of the proposal for a regulation sets out the provisions of Greek legislation as regards the addition of Aleppo pine resin to grape must.

I therefore feel that the Commission's proposal can only be welcomed and ought to be approved since, without affecting the traditional methods of production in the Community of the Nine, it will protect Greek winegrowers and Community consumers against fraudulent practices, while at the same time allowing Greece to continue a wine-making tradition which will serve to enrich the Community's oenological heritage. I therefore call upon Parliament to approve this proposal to amend the regulation.

President. — I call Mr Almirante.

Mr Almirante. — (I) I do not wish to speak because I agree with the report.

President. — The debate is closed. The motion for a resolution will be put to the vote at the next voting time.

The proceedings will now be suspended until 3 p.m.

The House will rise.

(The sitting was suspended at 1 p.m. and resumed at 3 p.m.)

IN THE CHAIR: MR JAQUET

Vice-President

President. — The sitting is resumed.

11. Votes

President. — The next item is the vote on the motions for resolutions on which the debate has been closed.

We shall begin with the motion for a resolution contained in the report (Doc. 1-78/80) by Mrs Dekker and others: *Position of women in the Community*. (Parliament adopted the first four recitals of the preamble)

On the fifth recital of the preamble, Mrs Roudy and others have tabled Amendment No 17 seeking to reword the recital as follows:

Whereas the European Parliament has decided¹ to set up an Ad Hoc Committee on Women's Rights whose task it will be, in cooperation with the Commission and drawing on a report by the Commission setting out the basic principles, to prepare a parliamentary debate to be held in December 1980 (rest unchanged).

What is the rapporteur's position?

Mrs Dekker, rapporteur. — (NL) Mr President, I welcome this amendment because in the meantime the task of the *ad hoc* committee has in fact changed.

(Parliament adopted Amendment No 17 and then the fifth recital of the preamble thus amended)

President. — On the sixth recital of the preamble, Mrs Lenz and others on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (CD Group) have tabled

¹ OJ C 289 of 19 November 1979, p. 57

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Amendment No 7 seeking to reword the recital as follows:

Expressly makes known its wish for a delegation from the European Parliament to take part in this second United Nations World Conference on the position of women in Copenhagen and requests the President of the European Parliament to lead the delegation personally.

What is the rapporteur's position?

Mrs Dekker, rapporteur. — (NL) I myself would vote in favour of the President's being part of the Parliament delegation for Copenhagen. I shall let the House decide.

(Parliament adopted Amendment No 7)

President. — On the seventh recital of the preamble, Mrs Lenz and others on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (CD Group) have tabled Amendment No 8 seeking to reword the recital as follows:

Concerned that the directives submitted by the European Community since 1975 should be implemented in the Member States.

What is the rapporteur's position?

Mrs Dekker, rapporteur. — (NL) Mr President, I have no objection to this addition if it does not replace the seventh recital but adds to it.

President. — I call Mrs Lenz.

Mrs Lenz. — (D) I agree to that.

(Parliament adopted successively Amendment No 8 in its modified form, the seventh recital thus amended and the eighth recital)

President. — Mrs De March and others have tabled Amendment No 20 seeking to insert three new paragraphs before paragraph 1:

1a. Notes that in recent years no tangible improvement has been made in the situation of women in Europe which remains characterized by discrimination, unemployment, inequality and even poverty;

1b. Fears that the crisis affecting the countries of the Community is being used as a pretext for stagnation and regression in the position of women:

This regression may be seen clearly today in the spheres of employment, access to activity in the chosen occupation, education, health and family policies. This regression will be aggravated by the pursuit of the policy of integration and enlargement of the EEC;

1c. Notes the extent to which the policy of tension and the arms race pursued by the EEC runs counter to the desire of the women of Europe for peace and dialogue.

What is the rapporteur's position?

Mrs Dekker, rapporteur. — (NL) I am against the amendment, Mr President.

President. — I call Mrs Squarcialupi.

Mrs Squarcialupi. — (I) Mr President, I should like to ask the authors of this amendment to delete the words *pursued by the EEC* from the last part. I do not think it is the EEC as such which is pursuing the arms race. If anything, this remark applies to the Member States of the EEC. If the authors are ready to delete these words, I request that the first three paragraphs be voted on separately from the fourth one. It will be perfectly obvious that the policy of tension and the arms race run counter to the desire of the women of Europe for peace and dialogue.

(Parliament rejected successively the three paragraphs which Amendment No 20 sought to insert and adopted paragraph 1)

President. — I have two amendments on paragraph 2:

— Amendment No 9, tabled by Mrs Lenz and others on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (CD Group), seeking to reword the paragraph as follows:

Notes that the Copenhagen Conference will examine to what extent the abovementioned demands regarding in particular health care, training and employment have been met and that an action plan for the second half of the Decade for Women will then be submitted to the Conference for approval;

— Amendment No 21, tabled by Mrs De March and others, seeking to reword the paragraph as follows:

Notes that the follow-up conference in Copenhagen in 1980 will not only review the attainment of these objectives but will be used mainly to prepare concrete measures to improve the situation of women with regard to training and employment and to social protection and health care.

The two amendments are mutually exclusive.

What is the rapporteur's position?

Mrs Dekker, rapporteur. — (NL) Mr President, this is a minor alteration to the text of the motion for a resolution which we tabled. In certain respects I find it limiting because all the attention is concentrated on health, training and employment and not on the rest of

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the proposals which are to be considered in Copenhagen. The translation could have something to do with this. I would prefer the original wording but I am not against this amendment.

(Parliament adopted Amendment No 9, which meant that Amendment No 21 fell)

President. — I have two amendments on paragraph 3:

— Amendment No 10, tabled by Mrs Lenz and others on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (CD Group), seeking to reword the paragraph as follows:

Points out that the draft action plan for the second half of the Women's Decade (UN-Doc. A/Conf. 94/22 No 80-12383), which calls for an end to political, cultural, social, economic and legal discrimination, contains many elements important to the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment and many other EP committees since there are still cases of considerable discrimination in employment and training in the Member States;

— Amendment No 22, tabled by Mrs De March and others, seeking to reword the paragraph as follows:

Draws attention to the fact that apart from these demands relating to training and employment, which are of particular importance for the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment, there is also considerable discrimination in the legal, educational, health and social security systems, the elimination of which must also be vigorously pursued.

The two amendments are mutually exclusive.

What is the rapporteur's position?

Mrs Dekker, rapporteur. — (NL) With regard to Amendment No 10, Mr President, I should like to ask the authors to delete the last sentence from the words *in employment and training*. These words excessively restrict the areas where there is still a great deal to be done with regard to discrimination. I should like to ask Mrs Lenz and the other authors if they would agree to this change. If they do, I can accept the amendment.

President. — Amendments cannot normally be changed in this way. I shall, however, ask the authors of this amendment.

I call Mrs Lenz.

Mrs Lenz. — (D) Mr President, we agree to the deletion of the words *in employment and training*.

(Parliament adopted Amendment No 10 thus amended, which meant that Amendment No 22 fell)

President. — I have two amendments on paragraph 4:

— Amendment No 23, tabled by Mrs De March and others, seeking to replace the paragraph by the following three paragraphs:

4. Regrets that despite the objectives of the 1975 Conference, the social situation of women in the Member States of the EEC has subsequently deteriorated;

4a. Notes that the various restructuring plans implemented by the Community (particularly in the textile industry) have seriously impaired the position of women in Europe;

4b. Fears that the future enlargement of the EEC to include three new countries will further accentuate the social inequalities borne by women in the Member States.

— Amendment No 11, tabled by Mrs Lenz and others on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (CD Group), seeking to reword the paragraph as follows:

... are still not satisfactory.

The two amendments are mutually exclusive.

What is the rapporteur's position?

Mrs Dekker, rapporteur. — (NL) Mr President, I cannot support Amendment No 23. The idea expressed in paragraph 4b in particular is already in the motion for a resolution, where it is phrased in more neutral terms.

(Parliament rejected Amendment No 23 and adopted successively Amendment No 11, paragraph 4 thus amended and paragraph 5)

President. — On paragraph 6, Mrs Roudy and others have tabled Amendment No 18 seeking to add the following at the end of the paragraph:

... and requests in this connection that any statistics or quantified demand should clearly show the breakdown by sex.

What is the rapporteur's position?

Mrs Dekker, rapporteur. — (NL) Mr President, I am in favour of incorporating this amendment. I admit there is a mistake in the Dutch version but I think that anyone with a bit of comprehension would have grasped the meaning of the word *kunnen* here.

President. — The correction will be made.

(Parliament adopted Amendment No 18 and then paragraph 6 thus amended)

President

I have two amendments on paragraph 7:

- Amendment No 12, tabled by Mrs Lenz and others on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (CD Group), seeking to reword the paragraph as follows:

Requests the Commission to draw up the reports requested immediately so that the following questions in particular can be examined in greater detail:

- (a) health care, social security and job protection measures for women,
- (b) the situation on the employment market:

- the structure of women's employment and the actual number of women unemployed, including those willing to work but not officially registered, their age and the length of time they have been unemployed.
- part-time employment, calculated on the basis of the number of hours worked per year in order to avoid the distortions inherent in person-related statistics,
- relationships between the development of technology and unemployment amongst women,
- continuing wage discrimination,
- analysis and subsequently positive modification of the prevailing systems of recruitment and promotion,
- organization of working hours commensurate with the needs of the family; extension of child-care facilities in the widest sense, with due regard for the child on the part of its mother and its father; parental leave and a general improvement in and adaptation of business and professional activity to suit the working pattern of the woman in employment,
- the extent of paid work performed by women at home, with particular regard to systems of remuneration, working conditions and social security benefits,
- the position of women working in family concerns, with particular regard to systems of remuneration, working conditions and social security benefits;

- (c) Education and vocational training:

- vocational training, level of duties carried out and sectoral concentration,
- greater encouragement for vocational training in areas other than 'typical' women's occupations and a guarantee of opportunities for the employment of women in these occupations after training (Preparatory Committee, para. 5),
- the development of microelectronic technology and the employment of women;

- Amendment No 24, tabled by Mrs De March and others, seeking to add the following at the end of the paragraph:

- the professional, salary and social security situation of women who are heads of household and of single women;
- child labour in Europe;
- the implications of enlargement by the applicant countries for the position of women in the Community;
- the effects of unemployment on the social situation of women and their children in the EEC.

The two amendments are not mutually exclusive.

What is the rapporteur's position?

Mrs Dekker, rapporteur. — (NL) Mr President, the whole framework of the motion for a resolution would be disrupted by Amendment No 12. I am not as such against the idea which the authors of this amendment have in mind. I simply think that it is far too late to redraft the whole motion. It would have been better if that had happened at the committee stage. A number of points which have been incorporated in this amendment are already in the report. And to avoid any confusion in the voting, I am also against accepting this amendment. I am worried that we could get into a tremendous muddle with the rest of the motion and with the other amendments. Although I agree with most of what this amendment says, I feel I cannot recommend its adoption.

(Parliament adopted successively Amendments No 12 and No 24)

President. — After paragraph 7, Mrs De March and others have tabled Amendment No 28 seeking to insert the following new paragraph:

- 7a. Recalls that the European Community has a special responsibility, namely to ensure the practical implementation of the objectives of the Treaty of Rome, which states: 'each Member State shall during the first stage (1962) ensure and subsequently maintain the application of the principle that men and women should receive equal pay for equal work' — Article 119.

The European Parliament must therefore immediately:

- put an end to the restructuring policy which is creating unemployment among women,
- stop all negotiations on the second enlargement,
- carry out investigations and take action to ensure respect for the responsibility of women in regard to occupation, freedom of trade union and political opinion, the right to strike. This applies in particular in France, the FRG and the United Kingdom;

What is the rapporteur's position?

Mrs Dekker, rapporteur. — (NL) I am against the adoption of this amendment, Mr President. It is outra-

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geously critical of the EEC restructuring policy and jeopardizes the whole idea of enlargement.

President. — I call Mrs Squarcialupi.

Mrs Squarcialupi — (I) Mr President, I am sorry if I bring this up again but I should like a separate vote because I agree with some parts of the amendment but not others. We could take a joint vote on the first and the last parts, and then the second and third parts.

(Parliament rejected successively the three parts of Amendment No 28)

President. — I have six amendments on paragraph 8:

— Amendment No 13, tabled by Mrs Lenz and others on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (CD Group), seeking to reword the paragraph as follows:

Refers, moreover, to the work already underway in the Ad Hoc Committee on Women's Rights,

Urges that this work particularly within the Ad Hoc Committee be accelerated and intensified,

Calls on its appropriate committees to continue to give special attention after the UN Conference to all questions concerning

- women migrant workers
- refugees, home-comers, the repatriated and evacuees, and
- women in the Third World and to draw up reports on these subjects;

— Amendment No 3, tabled by Miss Roberts on behalf of the European Democratic Group, seeking to reword the first indent of the paragraph as follows:

establishment of an independent advisory committee within the institutions of the European Community on equal treatment of men and women in regard to recruitment, training and promotion;

— Amendment No 27, tabled by Mrs De March and others, seeking to reword the second indent of the paragraph as follows:

signing, immediate ratification and implementation by each of the Member States of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women;

— Amendment No 1, tabled by Mr Albers and others, seeking to add the following at the end of the paragraph:

- the right to appeal to the European Court of Justice on the grounds of inadequate implementation of the

Community directives, with the onus of proof reversed,

— the application of positive discrimination through a loose interpretation of Article 2 of the directive concerning the equal treatment of men and women with respect to access to employment (OJ L39 of 14 February 1976),

— measures to ensure that women are adequately represented at all levels of policy- and decision-making (see points 31, 62 and 63 of the World Action Programme);

— Amendment No 6, tabled by Mrs Cinciari Rodano and Mrs Squarcialupi, seeking to add the following indent to the paragraph:

the drawing up, as part of the policies on aid and cooperation with developing countries, of a programme to encourage the emancipation of women in the Third and Fourth Worlds;

— Amendment No 26, tabled by Mrs De March and others, seeking to add the following at the end of the paragraph:

— the initiation in Europe of an extensive campaign to defend and promote the employment of women;

— the submission by the European Parliament to the Copenhagen conference of an appeal to the women of Europe in support of peace, détente and disarmament and against the installation of American missiles in Europe and in support of adherence to the scheduled date for the Madrid conference.

What is the rapporteur's position?

Mrs Dekker, rapporteur. — (NL) Mr President, with regard to Amendment No 13, I should like to ask the authors if they would agree to the content of this amendment being incorporated in paragraph 13 of the motion for a resolution, since it really belongs to activities for the future.

President. — I call Mr Bangemann.

Mr Bangemann — (D) Mr President, could I ask the rapporteur to make up her mind? Either the structure of this motion means that we cannot accept the amendment, in which case she should say she is against it, or else it may be a little out of kilter and the substance of the amendment so important that she wants to incorporate it, in which case she ought to accept it. We cannot jump from one point to another and get the whole thing into a tangle.

President. — The rapporteur has simply asked for the amendment to be placed somewhere else. What is the opinion of the authors of the amendment?

Mrs Lenz. — (D) Mr President, I have nothing in principle against moving the amendment to paragraph 13. But I should like it to be put to the vote when we come to paragraph 13.

President. — This will be done.

What is the rapporteur's position on the other amendments?

Mrs Dekker, rapporteur. — (NL) Mr President, I am not a supporter of the original proposal adopted by the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment. I have no objection to Amendment No 27. I am not against Amendment No 1 either and I think it is a very positive amendment.

I leave Parliament to decide on Amendment No 6. The points raised here occur further on in the motion for a resolution. I have no objection if Parliament wishes to incorporate it here.

Amendment No 26 concerns a matter which was not and could not be discussed by our committee. As rapporteur, I prefer to let Parliament decide.

(Parliament rejected Amendment No 3, adopted the first indent of paragraph 8, rejected Amendment No 27, adopted the second and then the third indents of paragraph 8, rejected Amendment No 1, adopted Amendment No 6 and rejected Amendment No 26)

President. — I have seven amendments on paragraph 9:

- Amendment No 14, tabled by Mrs Lenz and others on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (CD Group), seeking to delete the paragraph;
- Amendment No 5/rev., tabled by Mrs Cinciari Rodano and Mrs Squarcialupi, seeking to reword the paragraph as follows:

Considers early action essential, these being areas of fundamental importance, to

- develop the social services dealing particularly with children, old people and the handicapped so as to facilitate the entry of women into the world of work and their participation in society,
- take all necessary measures of a legal (paid parental leave) and social (flexible hours for working, business, transport and childcare facilities) nature, directing them also towards a new system of town planning (centralized domestic services with dining halls, local communal laundries, parks, holiday centres and leisure centres) in keeping with a gradual equalization of family responsibilities as between men and women,
- improve and increase vocational training in activities other than those considered to be typical women's occupations, paying particular attention to the development of microelectronic technologies which, as initial experience has shown, tend to reduce the

quantity and quality of the work performed by women,

- direct the various forms taken by the reduction in working hours towards improving the position of women in such a way as to avoid the negative repercussions already experienced with part-time work, which is creating a second, weaker labour market,
 - act in such a way that these priorities may be extended in the most appropriate forms to migrant women in the Member States of the EEC;
- Amendment No 25, tabled by Mrs De March and others, seeking to replace the first three indents of the paragraph by the following:
- reduction of the working week to 35 hours, without loss of earnings, and retirement at 55;
 - child-care facilities, legislation in regard to social and family aid in order to create the conditions for a family life compatible with the need for self-fulfilment and the exercise of a variety of responsibilities;
 - conditions for the improvement of vocational training in sectors traditionally reserved for men, and guaranteed opportunities for employment in these occupations after training (in particular remunerated training during working hours);
- Amendment No 4, tabled by Miss Roberts on behalf of the European Democratic Group, seeking to replace the first indent of the paragraph by the following:
- methods of alleviating the practical difficulties encountered by women in employment, for example by wider use of flexible hours schemes, and by the introduction of paid paternity leave where necessary for the fathers of dependent children;
- Amendment No 2, tabled by Mr Albers and others, seeking to add the following at the end of the paragraph:
- abrogation of provisions which discriminate against women married to foreigners;
- Amendment No 19, tabled by Mrs Roudy and others, seeking to add the following at the end of the paragraph:
- monitoring of aid designed to improve the position of women to ensure that it does not result in new forms of segregation;
- Amendment No 33/rev., tabled by Mrs Martin and Mr Combe on behalf of the Liberal and Democratic Group, seeking to add the following at the end of the paragraph:
- recognizing, by the enactment of a legal statute, the role and work of women married to craftsmen, tradesmen or farmers in their family businesses;
 - enabling the wives of craftsmen, tradesmen and farmers to be replaced in their posts in the undertaking in the case of maternity, sickness or so that they may follow vocational training courses.

President

What is the rapporteur's position?

Mrs Dekker, rapporteur. — (NL) Mr President, I should like to appeal to the authors of Amendment No 14 to withdraw it. If it is adopted, we shall have no comment on the points which are raised in paragraph 9. At the same time I should like to request that the House vote separately on each part of paragraph 9.

Amendment No 5 contains in fact a new version of the existing paragraph. An effort is made in the text of the motion for a resolution to link the Mexico City and Copenhagen texts, but I can nevertheless accept Amendment No 5. I am against the adoption of Amendment No 25.

The content of Amendment No 4 has already been thoroughly dealt with in other parts of the motion. I also think that it is more appropriate to the fourth indent rather than the first. I am against the adoption of the amendment in this form.

Amendment No 2 is in my view a welcome addition to the paragraph. I am therefore in favour of its adoption. The Dutch version of Amendment No 19 can give rise to doubt because it is not very clear what is meant. If I am right in understanding that the amendment deals with discrimination, I am in favour of its adoption.

Finally, the content of Amendment No 33 has already been covered in another amendment. I am not against it, however.

President. — Do you wish to maintain this amendment, Mrs Lenz?

Mrs Lenz. — (D) We do maintain our amendment, Mr President, although most of the points will have been settled with the adoption of paragraph 7 and the remaining amendments.

Parliament rejected successively Amendments No 14, No 5 and No 25 and adopted successively Amendment No 4, the second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth indents of paragraph 9, Amendments No 2, No 19 and No 33/rev., paragraph 9 thus amended and paragraph 10)

President. — I have two amendments on paragraph 11:

— Amendment No 29, tabled by Mrs De March and others, seeking to reword the paragraph as follows:

Calls on the Commission to prepare a report on the legal position of women as regards pay, employment, education, training and social protection in the applicant states, with particular reference to any disparities which may exist with present Community legislation;

— Amendment No 31, tabled by Mrs Roudy and others, seeking to add the following at the end of the paragraph:

... and calls on each applicant country to bring its legislation into line at an early date.

The two amendments are not mutually exclusive.

What is the rapporteur's position?

Mrs Dekker, rapporteur. — (NL) Mr President, Amendment No 29 calls for the idea of social protection to be included among the topics to be discussed in Copenhagen. This Parliament, however, cannot change the agenda for Copenhagen off its own bat. I am not against the thinking behind the amendment and I shall let the House decide.

Amendment No 31 seeks to add something to the paragraph in connection with the applicant countries. I am in favour of the amendment.

(Parliament adopted successively Amendments No 29 and No 31, paragraph 11 thus amended and paragraph 12)

President. — After paragraph 12, Mrs Fullet has tabled Amendment No 36 seeking to add the following new paragraph:

12a. Invites the Commission, as laid down in Article 16(e) of the United Nations Convention, to take all measures necessary to ensure the recognition in each Member State of the right to contraception and voluntary termination of pregnancy.

What is the rapporteur's position?

Mrs Dekker, rapporteur. — (NL) Mr President, this amendment refers to a clause of the United Nations Convention and we have been unable to determine to what extent the Member States have complied with it. It was not discussed by our committee. I cannot give any advice one way or the other on this amendment.

(Parliament rejected Amendment No 36)

President. — I have four amendments on paragraph 13:

— Amendment No 34, tabled by Mrs Salisch and others, seeking to reword the paragraph as follows:

Requests the Commission of the European Communities, the Ad Hoc Committee, the Committee on Social Affairs and the other committees concerned to take account in their work of the conclusions of the Copenhagen Conference and calling on the Commission to present an action programme in this field;

— Amendment No 15, tabled by Mrs Lenz and others on behalf of the Group of the European People's

President

Party (CD Group), seeking to reword the paragraph as follows:

Instructs its Committee on Social Affairs and Employment to submit — once the mandate of the Ad Hoc Committee on Women's Rights, which lasts until 31 December 1980, has expired — a report dealing extensively with the improvement of the position of women, particularly with regard to the training and employment situation and *inter alia* in the light of the results and conclusions of the Copenhagen Conference;

— Amendment No 30, tabled by Mrs De March and others, seeking to reword the paragraph as follows:

Requests its Committee on Social Affairs and Employment to submit a report dealing extensively with the present position of women, in the light of the results and conclusions of the Copenhagen Conference, and calling on the Commission of the European Community to present an action programme in this field;

— Amendment No 13, tabled by Mrs Lenz and others on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (CD Group), seeking to reword the paragraph as follows:

- Refers, moreover, to the work already underway in the Ad Hoc Committee on Women's Rights,
 - Urges that this work particularly within the Ad Hoc Committee be accelerated and intensified,
 - Calls on its appropriate committees to continue to give special attention after the UN Conference to all questions concerning
 - women migrant workers
 - refugees, home-comers, the repatriated and evacuees, and
 - women in the Third World
- and to draw up reports on these subjects.

What is the rapporteur's position?

Mrs Dekker, rapporteur. — (NL) Mr President, I can accept Amendment No 15 and also Amendment No 34, provided that paragraph 13 is not replaced but expanded. Amendment No 30 does not seem to fit in with the other amendment by Mrs Lenz and I am therefore against it. The idea behind it is sound but the end result could be a bit shaky.

(Parliament rejected Amendment No 34, adopted Amendment No 15 — which meant that Amendment No 30 fell — and rejected by sitting and standing Amendment No 13)

President. — After paragraph 13, Mrs Roudy and others have tabled Amendment No 32 seeking to insert the following new paragraph:

- 13a. Instructs the Ad Hoc Committee to propose measures to upgrade the quality of occupations accessible to women.

What is the rapporteur's position?

Mrs Dekker, rapporteur. — (NL) Amendment No 32 seeks to insert a new paragraph, Mr President. I am in favour.

(Parliament rejected Amendment No 32)

President. — On paragraph 14, Mrs Lenz and others on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (CD Group) have tabled Amendment No 16 seeking to reword the paragraph as follows:

Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council, the Commission and the appropriate committees of the European Parliament.

What is the rapporteur's position?

Mrs Dekker, rapporteur. — (NL) I have no objection to this amendment, Mr President.

(Parliament adopted Amendment No 16)

President. — Amendment No 35, tabled by Mrs Martin and Mr Combe on behalf of the Liberal and Democratic Group on Annex I, has been withdrawn.

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

The resolution is adopted.¹

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President. — We shall now consider the motion for a resolution contained in the *Roudy report (Doc. 1-220/80): Accident hazards of certain industrial activities.*

Before voting on the motion for a resolution, we must consider the amendments to the proposal for a directive.

On Article 4, Mr Adam has tabled Amendment No 6 seeking to reword the third indent of the article as follows:

- to take adequate measures to ensure that all persons working on the site are appropriately trained and equipped as regards safety measures in connection with the risks of major accidents arising from the industrial activity and to ensure that at all times experienced and qualified staff are on duty with clearly defined responsibilities.

What is the rapporteur's position?

¹ OJ C 175 of 14. 7. 1980.

Mrs Roudy, rapporteur. — (F) Favourable.

(Parliament adopted Amendment No 6)

President. — On Article 5(1)(b), Mrs Seibel-Emmerling has tabled Amendment No 1 seeking to reinstate the fourth and fifth indents of the Commission's text.

What is the rapporteur's position?

Mrs Roudy, rapporteur. — (F) I think that the Commission text is excellent and should be kept as it is. I am therefore in favour of this amendment.

(Parliament rejected Amendment No 1)

President. — Again on Article 5, Mrs Seibel-Emmerling has tabled Amendment No 2 seeking to add the following new paragraph:

5. The Member States shall take the necessary steps to ensure that persons outside an establishment meeting the criteria of Annex II who might be affected by a major accident are informed of the notification.

What is the rapporteur's position?

Mrs Roudy, rapporteur. — (F) Favourable, Mr President.

(Parliament rejected Amendment No 2)

President. — On the second indent of Article 6, Mrs Seibel-Emmerling has tabled Amendment No 3 seeking to reinstate the Commission's text.

What is the rapporteur's position?

Mrs Roudy, rapporteur. — (F) I am in favour, Mr President.

(Parliament rejected Amendment No 3)

President. — I call Mr Moreland on a point of order.

Mr Moreland. — Could we ask the rapporteur if her advice to us on how to vote actually represents the view of the committee? My understanding is that she is giving us advice contrary to the committee's recommendation.

President. — The rapporteur is entitled to express an opinion.

(Cries from certain quarters on the right)

I call Mrs Roudy.

Mrs Roudy, rapporteur. — (F) If I am asked for my opinion, Mr President, I give it. It is obvious that I shall take a favourable view if the amendments seek to reinstate the Commission text and I think it is a good idea. I give my opinion. I thought that was how we were supposed to work here.

President. — On Article 12(2), Mrs Seibel-Emmerling has tabled Amendment No 4 seeking to reinstate the Commission's text.

(Parliament rejected Amendment No 4)

On Article 12(3), Mrs Seibel-Emmerling has tabled Amendment No 5 seeking to reinstate the Commission's text.

What is the rapporteur's position?

Mrs Roudy, rapporteur. — (F) Mr President, this is another amendment which seeks to reinstate the Commission text. We discussed this matter very thoroughly. If you ask me, it would be a good idea to reinstate the Commission text.

(Parliament rejected Amendment No 5)

President. — On section 1 of Annex II, Mr Sherlock and Mr Newton Dunn on behalf of the European Democratic Group have tabled Amendment No 8 seeking to insert (*except of fertilizer grade*) after the words *ammonium nitrate*.

What is the rapporteur's position?

Mrs Roudy, rapporteur. — (F) Mr President, I must confess that I do not really understand the sense of this amendment which seeks to add ammonium nitrate to the list. As far as I am aware, ammonium nitrate is an explosive and Article 2 of the directive states that it does not apply to explosives. I shall let the House decide.

(Parliament adopted Amendment No 8)

President. — We shall now consider the motion for a resolution.

(Parliament adopted the preamble and paragraphs 1 to 12)

On paragraph 13, Mr Sherlock and Mr Newton Dunn on behalf of the European Democratic Group have tabled Amendment No 7 seeking to delete the paragraph.

President

What is the rapporteur's position?

Mrs Roudy, rapporteur. — (F) There is no need to prove liability in the case of the nuclear industry and I think the same should be true with regard to liability where other major hazards are concerned. I should like to see this paragraph kept and I am therefore against the amendment.

(Parliament rejected Amendment No 7 and adopted paragraph 13 and then paragraphs 14 and 15)

President. — Members may now give explanations of vote.

I call Mrs Squarcialupi.

Mrs Squarcialupi. — (I) Mr President, I am speaking on behalf of the Italian Communist and Allies Group, which of course has had first-hand experience of the tragic events at Seveso and their aftermath — confusion, uncertainty, fear and everlasting menace.

We shall vote in favour of the Commission's proposal, for despite its limitations it is nevertheless a starting point.

We should like to make a few comments, in particular concerning major accident hazards. There is a petrochemicals complex at Marghera, near Venice, where gas leakages poison the workers practically every week. Four hundred workers have been affected in the last three months. Now, according to this Directive, a gas leak is not a major accident hazard. It is not clear, therefore, how far this Directive goes. In the same way the concept of a dangerous substance is unclear.

It is our view that this Directive provides a maximum of control systems, and of democratic participation by the population. This is to be welcomed, but we must remember that it may be less difficult than we imagine to get through this complex web of measures and controls.

Apart from these contradictory aspects of the Directive we consider that the thinking on which it is based is out of date, namely the acceptance of dangerous production processes and the use of toxic pollutants. The consequence of this thinking is that the public and those responsible for industry and government can only take action against the worst and the most dramatic damage, such as Seveso.

What we are proposing is a change of direction. One of our amendments to this end was accepted in committee. We believe in science and we believe in research. What is needed is research on alternative substances and production processes. But in order to do this we must encourage research. Why is it that our

countries can always find the money for arms, but never when they have to tackle problems of public health and safety? There is no truth in the argument that alternative chemicals and production processes are uneconomical and may reduce competitiveness. Seveso, after all, has cost vast sums both to the public and to Hoffmann-La Roche. This multinational corporation would have spent a good deal less if it had researched production methods and new equipment. The damage remains at Seveso, despite the cash compensation, as does the fear which will last for generations. I will conclude, Mr President, by saying that the efforts of the Commission — whose representatives do not seem to be present at this moment at the Chamber — must thus be directed towards research into new production methods and consequently towards putting technology at the service of the citizens of Europe.

IN THE CHAIR: MRS DE MARCH

Vice-President

President. — I call Mrs Hammerich.

Mrs Hammerich. — (DK) Madam President, we cannot approve this motion for a resolution, not because of its content, but because it oversteps the present competence of the EEC.

First of all we have grave misgivings about the extensive application of Article 235 of the Treaty of Rome. This article is not popular in my country and is called 'the elastic article' because it is used to extend the EEC's powers into areas in which it has no competence under the Treaty of Rome.

Furthermore, the technical committee which is mentioned in the draft directive, is entrusted with considerable powers. Voting in the committee is by qualified majority, which gives Denmark three votes out of fifty eight. We are totally opposed to technocrats progressively taking over important decisions, and prefer instead close national control. As a matter of fact, we regard this trend towards more and more power for the technical committee as very dangerous because it means that the right of veto is forfeited. The Roudy report does not dissociate itself from these proposals and for this reason we oppose it.

President. — I call Mr Klepsch.

Mr Klepsch. — (D) Madam President, my group will be voting in favour of the report, but during the

Klepsch

vote on the motion something occurred which calls for comment. The rapporteur repeatedly made recommendations contrary to the decisions of her committee. That is an unusual procedure in this House, and I should like to say something about it. It has up to now been customary in this House for the rapporteur, regardless of his personal opinions, to state the views expressed in his report, i.e. the decisions of his committee. That is why he is questioned before the vote. He is not asked for his own views on the matter in hand, but for those of his committee. During this vote the rapporteur several times gave advice which was contrary to what had been decided by the committee. I feel we should not allow this practice to become established, otherwise we shall have the problem of not knowing whether to question the rapporteur or not. Fortunately, the majority of this House have agreed with the majority of the committee and have rejected the wrongly recommended amendments. Therefore I am now in a position to state that my group is in favour of the whole resolution. I would, however, urge the House to ensure that this procedure does not become standard practice.

(Applause from various quarters on the right)

President. — I call Mrs Roudy on a point of order.

Mrs Roudy, rapporteur. — *(F)* Ladies and gentlemen, allow me to clear up what appears to be a misunderstanding concerning the practices of this House. I have been working on this report for nearly a year, and we on the committee in which all groups are represented have worked a great deal.

We have held lengthy discussions and in the early stages I was criticized, it is true, for making proposals which were considerably beyond the scope of the directive. Subsequently, my proposals in defence of the directive were framed in far more reasonable limits. I was therefore entitled to think — this is, at any rate, how I understood the matter — that after all the debates everyone was aware of what was happening. We are mature people, and after lengthy discussions which everyone knew about and the nature of which was evident to all the political groups, everyone knew what he had to do.

Consequently, I made known my position as dictated by my conscience. Nevertheless, I was not aware of any rules forbidding such an attitude. If there is a rule in writing, I would be only too pleased to take note of it, but so far I have not come across one. I thought that the work carried out conscientiously over a long period and in depth in the groups and wherever we happened to be was sufficient for everyone to know exactly what the situation was and vote in accordance with his conscience.

President. — I call Lady Elles.

Lady Elles. — Madam President, I think this is a matter that should go back to the Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions, so that the rules of this Parliament make it perfectly clear in writing, if it is not already clear to some Members, that when they act as rapporteur on behalf of a committee, they are expected to express the view of that committee throughout all its procedures, including the vote on amendments in the plenary Assembly. So I would recommend that this goes to the Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions for consideration, and I support exactly what our colleague, Mr Klepsch, has already said.

(Applause from certain quarters on the right)

President. — The matter is closed.

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

The resolution is adopted.¹

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President. — We shall now consider the motion for a resolution contained in the *Jaquet report (Doc. 1-149/80): Situation in the Central African Republic.*

I call Mr Galland for an explanation of vote.

Mr Galland. — *(F)* Madam President, in the explanatory statement of Mr Jaquet's report there are a number of points concerning the French Government which are without any foundation in our view. This was strikingly borne out by several speakers this morning. For this reason, although a number of genuine problems are raised in the report, we shall abstain from voting.

President. — I call Mr Jaquet.

Mr Jaquet, rapporteur. — *(F)* I just want to point out, Madam President, that we are voting on the motion for a resolution and not on the explanatory statement.

President. — I put the motion for a resolution to the vote.

The resolution is adopted.¹

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¹ OJ C 175 of 14. 7. 1980.

President. — I put to the vote the motion for a resolution contained in the *Robert Jackson report (Doc. 1-255/80): Further provisional twelfths for Parliament.*

The resolution is adopted.¹

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IN THE CHAIR: MR JAQUET

Vice-President

President. — I put to the vote the motion for a resolution contained in the *Jürgens report (Doc. 1-225/80): Common organization of the market in oils and fats.*

The resolution is adopted.¹

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President. — I put to the vote the motion for a resolution contained in the *Caillavet report (Doc. 1-226/80): Common organization of the market in products processed from fruit and vegetables.*

The resolution is adopted.¹

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President. — We shall now consider the motion for a resolution contained in the *Dalsass report (Doc. 1-227/80): Common organization of the market in wine.*

(Parliament adopted the preamble and the sole paragraph)

After the sole paragraph, Mr Ligios and Mr Barbagli have tabled Amendment No 1 seeking to add the following new paragraph:

2. Invites the Commission, however, to combine with the regulations applicable to resinated wines those that apply to aromatized wines so as to ensure that this type of wine is also made subject to Community rules, in accordance with the Council Resolution of 17 December 1973 which fixed 1 January 1978 as the deadline for the adoption of common regulations for aromatized wines.

What is the rapporteur's position?

Mr Dalsass, rapporteur. — (D) Mr President, this amendment is really an attempt to remind the Commission that we are still waiting for regulations on aromatized wines as part of the organization of the market in this sector. The Council in fact called for regulations back in 1973 and Parliament has echoed this call, but so far the Commission has done nothing. In these circumstances, Mr President, I do not think it will do any harm if we adopt this amendment and thereby remind the Commission again that it is about time it did something. I am therefore in favour of the amendment.

(Parliament adopted Amendment No 1)

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

The resolution is adopted.¹

12. Restructuring in the fishing sector

President. — The next item is the joint debate on three reports on the organization of the fishing sector:

— report (Doc. 1-234/80), drawn up by Mr Bouchou on behalf of the Committee on Agriculture, on the proposals from the Commission to the Council for:

- I — a regulation on the conclusion of the Agreement on Fisheries between the Government of Spain and the European Economic Community (Doc. 1-159/80);
- II — a regulation laying down for 1980 certain measures for the conservation and management of fishery resources applicable to vessels flying the flag of Spain (Doc. 1-82/80);
- III — a regulation laying down certain measures for the conservation and management during 1980 of common fishery resources off the West Greenland coast applicable to vessels flying the flag of Canada or under charter to companies registered in Canada (Doc. 1-96/80);

— report (Doc. 1-233/80), drawn up by Mr Kirk on behalf of the Committee on Agriculture, on the

proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-130/80) for a regulation amending Regulation No 1852/78 on common interim action for restructuring in the in-shore fishing sector;

— report (Doc. 1-235/80), drawn up by Mr Lyngne on behalf of the Committee on Agriculture, on the

proposals from the Commission to the Council for:

- I — a regulation laying down for 1980 certain measures for the conservation and management of fishery resources applicable to vessels registered in the Faroe Islands (Doc. 1-139/80);

¹ OJ C 175 of 14. 7. 1980.

¹ OJ C 175 of 14. 7. 1980.

President

- II — a regulation laying down for 1980 certain interim measures for the conservation and management of fishery resources applicable to vessels flying the flag of Norway (Doc. 1-193/80);
- III — a regulation laying down for 1980 certain measures for the conservation and management of fishery resources applicable to vessels flying the flag of Sweden (Doc. 1-221/80);

I call Mr Buchou.

Mr Buchou, rapporteur. — (F) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the Committee on Agriculture has examined a number of points relating to problems of fishing in the Atlantic Ocean. It is submitting a motion for a resolution regarding a regulation on the conclusion of the Agreement on Fisheries between the Government of Spain and the European Economic Community which would lay down, for 1980, certain measures for the conservation and management of fishery resources applicable to vessels flying the flag of Spain and, for the same year, other measures of a similar nature applicable to vessels flying the flag of Canada or under charter to companies registered in Canada.

The Committee outlines three main proposals in its motion. It deals, first of all, with procedural problems. It points out that interim measures which violate the Treaty had been implemented before fishing quotas were allocated to Spain and Canada. While regretting that such a situation might occur in future years, it considers that the Parliament, Commission and Council should examine ways of developing procedures for the information and consultation of the European Parliament so that it will not be necessary in future to have recourse habitually to emergency procedures.

With regard to Spain and the agreements with that country, the committee approves the conclusion of the fisheries framework agreement which will serve as a basis for the structure of our future relations with Spain. However, it urges the Commission to seek to ensure that Spain's fisheries investment programmes conform to the future catch possibilities within the enlarged Community. This recommendation is all the more important in view of the fact that the Spanish fishing capacity represents close to 30 % of the entire catch of the Community. In fact, Spain has enormous fishing potential and considerable possibilities of growth which could disrupt the entire range of fishing activities in the Atlantic Ocean and even in the Mediterranean if some prior precautionary measures are not taken.

With regard to our relations with Spain, we reviewed the fishing quotas allocated to that country in 1979 and the proposals for 1980. We observed that the quotas were declining considerably in the area West of Scotland, West and South of England and Ireland and in the Bay of Biscay for certain species such as hake or

the species caught while fishing for hake. The quotas for anchovy in the Bay of Biscay have been renewed. Lastly, there are no limits on tuna fishing. The committee was pleased to note that everyone could not but be satisfied with the fact that the quotas had diminished. Consequently, no major comments were made by the committee with respect to the regulations concerning Spain.

The Committee however expressed grave reservations with regard to the agreements with Canada. I will not go into the details of the discussions within the Committee but rather summarize them in three points which caused us concern. First of all, the representatives of Denmark and Greenland want to be more closely involved in drawing up regulations or decisions laying down the conditions under which vessels flying the flag of Canada or under charter to companies registered in Canada could be allowed to engage in fishing off the coasts of Greenland. The fears expressed by the representatives of this enormous island are understandable since fishing is their main activity.

Secondly the committee examined the problem of a more adequate control of the amount of fish caught by Canadian vessels or vessels under charter to Canada.

Lastly, the third point constituted a cause for considerable concern. The committee would like that in future negotiations with Canada, the Commission and the Council take into account the fears expressed over the possible progressive disruption of European markets by Canadian products. That is a point you will find in the motion for a resolution. Mr President, two amendments to this document have been tabled: an amendment by Mr Josselin and others who would like to effective control of the activities of fishing vessels lead to the effective implementation of the common fisheries policy. I do not see any problem in adding this to the document from the Commission especially as provision is made for such control to be carried out as part of the Member States' inspection and supervision activities.

Mr Lyngé would like to delete paragraph 10 since, in his view, it is Denmark, which has jurisdiction over what takes place in Greenland. The matter was discussed in committee, and I have no objection to the proposal by Mr Lyngé.

Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, those are the comments I felt were necessary on this important topic.

President. — I call Mr Kirk.

Mr Kirk, rapporteur. — (DK) Mr President, I am glad to be able to submit a report to Parliament, on behalf of the Committee on Agriculture, on the

Kirk

restructuring of the inshore fishing industry. I should like to say that, although we in the Committee on Agriculture have had very little time to discuss this proposal, I feel that the result before us today is well balanced; might I perhaps mention also that the report I am presenting is based, amongst other things, on my own personal experience of the fishing industry and on my experience as a boat owner.

To be sure, some members of the committee expressed concern about the fact that the proposal under discussion would only be valid for 1980 and wished to adopt a more long term structural policy for the Community's fishing industry. However, realizing that there were still major and unresolved problems surrounding the common fisheries policy, and confident that such a policy would be introduced in the course of this year, the committee was able to reach agreement on this report.

The committee discussed the Commission's proposal and expressed the view that the Community measures should, to a greater extent than heretofore — and particularly than in 1978-1979 — aim to adapt the existing Community fishing fleet so that it can adjust to the changes that are already evident in fishing patterns within EEC waters.

I should also like to say that the committee make a point of ensuring that that the fishing industry in the whole Community can benefit from these restructuring measures that it was not, as was heretofore the case, just a question of a transfer from the Community to individual Member States.

It is true that the rules in force in 1978 and 1979 only provided for the possibility of granting aid to new vessels, that is for the construction of vessels 12 to 24 m long. We therefore welcome the fact that, in its proposal, the Commission now also provides for aid for the modernization of vessels. However we do not agree with the Commission when it proposes that only vessels of between 12 and 24 m will be eligible for aid for modernization and restructuring, because the fact is that the Community's fishing fleet, which is really in need of aid to help it to adopt, consists to a large extent of vessels which are over 24 m but which can at the same time be regarded as inshore fishing vessels.

Likewise, we in the committee consider that the limit of 20 million units of account proposed by the Commission is not sufficient if the Community is to help solve the problems which exist. However, at the same time we are aware of the difficulties involved in obtaining a higher limit which would be valid only for 1980. Nonetheless, we should like to point out that more money is necessary if we are to be able to adapt our fishing fleet to the real opportunities which exist within EEC waters.

As regards the modernization of vessels and their size, the committee proposes that the Commission proposal

be amended to fix the limit at, for example, 37 metres, since we believe that this would correspond more to that section of the fishing fleet which needs assistance and aid.

As regards the problems which have existed since 1977, the Committee on Agriculture is of the opinion that it should be possible for those vessel owners who requested the Commission's aid under Council Regulation No 17 of 15 February 1964 to have their applications considered under the new regulation. The fact is that the old regulation No 17/64 provided for modernization grants, but because of the interim regulation which was introduced in 1978-79 and which only, as I said before, covered the construction of new vessels, the Commission was unable to process these applications and requests for grants. We therefore think that it would be fairest and most correct vis-à-vis the Community fishermen concerned, if their applications could now be dealt with realistically, provided of course that they conform to the criteria laid down in the proposal for a regulation.

Let me mention also that one of the things that the Committee on Agriculture called attention to was that as a result of the very sharp rise in oil and energy costs, especially in 1980, the Community would have to try to redesign our vessels to take account of these high fuel costs, so that in the future the Community fleets can be more competitive with third country fleets.

Having made the above observations, I can say that the Committee on Agriculture approves the Commission proposal on condition that this is amended to comply with our motion for a resolution. Let me say also that, at the final vote in committee, only one Member opposed the report, and one member abstained; however, I have observed that since the report has been put forward here in Parliament two proposals for amendments have been put forward by Mr Josselin, a French Socialist, and these amendments reflect exactly the main points I have emphasized here in my introduction: that is, the question of being able to deal with applications submitted in 1977 under Regulation No 17/64, and the question of modifying the length of vessels eligible for modernization aid. Let me say to Parliament that I hope that these two proposed amendments will be rejected because I do not think they have the support of the majority behind this report.

President. — I call Mr Lyngé.

Mr Lyngé, rapporteur. — (DK) Mr President, the report has been distributed, so I will not go through it in detail. First I should just like to point out that there are a few mistakes, at least in the Danish text which has been distributed. I mention this for the sake of order. The text uses two terms for halibut, 'hellefisk'

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and 'helleflynder'. Only the latter term should be used as we do not speak of 'hellefisk' in this context. I should also like to point out that the section of the explanatory statement relating to the Faroe Island, i.e. section B, contains some figures relating to the Faroese calculations of cod equivalents according to which the Faroese claim that 2 tonnes of mackerel correspond to 2.5 tonnes of cod. This latter figure should be 0.25, which makes a considerable difference. I mention this too for the sake of order. For the rest, I shall merely mention a number of key points.

As regards the agreement with the Faroe Islands, it can be said that our periodic negotiations with the Faroese are among the more difficult negotiations the Community is involved in and the difficulties naturally arise partly from the fact that Faroese interests aggravate still further what is already a complicated situation as regards fisheries in the North Sea and partly from the fact that the Faroe Islands, without themselves being a Member State of the Community, count as part of a nation which is a member, i.e. Denmark. Account is taken of this situation in Article 9 of the framework agreement concluded between the Faroe Islands and the Community on 16 March 1977, which states that 'this agreement shall be without prejudice to rights within the Kingdom of Denmark of Danish citizens who inhabit the Faroe Islands'. Since 1977 it has been accepted practice for this text, which indicates the Faroe Islands' special status as a third country which forms part of a Community Member State, together with the statement in the preamble concerning the very exceptional degree of dependence of the Faroe Islands on fishing to manifest itself in a number of annual agreements which favour the Faroese fishing industry. Thus it has become normal practice for the Commission to aim at achieving an overall balance in the market values of the quantities of fish which Community fishermen are allowed to catch in Faroese waters and the amounts Faroese fishermen are allowed to catch in Community waters, a balance which is about 10 % in favour of the Faroe Islands, and the agreement currently under discussion provides, in the Commission's view just such a balance in favour of the Faroe Islands.

However, it should be pointed out that the Faroese authorities view the matter slightly differently. I do not mean by this that the Faroese have gained by the present agreement, but that, on the contrary, a realistic conversion of the quotas into cod equivalents shows a slight loss on the part of the Faroe Islands. I will not give a detailed analysis here today or state any opinion on this matter, but it is to be hoped that in future negotiations between the Commission and the Faroese authorities it will be possible to reach agreement on the facts as regards the balance of the value of the quantities the Community and the Faroe Islands allow each other to catch in their respective waters. The Community has undertaken to enter into an agreement favourable to the Faroe Islands each year. The Faroe Islands have nothing else apart from their

fishing, and no one should try to stop the Community keeping to the agreement in practical terms.

As regards the agreement with Norway, this is something which we in the committee also welcome since it is essential; not least for a workable internal Community fishing policy, that we solve problems regarding third countries. The question is how these problems are to be solved. For example, the Commission has, we see, traded off Greenland prawns and halibut in order to bring about this agreement. In 1979 there was an exceptionally bad arrangement whereby the Commission gave the Norwegians permission to carry out unlimited experimental prawn fishing off the east coast of Greenland without any effective reporting of the quantities caught and without letting either the Greenland authorities, the inspectorate or marine biologists know anything about it, and without the Commission to this day knowing — I inquired about this in the Committee not so long ago — in fact how many thousand tonnes the Norwegians actually caught last year. Now in 1980 the Norwegians have been granted permission to fish 2 500 tonnes of prawns off the east coast while at the same time, and quite inconsistently, the Faroese have been granted permission to carry out unlimited experimental fishing of the same stock, which has not as yet been biologically assessed in the same place and over the same period.

This administrative inconsistency has created major problems in the relations between the Faroe Islands and Greenland, since the Faroese have recently reached the ceiling imposed on Norwegian prawn fishing. The view taken by the Greenland authorities has always been that a ceiling should be imposed on fishing by the Faroese just as in the case of Norwegian fishing. However, this viewpoint was disregarded and now we see the consequences, i.e. that the Faroese have already caught more than the Norwegians had been granted permission for and they wish to continue fishing. The Norwegians are not pleased that the Faroese should be allowed to fish greater quantities. The people of Greenland are annoyed that the Commission allowed 13 Faroese trawlers to fish, without restriction, a stock which the biologists have not yet given an opinion on.

Furthermore, the Danish Government is incensed at the fact that the Faroe Islanders will not fall in with an appeal from Denmark and Greenland to call a halt to this fishing, simply because the Community has not set a limit. In other words, the Commission has caused dissension between the Scandinavian sister nations because of bad administration.

It is prawns from the same stock and in the same place which are involved and the fact of the matter is that it is meaningless to talk about licences for experimental fishing, whether this be limited or not, in view of the fact that during their experiments last year, the Norwegians found prawns, and fishing this year is being carried out at a very specific spot, i.e. Dohrns

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Bank off the east coast of Greenland where industrial fishing is now being carried out. The Commission should therefore have said in connection with this agreement that experimental fishing was over and done with in 1979, that the task before us now was to assess the stocks biologically and that in the meantime we would give the Norwegians a fixed general catch quota for 1980 after Denmark had consulted Greenland on the matter. This would have been an excellent course to take.

The fact that the Commission has granted Norway a quota of 200 tonnes halibut, which is a rare and valuable stock, should not be allowed to go unchallenged either considering that the TAC, i.e. the total allowable catch, of 500 tonnes had already been allocated to Greenland, in view of the particular dependence of the coastal population on fishing, and it is an extremely serious matter that this further 200 tonnes should be fished anywhere at all in the waters of Greenland, including the west coast, where the Greenlanders have been allocated their 500 tonnes.

This constitutes an undermining of Greenland fisheries and a threat to the West Greenland halibut stock, and it is also true in the case of prawns that the Norwegians have been granted fishing rights without the Danish representatives in the negotiations previously having had an opportunity to consult Greenland on the matter, which is completely unsatisfactory. Indeed, the situation is such that we should return to the agreements and ask for a few points to be revived. However, we in the Committee realize that this is not possible for reasons of time, and I should therefore like to urge Parliament to give its support to these two agreements, but to make it clear that Parliament will not accept a similar arrangement in the future.

As regards the Sweden agreement for 1980, I should like to say very briefly, that this has not been discussed in the Committee on Agriculture but was simply mentioned very briefly at its last meeting. The reason for this is that at the last moment the Commission came up with the idea of extending the current arrangement between the Community and Sweden in the fisheries sector to apply for the rest of 1980. I should just like to say that I regret that we have not had enough time to deal with this matter properly at committee level and should like to recommend, on behalf of the Committee, that this agreement be extended as proposed, as we have no time left and an agreement with Sweden is indispensable. Having made these points, I should like to recommend that Parliament give its support to the three agreements.

President. — I call Mr Gundelach.

Mr Gundelach, Vice-President of the Commission. — (DK) Mr President, first I should like to thank the three rapporteurs, Mr Buchou, Mr Kirk and Mr Lynge,

for their brief but very concise reports on certain fishery issues, mainly those concerning our relations with third countries. I will not embark on a long speech on these issues, however important they may be, but rather I shall try to concentrate on answering the questions which the three rapporteurs themselves have underlined in their reports as being of special significance.

I extend my thanks, of course, to Mr Buchou for his favourable report on the agreements between the Community and Spain, both the framework agreements and the practical fishing arrangements agreed for 1979 and 1980, which were negotiated on the basis of the framework agreement. As Mr Buchou himself rightly points out, it provides for a substantial reduction in Spanish fishing in Community waters. This was necessary because the quantity of fish available to our own fishermen is severely limited in other third country waters and as a result of the conservation measures which it has been necessary to introduce.

In addition, there is the problem that Spain is an applicant state, and as Mr Buchou rightly stressed, it has a very substantial fishing fleet and a very large fishing capacity. Under the rules on degressivity laid down in the framework agreement, Spain is bound to limit its fishing fleet and is already reducing its fleet in line with the far more limited possibilities which exist now compared with a few years ago.

I fully agree with Mr Buchou that we must always bear Spain's applicant status in mind and emphasize it in all our negotiations with Spain. This I have done up to now. It has not always been easy to conclude agreements, which involve a substantial reduction, year after year, but that is the only realistic solution to a problem which otherwise would cause a large imbalance in fishing activity in the northern Atlantic as well as in the Mediterranean and in the Bay of Biscay. Does the rapporteur and the Commission see eye to eye where the agreements with Spain are concerned?

The other part of Mr Buchou's report dealt with relations with Canada. Here I should like to make it clear that there are several different issues involved. The real subject of the report is the management of the joint stocks shared by Canada and the Community. The issue is not the wider fishery agreement — I choose my words carefully — being negotiated between the Community and Canada, and which raises certain sensitive issues regarding the balance between our fishing facilities in Canadian waters, the restoration of these facilities, and the Canadian request for increased access to the Community market.

However, those latter issues, which are undoubtedly the most important ones are not the subject of the report today. Rather the issue is in fact the management of the so called common fishery resources. But what are common resources? When two national territories have 200 mile limits adjacent to each other or

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perhaps overlapping, and where there are fish stocks in that area, it cannot be said with total scientific certainty — since fish are wont, as part of their life-style, to swim and migrate and don't respect frontiers, not having learned to read — whether they are Canadian fish or Greenland fish, and that they should stay on a particular side of the 200 mile limit. They swim over the limit and are part of the same stock, the same family, so they are common stocks. There is no other answer to the problem, which nature in its own wonderful way has created, than to jointly manage this common stock using the biological knowledge at our disposal and applying common sense to try to divide them equally between the two areas: there are so many fish which can be caught from this joint stock as a whole; how much does one party receive and how much does the other party receive? The outcome is that they must fish in each other's waters.

The crucial factor is that each party must adhere to the quotas allocated. If no action were taken, if there were no agreement, the Canadians could not fish in our waters, nor could we fish in Canadian waters. For this reason this agreement is simply an administrative, technical necessity and it is more important for the community than for Canada, because we get virtually the lion's share of this common stock. Thus for example we have got by far the major part of shrimp stocks in the areas in question, some twenty-odd thousand out of 27 000 tonnes. This one example suffices to enable me to reject very strongly the criticism that the allocation of the Canadian and Community shares of this common stock has inflicted any loss on any Community area, or on Greenland in particular. As a matter of fact the contrary is true.

I would also like to reply to the criticism that the Greenland authorities were not — as is claimed in Mr Buchou's and in Mr Lynges' report — kept sufficiently informed about, or sufficiently involved in, the negotiations on this issue or in those on issues which are of vital significance for Greenland.

The position is necessarily complicated. As Mr Lyng explained, the situation in the Kingdom of Denmark is a special one, since the Kingdom of Denmark is a member of the Community, and all parts of the Kingdom are represented in foreign affairs by the government in Copenhagen. However, part of the Kingdom, namely the Faroes, is not a member of the Community, while another part of the Kingdom, Greenland, is debating whether to remain in the Community or to withdraw. It is a member at the present time, but it is not sure whether it wants to remain so and has obtained a considerable degree of autonomy. Nonetheless, in this rather complicated situation, and acting in concert with the Danish Government and with its participation, we entered into very extensive consultations indeed with the Greenland domestic government. Most of the time I conducted these consultations myself so I can therefore guarantee with certainty that in this area measures were not taken or

agreements reached without first being thrashed out, and in detail at that, with the Greenland domestic government. Furthermore, these agreements contained nothing which might have restricted the Greenland fishing industry's potential for development. In no case have these agreements, whether it be with Canada, with the Faroes or with Norway, occasioned any restriction of Greenland's fishing activities. The restriction on Greenland's fishing possibilities has been caused rather by the lack of boats, and in this context let me point out that from the structural means at our disposal, not alone from the interim fund, but also from the EAGGF's main fund, resources have been made available for the building of between 12 and 20 ships in Greenland, including a number of modern shrimp cutters. In other words we accord Greenland widespread preference in respect of the fish in the areas extending up to 200 miles off Greenland, and we use quite considerable funds to provide the Greenland population — which obviously has not many other alternatives open to it, which is why this is very definitely a just policy — with the means needed to exploit the fish stocks.

Fishing activity by other Community countries or by third countries under agreements with the Community, has always been more restricted and has never been in conflict with fundamental Greenland interests. For example, as regards experimental fishing, to which reference was made, a quantitative limit has been introduced because it became evident that valuable stocks were involved. In my opinion, there should be a comparable reduction in similar experimental fishing activities off the Faroes.

Let me return to the Canadian problem: in my view the criticism of the planned agreement on the use of common resources is not justified. This agreement must be considered on its own merits and not as payment for or as an integral part of the agreements with Canada on more far-reaching fishery issues, such as the resumption of our fishing activities in Canadian waters, or Canadian exports of fish to the Community.

Where the latter issue is concerned, I fully agree with the observations made by Mr Buchou, which express a warning. The Commission is fully aware, and I mentioned this already during the last Parliamentary session in reply to a question from British Members during Question Time, that the Community market in fish cannot support substantial increases in imports of fishery products. We have already been very generous towards other countries, not least the Scandinavian countries, but we must consider our own market in fish and ensure fair prices. On the other hand it is also important to secure opportunities for our deep-water fleet. We have lost ground in many third country waters and we have a possibility of recovering some of this lost ground in Canadian waters. A balance must be attained, but this is proving difficult. It will take time. I have of course taken note of what Parliament has said in its motion for a resolution on this subject. Undoubt-

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edly we will be returning to this issue later, when the current negotiations which are at present at a very preliminary stage, are more advanced.

Then there was the question of the more far-reaching agreement, on which negotiations have ceased for the moment, and its consequences for Greenland's fishing activities. I think I have replied to most of Mr Lyngé's remarks. I would just like to repeat, and there can be no doubt about this, that it is the Commission's wish — as it has been the Commission's practice in all these issues — to maintain the closest possible ties with the Greenland domestic government within the existing institutional framework, so as to ensure that this problem is solved in a manner which is satisfactory to Greenland. My impression of these talks to date is that this has been the case.

Mistakes do occur of course. I mean it is right to say that one year for example, Norway received too many halibut, but in that case the error is corrected the next year. It is also necessary to settle the final agreements with Sweden. There are certain technical problems here involving salmon fishing which we discussed a month ago, and now the Commission has undertaken to solve the problems along the lines proposed by Parliament.

As regards the balances in fishing activity between the Community and the Faroes, in my opinion the Faroes enjoy a privileged position. Firstly, not only are the actual figures to the advantage of the Faroes, but in reality — and this was also mentioned by Mr Lyngé — the preference for the Faroes is actually greater because the Faroese conservation measures are so far-reaching and are such that the benefit to fishing vessels from other Community countries is declining sharply, since it is becoming uneconomic to fish in Faroese waters; fishing conditions therefore are developing all the time to the advantage of the Faroes. Since the Faroes have few possibilities other than fishing, this might also be considered natural. However, it should not be forgotten that there are also regions of the European Community which have no alternative to fishing or for which fishing plays an important role in the regional economy.

In my opinion the Faroese cannot, apart from the necessary and natural consideration due to them by virtue of their large dependence on fishing, be treated on the one hand as if they were not members of the Community and therefore a third country, and on the other hand, because of being part of the Kingdom of Denmark, be treated as an area which is still a member of the Community. It must be either one or the other. It cannot be both at once.

I should like to thank Mr Kirk for his report and the favourable attitude to the proposal we put forward. I do not of course wish to raise hopes which I perhaps cannot fulfil later. I think, however, that the desire for retroactivity, so that funds can be used for applica-

tions made previously, is fair and reasonable. I will gladly make an effort to have this inserted in the regulation. The question of the length of vessels is also in my opinion an issue which requires clarification, so that account can be taken of different requirements and needs which vary from one region to the next. But in view of the fact that it is not politically realistic to expect more than a certain sum for 1980, I am not certain, Mr Kirk, that this is the time to change this, even if I do not reject the arguments put forward in support of it. This leads me to a reflection contained in your report, as well as in the statements or reports of the other rapporteurs, namely that when all is said and done, we will not arrive at a definite solution to all these problems until we have a common fisheries policy. All the problems we are discussing here are in reality just improvisations to keep the whole thing going. Let me draw special attention to the fact that all the compromises arrived at with great difficulty at the end of May are in my opinion in the Community's interests, both the British budget issue and the solution to the agricultural problem — which many consider as costly forgetting that, without a Common Agricultural Policy there is no free market for industrial products in Europe and consequently no strong industry in Europe. It can sometimes be difficult to keep track of all the economic elements which constitute the whole.

But this collective solution stipulated a condition, a clearly defined condition, namely that a common fisheries policy must be adopted before the end of this year. The fisheries meeting which took place in the Council at the beginning of this week demonstrated to me that all sides are willing, in spite of the difficulties, to arrive at such a common solution. This solution must, however, form part of a more long term structural policy. On that we are agreed. The Commission has promised to adapt its proposals for a long term structural policy in the light of experience acquired in the interval and in the light of the debate which took place in the Council and in Parliament last year. We will try to put forward this new proposal as early as July, and then there will be an occasion for a new debate on this issue in a more long term context in the European Parliament, and I think, Mr Kirk, that it is in this context that the question of vessel lengths and vessel types should be clarified. Thus, not just at some future date, but in the very near future.

It is also this common fisheries policy which should clarify another question which many of the rapporteurs referred to in their reports, namely the increasing recourse to interim measures, to Article 103. It is an unfortunate state of affairs when interim measures are necessary. But they were necessary in a situation where the Council did not agree on a common fisheries policy and we had to move forward from month to month to keep things together so as to ensure continued fishing in our own waters and in third country waters. With a common fisheries policy of a more lasting nature now in sight, there is also the prospect that we in this Parliament can discuss the principal issues

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and implementing measures in the light of these main decisions and on a more concrete basis, and not be forced time and again to deal with issues *ad hoc* at short notice on the basis of interim proposals.

IN THE CHAIR: POUL MØLLER

Vice-President

President. — I call Mr Helms to speak on behalf of the European People's Party (Christian-Democratic Group).

Mr Helms. — (*D*) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I shall gladly comply with the request made this morning by you, Mr President — or by the President of the sitting — that we should speed up the proceedings because of the large number of items on the agenda. We have three excellent reports on fisheries problems by Mr Buchou, Mr Kirk and Mr Lyngé, and of course the detailed replies and explanations given by the Commissioner, Mr Gundelach, also make things easier for me. I extend my very warm thanks to the rapporteurs for their efforts both in committee and in preparing their reports; but I would like particularly to thank Mr Gundelach, whose replies have shown not only that fisheries problems are of particular concern and are in a very critical phase — he made this point several times in his speech — but also that Parliament and the Commission wish to achieve and put into practice effective cooperation in this area. Because of his explanations I have no wish to go into the details of the reports but would like to deal with a few points raised by Mr Gundelach. You said, Mr Gundelach, in response to an allusion to the participation of Parliament and the committees — made, I think, by Mr Lyngé — that you would take account of our reports and opinions.

I must say on behalf of the entire House — and perhaps in particular of the rapporteurs — that these views and reports have not been considered as we would have wished; that, at any rate, is my impression. We dealt with these fisheries texts months ago in December and March. Then, and also when drafting their motion for a resolution, the committee members submitted their demands, certain aspects of which were deliberately ignored. The Commission was aware of them, and I must repeat that they were not considered sufficiently, although I do not doubt your good intentions or think that this was done on purpose, since you have certain specific dealings with the Council and have to vote with the nine Community Member States. This is made clear, I feel, by the reports submitted as items 120, 122 and 123 on the agenda. I mention this to ensure that the good relations between Parliament and yourself do not suffer as a result of

any ensuing uncertainty or problems marring our relationship with yourself and the Commission. I think this needs to be said, and we could change the situation and improve matters if Parliament and the Commission made fisheries one of its main priorities. In my view the uncertainty and uneasiness which we experienced during the discussions are attributable to the hectic circumstances and the short-term documents which you mentioned. This point was also raised several times during the discussions on fisheries problems. I believe that these documents ought to be submitted to Parliament and to the committee responsible in good time. But above all, Mr Gundelach, this situation has arisen because the Commission has not — or does not wish to — come up with any overall Community strategy for fisheries. What other reason could there be? This is a question which I feel I ought to raise.

Such a general strategy for a fisheries policy with an overall allocation of catch quotas for individual Member States is necessary to avoid uncertainty in fisheries and in subordinate sectors, in deep sea fishing and cutter fishing. Quite frankly, when one speaks to the fishermen and the other people concerned one gets the impression that they feel they are being to some extent misled, since they do not know the exact situation or how things will develop. Quotas are constantly being mentioned. Mr Commissioner, I shall mention just two particular aspects of a general Community fisheries policy of this kind: the fixing of quotas, which I have already mentioned — the Member States must have a clear picture about quotas this year or by next year at the latest — and a general agreement and non-discriminatory rules concerning access to the national waters within the 200 mile zone, with proper respect being shown to traditional fishing grounds. Rules and agreements should also be drawn up to cover these points, and I would be very grateful if the Commissioner would do his best to ensure that arrangements of this kind are made with the Member States in the Council.

I shall conclude on these two important points as it is getting late. We in the Group of the European People's Party are in favour of the Commission's reports and of their conditions and explanatory statements and shall be voting accordingly.

(*Applause*)

President. — I call Mr Provan to speak on behalf of the European Democratic Group.

Mr Provan. — It is a pleasure to take part in this debate today, because we have three very useful reports before Parliament.

I find it significant that these reports should come forward in such a useful, concise form now: I think it

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is a compliment to the Working Party on Fisheries which is doing a lot of spade-work in the background before the results of its efforts reach the Committee on Agriculture. Thanks to this, we are reaching a great measure of agreement in committee, and I hope we shall do so in Parliament as well.

I particularly welcome Mr Kirk's report and I do so because I come from a peripheral area of Europe — the North-East of Scotland — and the fishing industry is vital to the future of my territory.

What is so attractive about it is that an anomaly that has existed for the last three years is recognized in Mr Kirk's proposals. It is not recognized yet, however, by the Commission, though I greatly welcome the fact that Mr Gundelach has said he will try to achieve some form of retroactivity for the granting of modernization grants to the inshore fleet. As far as the British industry is concerned, the proposal to make modernization projects retroactive to 1977 would bring enormous benefit. In the Community as a whole, the number of boats affected is, I believe, about 50 — many of them from my ports in North-East Scotland. If the Commission does accept this recommendation, it will go a long way to remove the anomaly which has set fishermen against fishermen. It has caused a tremendous amount of ill-feeling in the industry, and I submit that the cost of righting this wrong will be fairly small — probably no more than about £ 5 million. I am glad, therefore, that Mr Gundelach has said that he recognizes the problem and will try and do something about it.

It has been quite wrong that, owing to the failure to establish a common fisheries policy, some have benefited from measures while others have been left out in the cold. That has been quite unfair, and I am glad that the delegation of fishermen who came from North-East Scotland last part-session made a significant contribution to Mr Kirk's proposals which are now before us. And I can say that it will be gratefully welcomed.

I also back Mr Kirk's other basic recommendation in the report, that the length of boats eligible for a grant be extended. I personally would like to see the measurement go up to 36 metres, but I am not going to quibble about a metre or two when Mr Kirk suggests 37 metres.

I am strongly in favour of this with regard to my own area of Scotland, because I believe it is right that we have to establish a mixed fishing-fleet. This would have important implications for the fishermen's safety as well as economic advantages. We have lost six boats this year; they were small, possibly overloaded, but in any case the bigger the boat the greater the chances of survival and the greater the safety therefore for the fishermen that go out and do such hazardous work. The economic advantage of a mixed fleet is that it can

cope with the need to cover greater distances to reach the fish.

I believe that in the situation we are in today, with reduced fisheries because of the conservation measures that have been adopted, we must not stop the fleet restructuring itself. We must give help where help is needed. We, as a Community, require fish in the long term. We, as a Community, have adopted conservation measures. It is therefore up to us as a Community to stand by and make sure that the fishermen get proper assistance to carry on modernizing their fleets, so that when fish is available in quantity again we have the capacity of a modernized industry to go and catch it.

There is one worrying aspect, however, about the grants and the interim measures, which I still feel strongly about. When we come to renegotiate the fisheries policy, we must include a scrap-and-build policy; and then I think it will be right for us to make certain that applications for grants are approved before the reconstruction or modernization of a boat or construction of a new boat, begins. I have asked for retroactivity. I also ask that we prevent these anomalies arising in the future, so that fishermen can make proper provision for the financing of their assets, their fishing vessels, by being sure of these grants before the work begins.

The other important thing that Mr Kirk highlights in his report is in paragraph 3, where he asks for adequate Community measures such as I have just spoken about to prevent individual states from assisting their own fleet. It would be quite wrong for the Community to allow this to happen. I appeal to Mr Gundelach to provide me with an answer to a question that I asked two months ago about inequalities among the Community's fishing fleets. (I was, in fact, asking about national subsidies to Community fishing fleets.)

I gather that the answer has been provided, but I would prevail upon his staff to try and give it in a more satisfactory manner, because the answer filled a 4-ton van. I do not believe that is a satisfactory way to give what I would have assumed to be a fairly simple answer.

I now turn to Mr Buchou's report, which again is highly commendable. The aspect I am interested in raising this afternoon concerns vessels of the Spanish fishing fleet operating in EEC waters. We must ensure that the catch restrictions presently in force for these vessels are rigidly applied. Any quotas granted must be at levels consistent with our policy on the conservation of fish stocks. When Spain does join the Community, one must ensure that these catch restrictions are continued until the Community is absolutely certain that our fish stocks can bear the additional catches which their increased fishing effort would occasion. The potential of the Spanish fleet is quite frightening. They have 2 100 deep-water fishing-boats — more than the deepwater boats of all the other Community

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countries put together — and Parliament should be aware of the implications of this. Nevertheless, the view of Spain's potential in our waters, especially in the area I am interested in, which is the North Sea, must be qualified by the fact that, since it requires approximately 1 tonne of oil to catch 1 tonne of fish and since Spain is a long way from the North Sea, it is unlikely, because of increasing energy costs, that the Spanish fleet will be able to afford much fishing in the North Sea.

Another aspect of Mr Buchou's report covers the Canadian measures and the common resources off Greenland. I have very little to say about this, because I think Mr Buchou has put it very succinctly in his report. We as a Community have problems with some of the Canadian agreements on the import of fish, but I think we should leave that for another day.

In Mr Lyngé's very useful report, we have discussions on the Norwegian quota for herring in the Skagerak, and this quota has been doubled. I am concerned — and I would like some assurance from the Commission on this point — that over-fishing of this stock should not affect our Community stocks in the North Sea, because I believe that that stock, rather like Members of the European Parliament, is peripatetic: It moves from the North Sea into Norwegian waters and it moves back again. I do not think that the science of this is sufficiently well known, and I should like an assurance from the Commission that the proportion of the stock that is moving is not so great that we are giving away part of our very, very scarce herring stocks from the North Sea.

The other aspect of the Norwegian problem which Mr Lyngé highlights in his report is the very abrupt way in which our haddock fishing was stopped in their waters last year. Literally at one week's notice, we were told that there was to be no more fishing for haddock in that area, and this caused havoc in some of our Community fishing-ports. We must try to negotiate proper long-term arrangements so that that sort of problem does not happen again.

Mr President, these are three very useful reports and we as a group will be supporting them.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mrs Le Roux to speak on behalf of the Communist and Allies Group.

Mrs Le Roux. — Mr President, I would like to take the floor on behalf of my French colleagues in the Communist and Allies Group. Even though we are fully aware of the need to protect the resources of the sea and preserve marine species, we cannot but observe that they are being used here as a pretext to institute measures which are geared towards a completely different objective.

What does the Commission in fact propose in the various regulations submitted to us for an opinion? The reports of Messrs Buchou and Lyngé do show that the framework agreements with Canada and Norway will be detrimental to the interests of the fishermen of the European Community since they extend the rights of these countries to areas which have been the traditional fishing grounds of Europeans, and more specifically of French fishermen. This will be carried out by vessels flying what amount to flags of convenience. As for the agreement with Spain, its obvious aim is to prepare for an enlarged Community which the Commission, like the majority of this Assembly, continues to support. The expansion of the Community will, in the fisheries sector, also create serious if not dramatic problems for French fishermen operating either on the Mediterranean coast, at Saint-Jean-de-Luz, in all ports of Brittany or even at Boulogne.

The difficulties between the various partners within the Community are already considerable, especially with the extraordinary demands of the British, who take advantage of the absence of Community regulations in this area to unilaterally impose net sizes or quotas in zones where French fishermen have acquired historic rights. The entry of Spain into the Common Market will further aggravate the difficulties. The admission of a fleet which, in terms of tonnage, is equal to if not above that of the entire Community, within the waters of the Community will decimate stocks, impede reproduction and hasten the irrevocable disappearance of species such as hake or Norway lobster. Furthermore, with low prices in Spain attributable to the low salaries and the subsidies granted by the Spanish Government, our own fishermen will not be able to survive.

There is talk of solidarity with the Spanish. In fact, it is not the Spanish workers who will benefit from this situation, just a few major companies like Pesca Nova. The Spanish fishermen themselves are worried, and they have every cause to be. The Commission itself recognizes that the enlargement of the Community will call for the conversion of the fleet and the redeployment of a considerable number of Spanish fishermen. The lowering of customs barriers will enable concerns manufacturing tinned fish to invade the market, particularly that of France, with highly competitive products.

The measures aimed at restructuring the inshore fishing industry, proposed by the Commission and welcomed by Mr Kirk in his report will further encourage incursions into this sector that is so important for the economy of my country. Until now, the European fisheries policy has been applied selectively in favour of some major fishing and processing companies, either through the EAGGF or in the form of short-term economic measures. Today, the measures envisaged under the pretext of modernizing and protecting resources are in fact simply intended to stifle this

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industry. A simple comparison of the non-industrial and industrial fleets of France and Spain shows to what extent your proposals are a threat to French non-industrial fishing at a time when, over the years, the French fleet has been declining while that of Spain is growing. Consequently, as in the case of textiles and the steel industry you want to strike the death knell of French non-industrial fishing and above all, settle its burial expenses with a few attempts at modernization. We simply cannot accept that kind of situation. The proposal made by Mr Kirk to extend the maximum length of vessels eligible for modernization from 24 to 37 metres is clear evidence of the trend they would like us to adopt. We cannot protect our marine resources by favouring a few big fishing concerns. Certainly not! If we really want to protect the Community's fishermen, to develop this industry which is important for the food resources of our countries and even for those countries suffering from hunger, other measures could be taken. In France, a little over 50 % of the consumer market is covered by fish caught by French vessels. This is equivalent to 110 thousand tonnes. With 90 thousand tonnes of imports from various countries, particularly Great Britain, French fishermen have to pour back thousands of tonnes of unsold fish into the sea owing to the clogging of the markets with dumped goods. To remedy such a situation, we must take action within the market. Some minimum price in keeping with the costs of production must be guaranteed for the fishermen. No imports should be admitted with prices below this level and there should be a real campaign against dumping. If we want to fight against the depletion of fish stocks, we must first of all prohibit the catching of young fish which are usually caught in hundreds of thousands of tonnes by the English and Danish among others, for use in manufacturing fishmeal. Stocks must also be protected against massive and incessant pollution.

As far as we are concerned, and in our country, we support and will continue to support demands by fishermen along these lines, because over and above their own interest, it is an entire sector of the French economy, from shipbuilding to foodstuffs processing industries, that is threatened.

(Applause from the Communist and Allies Group.)

President. — I call Mr Brøndlund Nielsen to speak on behalf of the Liberal and Democratic Group.

Mr Brøndlund Nielsen. — *(DK)* Mr President, I should like to return to the point dealt with by Mr Gundelach towards the end of his speech, i.e. the current prospects for a common fisheries policy. I hope that the Council's agreement in principle will really result in some serious work in which Parliament and its committee will also be involved for the rest of the year, so that we can draw up a real common policy

in this sector. As I have said before, this is the principal sector, or at least the most obvious sector, where our technical capacities have become so great that we are in a position to put a greater burden on our environment than it can cope with. Thus it is absolutely vital that the ways in which we exploit these possibilities should be subject to some system of control and, in my view, this is one of the things which makes the Community necessary, i.e. the need for regulations covering larger areas, for as Mr Gundelach also said, fish do not recognize the boundaries which have been fixed. I cannot help remembering, in this connection, a discussion I took part in during the referendum campaign in which I mentioned as an example this very question of fisheries policy. I mentioned the herring resources, whereupon my counterpart, a prominent opponent of the Community and a politician, who has since died, but was an accomplished debater in his day, immediately took this up and said that we had had an example of this in Danish politics, in that there had been talk of what we in Danish call a 'dead herring', or in English, a 'dead duck'. I am sure the President will remember this debate. My opponent said that now he had heard something worse in that attempts were being made to bring entire shoals of 'dead herrings' into the EEC debate. However, I think we can say in all humility that those of us who thought that there was a need for some sort of regulation of this kind have probably been proved right to a certain extent, and we should now like to see something done in practical terms in this respect during the remainder of this year. For this reason, I shall not go too much into the many details that have been brought up here, but I should nevertheless like to deal with some of them.

Mr Kirk mentioned a number of the points which might be singled out in paragraph 1 of his report. We must realize that these proposals are intended partly as a control mechanism, and are partly aimed at bringing about the reduction of capacity within the fisheries sector and hence promoting more efficient use in various respects of the remaining capacity, so that the necessary steps can be taken to ensure that fishing is carried out in the most efficient manner and that the fish caught can be used as efficiently as possible, which of course means in particular that they will be used as far as possible for human consumption. The points discussed include the way in which the fishing fleet and the vessels themselves can be adopted to cope with the new demands. The question which is in fact being discussed in this context is the size of the vessels. Modernization and conversion subsidies are proposed. It could be said, not to put too fine a point on it, that this field has over the years been influenced by a somewhat unfortunate interplay between a number of interests which have no direct right to become involved in this question. For example, it cannot be denied that industry, metalworkers and trade unions have wished to see the opportunity created for a large-scale building programme for fishing vessels. This opportunity was created by means of a series of

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fiscal measures — at least in some countries — which led to such a strong temptation for outside investment that they resulted in the building up of a massive industrial fishing capacity which is perhaps not a good idea and which, furthermore, is not something which is particularly in keeping with the traditions of the fishing industry. It may, therefore, be difficult now to reduce this capacity in an equitable manner.

Something might perhaps be said in favour of modernizing not only the larger vessels but also the smaller ones, since in many cases it is those who fish on very traditional lines which are now finding themselves in difficulties as a result of the development in this sector. There is no getting round the fact that one of the matters of which particular account must be taken in connection with a common fisheries policy is the traditional conditions which have existed for many decades. This also applies in the case of a quite different matter, i.e. the distribution of quotas and fishing grounds.

I do not intend to go into these questions in detail, but should merely like to stress that we must work towards adapting the capacity and making more efficient use of the fish caught. For this reason I can also give my support to the principle of aid for the freezing of fish etc., on the vessels themselves and making greater use of this technique so that we can make more efficient use of the limited resources. I also think Mr Kirk is right in drawing attention in his report to marketing and possibilities for sale. This is also an important factor, in my view, and even if it is true to say that there are many organizations — indeed, in many cases there is perhaps also pressure from lobbies — I nevertheless welcome the fact that an organization has now been set up which includes organizations of producers in the fisheries sector in most of the countries of the Community, so that in many cases the fishermen themselves can play a part in establishing a better system of marketing and controlling the various associated factors.

Having mentioned consideration of traditional conditions, I should also like to mention the situation in Greenland which has been brought to our attention and which Mr Lynge has dealt with both today and in committee. It is in the case of Greenland that it becomes particularly obvious that we must take account of and accord considerable priority to the traditional situation, since it is also a fact that in Greenland there are not many alternative ways of making a living open to persons currently working in the fishing industry. For this reason, it is even more important in Greenland than elsewhere in the Community that consideration of age-old established traditions should be taken as a point of departure for a fisheries policy.

There is also another question, namely the situation as regards third countries, which Mr Gundelach went into in great detail. I also noticed how well balanced his treatment of this subject was, since it is obviously

extremely difficult to strike the right balance between avoiding imports into the Community on a scale which would cause considerable market disturbances and, on the other hand, obtaining a certain amount of compensation in the form of the right for Community fishermen to fish in traditional areas. However, I do not think I shall go into any more of these questions. Thus I should like to finish as I began by saying that I look forward now to extensive and constructive cooperation with a view to eventually establishing a comprehensive, cohesive and healthy common fisheries policy.

President. — I call Mrs Ewing to speak on behalf of the Group of European Progressive Democrats.

Mrs Ewing. — Mr President, I too would like to express thanks to the Fisheries Working Party and to say that my group supports and welcomes these three reports as being factual and practical. A part of my constituency is the area contiguous to that of Mr Provan along the north-east coast of Scotland, the Aberdeen north-east coast as we call it, and since Mr Provan's detailed comments apply equally well to that part of my constituency, I therefore have no need to repeat them. It has been the case as Commissioner Gundelach well knows from many conversations we have had and correspondence we have exchanged that this subject has been the cause of much heart-ache and resentment as puzzled communities have seen one application accepted and an identical one, perhaps even of a brother, in respect of a boat built in the same yard on the same day being refused, although the two men may have had the same skills. That kind of thing in small communities causes untold burning resentment against the EEC. If we can remove some of the unfairness and anomalies that have surrounded these grants in the way that has been suggested by Mr Kirk, I think we can really help everyone, apart from the actual beneficiaries.

It is not a good thing to have such obvious anomalies. However I think Commissioner Gundelach is well acquainted with the type of anomalies I have mentioned and I am very grateful to him for indicating that he is sympathetic to Mr Kirk's proposals, which would solve the problem.

I would like to say also that in a previous question to Commissioner Gundelach I did promise that I would provide him with information in my possession about different interest rates that the Member States applied or allowed to the boatbuilding industry. This greatly affects the cost of boats and gives some of Europe's fishermen a great advantage over others. I did send Mr Gundelach a copy and asked him if, at some point, he would provide us with a clear and perhaps not too long statement on the various types of subsidy or aid granted by each Member State. For example, I am told by the Scottish Fishermen's Federation that last year

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Germany granted its fishermen fifteen million as against two million granted by the United Kingdom to its fishermen. I am also informed by my federation that in France a fuel subsidy is granted. I am not objecting to this because in fact it is precisely the kind of subsidy that my fishermen have frequently asked for. I think it would be of great assistance to us if, before we have the common fisheries policy, we could have a clear picture of where we all stand. In fact it would not make sense to begin devising a common fisheries policy until we all know how equal or unequal we are. It is, for example, absolutely essential to establish whether or not hidden subsidies are being granted in defiance of the Treaty of Rome. I would therefore echo Mr Provan's request for information in this important area.

On the question of Spain, I welcome what Mr Kirk has said. This issue does concern me. The statistics are already well known. This enormous fleet, 252 % the size of the British fleet, is going to have to go somewhere. I quite agree that the cost of fuel is going to make it rather unlikely that the whole fleet will come into the North Sea, but, if I could just quote the case of Irish waters, 20 Spanish vessels have been arrested there since the beginning of 1980 with seems to indicate that they do find it worthwhile to come as far as the North Sea. There have also been instances of such illegal fishing in Scottish waters. Sometimes of course the vessel cannot be caught and then it is just put down to fishermen's tales. However, there are so many fishermen's tales that one really has to start taking them very seriously. This is, after all, a matter of some concern. We do not seem to be getting from anyone a clear statement, a promise to us, that the Community waters will not be faced with a situation where the stocks cannot support these extra boats. Some will undoubtedly wish to come. When I was happily a member of the parliamentary delegation to the Lomé Convention, I made a speech on fishing from the point of view of the Lomé countries. I understand that my suggestion was welcomed. Although Commissioner Cheysson was not present during my speech I did have discussions with him. He thought my proposals were sensible. I suggested in my speech in Lomé that it was ridiculous that in a world in which many of the people were starving, this great source of protein should be so extensively fished by Korean, Russian and Japanese fleets; and that it would be to the great interest of our Lomé friends if they could obtain technical assistance from the EEC on many parts of their coasts. It seems obvious that close contacts could be established with the African coastal states; the Spanish could provide them with technical expertise, they would have access to the waters and this would surely be a better thing for the African countries than just watching the Russians, Japanese and Koreans scooping up the fish off their shores. If we are not careful the southern hemisphere will eventually be as gravely endangered as the northern hemisphere.

Now I would like to see more discussion of this practical solution to the problem of Spanish entry, which I want to put on record; I most warmly welcome enlargement, I have always been on record as saying that; I am particularly fond of the Spanish people and I welcome their entry to the EEC but I do feel that we have got to look at the practicalities. I think Commissioner Gundelach has indicated his concern for this aspect in many speeches in the past.

I would now like to make a few general observations on this matter of a global solution, which my colleague from the Christian Democrats discussed. In trying to reach a global solution I think we have to accept that overall EEC control is a necessary ingredient; and here I have a suggestion for the consideration of Members of this House: I suggest a cross-fertilization of fishery inspectors. Now the fishery inspector is never really regarded as a friend by fishermen; in their view, after all, the inspector is someone who makes them obey the rules; certainly in my area the fishery inspection is very tough. What I am suggesting is that we send a Scots inspector over to Danish ports and that perhaps Denmark, or France, could return the compliment. In this way I think it would do much to reduce the suspicion that all fishermen nurture, which is that the other fellow is not obeying the rules; and I think that solution could be looked at very seriously.

I would, of course, like to support Mr Lyng in his natural desire to protect his great constituency, the only one larger than my own, because, as has been pointed out, Greenland has no other choice; but many parts of my very large area, including scores of inhabited islands, are in precisely the same position. Some islands are totally dependent on fishing and if we do not get a fair deal there are going to be ghost communities round the north of Scotland and the west of Scotland, because there is no mainland alternative for them. My own town of Lossiemouth is a case in point, and it is not nearly so remote as many other places which would suffer. So when we are looking at these arrangements with Canada and the Faroes, I hope that it will be remembered that the criterion of total dependence affects a great part of my area.

While we are on the subject of Canada, I am sure Commissioner Gundelach will be aware of the dramatic effect of Canadian imports on the Hebridean lobster fishing industry. This is a burning issue, and is really destroying fishermen's faith in any hope of achieving justice from a common fisheries' policy. Our fishing industry, contrary to the view expressed by the Communist speaker, is in such a grim situation, that these normally gentle men are talking in militant terms. We have had a blockade once before, and it is beginning to be considered again. I do not accept the points made by the Communist speaker. British waters contain two thirds of the catch, and two thirds of that are in Scottish waters. So when we are offered 23 % against that, how on earth can the Communist speaker say we would benefit? On the contrary, in the case of

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my area, if we had had the normal coastal preference that all maritime nations enjoy, the industry would be in a very prosperous position and we would not be hearing all these fears for the survival of communities.

I am sure it is not the wish of this Community to sit idly by while many happy, stable island communities turn into graveyards; but unless we get justice that is precisely what will happen. I therefore welcome these three reports as a step in the right direction: I wish the Commissioner well in a task I would not like to have: and I hope that he manages to find solutions to all our problems. Thank you.

President. — I call Mr Kirk.

Mr Kirk, rapporteur. — (DK) Mr President, I should like to say that I am always glad that when this Parliament discusses fisheries, people usually manage to keep political ideologies out of the debate. However, Mrs Le Roux, who is unfortunately not present at the moment, is once more, I see, coming up with what are more or less political slogans in connection with fisheries problems within the Community. I should like to stress most emphatically that my report contains no attempts whatsoever to promote the interests of any major company or companies, but goes very deeply into the problems arising from the difficulties facing the Community fishing fleet. We are trying to find a concrete solution to some of these problems.

What I should like to say in this debate concerns more the agreement concluded with the Faroe Islands by the Commission on behalf of the Community. I should like to say to the rapporteur, Mr Lyngé, that I was pleased at his remarks and the great understanding he showed for the problems of the people of the Faroe Islands in the fisheries sector. However, I must also say that I do not quite understand the situation which has recently arisen in connection with the agreement concluded by the Community with the Faroe Islands as regards shrimp fishing off the east coast of Greenland, for which the Faroe Islands have received authorization on an experimental basis. I should therefore be very glad if the Commission could confirm that it is intended that the Faroe Islands should be able to fish for shrimps off the east coast of Greenland on an experimental basis without quotas, and that this experimental fishery is not to be regarded as of purely scientific interest but is rather commercial experimental fishery aimed at finding out in the course of 1980 what resources can be found in the area in question, as otherwise I have totally misunderstood the entire discussion of the agreement with the Faroe Islands and the Commission's answer in the Committee on Agriculture.

A second point to which I should like to draw attention is that, in my view, we in the Community are under a considerable obligation to make use of the

resources available to us in Community waters in the most rational and responsible manner possible. I cannot therefore understand the attitudes and arguments put forward, particularly by Greenland, regarding this experimental fishery, and it is a fact that the area in which this shrimp fishing is being carried out now in 1980 is un navigable two years out of four because of ice. Thus we are in a situation where the stocks are protected by a natural mechanism.

It is also a fact that scientific knowledge concerning these stocks is nil, and as far as my own knowledge of fish stocks is concerned, when a new stock is to be fished, I think it is very rare — or to be more accurate I think it has never occurred in history — that it has been possible to fish a stock so intensively in the course of a single year as to reduce it to a level where its survival is threatened. I should therefore like to recommend the Community to be aware of the problems facing the Faroe Islands in the fisheries sector and to try and make fishing as easy as possible for the people of these islands, particularly in an area that no one else in the Community is able to fish in 1980. We should, I think, be grateful to the people of the Faroe Islands for the development of fisheries in the waters of Greenland which has taken place over the years. I am convinced that if it had not been for the Faroese fishermen in the waters off Greenland, our knowledge of the fish resources in this vast area would not be what it is today.

Finally, I should like to say to Mrs Ewing as regards the question of the islands which she says are turning into graveyards that we must certainly be careful not to get into a situation where we try to export the problems from one Member State to another. The chief characteristic of the entire fisheries situation, as I see it, is the very fact that there is very rarely an alternative occupation in those areas where fishing is the main industry. Thus it is more or less immaterial whether we are talking about fishing which is threatened on a Scottish island or fishing which is threatened in another part of the Community, since only in very rare cases will the people concerned be able to find an alternative way of making a living. I was therefore pleased to hear Mr Gundelach say that a proposal for an overall solution to the problems might well be forthcoming in July, and I hope that we will be able to strike an appropriate balance as regards the problems facing us so that we will not end up in a situation where we will simply be trying to shuffle the problems off on to each other.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mr Battersby.

Mr Battersby. — Mr President, I would firstly like to congratulate the three rapporteurs on the very high technical quality of their reports. Fishing is a highly

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complex technical, economic and political industry operated by highly skilled and very courageous individualists, and our reports and opinions here on fishing must be worthy of their confidence and respect. I would also like to congratulate Mr Gundelach on the clarity and expertise of his reply.

The basic principle behind Regulation 1852/78, which is an interim measure aimed at assisting the inshore fleet in regions highly dependent on fisheries in the time gap between the expiry of Regulation 1764 — this took place in 1978 — and the coming into force of a common fisheries policy, is a very worthy one, even if the funds available have so far been inadequate for the task allocated to the actual measure. But, as Mr Kirk has said, it doesn't go far enough and further regulations must go much further. In this same interim period the middle and distant-water fleets, which are much smaller in total number of vessels but often have boats manned by larger crews, have also needed help and very little has been forthcoming. In future this sector must be covered by adequate legislation.

I would now like to mention just one or two numbers to bring things into perspective. The inshore fleet in the Community northern waters has about 28 000 boats under 24 metres and employs about 70 000 full and part-time men. The 1 500 to 1 600 vessels over this length, which are mainly in the 24 to 36-metre range, employ about 12 000 full-time men. 30 000 boats are probably enough for the task, and I fully support Mr Provan's plea for a scrap and build policy. While on this subject I would like to add a technical caution on overengineering, i.e. putting in too powerful engines, because horse power is a much more important factor in trawling than the length of the boat.

However, to return to the distant-water fleet, in 1973 there were well over 1 850 vessels over 24 metres at sea in the northern waters, and then came the tragic and, for many individuals, disastrous contraction of the distant-water trawler fleets. For example, in my own constituency of Humberside we have lost almost an entire fleet and the French *grande pêche* fleet has almost vanished. Nobody is fishing Iceland any more, and the Grand Banks of Newfoundland have very few Community boats on them. We have to recognize that the French industry has suffered a great deal. In fact every nation in the Community has suffered: the cost of oil in the 200-mile zones has seen to that. The middle and distant-water sector with its larger engines and longer voyages is probably affected more than the inshore fleet by today's very high fuel costs, but both sectors are today caught in a tight financial squeeze and I am anxiously awaiting a statement from the Commission, as promised by Commissioner Burke, on a Community fuel subsidy which must be not only fair but meaningful. We want practical action here, not political action.

No man, however efficient, can compete against third country dumping at prices below his operating costs. I

welcome the new tariffs on block and whole frozen fish. However, the fish trade is a cost-sensitive trade, and the balance is sufficiently delicate to warrant careful adjustment of the tariffs, in my opinion, at least once a month. In this the Commission, I am quite sure, bears in mind the processing and other shore-based elements in the trade. This side employs more people than the catching sector and I do not envy Mr Gundelach his balancing act in the fish trade.

However, Commissioner, you must keep the fishermen in business until we have the common fisheries policy operating, especially in providing catching opportunities for our larger vessels. This brings us up against the quota problem. We restrict entry into our own zone. The Soviet Union, Poland and the DDR no longer fish in our waters, which is to our benefit. Spain is tightly controlled. Therefore we must accept restrictions on our entry to other countries' zones, but as a major importer of industrial and consumer goods we must bargain very strongly for higher quotas of fish for human consumption in the waters of third countries, and I welcome Mr Gundelach's remarks on this particular matter.

It is, as you know, a difficult task to produce a common fishing policy. If I went into all the points I could probably go on all evening, but there is one area where I think the industry does need a lot of help, and that is marketing. Fish does not sell itself and there is wide scope for encouraging an increase in consumption. I am sure that it can be increased, with fish at the right price in competition with other less energy-intensive protein foods.

There is one other point — I have spoken a lot about the fleet in northern waters; I feel that the Commission must now begin working also on a Mediterranean fisheries policy to include Italy, Greece and the French Mediterranean fishing industry, so that when enlargement takes place, we are prepared and do not fall into the same chaos we have been suffering over the past few years in the northern waters, for lack of a fishing policy.

Finally, I would like to say, as chairman of the working Group on Fisheries, that the Commission has been most cooperative in advising the group at our meetings. This cooperation will, I hope, intensify over the next crucial months. It is the intention of this Parliament to be closely involved in the common fisheries policy in all its aspects. As Mr Buchou and Mr Helms have both said, we must have draft documents hot from the press and not receive them after the crucial decisions have been taken. As you will have recognized from the reports before you, we have a lot of expertise to contribute, and we intend — and I am sure that Mr Gundelach approves of our intent — to play our full role in formulating the common fisheries policy. We must have a common fisheries policy within this year, Mr Gundelach, otherwise we are heading for disaster.

President. — I call Mr Lyngé.

Mr Lyngé, rapporteur. — (DK) Mr President, I should like to make a few remarks to Mr Gundelach, Mr Buchou and Mr Kirk.

As regards the Canada agreement, I think the three of us have been talking a little at cross purposes in connection with what it states concerning the information with which the Greenland authorities are to be provided. When I saw what was said in Mr Buchou's report, I tabled an amendment to the effect that this passage should be deleted on the grounds that I know for a fact that the Greenland authorities were in fact present and were consulted when the agreement with Canada was concluded. The reason why this is not stated explicitly is that the Commission is, of course, observing our law on home rule which states that Denmark is responsible for matters of foreign policy. The Commission, so to speak, officially recognizes only Denmark, but representatives of Greenland take part in the meetings too, as in the case of the agreement with Canada, which is why I tabled the amendment.

However, I should nevertheless like to draw attention to one point concerning notification of the Greenland authorities, particularly as regards Norwegian experimental shrimp fishing in 1979. It is an unfortunate fact that the Greenland authorities were not notified of this. The ombudsman was not notified, nor were the Ministry for Greenland or the Ministry of Defence, i.e. the inspectorate. The inspectorate even went so far as to try and seize a Norwegian shrimping vessel, which was fishing legally and produced a Community licence to prove it, which nobody had any knowledge of. I should like to stress in this connection that I am not attacking the Commission, but I am pointing out that there is a communication problem which is probably due to internal governmental factors in Denmark.

As regards Mr Kirk's criticism of the views I have put forward concerning unlimited experimental fisheries by the Faroe Islands, he says that he cannot understand Greenland's point of view. I should like to say that the discussion between him and myself certainly does not belong in this House, but in view of what has been said, I should like to point out that what Greenland wanted in this respect was that experimental shrimping of Greenland in 1980 should be split into four quotas each of 2 500 t, one for Greenland, one for Denmark, one for the Faroes and one for Norway, making 10 000 t in all. Thus it cannot be said that 10 000 t is a great deal in what would appear to be a very considerable stock. This may of course be the case, but the view was that since the stock has not as yet been biologically determined, this figure of 10 000 t was felt to be advisable for this year. I might also point out to Mr Kirk that this is also the view currently taken by both the Danish Government and the Greenland authorities and which I also support. If

we intend to argue any more about this point, I think we should do it outside in the corridor.

President. — I call Mr Gundelach.

Mr Gundelach, Vice-President of the Commission. — (DK) Mr President, I should first of all like to thank Mr Lyngé for clarifying the question of information to the Greenland authorities and their participation in drawing up the terms for negotiation etc. I think this is very gratifying that this question has been cleared up. It is true that there were communication problems in the Danish Government regarding experimental shrimping in the waters of Greenland in 1979, but I think we have learnt from this since. That was the first point I wished to make.

The next concerns the same subject. I should like to assure Mr Kirk that the experimental fishing carried out by the Faroe Islands is not subject to any quantitative restrictions: it is the Norwegians who are subject to such restrictions. What will happen in the future is another matter, but one which we must discuss when the time comes.

My next point is addressed to Mr Helms who appears to think that the Commission has never submitted proposals for a common fisheries policy. This surprises me somewhat, since both this Parliament and the previous European Parliament have discussed the Commission's interrelated proposals for a common fisheries policy on various occasions, and, broadly speaking, have given it very firm support. We did not propose anything for 1980, as the political situation did not warrant any such proposals. However, this is not the same thing as not having a common fisheries policy. We have indeed had one, and now that it has become apparent, thanks partly to our own press that it is politically possible for a proposal on quotas to receive some serious consideration, we are submitting such a proposal. This is something else which I would like to make perfectly clear on this occasion.

I was asked a specific question regarding the implications of the increased quotas contained in third country agreements for our conservation policy for herring in the North Sea; Denmark on behalf of the Community, Norway and Sweden as regards the Skagerrak. The reason why the quota for Norway has had to be increased is that Norway's contribution to the herring stock in the Skagerrak is now greater than it used to be as it includes the herring in the deep Norwegian fjords. Having said this, I should like to stress that no marine biologist has expressed any misgivings whatsoever regarding the effects of these revised figures on herring policy in the North Sea. Indeed, there appears to be a tendency to think that herring fishing in the Skagerrak area could even be increased slightly. We will know more on this subject in due course.

Gundelach

Attention has been drawn to the fact that, in our relations with Norway as regards fishing, a sudden halt was called to haddock fishing last year. A request was made for some kind of arrangement so that this sort of problem does not happen again, and I must say quite frankly that if something of this kind can happen, it is the Community's own fault since it has not until last year been willing to introduce extensive compulsory reporting of catches, which means that others must make checks on our fishing and intervene if we exceed the figures specified and fail to give the slightest indication that we are keeping to the commitments we ourselves have entered into. Compulsory reporting by all the Member States of all fish caught has now been introduced this year, and it should therefore be possible, when this system comes into operation, to avoid situations of this kind, which are, of course, extremely undesirable. At the same time, it will be possible to avoid too much overfishing in one Member State or another, and finally to guarantee more uniform monitoring of fishing in all the Member States, fishing by all the Member States in the waters of third countries and fishing by third countries in our waters.

President. — The debate is closed. The motion for a resolution will be put to the vote at the next voting time.

13. Urgent procedure

President. — I have received from Mr Fergusson on behalf of the European Democratic Group, Mr Blumenfeld on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (CD Group), Mr Haagerup on behalf of the Liberal and Democratic Group and Mrs Ewing on behalf of the Group of European Progressive Democrats a motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-263/80), with request for urgent debate pursuant to Rule 14 of the Rules of Procedure, on the violation of the French embassy in Monrovia.

The reasons supporting this request for urgent debate are contained in the document itself.

Parliament will be consulted on the request for urgent debate at the beginning of tomorrow's sitting.

14. Communication on the Luster report on the Rules of Procedure (Doc. 1-148/80)

President. — The President of the sitting of Monday, 16 June stated that one of the reasons for proposing the postponement of the Luster report until a later part-session lay in translation problems raised by the text of the motion for a resolution contained in the report. A corrigendum, which will be distributed

shortly, has been drawn up in four of the official languages in order to harmonize the texts.

I propose that 12 noon on Friday, 27 June be fixed as the new deadline for the tabling of amendments to the corrected text, on the understanding that the amendments previously tabled are void.

Since there are no objections, that is agreed.

15. Aid to producers in the hops sector for 1979

President. — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-251/80), drawn up by Mr Davern on behalf of the Committee on Agriculture, on the

proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-231/80) for a regulation laying down in respect of hops the amount of aid to producers for the 1979 harvest.

I call Sir Henry Plumb.

Sir Henry Plumb, deputy rapporteur. — Mr President, I regret very much that Mr Davern is not present today to present the report which has been debated by the Committee on Agriculture. To take a look at the figures in 1979: world production of hops, at 115 800 tonnes, was 2 200 tonnes short of the brewing industry's requirements, with the result that world reserve stocks were as much as 3 % below the normal. That led to substantial price increases, and the principal beneficiary was the world's leading hop exporter, the Federal Republic of Germany. In the same period Community production was 44 800 tonnes, which was an increase of 2 100 tonnes on the 1978 production figures, and this in spite of the fact that there was a reduction of 615 hectares in the area under hops in the Community: that is to say, 24 658 hectares in 1979, compared with 25 273 hectares in 1978. So if the 1980 harvest yields are normal, at around 1.46 tonnes per hectare, production will fall short of the world brewing industry's requirements, resulting in a small but significant increase in prices. It is therefore important to curtail, or at least avoid an over-rapid extension in, acreage; world market stability is dependent on this. For this reason, the fact that the Commission is reserving the right to present new proposals to the Council to control acreage would seem more than justified.

One must not forget that, whereas there is an annual increase in world beer production of 3 %, the demand for hops is only 1 %, this being mainly due to technical improvements in the use of hops. In 1979 producers' income per hectare, excluding Community aid, rose by 22 % and total returns to the hop producer developed more favourably, from 13 436 to 17 237 units of account, which was an overall increase of 29 %. In 1979 there were 6 701 producers in the Community, of whom 6 112 were associated in recog-

Plumb

nized producer groups, and those same groups have played a vital role in the Community programme of restructuring.

Adequate supplement, however, must be provided for producers who are working on advanced contracts, as prices in this sector have remained at the 1977 programme level. The Commission proposals, therefore, not only to provide adequate supplement to growers, but also to pursue market stability through recognized producer groups and to rationalize production by a different aid, would appear equitable — particularly in view of world market trends and the improved level of producer income. This proposal is also a good example of how a reduction in agricultural spending can be achieved by carefully planned and monitored production or rationalization. It is for these reasons that we ask this House to support the motion contained in the report.

President. — I call Mr Sutra to speak on behalf of the Socialist Group.

Mr Sutra. — (*F*) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I shall very briefly present two amendments. I should point out that the report before us was adopted almost unanimously by the Committee on Agriculture in the afternoon of the day before yesterday. I was the only member to abstain because, although I feel this is a good report, there is still some room for improvement. After the discussions held by the Committee on Agriculture we tabled the first amendment, which proposes that we should adopt a still more cautious approach towards further hop planting. The Commission representative who attended the committee meeting the day before yesterday told us that the Commission was in favour of such an approach but that the idea had not been followed through by the Council. This amendment will be put before you in order to strengthen the Commission's caution. We feel that it is essential if we are to maintain the situation on the European and world market, which is fairly well balanced, and our proposal will ensure that it will continue this way. Amendment No 1 is justified by the fact that, as the Commission itself admits, there are no official statistics on stocks, in particular on commercial stocks in breweries. We therefore request that the land under hops should be kept at its 1979 level for another year, at the end of which the situation in the hops sector should be examined jointly with the Commission on the basis of proposals from the latter.

The second amendment is different since its implications are regional. It does not relate to the destruction of the European and world markets but to the specific problem of Alsace. The amount of land under hops in Alsace has fallen over the past four years from 1 050 to 470 hectares, in other words over half Alsace's hop fields have disappeared. The deficiency payments scheme at present in operation has therefore not

protected Alsace's growers against distortions resulting from monetary difficulties and competition. We therefore ask the Commission to consider drafting a special regulation to ensure the protection of what little remains on the basis of guaranteed incomes for the hop farmers. We are, sadly, acting rather late, but we must protect what little remains of Alsace's hop fields.

I hope, Mr President, that the rapporteur will accept these amendments, the first of which serves only to consolidate the report before us, while the second deals specifically with the extremely difficult situation of hop producers in Alsace.

President. — I call Mr De Keersmaecker to speak on behalf of the European People's Party (CD Group).

Mr De Keersmaecker. — (*NL*) Mr President, Mr Commissioner, I should like to say straight away that I am in favour of the Commission proposals discussed in this report. In the present circumstances, the proposed measures meet the need to guarantee a reasonable income for hop producers and provide for involving the producer groups in the establishment of a lasting equilibrium between supply and demand and making a selection with regard to varieties.

I believe, however, that we cannot pass over this question without once again pointing out the very difficult and lengthy period of crisis this sector has gone through in the European Community. In some Member States, including my own country Belgium, this crisis has been much more serious than in others; in one of the two Belgian hop-growing areas hop production has even fallen so much that in regional terms this industry is now hardly of any importance at all.

We know that at one time in West Germany there was a certain amount of irresponsible planting which considerably upset the market situation. I should like to stress that now and in the future we should, in applying the various policy instruments, take account of these regional situations and of the need to maintain equilibrium in this sector at regional level. These policy instruments are well known: the granting of aid, selection of varieties and laying down the role of the producer groups.

I also have a few observations to make with regard to Mr Sutra's amendments, particularly with regard to the second, which is of more general scope. Here, with regional problems in mind, Mr Sutra proposes a special arrangement for Alsace, namely the system of guaranteed incomes instead of the deficiency payments system in operation in this sector.

Firstly, a consideration of a general nature. We have here new proposals for a regulation based on the prin-

De Keersmaecker

ciple of guaranteed incomes for farmers growing hops. The question is what scheme should be applied to farmers who also grow other crops and not just hops. What sort of guaranteed incomes system will we have to dream up if it is to be balanced and fair? If special schemes are to be introduced, I too should like to put my own country forward as a candidate for being covered by them, since what has been said about Alsace is perhaps even more true of Belgium. I put forward these objections because I want thorough consideration to be given before we introduce systems of which we do not know all the implications. This in no way detracts from the validity of Mr Sutra's concern for Alsace to which I would add my concern for the hop situation in Belgium.

A further amendment, amendment No 1, is aimed at freezing the areas planted in 1979. If I am not mistaken, Mr Gundelach, on the basis of what we know about the market and the level of demand the situation is that there may perhaps be room — we must approach this with a certain caution — for new plantings. In the sector concerned, figures have even been mentioned of between 900 and 1 000 hectares. If we freeze areas, however, we must be careful that a certain amount of demand is not lost at world level. We have a potential to defend here. It must be remembered that caution is called for in handling such a drastic measure. And then there is another consideration, the restriction on planting applies to producer groups and not to those who have not joined producer groups. The Council has rejected a Commission proposal in order to find a more balanced solution. Does the Commission have any new ideas or new initiatives on this point?

President. — I call Sir Henry Plumb.

Sir Henry Plumb, deputy-rapporteur. — I would like to comment very briefly on the two amendments that have been tabled by Mr Sutra. As Mr Sutra said himself in committee, there was overwhelming support for the motion which is now before the House. With regard to Mr Sutra's first amendment, we feel that it is irrelevant to the problem of aid to producers. I tried to make it clear in my presentation that acreage has been brought under control to a large extent and income increased through the freeze on the hop acreage that we have already introduced and that any further move in this direction would consequently be unnecessary.

On the second part of this amendment, each year the Commission submits to Parliament a report on the situation of the hop market, in both the EEC and the rest of the world, and so again, as I see it, that part of the amendment is irrelevant and I could not support it.

In his second amendment, the aid granted to producers is intended to guarantee a fair income. Consequently, the demand by Mr Sutra should have already

been satisfied in the present basic regulation. Therefore I cannot support the second amendment either.

If I may make one final point in this connection, I am happy to say that I have received from Mr Lange, the chairman of the Committee on Budgets, approval from his committee for the expenditure on hops.

President. — I call Mr Gundelach.

Mr Gundelach, Vice-President of the Commission. — (DK) Mr President, I should like to thank Sir Henry Plumb and the other speakers in this debate for the reception they have given to the committee's report on the Commission proposal on aid to producers in the hops sector for 1979. As Sir Henry Plumb rightly said, what we have here is an agricultural sector which is a prime example of how to achieve a satisfactory balance bearing in mind both the budget and the interests of producers and consumers; as a result, what used to be a rather delicate sector is now in the best of health.

I shall not go into the various considerations brought up in the report; that is something which can reasonably be left to the honourable Members themselves, as the previous speakers have shown. I shall merely comment on the proposed amendments themselves. I do not think that there is any need for us to continue specifying limits on the amount of land set aside for the cultivation of hops, provided that the overwhelming majority of producers are members of producer groups and have no intention of extending the area under cultivation. So without the inflexibility inevitable in such a system — and which may be necessary under certain circumstances, but is not for the time being — the cooperation we now have is such as to make one fairly sure that the situation will not get out of control, and I do not therefore think it necessary to continue the rigid arrangement.

As regards the special conditions obtaining in Alsace, and possibly in other places as well, I shall certainly study the problem, but I cannot hold out any promise at the moment for the submission of a special proposal for regulations on the basis of special problems in one area or another. I have always thought that the Common Agricultural Policy should take account of regional problems, but I do not think that market organizations can be instituted on the basis of conditions obtaining in one or two particular areas.

President. — I call Mr Sutra.

Mr Sutra. — (F) There is a point I should like to clear up, Mr President. The fact is that the amendments which have been tabled seek to expand the text and not replace it. I said at the start that we were satisfied with the report and there is no need to replace it

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by these amendments which seek only to expand it. I have looked at the texts in several languages, and in French and German, and everywhere these amendments are down as seeking to replace the text. I want this point to be put on record and the House to be informed of it at voting time tomorrow.

President. — The debate is closed. The motion for a resolution and the amendments which have been tabled will be put to the vote at voting time tomorrow.

16. *Swine fever*

President. — The next item is the joint debate on two reports on swine fever drawn up by Mr Buchou on behalf of the Committee on Agriculture:

- report (Doc. 1-228/80) on the proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-95/80) for a decision to provide a financial contribution from the Community towards the eradication of African swine fever in Portugal;
- report (Doc. 1-252/80) on the proposals from the Commission to the Council for:
 - I — a directive relating to the date of entry into force of Directive 80/217/EEC introducing Community measures for the control of classical swine fever
 - II — a decision introducing Community financial measures for the control of classical swine fever (Doc. 1-209/80)
 - III — a directive amending Directive 64/432/EEC with regard to swine vesicular disease and swine fever
 - IV — a directive amending Directive 72/461/EEC with regard to swine vesicular disease and swine fever
 - V — a directive amending Directive 80/215/EEC with regard to swine vesicular disease and classical swine fever
 - VI — a directive prolonging certain derogations granted to Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom in respect of swine fever (Doc. 1-208/80).

I call Mr Buchou.

Mr Buchou, rapporteur. — (*F*) Mr President, the Committee on Agriculture has submitted two reports to Parliament. The first concerns the Commission proposal for aid towards the eradication of African swine fever in Portugal. I shall not dwell on the reasons underlying the proposals, as they are self-evident. African swine fever is a pernicious and highly serious disease with considerable economic repercussions, and the entry into the Community of countries with such badly affected livestock is unthinkable. It is only right, therefore, that we should see to it that Afri-

can swine fever in Portugal is eradicated. The amount proposed — around 5 million EUA — raised no problems as far as the committee was concerned, and I would ask Parliament on behalf of the committee, to state its approval.

The other report, which also concerns pernicious diseases affecting pigs, deals with a package of six directives revolving around three main points. The first concerns the adoption of Community measures to combat classical swine fever. Similar measures should be adopted throughout the Community, for the yearly cost of this disease was estimated in 1976 at 36 million EUA. In Italy and Belgium, where vaccination is compulsory, vaccination alone costs over 12 million EUA. But the existence of this disease raises serious obstacles to trade between Member States which are affected and those which are not. The first two proposals for directives therefore seek to make the methods of controlling classical swine fever generally applicable, as well as the methods of prevention, on which the Committee on Agriculture has not commented.

Another major aspect of the committee's work was its examination of three proposals for directives on swine vesicular disease. Here again, we are faced with a problem which is both technical and economic. It is important that we fight against this recent scourge — it dates from 1973 — and the safest and most effective method is the heat treatment of meat. This method should therefore be applied generally and systematically. The Committee on Agriculture has not made any statements on this point.

The most awkward point, paragraph 4 of the motion for a resolution before you, concerns the conditions under which derogations have till now been enjoyed by Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom, whose livestock is not affected by swine fever. The Committee on Agriculture has discussed this matter in depth. Its first text stated that Parliament considers that the derogations hitherto enjoyed by Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom with regard to classical swine fever should be abolished — at the latest by 1 November 1980 — to bring their legislation in line with the Community legislation which is to enter into force on 1 January 1981. Although paragraph 3 offered these countries certain guarantees in that they were allowed to protect themselves for a further five years against imports which they would have considered dangerous, their representatives felt that since the classical swine fever virus is found in the six other countries, they did not have sufficient guarantees with regard to health, technical measures, or against the introduction of the swine fever virus into their countries. Technical explanations were, however, given, and it was stated that health measures would be applied on the basis of regional data in the six original Community countries, but this was not enough. Finally, the Committee adopted the following text:

Buchou

The Committee considers that the derogations heretofore enjoyed by Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom in the matter of classical swine fever should be extended for one year from 1 July 1980, subject to a revision at the end of this period.

I am trying to give an accurate account of our discussions. I shall not state my personal views on this matter, since I am merely the committee's spokesman. I would say, however, that while I understand the concern and anxieties of these three countries, we shall have to find a means of achieving free movement of pork products among the nine Member States. In this connection, I would suggest that the Commission representatives present here should specify more clearly the conditions governing health checks on live animals or meat for trade, either between the six original Community countries, between the original six countries and one of the three unaffected countries, or between regions to be specified. Clearly, however, certain guarantees are absolutely essential if we are to persuade the fears voiced by the representatives of Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom. While I regret that we were unable to achieve greater progress on this issue, I believe that if we take account of these observations, it should be possible to bring about a solution to this delicate problem.

President. — I call Mr Clinton to speak on behalf of the European People's Party (CD Group).

Mr Clinton. — I am pleased to have an opportunity to make a few brief comments on what I consider to be a very important matter. But first of all may I compliment Mr Buchou on the report that he has presented and, indeed, on the manner in which he has presented it. He has given us a very clear picture of what is now proposed.

Of course, my main concern is the derogations. I happen to represent one of the countries that have enjoyed these derogations since we joined the Community and it was always my understanding that the intention was that the three countries recognized as being free of the disease should continue to enjoy them until such time as the disease was eradicated. I realize that the Treaties of Accession of the three new Member States did lay down that these derogations should expire in 1977, that is when the transition period came to a close, but at no time was it suggested that there would be pressure on the clear areas to admit either live pigs or pigmeat before the disease was eradicated. Unfortunately during those years very little was done to eradicate this very contagious and fatal disease and now we have an extraordinary proposal in front of us which is saying in effect that we should introduce these control measures, and, I must admit, I am quite impressed by the proposed measures, but that as soon as this is done, that is as soon as these proposals are adopted and the measures are implemented, we

can expect the free movement of pigs and pigmeat into the disease-free areas. I think this is asking the free areas to take an extraordinary and a very unnecessary risk and in my view there is a far greater need to eradicate the disease than there is to open up the market. Certainly, the market in the country that I represent is so small as to be insignificant to the other Member States — and here I want to make it quite clear that I am extremely anxious to have free trade and free movement of goods — but I do not think that any Member State should be asked to take the risk of accepting pigs and pigmeat from countries where the disease in fact is still prevalent and in some cases is actually endemic, until the proposed measures have shown their real worth.

Now, it is all right to say that we will do this region by region, but I personally do not believe that it is possible to have this sort of isolation where you have no natural boundary to prevent the disease from spreading — particularly when we have been told by the experts that it is quite normal for the disease to lie dormant for a number of years. Here, I am referring particularly to breeding stock since, in contrast to pigs destined for meat production, which have a very short life, breeding stock may become carriers of the disease in its dormant form and then be the cause of a sudden outbreak which occurs for no reason that is very apparent to anyone. So why take the risk? I was very pleased to see that part of the proposed eradication programme is the blood-testing of breeding stock where if a certain percentage, a small percentage, were found to harbour antibodies, then the alarm would be raised and certain pretty stringent measures would have to be taken to prevent any outbreak and spread of the disease. I simply do not understand why we have suddenly become prepared to open up uncontaminated areas to the danger of disease before we have positive evidence that the new campaign that we are embarking upon has had effect. I would therefore appeal to the Commission to put a stop to this pressure, and to the Member States where the disease is still prevalent to be reasonable, if it is from these areas that the pressure is coming, especially when a country such as mine is so dependent on livestock. We are a livestock country where some 85 to 90 % of our total output in agriculture is accounted for by livestock and livestock products. An outbreak of this disease as a result of pressure of this kind would be immensely costly and the money we have already been obliged to spend in applying the slaughter policy will have been wasted. The same, I am sure, is true of both the United Kingdom and Denmark.

Having gone to great expense, having taken every possible precaution up to the present to ensure that we have clear herds, we are now being expected to take on what I believe to be a very great risk. I do not accept that anybody can be certain that it will not let through some form of the disease. I am old enough to remember when the last outbreak took place in Ireland, more than 20 years ago. We got it through

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swill from a ship being fed to pigs, from the rinds from bacon that was used on the ship. It is as virulent and contagious as that. It is extremely important that we should bear this in mind.

I am extremely pleased that what appear to be effective measures, provided they are properly carried out and strictly supervised, have been brought in, and perhaps all of us will see the end of this disease before we are very much older. But I imagine from what has been said that we should not be embarking on a five-year plan if it didn't take five years to do it; and it is pointless to say that we can select regions and put a ring around them and rely upon vaccination. Indeed, however long vaccination is used, we must let a number of years elapse before we can be sure of not getting wrong readings with blood samples. Moreover, we know that this does not apply to swine fever alone: it applies to other diseases as well. I find it should not be difficult to understand the anxiety at the idea that unnecessary risks are being taken. And I would appeal to the Commission not to put on the pressure, because there must be great resistance from the three Member States and it should be understandable that that is how they feel about it. However, I am glad that these measures have been brought in and I hope that they will very quickly take effect. Moreover, I think they are not terribly costly. If we applied the vaccination method of control, the cost of it would be quite substantial and should certainly not be imposed on any Member State, especially on those who have gone to the trouble and expense of using the slaughtering method to get rid of the disease.

I think these are very good reports and feel that we are at least starting to make progress in an area where for far too long we did too little.

(Applause)

President. — I call Mr Provan to speak on behalf of the European Democratic Group.

Mr Provan. — Let me first apologize to the House for not being able to stay long enough to hear the end of the fishing debate, and to Mr Gundelach especially for not being here to hear his summing-up. I look forward to reading it with a certain amount of hope.

Mr Clinton has put very clearly indeed the main points that I want to make tonight. I think it would be totally ridiculous — and I hope the Commissioner is listening to this — for us to start lowering standards on veterinary matters in the Community. We, in Ireland, Great Britain and Denmark have been instituting slaughter policies for some while. Those have been successful in controlling the disease. Anybody who has actually seen the disease knows how bad it is and what the problems are. We should surely be trying to raise standards in the Community rather than lowering them. I

can assure the Commissioner that we had a thorough debate in committee on this very matter yesterday and we were able to get the derogations raised from three months to twelve.

I would just like to point out that the English text of paragraph 4 says, 'subject to a revision at the end of this period'. It will be a revision for extension, not for any other purpose; I think a review of the duration of these derogations will be crucial, because we do not want that disease to enter our country. I am sure the Irish and the Danes do not want it either. So why are we being asked to have a trade in pig products that might create this problem? It would be totally wrong, Mr Commissioner, to ask us to do this. If you do not accept the twelve-month period for derogations you will create a lot of problems for yourselves, because I am sure neither Parliament nor much of the Council of Ministers will accept it. We cannot allow a lowering of standards on disease matters. We must maintain our standards. We must keep the pigs in our countries free of disease.

I think, Mr President, I have said enough on the matter, which goes very deep and it cuts at the very heart of the pig industry.

President. — I call Mr Brøndlund Nielsen to speak on behalf of the Liberal and Democratic Group.

Mr Brøndlund Nielsen. — *(DK)* Mr President, I too should like to concentrate on the question raised by the previous two speakers, and which is after all one of the things the reports are concerned with, namely, the need to take prompt steps to control or combat swine fever. I should like to address a word of thanks to the rapporteur, Mr Buchou, for the outstanding work he has done to arrive at a formulation which shows that we here in this House insist on making no concessions which may have disastrous repercussions and which may result in a fresh outbreak of swine fever in places where it has been eradicated.

I shall be very brief, because Mr Clinton has already given us a brilliant exposé of the problem which may arise if we allow trade between those regions which have not completely eradicated the disease. On this point, I can only reiterate what Mr Clinton and Mr Provan had to say, about the serious repercussions which will ensue if we implement regulations which amount to allowing swine fever to spread into those areas in which it has been eradicated once and for all. I also share the view that although it may seem attractive here in the Community to work on the basis of regions, there can be no direct control on movements between areas within regions until a reasonable attempt is made to put this policy into effect.

I am therefore pleased that this House will now — I hope — associate itself with Mr Buchou's report and

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express itself in favour of extending the means at its disposal for keeping out imports of pigs to a number of areas of the Community. I trust that this House will approve the reports, and I believe that it is an extremely positive step because, in my opinion, it would be extremely dangerous if we lowered our guard on this subject.

President. — I call Mr Gundelach.

Mr Gundelach, Vice-President of the Commission. — (DK) Mr President, this debate is concerned with two questions on the same subject, swine fever. Not many speakers have had a lot to say about attempts to combat swine fever in Portugal, which was the subject of one of the reports, but I should nonetheless like to thank the rapporteur for the support he gave in his report to the Commission's proposal and my own efforts in this matter in Portugal. These are, after all, part and parcel of the fight against the disease as a whole.

The other part of the question — the fight against swine fever within the Community, and the question of the free trade in pigmeat within the Community — provoked three speeches, all of which made the same point. The opposite view has not got an airing at all in this debate, which is something I should like to stress, because I know for sure that this opposite view enjoys a good deal of support in this House and in the other Community institutions.

Neither the Commission nor the Council are in favour of introducing free trade in pigmeat with an attendant risk of spreading the unpleasant disease of swine fever. The idea is precisely to enable us to institute free trade in pigmeat without the attendant risk. I should like to ask Mr Provan, who has fought so hard for free trade in the sheepmeat sector, why his enthusiasm is suddenly so much diminished now that the point at issue is pigmeat? Surely he should be able to generate the same amount of enthusiasm for pigmeat as he did for sheepmeat? The fact is that it is possible to find a solution to the problems concerning swine fever which would absolutely guarantee that trade in this meat within the Community would not spread the disease but, on the contrary, help to diminish its incidence. We remain convinced that this could, should and will be done by applying regulations based on the regional principle.

I should like to comply with Mr Buchou's request — in view of the fact that there seems to be continuing misunderstanding among the honourable Members as to the nature of our proposal — to have it sent in more detailed form to the Committee on Agriculture. Let me just summarize its contents once again. Neither I nor the Commission have ever given any thought to taking the slightest risk as regards the spread of swine fever; on the other hand, we want to do whatever we

can to liberalize trade in pigmeat, as we have done in other agricultural sectors. I cannot accept that a distinction should be drawn between agricultural commodities from one country or another at this or that country's discretion. It is, of course, no secret that veterinary regulations in international trade over the last twenty years have increasingly come to replace other trade barriers as a means of protecting a market. That kind of thing is simply unacceptable. Both problems are capable of being solved satisfactorily.

We in the Commission do not think it necessary to extend the exemption provisions for the three new Member States for a further year. Such a long period as that will only put off any solution to the problem, which — after all — we have now been discussing for something like six or seven years. The more these decisions are postponed, the less will be done. We therefore think that four months is the right amount of time and is quite sufficient. So we must see at the end of the prescribed period whether or not an additional extension will be necessary — which I hope and think will not be the case — but should it prove to be necessary, we shall have to give some thought to the matter. But to say in advance that we shall need a whole year means in effect that nine months will pass before anyone starts doing anything, and that is simply unacceptable.

President. — The debate is closed. The motions for resolutions will be put to the vote at the next voting time.

17. *Premium for the birth of calves and slaughter of certain adult bovine animals*

President. — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-229/80), drawn up by Mr Ligios on behalf of the Committee on Agriculture, on the

proposals from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-212/80) for:

- I — a regulation on the grant of a premium for the birth of calves during the 1980-81 marketing year
- II — a regulation continuing for the 1980-81 marketing year the premium for the slaughter of certain adult bovine animals provided for in Regulation (EEC) No 870/77.

Since no one has asked to speak, the motion for a resolution will be put to the vote at the next voting time.

18. *Common tariff quotas for bulls, cows and heifers*

President. — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-216/80), drawn up by Mr Louwes on behalf of the Committee on External Economic Relations, on the

proposals from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-94/80) for:

- I — a regulation on the opening, allocation and administration of the Community tariff quota of 38 000 head of heifers and cows, not intended for slaughter, of certain mountain breeds falling within subheading ex 01.02 A II b) 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) of the Common Customs Tariff.

Since no one wishes to speak, the motion for a resolution will be put to the vote at the next voting time.

19. *Agenda for next sitting*

President. — The next sitting will take place at 9 a.m. tomorrow, Friday, 20 June 1980, with the following agenda:

9 a.m.:

— Procedure without report

— Decision on urgency

— Motion for a resolution on the next meeting of the Council of Ministers for Education

— Motion for a resolution on political rights in South Africa

— Motion for a resolution on the fight against poverty

— Radoux report on the EEC-Yugoslavia Cooperation Agreement (without debate)

— Johnson report on fruit juices (without debate)

— Remilly report on dangerous substances and preparations (without debate)

— Schleicher report on cosmetic products

10.30 a.m.: votes on motions for resolutions on which the debate has closed

after 10.30 a.m.: motions for resolutions will be put to the vote at the end of each debate.

The sitting is closed.

(The sitting was closed at 7.25 p.m.)

FRIDAY, 20 JUNE 1980

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IN THE CHAIR: MR PFLIMLIN

Vice-President

(The sitting opened at 9 a.m.)

President. — The sitting is open.

1. *Approval of the minutes*

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

Are there any comments?

I call Mr Dalsass.

Mr Dalsass. — (D) Mr President, in connection with the Rules of Procedure and today's agenda, I would like to draw your attention to something which happened yesterday.

Yesterday I was present for the whole afternoon. I was only outside for a short time and followed the proceedings on the monitor so as not to miss my turn. I was, you understand, supposed to present a report. My name never appeared, but I went in even so. It looked as though Mr Gundelach was about to speak, although he had already spoken by then. When I was in the Chamber — the President noticed that I was there — I was not called on to speak; that was at 7.30 p.m. Then the President closed the sitting somewhat early without giving me the opportunity to speak. I did not understand whatever else he said, because he spoke in Danish.

I think that this sort of thing is not right; so in order to settle the matter for the future I would like to address a few questions to the President. Does the President not consider that there should be displayed on the monitor not only the name of whoever is actually speaking but also that of whoever is to immediately follow him, in order to guarantee the smooth running of the sitting? What does the President intend to do so that this does not happen in future? Given these conditions, would it not be possible to deal with this item today, even though it is not on the agenda, since it was removed from the agenda? I do not need long to present my report; it deals with the urgent matter of the calving premiums for Italy and the slaughtering premiums for the United Kingdom; this is an important and indeed urgent matter. Does the President not think that in future the next speaker should also be indicated on the monitor so that someone who is always present — I only went as far as just outside the door of the Chamber — is able to comply with his obligations.

President. — I call Mr Møller.

Mr Møller. — (DK) Mr President, I was in the Chair yesterday evening. First of all, I cannot, of course, apologize for speaking Danish. It is my mother tongue and an officially recognized language, and even if Mr Dalsass does not understand it he could have used the interpretation facilities. I believe Mr Ligios had been the rapporteur but had been replaced by Mr Dalsass, and when it was Mr Dalsass's turn to speak, I called him twice from the Chair. Mr Dalsass was not there. I do not know what was on the outside monitors, but as Mr Dalsass was not there I went on to the next item on the agenda, and I think I was fully justified in doing so. Members must find out for themselves when it is their turn to speak; normally that would appear on the monitors, but as Mr Dalsass was standing in for Mr Ligios, his name would not have appeared.

President. — Mr Dalsass, your remarks will, of course, appear in the report of proceedings. Generally speaking, the monitors usually display the names of the speaker who is actually speaking and of the one to follow. Instructions will be given for this practice to be always followed.

The incident is closed.

Are there any other comments?

The minutes of proceedings are approved.

2. *Documents received*

President. — I have received a number of motions for resolutions, which have been tabled pursuant to Rule 25 of the Rules of Procedure. You will find these listed in the minutes.

3. *Procedure without report*

President. — I announced to you on Monday the title of the Commission proposal to which it was proposed to apply the *procedure without report* laid down in Rule 27A of the Rules of Procedure.

Since no one has asked leave to speak and no amendments have been tabled to it, I declare this proposal approved.

4. *Decision on urgent procedure*

President. — The next item is a decision on the application of urgent procedure to the *Fergusson et al. motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-263/80): Violation of the French Embassy in Monrovia.*

I call Mr Penders to speak in favour.

Mr Penders. — (NL) Mr President, I should like to advance two arguments to support the request for urgent debate. Firstly, following the tragedy of the occupation of the embassy in Teheran, we must be particularly careful not to become as it were accustomed to this type of action. We need to maintain the utmost vigilance whenever attacks are made on embassies anywhere in the world.

A second argument in favour of urgent procedure is that we here have an opportunity as a Community to take positive action. Liberia is in fact one of the signatories to the Lomé Convention. We all know that human rights played a major rôle in connection with the Lomé Convention. For me this is a further argument in favour of the European Parliament dealing with this issue with a certain degree of urgency.

President. — I put the request for urgent procedure to the vote.

The request is approved.

This item will be entered on today's agenda after the motion for a resolution on the programme to combat poverty (Doc. 1-260/80).

5. *Verification of credentials*

President. — At its meeting of 19 June 1980, the Bureau verified the credentials of Mr Brok, whose appointment was announced on Tuesday.

Pursuant to Rule 3 (1) of the Rules of Procedure, the Bureau has made sure that this appointment complies with the provisions of the Treaties. It therefore asks the House to ratify this appointment.

Are there any objections?

This appointment is ratified.

6. *Membership of Parliament*

President. — By letter of 17 June, Mr Druon informed me of his resignation as a Member of Parliament.

Pursuant to Article 12 (2), second subparagraph, of the Act concerning the election of the representatives of the Assembly by direct universal suffrage, this vacancy is noted and the Member State concerned will be immediately informed.

7. *Draft agenda for the part-session on 26 and 27 June 1980*

President. — At a meeting yesterday afternoon, the enlarged Bureau adopted the following draft agenda for the part-session to be held in Luxembourg on 26 and 27 June 1980:

Thursday, 26 June

10 a.m. to 1 p.m., 3 p.m. to 8 p.m. and 9 p.m. to 12 midnight:

- Order of business
- Possibly, Dankert report on provisional twelfths for the EAGGF (Guarantee Section)
- Possibly, Ansquer report on the draft estimates of Parliament for 1981
- Joint debate on the reports by Mr Dankert and Mr R. Jackson on the general budget of the Communities for 1980

Friday, 27 June

9 a.m. to 1 p.m.:

- Vote on:
 - Dankert report on provisional twelfths (possibly)
 - Ansquer report on the draft estimates of Parliament for 1981 (possibly)
 - Reports by Mr Dankert and Mr R. Jackson on the general budget of the Communities for 1980
- Joint debate on the Peters report on social aid to the iron-and-steel industry and the Hoff report on the ECSC contribution financed from the Community budget
- Prout report on consumer credit
- Cottrell report on the integration of railway companies
- Janssen van Raaj report on the European air-traffic control system
- Buttafuoco report on support for projects of Community interest in transport infrastructure
- Von Wogau report on a special Community certification procedure
- Von Wogau report on several directives concerning the approximation of legislation
- De Ferranti report on powered industrial trucks.

Pursuant to Rule 12 (2), this draft agenda will be submitted to Parliament for its approval at the beginning of the next part-session.

Items which, for lack of time, cannot be dealt with during this part-session will be held over until the part-session of July.

8. *Time-limit for tabling amendments to the draft general budget of the Communities for 1980*

President. — In view of the circumstances, the time-limits for tabling amendments to the 1980 draft budget have been modified as follows:

Before publication of the report: 6 p.m. on Monday, 23 June; and after publication of the report: 3 p.m. on Thursday, 26 June.

9. *Forthcoming meeting of the Council of Ministers of Education*

President. — The next item is the motion for a resolution tabled by Mrs Gaiotti de Biase, on behalf of the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport, on the forthcoming meeting of the Council of Ministers of Education (Doc. 1-250/80).

I call Mrs Gaiotti de Biase.

Mrs Gaiotti de Biase. — (I) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I need not spend too much time supporting here the motion for a resolution adopted by the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport at a meeting at which the Italian Minister of Education, Mr Sarti, President-in-Office of the Council, was present.

For many years now — since the initial moves by Guichard, Jahn and Dahrendorf in the 1970's — attempts have been made to launch a common educational policy in the Community. With the two resolutions in 1976 it looked as if, in a well-defined and specific area, a series of important experiments were about to begin. However, despite the willingness and intelligence, the analyses and the proposals proffered by the services of the Commission — for which our thanks — the Council has until now been making difficulties, minimizing the issues and systematically postponing, not only its own meetings, but also the collective assumption of its own responsibilities in this field.

At last — and we are grateful to the Italian President of the Council for his efforts in this regard — it has been possible to overcome the existing difficulties and, after Parliament's vote last November, to fix the date for a meeting of the Education Ministers. This did, however, entail a formal amendment to the documents on which the meeting is to be called. The Commission's communications to the Council, on which the preceding Parliament delivered an opinion — as is mentioned in our motion for a resolution — have been in some way amended and recast. Thus arises a situation in which, while we are glad that the meeting can

finally take place and have absolutely no intention of creating any obstacles, we are obliged to claim formally Parliament's right to examine the documents before the meeting takes place.

It is for this reason — and this reason only — that I wish to speak against the amendment tabled by Mr Price and Mr Patterson to my motion for a resolution. What we are concerned with here is admittedly a matter of form, but it is in our interests to point it out, if only to demonstrate this Parliament's firm resolve that the Community should finally have a common educational policy. We do not want this Council meeting to be just another episode in the history of the Community; neither, of course, do we want it to go beyond the topics and the agenda; we do, however, want the full potential of these topics to be explored. Of course, no one is thinking of a Community educational policy that would impose uniformity on the various national systems; but there are common problems, failings and questions to be answered concerning the employment crisis, growing mobility and the integration of our economies; and such problems should be resolved together.

In all our countries, albeit with differing characteristics and defects, a crisis is developing in the traditional school model, which either neglects vocational training or leaves it to second-class schools, in a compartmentalized and degrading view of the world of work. What is really missing from the various curricula is still education that enables the pupil to master the technical, social and personal problems of work experience. In all our countries, the young are losing interest in work.

The Council, when it meets, must be aware of Parliament's determination to see a new common educational policy born, and we do not have to go beyond the terms of reference of the Community to do this. What is needed is an acceptance of the fact that a distinction can no longer be made between vocational training, which the Community has acknowledged as its responsibility, and general training policies. While we trust that in the next few days a solution may be found to the problems of the 1980 budget on a realistic and constructive basis, no one should have any illusions about our readiness to see the launching of a real common educational policy put off yet again until next year.

President. — I call Mr Patterson to speak on behalf of the European Democratic Group.

Mr Patterson. — Mr President, I rise to move the amendment tabled by myself and Mr Price, but first of all I must state that very little separates me from the sponsors of this motion. It is a matter of detail. I should like to say right from the beginning how

Patterson

important this motion is. Members will recall that when we previously debated this matter the situation with regard to the Community's educational policy was extremely serious. Indeed, the policy had been paralyzed ever since 1976, which was the last occasion on which the Ministers of Education had met. In spite of repeated attempts by the Commission to draw up the necessary policies and repeated attempts by this Parliament to vote the necessary funds, no progress had been made whatsoever. Then, when Parliament came to vote funds the first time round in the 1980 budget and our committee considered it, we were told that it was no good allocating money to educational policies because no decision had yet been taken by the Council. We were then informed later on by Members of the Council that it was no good their taking a decision because of course there were very few funds available. We were therefore faced with a situation which might be described as *Catch 22* or the chicken and the egg. I hesitate to use these expressions, because we have been asked by the Interpretation Service to avoid such idiomatic language, but perhaps some of you will have read the book *Catch 22*.

Now fortunately a meeting of the Council of Education Ministers is to take place at long last next week, and the function of this motion and, indeed, the duty of this House is to urge the ministers to get on with the job of implementing the educational programme conceived in 1976. The motion covers a number of extremely important matters which need debating and deciding upon. I am particularly anxious that they should take decisions on language-teaching, the state of which in our schools gives cause for great concern, at least in my country. They must get on with the language-teacher training programme, and they must take further decisions on the matter of improving language-teaching itself for teachers in service and for language students. They must do something about the transition from education to work. There are a whole series of aspects of the Commission's programme which urgently require decisions. We understand that the reason why the Education Ministers have not so far met and taken these decisions is that it is the view of one government that education does not fall within the competence of the Community. I think it is quite clear, however, that such matters as the transition from education to work fall precisely within the competence of the Communities under the provisions concerning mobility of labour; and if it is the case that that one government, and I believe it to be the Danish Government, objects to one part of the educational programme, namely encouragement to include the European Community and Europe as a subject in school curricula, perhaps I might somewhat heretically say that if that is the stumbling-block then it should be dropped from the programme in order to allow progress to be made on the other aspects of the programme, because we cannot afford to have something like that holding up the entire programme for many more years.

Now the amendment tabled in the name of Mr Price and myself is a small matter of deleting paragraph 2. We do not feel terribly strongly about this, but the reason we wish to delete this paragraph is that we think it is enough of a miracle that these ministers are meeting at all.

Furthermore, to make carping criticism that they have not sent us the documents in advance so that we could debate them, is not, in our view, going to get us very far. Indeed, we feel that it is a very important matter of principle whether the Council of Ministers should, in fact send us its agenda and documents in advance, since we do not believe that either the Treaties or the Council Rules of Procedure oblige it to do so. We therefore hope that Parliament will support our amendment seeking to delete paragraph 2, which, we think, adopts a rather sour note, and we shall pass the remainder of the motion, congratulating the Ministers of Education on at last getting down to the work which they have neglected for the last four years.

President. — I call Mrs Le Roux to speak on behalf of the Communist and Allies Group.

Mrs Le Roux. — (*F*) Mr President, I should like once again to emphasize that education does not fall within the scope of the Treaty of Rome. Two Member States have, moreover, long expressed their reservations about such a Council of Ministers' meeting. What it amounts to is that the competence of the European Community and the Parliament are surreptitiously being extended.

The reality of the situation is that, despite its noble concepts of human communication and cultural cooperation, this programme coincides, particularly in my own country, with a decline in the study of history, philosophy and especially modern languages. We cannot see the point or usefulness of such a Council meeting if each State fails to adopt measures which would genuinely further human communication.

Secondly, we have long been aware of the Commission's plans for a harmonization of education programmes to enable labour to become more mobile and better adapted to the needs of employers within the Community. This is implicitly to deny the existence of individual nations. Consequently, under no circumstances are we prepared to vote in favour of such a motion.

President. — I call Mrs Pruvot to speak on behalf of the Liberal and Democratic Group.

Mrs Pruvot. — (*F*) Mr President, I should like to say that my group is in favour of this motion. We have

Pruvot

been waiting since 1976 for the Council to declare its intention of meeting once again, not only to continue what has already been undertaken but to go even further by taking action at Community level in favour of education and training.

And I mean Community action and not a Community policy. Our demands do not extend as far as that, but it is our view that education and training affect everything. The common agricultural policy requires young people who have been trained. Research needs young people who have been trained, and we do not think that the efforts of individual States can be inhibited or can suffer in any way from Community action in this field.

Indeed, we think that such action is highly desirable, and it is therefore our intention to lay particular emphasis upon the financial aspect. It is quite clear that without an adequate budget we shall be unable to undertake any worthwhile Community action in the sphere of education and training for the young, whether it be vocational training, academic education, foreign-language studies, training for the handicapped or for the children of migrant workers. Naturally, in all these fields we require an adequate budget and one which is a great deal larger than at present. It is our intention to press for this.

President. — I call Mr Bøgh.

Mr Bøgh. — (DK) Mr President, the biggest daily newspaper in Denmark says on its front page this morning that the Danish Minister of Education will not attend the Council of Ministers of Education on 27 June. We in the Danish People's Movement against Membership of the EEC applaud the attitude behind that decision.

The continual insistence by this Parliament on raising matters contrary to the European Community Treaty is gradually becoming embarrassing. If Mr Patterson thinks that it is only a question of including the European Community as a subject in the curriculum — in plain Danish, propaganda — he does not understand the Danish attitude.

The position is that in 1972 there was a referendum of the Danish people during which we were assured time and time again that what we were to join was an economic community. We have to abide by this and respect our electorate. That means that we Danes must reject every attempt by this amazingly zealous Assembly to exceed the bounds of the Treaty of Rome. Mr Patterson said that it was enough of a miracle that the Ministers were meeting at all. There is nothing miraculous in breaching one's undertakings and one's own Treaty or in violating a Member State's views, as is happening to Denmark at present. There is nothing

miraculous about it, it is more a matter of the use of force. It has nothing to do with cultural affairs.

Why this eagerness? The only reason I can think of is that this Parliament in its ceaseless endeavour to create a European ideology is now trying to reach into our very classrooms. We protest with the utmost vehemence. We cannot accept it. I therefore call upon Parliament to stay within the bounds set to its activities.

President. — I call Mr Hahn to speak on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (CD).

Mr Hahn. — (D) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the European People's Party — and not only the European People's Party but also the majority of the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport — do support this motion. In no way do we intend to overstep the Treaties. In 1976, the Education Ministers of the European Communities met and passed a plan of action which adheres very closely to the agreements in the Treaties. It cannot be denied, however, that there is a plethora of responsibilities arising from the Treaties in which education must be included. I need only call to mind the fact that we have thousands of children of foreign workers who have hitherto been at a disadvantage in the various Member States and for whom appropriate provision at school and in education in general must be made. It cannot be denied that a smooth transition from school to career helps to conquer unemployment, nor that the European Parliament must play a part in budgetary matters, that is on the question of the funds which should be made available for these problems which I mentioned by way of an example.

Mrs Louise Weiss once complained in her opening speech, as we will all remember, that we may have a European agricultural policy and a European agricultural policy but we have no Europeans. It is of crucial importance for the future of Europe and its unification for young people to feel that matters which concern them — their training, their career and preparation for a career, ensuring that they obtain a job — are noticed and solved by this Parliament, by the European Community. This is the purpose of this motion.

President. — I call Mrs Viehoff to speak on behalf of the Socialist Group.

Mrs Viehoff. — (NL) Mr President, so much has already been said in defence of this resolution that I will make my comments extremely brief. I simply wish to express my surprise at the remarks of the Danish Member that we are seeking to drag or haul Ministers to the conference table. I find that a somewhat strange expression. The only concern, at least of our committee, is to discuss and tackle the problems which we can

Viehoff

work together to solve, namely the education of the children of migrant workers. Moreover, I am opposed to the deletion of paragraph 2.

There is one further point. I do not know how this has happened, and perhaps it is a problem with the translation, but I thought there was a reference in paragraph 3 to the need for equal educational opportunities for boys and girls, because this was one of the points on which agreement had been reached. I do not know if this has been forgotten, or whether this has only been omitted in my Dutch translation, but it was definitely in the original text. We know that it should be there, but I wished to make this explicit.

President. — I call Mrs Kellett-Bowman.

Mrs Kellett-Bowman. — Mr President, I wish to support this motion very warmly indeed. I wish particularly to stress the importance of paragraph 3, on language-teaching. It is often said, and not without reason, of my fellow countrymen that we can write and read foreign languages — and Latin too — but we cannot speak them. This of course, in a Community such as our own, is a very great disadvantage; some years ago, thanks to the generosity of the European Community, a College of Education in my constituency, St. Martin's, pioneered a new form of language-teaching in the United Kingdom, which has enabled many of our youngsters to speak the language of our fellow Europeans much more fluently, and especially French. The method is now spreading to schools throughout Lancashire and Cumbria.

Of course, all these things need money. It is essential, if we are to become good Europeans, able to communicate in the language of our fellow Europeans, that more money should be available for programmes such as this. I therefore warmly support this resolution and hope that our efforts to speak other languages will be encouraged.

President. — I call Mrs Gredal.

Mrs Gredal. — (DK) Mr President, once again I have to make it clear that I cannot vote for a resolution concerning education and culture. It is my view — and a view shared by my Danish colleagues in the Socialist Group — that these matters are not covered by the Treaties. Education and culture are matters of national concern, and we should not be seeking to introduce regimentation, but that seems to be the main intention. We have nothing against cooperation in this field, but it must be outside the Treaties. I also think — and I am not the first to say so here — that there are a good many subjects which are covered by the Treaties which Parliament could be much better employed in considering. I was told yesterday that the

Danish Minister of Education would not be taking part in the meeting, and I should like to point out that this is not a unilateral act by the Danish Government. The decision was taken after a meeting of the appropriate committee in the Danish Folketing. The view there was that the Minister of Education should not take part. We do want cooperation in this field, but outside the Treaties. I therefore cannot vote for this resolution.

President. — I call Mrs Dienesch.

Mrs Dienesch. — (F) Mr President, I shall take the liberty of expressing rather a different view from the previous speaker. Our proposal is, in fact, a motion for a resolution. It is an invitation to the Ministers to take the necessary decisions and an indication of the direction in which we must orientate education in our various countries.

In this respect it is, I think, always important to be reminded of several fundamental principles: first, that education is the means of achieving genuine human equality, as regards both development of personality and choice of a career. Education enables us to benefit from human rights as fully as possible, and the person who is below a certain level of education is always on the fringe of society. Secondly, we must consider education as a whole, as a preparation for all aspects of life, and it is worth remembering that the proportions of theoretical and practical education should perhaps be determined according to country. No doubt we differ in our ideas of what this balance should be, but I think we could all perhaps learn something from what is happening in the country next to us to supplement our own ideas on what education should be. Thirdly, let us not forget that education should also include instruction in moral values and good citizenship. There certainly are shortcomings in this respect which may, perhaps, be responsible for types of misconduct in the young which are condemned from time to time. Young people have an extraordinary capacity for generosity, enthusiasm and for respecting the most exacting moral code. It is perhaps to be regretted that some educational systems should have excluded this civic and moral training. Such training naturally includes an education in the spirit of a European ideal, which, in the final analysis, is founded more on a need for the brotherhood of man than on economic interests.

We therefore feel that an essential part of our contribution to Western civilization, one of whose great merits is to emphasize human rights, must be to promote education for all strata of society, for all peoples and individuals regardless of their situation, as we have advocated many times with regard to the Fourth World, about which we have recently been speaking.

President. — I call Mr Møller.

Mr Møller. — (DK) Mr President, I was most surprised to hear Mrs Gredal speak against this motion. Mr Bøgh's attitude is less astonishing; it is more or less a logical consequence of his principle that the Community should not be extended into areas not mentioned in the Treaty of Rome.

But I think it is most important, whether we have a Treaty of Rome or not, for European children to know more than one language. There was an incident here this very morning, when I realized that there were Members here who do not understand my linguistic impoverishment, in that Danish is the only language I speak fluently. Unfortunately, at no time in my life have I managed to learn any of the major languages to a standard that would satisfy Mr Dalsass or anybody else. I should be glad if I could speak one foreign language as well as Mr Bøgh, who, of course, by virtue of his profession can speak Hebrew, Greek and Latin; but that is too much for my linguistic and intellectual powers. I therefore feel that the next generation should have the opportunities which we were not given, and I shall vote for the resolution.

President. — I call Mr Vouel.

Mr Vouel, Member of the Commission. — (F) Mr President, like the Parliament, the Commission was delighted to learn that the Council of Education Ministers is at last to meet next Friday, 27 June. This meeting is of especial importance because when, in 1976, the Ministers drew up the programme of action for education, they agreed and undertook to meet periodically to monitor the implementation of the programme, to plan future developments and to exchange views on policy.

Once again the Commission is emphasizing the importance it attaches to these regular meetings, which give the Ministers the opportunity of demonstrating clearly their political will to cooperate in education and thereby create a greater understanding and sense of unity among our peoples. The Commission is grateful for the encouragement and support which the European Parliament has given to the proposals which will be submitted to the Ministers next Friday. It also agrees with the Parliament that the Ministers should hold a political discussion on the relationship between education and employment, especially in view of the serious unemployment situation. Here I should like to draw Parliament's attention to the fact that the Commission has forwarded it a document to this effect designed to promote discussion between the Ministers. The Commission is also pleased at Parliament's insistence that the Ministers must take decisions at their forthcoming meeting so that practical measures can be introduced in 1981,

especially in respect of modern languages, the study of the European Community and Europe in schools, and the admission of students from other Member States to establishments of higher education. The Commission would also like to emphasize that when the Community's draft budget for 1981 is being prepared it intends to take full account of the views expressed by the Parliament on the importance for the further development of the Community of cooperation in education.

Finally, regarding the amendment tabled by Mr Price, I should like to add, Mr President, that if the Parliament was unable to study the documents relating to the agenda of the Council of Education Ministers meeting this is because the body responsible for cooperation in education is the Committee on Education, whose task it is to prepare ministerial meetings. For its part, the Commission has kept the Parliamentary Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport regularly informed of proposals in preparation and of progress within the Committee on Education. It undertakes to continue to do so in the future.

President. — The debate is closed. The motion for a resolution will be put to the vote at the next voting time.

10. *Political rights in South Africa*

President. — The next item is the motion for a resolution tabled by Mrs Castle and others on behalf of the Socialist Group, Mr Bersani and others on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (CD), and Mrs Baduel Glorioso and others on behalf of the Italian members of the Communist and Allies Group, on the political rights of the people of South Africa (Doc. 1-253/80).

I call Mr Adam.

Mr Adam. — Mr President, yesterday Parliament agreed that the political rights of the people of South Africa were a matter which warranted our urgent attention. This motion, as you have just said, has received support from the Socialist Group, the European People's Party and the Italian members of the Communist and Allies Group. In the vote on urgent procedure yesterday, there was also support forthcoming from some of the British Conservatives. Now that we come to decide on the substance of the resolution, I hope their colleagues and all the other parties will join in condemning the lack of the most elementary political and human rights in South Africa; indeed, that this Parliament will speak with a unanimous voice.

Adam

Every day we learn of further incidents of unrest as the oppressed majority struggles towards freedom. The recent events in Zimbabwe have shown how real democracy triumphs in the end.

People have a fundamental right to choose their own leaders. Imposed leaders, or leaders who do not have the support of the majority of the population, cannot retain power indefinitely. But the tragedy is that the longer they seek to retain that power the greater the suffering and the bloodshed. It is a fundamental political truth that our individual rights and privileges and our wealth are at their most valuable when they are shared with others. But that sharing must be a voluntary and willing process, propelled by human understanding and sympathy. It is such a society that we long to see in South Africa.

Nelson Mandela, even though he has been subjected to the most inhuman incarceration for the past 17 years and even though he has been denied political activity, still retains his place as the recognized leader of the African people. He and the other leaders of the African National Congress have a right to be freed not only on humanitarian grounds but also on grounds of natural justice. The South African Government has accused him of being a Communist. Is that a crime? Not in my book. Charges of violence and sabotage have not been proved. Even General Van den Bergh, the former South African Head of Security, is now on record as saying that Mandela should be released. This Parliament must add its voice to the campaign led by the *South African Sunday Post* and the South African Council of Churches. But we must do so not just to give support to the people of South Africa; a unanimous declaration by this Parliament will be a message of hope to oppressed and underprivileged peoples everywhere. Let there be no doubt whose side we are on!

Mr President, it is 25 years almost to the day since the Congress of the People adopted its Freedom Charter in Johannesburg. That gathering in Johannesburg was probably the most representative gathering ever held in South Africa. The Charter sets out clearly and simply the need for basic democratic rights — rights which have been consistently denied by the South African Government, rights which many elsewhere in the world take for granted. There is no better way to mark the 25th anniversary of the Freedom Charter — no better contribution to the peace of the world and to orderly economic development — than that the South African Government should now release Nelson Mandela and the other members of the African National Congress and allow them their full political expression. Let the message from our directly elected Parliament be unequivocal this morning! The political decisions in South Africa must be made by, and be representative of, all the people in that country.

President. — I call Mr Bersani to speak on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (CD).

Mr Bersani. — (I) Mr President, I confirm the position of the Group of the European People's Party on the situation in South Africa, which is the subject of the motion for a resolution bearing my signature and that of many colleagues from my group.

On the problem of South Africa and of its necessary evolution towards a multi-racial and democratic society free from all forms of racial discrimination and all political and administrative actions designed to maintain discrimination by force, our positions have always been clear and firm, for reasons of principle connected with the respect for the elementary rights of citizens as well as for extremely important political reasons directly relating to the development of democracy in Africa and peace in the world. In particular, I should like to recall the speech that the ex-chairman of our group, Alfred Bertrand, made here on South Africa a few months ago. If this approach is valid for all the forces of democracy and should apply to every similar situation in the world, without opportunism and political concession-making, it should at least be the hallmark of the European Community's policy and of Parliament's position, since we and the Community have assumed, through the Lomé, Maghreb and Mashreg conventions, specific responsibilities for promoting cooperation with the whole African continent, founded on the fundamental rights of man and on the principles of democracy.

In this regard, the individual case of Nelson Mandela has come to symbolize the dramatic situation existing in South Africa, painfully confirmed by much evidence and, alas, by the events still taking place today. Nelson Mandela's long imprisonment and the odious details thereof are a sad reminder of the conditions under which in South Africa the natural leaders of the African peoples, the coloureds and the Asians suffer for asserting the human and democratic rights of their peoples. General Van den Bergh's statement referred to just now is itself an endorsement of what we are saying. The solidarity which we are expressing in this Assembly with Nelson Mandela and the urgent request which we are reiterating today with such wide participation from all the groups for his release assumes, therefore, a more general political significance, since it is in harmony with our goal of a fair and peaceful cooperation founded on the democratic principles which are the very basis of our Community.

President. — I call Mr Moreland to speak on behalf of the European Democratic Group.

Mr Moreland. — Mr President, I am sure that the subject of the policy of the Government of South Africa has been debated in many parliaments and in many political fora over the last 30 years. There is no need on my part to repeat the arguments that I think we all share against the policy of *apartheid*. I will confine myself to what I think would be useful in the present situation.

Moreland

The policy of the Botha government, as defined by them, is to increase the liberal pace. I visited South Africa three months ago and met a number of ministers who told me that the days of Verwoerd were past, that they did in fact consider moving much faster; but I have to say that they stopped far short indeed of giving the blacks, the coloureds and the Asians anything like full political rights. I think that the message that should go from this Parliament at this time must be that you cannot buy off the problems in South Africa by 'little steps'. Frankly, it has got to be the big steps, and if they do not undertake major reforms they will find themselves with more and more problems on their hands.

Having said that, Mr President, I think there is a danger on the part of Western countries of spending too much time criticizing and not enough time trying to help in getting constructive solutions. If I may say so — and I do not make this as a party point — I think one of the reasons why it was Conservative governments in my own country that achieved success in decolonization in Africa was that we combined our criticisms of some of the racist governments with constructive measures. We have to find ways of bringing South Africa back among the free democracies of the Western world.

My final point relates in a way to the procedures of this Assembly. I believe that the subject of South Africa is far too important to justify a quick debate on a Friday morning. I would have preferred to see the whole issue carefully studied in the appropriate committee and a report debated in this Assembly on one of the major debating days of the week. I look at the large number of signatories on this motion; I look at the benches around me, and I wonder how many of those signatories are here this morning. Where is the lady that spoke yesterday? Mr Glinne, who was here, seems to have wandered off. Perhaps South Africa is of no more interest to him than putting down, as I understand, many written questions to the Council and the Commission on the subject. I have a suspicion that a remark that was made to me in South Africa by one of the leading African leaders is true. He said: 'You know, you pass lots of motions, you make lots of noise about South Africa, but you do not actually do very much for us'. I feel that that is the message that we should take to heart. We have to do something constructive on this issue. There are far too many people, particularly from the Left, who rant and rave on this subject, who have never actually been to South Africa and who never try to put forward constructive views. It is time that we had some constructive views. It is time that we had some constructive comments. Of course, I support this motion before us. Indeed, I hope the House will go a little further and support my amendments, which recognize the very serious situation which has occurred in the last week and in which, for example, a large number of people have been killed in Cape Town. Nevertheless, I do say to this House:

beware of too many motions! Frankly, the world is full of motions on South Africa, but not enough action.

President. — I call Mrs Le Roux to speak on behalf of the Communist and Allies Group.

Mrs Le Roux. — (*F*) Mr President, since the beginning of this week the police of the racist régime in Pretoria have been firing on the crowd, especially at young people, killing dozens of people, wounding hundreds and carrying out hundreds of arrests. They opened fire in Soweto, where the African population wished to commemorate the massacres which had claimed hundreds of victims. They opened fire in Cape Town, where the coloured, black and Indian populations were also commemorating Soweto and supporting the long strike of Indian and coloured schoolchildren who had joined the black African children in theirs.

As we meet, repression continues in that country, where every other day a man is hanged, where there is systematic torture and a sizeable number of political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, one of the leaders of the 'African National Congress' of South Africa and one of the longest-serving political prisoners in the world. And all this is being done in the name of racialism, of the alleged superiority of one race over all the others! Hitler is not dead, his ideology is alive and reigns supreme in South Africa! This is why we shall support this motion for a resolution.

We do so, however, with no illusions, aware that it is precisely here and in the Council that the moves to strengthen economic, diplomatic and military relations with the racist régime of South Africa are coordinated against the will of those African peoples who, on the borders with South Africa, are victims of constant aggression. Ladies and gentlemen, this motion must not give you a clear conscience.

President. — I call Mr Glinne for a personal statement.

Mr Glinne. — (*F*) Mr President, I was called away into the lobby by a journalist and I have just been informed that a speaker from a bench on the other side of the House has interpreted my sudden and momentary absence as an indication of indifference on my part.

I am not going to list the number of speeches I have made or the number of debates in which I have taken part on the question of South Africa over the last 25 years. I should like to emphasize that it behoves us to be above such pettiness this morning and to try to coordinate our action, and to please the honourable Member who criticized me I shall say straight away

Glinne

that, after lengthy discussions, my group regards the three amendments tabled by the European Democratic Group as a positive contribution.

President. — The debate is closed. The motion for a resolution will be put to the vote at the next voting time.

11. *Interim programme to combat poverty*

President. — The next item is the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Boyes and others on an interim programme to combat poverty (Doc. 1-260/80).

I call Mr Albers.

Mr Albers. — (NL) Mr President, it is necessary to draw attention to this interim programme to combat poverty, because the Council of Ministers for Social Affairs has been unable to reach any decision, or at least any positive decision. It was a splendid initiative on the part of the rapporteur, my colleague Mr Boyes, to introduce this issue into the agenda by means of urgent procedure as a swift reaction to an extremely disappointing chain of events in the Council of Ministers. We considered this matter only last month, and Parliament unanimously supported the resolution in the Boyes report. The argument was presented that an increasing number of groups in society, such as the elderly, the handicapped, migrant workers and ethnic minorities, are likely to fall upon hard times as a result of the deterioration in the economic situation in the Member States. In addition, we find that the shortage of housing in various Member States cannot be overcome, which creates difficult situations in the major cities and certain districts. It is therefore essential that the programme which was introduced to combat poverty should be continued.

But this programme comes to an end in December of this year, and the Commission therefore made the excellent proposal that an interim programme be set up to ensure continuity. This proposal has now been blocked by a veto from one Member State in the Council of Ministers, which first wishes to see an assessment of the programme which has been running for several years. This means, Mr President, that these measures will be interrupted, and we must attempt with this resolution to draw attention to this issue once again and urge the Council most strongly to reconsider its decision without delay. The resolution also calls for this item to be discussed again by the Council of Ministers at a future meeting, because there is no ignoring the fact that this Parliament has clearly expressed its will that this programme be continued. This, Mr President, is the reasoning behind this resolution on which Parliament is asked to vote.

President. — I call Mr Michel to speak on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (CD).

Mr Michel. — (F) Mr President, I support the motion proposed by Mr Boyes. Poverty exists and does not cease to exist even in a time of plenty nor even in a time of so-called economic boom. There may be over-consumption in some circles, but there is under-consumption in others. The under-consumers are unhappily more numerous than some people may imagine. Whilst in my own country the Fourth World comprises a group of 900 000 people, in the Community as a whole it comprises more than 20 million. The Commission decided that interim programmes to combat poverty should be put into operation and they have been. With all due respect to some people, they have been in all countries of the Community. The Council of Ministers' veto on the Commission's offer to provide a sum of 9 million units of account is, in my view, indecent and unworthy of the Community. The aim we undertook in founding the Community is to ensure, among other things, an improvement in circumstances for all peoples and to try to bring about the harmonization of social legislation by bringing progress to the same level everywhere. Well, if our behaviour in stopping these units of account vital for the carrying out of the interim programme is consistent with this line, then I really am baffled!

It seems to me that in practice we have to secure three things from the Council of Ministers. Firstly, we require the continuation of interim programmes, because a work-force has been taken on and is at work in this area. Secondly, we require the means to support this continuation. Our demands are not, I think, out of proportion. Nine million units of account is not much in the light of other programmes, which are not aimed at improving the condition of humanity. Thirdly, we require that this continuation be guaranteed in any case until the Commission is able to put forward the interim report on 1 January 1981. This, I believe, is a relatively short space of time, within which it could only do harm to halt what has already been begun. I thus hope that we shall all agree in calling for this continuation.

President. — I call Mr Martin to speak on behalf of the Communist and Allies Group.

Mr Martin. — (F) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, poverty is not a marginal phenomenon. In our countries, particularly in France, poverty and inequality represent genuine problems of vast proportions. One French wage-earner in three earns less than three thousand francs a month, which is not enough to live on, even modestly. At present, the legal minimum wage in France is fixed at two thousand and sixty-six francs. This is a miserable salary which is far too little to live on decently.

Martin

However, stating these facts does not on its own constitute an exact assessment of the size of this problem. There are in addition belt-tightening policies which have been instigated in every country and which aggravate the situation. In our country, the right to health has been called into question by the matter of money. Nowadays we are creating one health service for the poor and another for the rich. The right to work is made a mockery of. There are thus one-and-a-half million unemployed; what is more, there are seven-and-a-half million in Europe as a whole. Only 10 % of those out of work in France receive a benefit which is at all commensurate with their former salary. The remainder, to whom we do gross injustice by accusing them of laziness, only receive token compensation — and tokens never fed anyone — or they receive no compensation whatsoever. The most fundamental rights are thus called into question.

But this systematic policy does not stop here. Despite the embarrassed denials by our country's politicians, the buying-power of French wage-earners went down by between 1 % and 3 %, for example, in 1979. No category is spared. With the demands on the wage-packet, social insurance contributions and heavier and heavier taxation, the French get poorer with each year that passes. Those bodies which concern themselves with statistics, including INSEE, the official body, furnish evidence and proof in the form of figures which the French government cannot deny.

Whilst it is a widespread phenomenon and a problem which is on the increase, poverty does not affect everyone. Financial groups and large capitalist concerns whose profits increase, doubling or tripling each year, benefit directly from it through the systems of social benefits and taxations; they include Michelin, Rhône-Poulenc, the oil companies, Peugeot-Citroën and several dozen French-based multinationals which feed on the exploitation of millions of workers. This is why poverty is not the exception but, unfortunately, the rule in the present century.

Mr Boyes's motion thus does not tally with the analysis made by the French members of the Communist and Allies Group. The interim programme to combat poverty will probably not put much right. However, we shall not reject anything which might represent a small step, however tiny, towards coming to terms with a phenomenon which is as widespread as it is unacceptable.

President. — The debate is closed. The motion for a resolution will be put to the vote at the next voting time.

12. *Violation of the French Embassy in Monrovia*

President. — The next item is the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Fergusson on behalf of the Euro-

pean Democratic Group, Mr Blumenfeld on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (CD), Mr Haagerup on behalf of the Liberal and Democratic Group and Mrs Ewing on behalf of the Group of the European Progressive Democrats, on the violation of the French Embassy in Monrovia (Doc. 1-263/80).

I call Mr Fergusson.

Mr Fergusson. — Mr President, this motion speaks for itself. Since the *coup d'état* in Liberia in April, the world has been appalled by the accounts of atrocities coming out of Monrovia committed in the name of the present Liberian authorities. Atrocities, of course, are nothing new to tyrannies, but what we are concerned with here is the immediate threat once more to civilized communication and relations between states enshrined in the observance of age-old diplomatic conventions. The abuse of diplomatic privilege, too, is nothing new, but the use of embassies for espionage, for subversion and even for the encouragement of terrorism in the host country is a matter of common knowledge and concern. The new departure, with the horrific precedent of Teheran, where the scandal continues, is the violation of the sanctity of a foreign embassy, which traditionally has the status of foreign territory, by agents of the host country. Unless this ceases now, unless it is immediately condemned, we may see this kind of practice spread throughout the world, just as in recent years crimes of hostage-taking, kidnapping, highjacking and seizing of embassies have spread owing to the absence of concerted international action to put an end to it. Liberia is a member of the Lomé Convention and her affairs are therefore expressly our business. She is a signatory of the Vienna Convention, of which she is now grossly in breach. She is a member of the United Nations, whose resolutions she has brutally affronted. In the name, then, of consistency in this Parliament, in the name of humanity, in the name of peace and the rule of international law, I ask the House to pass this motion.

President. — I call Mr Seitlinger to speak on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (CD).

Mr Seitlinger. — (F) Mr President, colleagues, have we made any progress between Teheran and Monrovia? How much longer can we be content to protest and express our indignation over such degrading acts, which moreover, have been committed by a signatory to the Lomé Convention, as Mr Fergusson has just pointed out? Many of us look forward to the day when the European Community will be able to ensure that the most sacrosanct conventions are respected, but in the meantime I invite you to support Mr Fergusson's motion for a resolution and to authorize our President to bring it to the notice of those who have established an unacceptable system of justice in

Seitlinger

Monrovia and who, following executions bearing all the hallmarks of crimes, have committed an act for which reparation must be made.

President. — I call Mr Chambeiron to speak on behalf of the Communist and Allies Group.

Mr Chambeiron. — (*F*) Mr President, I have already had occasion to tell the House that my colleagues and I are in favour of absolute respect for diplomatic immunity and international conventions. Therefore I shall not pursue this point any further.

But what I would very briefly like to say, Mr President, is that once again a problem has been referred to the House which, I agree, is of considerable importance — and no doubt the authors of the motion will find comparable examples even in France — but which, like others referred to this House during the last year, does not, in my view, necessarily fall within its competence. Indeed, the previous speaker has just pointed out that we have virtually no means of implementing our resolutions. But we do have responsibilities which we are not assuming, and these I should like to mention very rapidly.

Mr Fergusson, you are one of the authors of this resolution, but do you not feel that it would be in the interests of the House to deal with problems arising within the Community, such as Ireland, for example? We have asked for an opportunity to discuss what is happening in Ireland, but the House has never been willing to do so. There are also problems we could mention in the Federal Republic of Germany and even in France, but these are never referred to.

This is why I will not associate my name with the motion tabled as long as this House considers that its duty lies in dealing with matters outside the Community and never with those of concern to us within it.

President. — The debate is closed. The motion for a resolution will be put to the vote at the next voting time.

13 *Safeguard measures in the EEC-Yugoslavia cooperation agreement*

President. — The next item is, without debate, the report by Mr Radoux, on behalf of the Committee on External Economic Relations, on the safeguard measures provided for in the cooperation agreement and the interim agreement concerning trade and commercial cooperation between the European Economic Community and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Doc. 1-238/80).

I note that no one wishes to speak.

The motion for a resolution will be put to the vote at the next voting time.

14. *Fruit-juices and certain similar products*

President. — The next item is, without debate, the report by Mr Johnson (Doc. 1-144/80), on behalf of the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection, on

the proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-695/79) for a directive amending for the second time Directive 75/726/EEC, on the approximation of the laws of the Member States concerning fruit-juices and certain similar products.

I note that no one wishes to speak.

The motion for a resolution will be put to the vote at the next voting time.

15. *Dangerous substances and preparations*

President. — The next item is, without debate, the report by Mr Remilly (Doc. 1-217/80), on behalf of the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection, on

the proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-740/79) for a directive amending for the fourth time Directive 76/769/EEC, on the approximation of the laws, regulations and administrative provisions of the Member States relating to restrictions on the marketing and use of certain dangerous substances and preparations.

I note that no one wishes to speak.

The motion for a resolution will be put to the vote at the next voting time.

16. *Cosmetic products*

President. — The next item is the report by Mrs Schleicher (Doc. 1-145/80), on behalf of the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection, on

the proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 199/79) for a directive amending for the first time Directive 76/768/EEC of 27 July 1976, on the approximation of the laws of the Member States relating to cosmetic products.

I call Mrs Schleicher.

Mrs Schleicher, rapporteur. — (D) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the last item on today's agenda is a subject connected with policies both for the protection of health and for the protection of the consumer — and here, if you like, mainly women — although we should not overlook the fact that cosmetics are increasingly arousing interest amongst the male population. Interest in cosmetic products increases the more the user personally has success with them.

I would say that not only appearances but also smells are very important.

(Laughter)

The new directive amends for the first time the directive which was passed in 1976. There are a few unsatisfactory aspects to be mentioned here, among them the fact that the subject-matter has in the interim become so complex that very few people can cope with it — even those who have to handle it — and I would simply like to question here whether such complicated directives are really necessary.

We are at present discussing an amending directive even though the second and third amending directives are already being drafted. However, since certain deadlines must be met, we have to pass it today. This is unsatisfactory, as further problems loom on the horizon which we cannot deal with today. It is also unsatisfactory to have to make an amendment at a time when the basic directive has not yet even been transposed into national law in all the countries.

The Commission advised us in committee, but on many points we received what were, as we saw it, insufficient answers to the following questions: to what extent has the directive proved of value, and what sort of damage has occurred in the four years since 1976, or rather what evidence is there of injury to health? We hope that at least better answers will be forthcoming from the next round of discussions.

We dealt with various matters in committee, in particular with the unsatisfactory provisions fixing maximum permitted trace-levels. In our motion for a resolution, we request the Commission yet again to examine these things more closely. We were also concerned with the drawing up of lists, which has become very complicated, with labelling provisions for small quantities and with prepackaged goods, because distortions of competition have arisen here. We dealt with protective clauses, with transitional periods and in particular with procedures on new substances. These have to be cleared as potential health hazards, but this takes a very long time. Consumer organizations in particular exert pressure here, but I believe that these things must be checked carefully and it is for precisely this reason that the process is sometimes rather lengthy.

The committee itself has proposed a few amendments to the directive, notably more realistic deadlines,

technical improvements in the use of positive lists, better labelling of small quantities and easier handling in trade. I must, however, point out a difficulty that has arisen in the course of making amendments in committee: I must request that a technical correction be made and that Articles 8 and 9 should change places in the amended text.

In conclusion, I would like to say that we will soon have to tackle this matter again in committee, and if problems arise in the interim we can deal with them together with the second and third amending directives. It is perhaps of interest to the consumer that the next directives will be concerned mainly with sun-screening products, which are of great interest to us too because they are used very extensively at present. We are concerned to submit proposals aimed above all at avoiding health hazards in the future.

One point created difficulties for us. Errors were made in the original directive which were errors of terminology but which were also connected with the different substances used in the various countries. Having seen the number of errors which have been made, I am not quite sure how further mistakes can be avoided in the future. I think the procedures are just too complicated; my concern and that of the committee is to find, if possible, simpler procedures. The committee will soon have an opportunity to study this in connection with the next amending directives. Our proposals were adopted unanimously in committee and I would ask the House to do likewise and approve the directive in the form submitted to it.

President. — The correction you have asked for will be made.

I call Mr Newton Dunn to speak on behalf of the European Democratic Group.

Mr Newton Dunn. — Mr President, in the case of this directive, the UK is anxious for two particular points to be considered by the Commission. Firstly, free samples and single-dose sachets should, we believe, be exempt from the requirement to specify the exact quantity, because the obligation to put an exact quantity into a small sachet will raise its cost so much that it will cease to be worthwhile, thus depriving the consumer of a chance to sample the product.

Secondly, we are very concerned about the use of positive lists, that is, lists of authorized materials, because any material that is not included in such a list may not be used to make up a cosmetic. With the increase in knowledge of the properties of new materials and the research that goes on continuously, it is essential that there should be a rapid method of adding new materials to the list — if we are to have a positive list at all. The present lengthy Council procedure can take years, and that removes any incentive for manu-

Newton Dunn

facturers and researchers to create new materials, since if they know that they are not going to get any reward from the use of their research for years, and that when they are allowed to use it it will cease to be confidential, they won't embark on the research at all and we shall end up with no innovation and no new products. This point arouses considerable concern in the UK in many different areas, and I ask the Commission to consider it.

President. — The debate is closed. The motion for a resolution will be put to the vote at the next voting time.

IN THE CHAIR: MR ROGERS

Vice-president

17. Votes

President. — The next item comprises the votes on motions for resolutions on which the debate has closed.

We shall begin with the motion for a resolution contained in the *Buchou report (Doc. 1-234/80): Fish-stocks*.

(Parliament adopted the preamble and paragraphs 1 to 9)

On paragraph 10, I have Amendment No 2, by Mr Lynge, seeking to delete this paragraph.

What is the rapporteur's position?

Mr Dalsass, deputy rapporteur. — (D) Mr President, I can vouch that the rapporteur is in favour of this amendment.

(Parliament adopted Amendment No 2, then paragraphs 11 and 12)

President. — After paragraph 12, I have Amendment No 1, by Mr Josselin and others, seeking to insert a new paragraph to read:

- 12a. Points out that the common fisheries policy can be effectively implemented only if the activities of fishing vessels are properly controlled; instructs its Committee on Agriculture to investigate whether this could not perhaps be achieved by coordinating the Member States' inspection and surveillance activities, and if so, to what extent.

What is the rapporteur's position?

Mr Dalsass, deputy rapporteur. — (D) Mr President, the rapporteur is in favour of this amendment too.

(Parliament adopted Amendment No 1)

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

The resolution is adopted.¹

We shall now consider the motion for a resolution contained in the *Kirk report (Doc. 1-233/80): Restructuring in the inshore-fishing sector*.

(Parliament adopted the preamble and paragraphs 1 to 3)

On paragraph 4, I have Amendment No 1, by Mr Josselin, seeking to delete this paragraph. What is the rapporteur's position?

Mr Scott-Hopkins, deputy rapporteur. — The rapporteur is against the amendment.

(Parliament rejected Amendment No 1, then adopted paragraphs 4 and 5 in succession)

President. — On paragraph 6, I have Amendment No 2, by Mr Josselin, seeking to delete this paragraph.

What is the rapporteur's position?

Mr Scott-Hopkins, deputy rapporteur. — The rapporteur is against the amendment.

(Parliament rejected Amendment No 2, then adopted paragraph 6 and paragraphs 7 to 14)

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

The resolution is adopted.¹

I now put to the vote the motion for a resolution contained in the *Lynge report (Doc. 1-235/80): Fish-stocks*.

The resolution is adopted.¹

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President. — We shall now consider the motion for a resolution contained in the *Davern report (Doc. 1-251/80): Aid to hop-producers for 1979*.

¹ OJ C 175 of 14. 7. 1980.

(Parliament adopted the preamble)

After the preamble, I have two amendments tabled by Mr Sutra and others, each seeking to replace the sole paragraph by a new text:

— Amendment No 1/rev.:

- concerned at the absence of official statistics on stocks, particularly commercial stocks held by breweries,
- considering that the Commission has declared itself in favour of the non-expansion of the area under hops in 1981 and 1982 and that the Council does not accept this view,
 1. Decides that the area under hops will be frozen at the 1979 level for one year;
 2. Calls on the Commission to inform Parliament of the situation in the hop sector at the end of this period;
 3. Approves the Commission's proposal subject to this reservation.

— Amendment No 2 :

- whereas the present system of deficiency payments has not protected Alsatian producers against monetary distortions and distortions of competition,
- whereas the area under hops in Alsace has decreased in four years from 1 050 to 470 ha,
 1. Calls on the Commission to propose a new regulation based on the principle of guaranteed incomes for hop producers.

What is the rapporteur's position?

I call Mr Dalsass.

Mr Dalsass. — (D) Mr President, as a member of the Committee on Agriculture, I know that Mr Davern opposes both the first and the second amendment.

President. — I call Mr von der Vring on a point of order.

Mr von der Vring. — (D) Mr President, if there is no official spokesman for a committee present, then there can be no recommendation either. I would ask you to waive your request for a recommendation.

President. — Yes, I think that is very sensible. If a rapporteur cannot be present he should appoint someone to give the official view, failing which we can refer to the chairman of the committee. With all due respect to Mr Dalsass, I think a Member ought not to speak on behalf of a committee unless he has been so appointed. But I appreciate that you were trying to be helpful, Mr Dalsass.

I call Mrs Ewing.

Mrs Ewing. — I just want the House to know there is no discourtesy on Mr Davern's part in not being here today. His son has a fractured skull from a very serious accident and he has had to go home to Ireland. I can speak officially for the group to say that, just as has been said, he was against the amendments.

President. — I accept the reason for Mr Davern not being present and I am sure we all sympathize with him very much. But this is not a group resolution; it has been tabled by a committee and the rapporteur ought to appoint a substitute, or the committee chairman should be here to speak instead.

(Parliament rejected Amendment No 2 and adopted Amendment No 1/rev.)

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

The resolution is adopted.¹

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President. — I now put to the vote the *Buchou motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-228/80): African swine-fever in Portugal.*

The resolution is adopted.¹

I put to the vote the motion for a resolution contained in the *Buchou report (Doc. 1-252/80): Control of classical swine-fever.*

The resolution is adopted.¹

*
* *

President. — We shall next consider the motion for a resolution contained in the *Ligios report (Doc. 1-229/80): Premiums for bovine animals.*

I call Mr Dalsass to give an explanation of vote.

Mr Dalsass, deputy rapporteur. — (D) Mr President, as I said at the beginning of today's sitting, I was unable to present this report yesterday. I would thus just like to say a few words as an explanation of vote. This measure was not contained in the Commission's 1980-81 prices package, but in its resolution on agricultural prices the European Parliament expressly asked that it be retained. This arrangement allows a reduction in the number of cows slaughtered and an

¹ OJ C 175 of 14. 7. 1980.

Dalsass

increase in the number of young animals for fattening, and at the same time supplements the income of breeders by an appropriate amount. I consider the results of this measure to be very positive, particularly for Italian stock-farming, which is chiefly affected. The aim of this premium is primarily to supplement the income of producers, but it also has beneficial effects in stabilizing the production cycle and reducing fluctuations. I would like to emphasize that this measure — the calving premium for Italy — is of particular importance for my own region, a mountain region where the yield is low and hence the income is much more modest than elsewhere. Here this premium represents a valuable supplementary income. So I can only welcome the discussion of this measure today and I will, of course, gladly support it.

President. — I put the motion for a resolution to the vote.

The resolution is adopted.¹

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President. — I now put to the vote the motion for a resolution contained in the *Louwes report (Doc. 1-216/80): Tariff quotas for heifers, bulls and cows.*

The resolution is adopted.¹

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President. — We shall now consider the *Gaiotti de Biase motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-250/80): Meeting of the Council of Ministers of Education.*

(Parliament adopted the preamble and paragraph 1)

On paragraph 2, I have Amendment No 1, by Mr Price and Mr Patterson, seeking to delete this paragraph.

What is the author's position?

Mrs Cassanmagnago Cerretti. — (I) Against.

(Parliament rejected Amendment No 1, then adopted in succession paragraph 2 and paragraphs 3 to 8)

President. — I put the motion for a resolution to the vote.

The resolution is adopted.¹

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* *

President. — We shall now consider the *Castle et al. motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-253/80): Political rights in South Africa.*

(Parliament adopted the preamble)

On paragraph 1, I have Amendment No 1, tabled by Mr Moreland and others, seeking to amend this paragraph as follows:

1. Deplores the continued imprisonment of Nelson Mandela and the many other South Africans imprisoned for political purposes.

What is the authors' position?

Mr Adam. — The amendment is acceptable.

(Parliament adopted in succession Amendment No. 1 and paragraphs 2 and 3)

President. — After paragraph 3, I have Amendment No 2, tabled by Mr Moreland and others, seeking to add the following new paragraph:

- 3a. Is deeply concerned at the recent reports of violence and death in South Africa and urges the Government of South Africa to realize that such violence will continue as long as it continues to enforce oppressive and bureaucratic legislation and fails to allow the black, coloured and Asian populations a full part in the administration of South Africa.

What is the authors' position?

Mr Adam. — I am in favour of the amendment.

(Parliament adopted Amendment No 2)

President. — On paragraph 4, I have Amendment No 3, tabled by Mr Moreland and others, seeking to amend this paragraph as follows:

4. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council and Commission and the Government of South Africa.

What is the authors' position?

Mr Adam. — I am in favour of the amendment.

(Parliament adopted Amendment No 3)

¹ OJ C 175 of 14. 7. 1980.

¹ OJ C 175 of 14. 7. 1980.

President. — I can now allow explanations of vote.

I call Mr De Goede.

Mr De Goede. — (NL) Mr President, I did not take part in this short debate but wish to express my support for this resolution in the form of an explanation of vote, and I hope this will be recorded.

President. — I call Mr Coppieters.

Mr Coppieters. — (NL) Mr President, I wholeheartedly support this resolution, but I should like to point out that we should not apply double standards when considering the issue of human rights, and that we must also be concerned to safeguard these rights within the Member States of the Community.

President. — I put to the vote the motion for a resolution as a whole, incorporating the amendments which have been adopted.

The resolution is adopted.¹

(Applause from certain quarters on the left)

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* *

President. — I put to the vote the *Boyes et al. motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-260/80): Interim programme to combat poverty.*

The resolution is adopted.¹

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President. — I put to the vote the *Fergusson et al. motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-263/80): Violation of the French Embassy in Monrovia.*

The resolution is adopted.¹

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President. — I put to the vote the motion for a resolution contained in the *Radoux report (Doc. 1-238/80): EEC-Yugoslavia cooperation agreement.*

The resolution is adopted.¹

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President. — I put to the vote the motion for a resolution contained in the *Johnson report (Doc. 1-144/80): Fruit-juices and certain similar products.*

The resolution is adopted.¹

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President. — We now come to the motion for a resolution contained in the *Remilly report (Doc. 1-217/80): Dangerous substances and preparations.*

I call Mrs Gredal for an explanation of vote.

Mrs Gredal. — (DK) Mr President, as this is the first opportunity I have had to put my views on this proposal, I should now like to say that I will vote against it. The original directive states that the use of the very hazardous substances in question is to be reduced, but this proposal does exactly the opposite. The substances in question are totally banned in Denmark, and we therefore reject the proposals. We can in general accept 'minimum' directives, but not 'total' directives which conflict with Danish legislation and principles.

President. — I call Mrs Hammerich for an explanation of vote.

Mrs Hammerich. — (DK) Mr President, I entirely concur with Mrs Gredal on this matter. This is an unusually objectionable proposal for a directive to legalize the hitherto unauthorized use of PCT, a very hazardous substance, primarily for military purposes. It amounts to a direct reduction of the protection afforded by Danish environmental legislation, and we shall vote against.

President. — I put the motion for a resolution to the vote.

The resolution is adopted.¹

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* *

¹ OJ C 175 of 14. 7. 1980.

¹ OJ C 175 of 14. 7. 1980.

President. — We now come to the motion for a resolution contained in the *Schleicher report (Doc. 1-145/80): Cosmetic products.*

I call Mr Davignon.

Mr Davignon, Member of the Commission. — (F) Mr President, I shall just make a few brief remarks before the vote takes place in reply to the questions raised a short time ago during the debate.

I should like to say that on the whole the Commission appreciates the report which has been prepared and recognizes that the requests have all been incorporated with a view to obtaining greater clarity. But how is this to be achieved? The rapporteur herself has said that the matter must be discussed so that a clearer system can be devised, without, however, proceeding from one clarification to another and ending up in a situation which, instead of being simpler, is more complicated. The Commission is in sympathy with the general trend of the report. On the question of the date, our position is that we shall fix it as soon as we have a clearer idea of the Council's timetable. We should prefer the soonest date possible, but whether it will be 31 December 1984 or before or after that date depends upon the Council's timetable, and we can sort that out with the competent committee. We also subscribe to the idea of examining the problems associated with the expression 'marketing' and of fixing the deadline for adoption by the Council of the directive on the various questions relating to national law.

We also agree that in the course of time a reordered proposal relating to Article 6, paragraph (b), should be submitted. The committee has made a number of observations. Others are the result of our contacts and discussions with the Council. Consequently, we intend to draft a proposal for Article 6, paragraph (b), which will incorporate the additions requested as well as others upon which we shall supply the committee with the necessary information.

President. — I put the motion for a resolution to the vote.

The resolution is adopted.¹

18. *Dates of the next part-session*

President. — There are no other items on the agenda. I thank the representatives of the Council and the Commission for their contributions to our work.

I remind the House that our next sittings will be held in Luxembourg on 26 and 27 June 1980.

¹ OJ C 175 of 14. 7. 1980.

19. *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 this sitting, which have been written during the debates.

Are there any comments?

Mr Harris. — We have not seen them!

President. — Mr Harris, I am rather surprised, because you happen to be one of the conclave that is always present on Friday mornings. This is a normal procedure, and according to the Rules of Procedure, I have to place before Parliament, for its approval, the minutes of proceedings of the last sitting of a part-session before the sitting is closed, and if no objection is raised they shall be declared approved. Members never see them.

(Laughter)

Mr Harris. — Mr President, I apologize for being slow on this matter in the past, but I serve warning that we are now fully aware of the point. It really is a piece of utter nonsense.

(Applause from various quarters on the right)

President. — May I agree with you, Mr Harris, and say that, like yourself, as Members of Parliament who approved the Rules we are part of the nonsense we have created.

(Laughter)

Mr Harris. — If it is not too late, I should like to object, and I shall go on objecting every Friday to this procedure.

President. — I have noted your comments. They will go into the record and may help us to make some progress on this matter in the future.

I call Mrs Kellett-Bowman.

Mrs Kellett-Bowman. — If an objection is raised, surely the matter has to be considered.

President. — I asked if there were any comments. In the absence of comments the minutes are normally approved, but in view of the fact that there are comments and objections, I put the approval of the minutes to the vote.

You have decided not to approve the minutes.

I will check with the secretariat whether it is necessary to approve the minutes before I close this particular part-session of Parliament. If it is necessary to do so, the result of your decision will be that you will have to wait until the minutes are prepared and available.

I understand from the secretariat that the minutes cannot be operative until they are approved. This means that the resolutions voted on this morning cannot be implemented or come into force until the minutes are approved.

I call Mr Arndt on a point of order.

Mr Arndt. — (D) Mr President, the Rules of Procedure state expressly that if an objection is raised to the minutes then the objector must declare which point he objects to. Now, since these minutes have been objected to, I would ask you to tell us which point you object to. Then we will change that point and the minutes will be approved.

This is laid down precisely in Rule 17(3) of the Rules of Procedure. So if someone objects to the minutes of a sitting, he must say why he objects. If he cannot do so, the objection is overruled. For the rest, Mr President, I think you were right to suggest that the matter should be laid before the Bureau for a decision. Of course it is irritating to have to approve minutes which we have no opportunity of seeing. It would be a good thing if this point in the Rules of Procedure were altered to the effect that the minutes of the last day need not be approved until the first day of the new part-session.

President. — Mr Arndt, the Rules say that the minutes of proceedings of the last sitting of a part-session shall be placed before Parliament for its approval before the sitting is closed. If no objection is raised, they shall be declared approved. Now, to get the minutes properly translated into the six languages and drawn up correctly would require a considerable length of time. Technically, as you suggested, we should wait until all this was done and then approve the minutes or otherwise.

The Rules go on to say that if any objections are raised to the minutes of proceedings Parliament shall, if necessary, decide whether the changes requested should be considered. Now, I put that to the vote, and you decided that you wanted to consider changes, even though you could not put forward anything specific because you had not seen the written minutes.

There have been some urgent amendments and also some opinions that have to go back to the Commission. We would certainly have to wait probably until the Luxembourg part-session next week or possibly

until July before we formally approve the minutes. The other option is that we stay here until the minutes are ready at about 6.30 p.m. I wonder if you would like to take the vote again, or even withdraw your objections altogether.

I call Mr Patterson.

Mr Patterson. — Mr President, I do not think it would be in order if we now took another vote on the minutes, since all the votes we have taken would be made void. However, there is a perfectly adequate solution under Rule 33, which says that all votes shall be valid, whatever the number of voters. That presumably means that any one Member can approve the minutes and that when the minutes have been written up, we can delegate our power to adopt the minutes to the Bureau or any members of the Bureau who happen to be around at the time. I think that would get us out of this particular jam. There must be some Members around at 6.30 p.m.

(Laughter)

Indeed, Mr President, if you yourself are present when the minutes have been taken, as you have been in the Chair, I shall be quite happy to delegate my power to vote the minutes to you.

(Loud laughter)

President. — Thank you, Mr Patterson, for some very constructive advice. I shall follow your advice, because what I am not anxious to do is to set any precedent. But I am very concerned about the implication that one Member can approve the minutes.

I call Mr Harris.

Mr Harris. — Quite seriously, Mr President, I was not trying to disrupt business, but I do think that now you have drawn our attention to it, this rule is a piece of utter nonsense, and I for my part would be willing to withdraw my objection if that helped, on the assurance that you will see to it that the Bureau does, in fact, look at this and possibly recommends to the Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions that it reconsider Rule 17, because, quite frankly, it is utter rubbish to approve minutes which we have not seen. So, on that assurance I would, with your agreement, be happy to withdraw the objection.

President. — Mr Harris has very kindly proposed to withdraw his objection, and unless there are objections to his gesture, I think we can proceed.

I call Mrs Kellett-Bowman.

Mrs Kellett-Bowman. — Mr President, you had already accepted Mr Patterson's excellent suggestion on Rule 33. Now, if we start going back on the vote, where do we end?

President. — I am sorry, I am not taking on myself the responsibility for approving on behalf of this House the whole of the minutes. It is a far too dangerous precedent. If the Members take decisions, then they must realize the implications of their decisions. Mr Harris, as the original objector, has realized the implications and he has had sufficient grace and intelligence to withdraw his objection.

I call Lady Elles.

Lady Elles. — Mr President, I should like to congratulate you on the way that has been handled with calm and common sense. My colleague, Mr Harris, has seen the implications of his original objection and, although the objection is valid, he has agreed to withdraw it. I would therefore ask you, in order to keep orderly procedure in this House, that we now vote on his proposal to withdraw his objection. I think that will put us back into proper order again, and I am sure that his gesture of withdrawing his objection will have the full support of this House.

President. — Lady Elles has moved that we accept the withdrawal of the objection.

I now put this motion to the vote.

The motion is adopted. The minutes of proceedings are therefore approved.

I call Mrs Van den Heuvel on a point of order.

Mrs Van den Heuvel. — Mr President, I am sorry if I am now raising an issue which perhaps has not yet

arisen, but I am compelled to do so by the events of the previous sitting. Before you in fact begin the adjournment procedure, I must point out that this contravenes the Rules of Procedure, because according to Rule 12 (3) you are required to announce the date, time and agenda of the next sitting before suspending this sitting. My colleague, Mr Albers, wished to make this point last time, but he was not given leave to speak because the meeting had already been adjourned. I do not wish to make a formal request for the agenda of the next sitting to be announced, but I would ask you to revise Rule 12 (3) in such a way that no meeting in future is conducted in a manner which contravenes the Rules of Procedure.

President. — Mrs Van den Heuvel, we are not in contravention of the Rules of Procedure, because Mr Pflimlin announced the agenda for the next part-session earlier this morning.

I call Mr Newton Dunn.

Mr Newton Dunn. — Mr President, I just want to say that I think that the last half-hour proves that Professor Parkinson still lives. As you know, he said work expands to fill the time available. We are just proving that the European Parliament speaks to fill the time available.

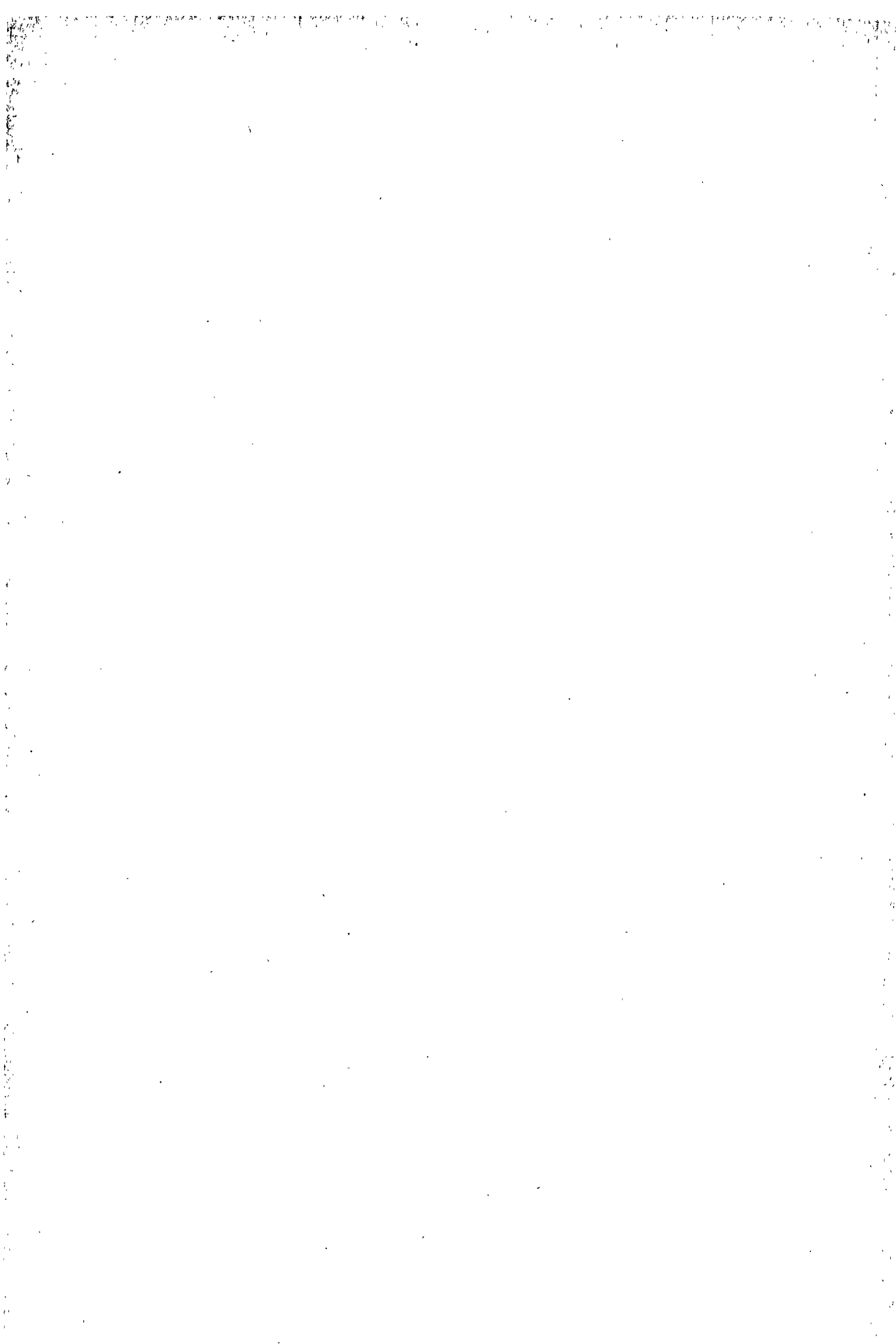
President. — Mr Newton Dunn, I think the points raised by Members, especially Mr Harris's point, were valid.

20. *Adjournment of the session*

President. — I declare the session of the European Parliament adjourned.

The sitting is closed.

(The sitting was closed at 11.20 a.m.)



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