

Annex

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1984-1985 Session

Report of Proceedings  
from 21 to 25 May 1984

Europe House, Strasbourg

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Appearing at the same time as the English edition are editions in the six other official languages of the Communities: Danish, German, Greek, 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: *(DA)* for Danish, *(DE)* for German, *(GR)* for Greek, *(FR)* for French, *(IT)* for Italian and *(NL)* for Dutch.

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IN THE CHAIR: MR DANKERT

*President*

*(The sitting was opened at 5 p.m.)*

#### 1. *Resumption of the session*

**President.** — I declare resumed the session of the European Parliament adjourned on 13 April 1984.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Approval of the minutes:* See the minutes of this sitting.

**Mr Spencer (ED).** — On a point of order, Mr President. The Stuttgart Declaration says that the enlarged Bureau of this Parliament will be consulted by the governments before the appointment of the next President of the Commission. As the last meeting of the enlarged Bureau is on Wednesday morning and such a consultation is not on its agenda, will you make a statement to the House as to whether Parliament's enlarged Bureau has been consulted on this appointment or give us an indication as to when you will make such a statement?

**President.** — Mr Spencer, I can inform you that the meeting on Wednesday is not the last meeting of the enlarged Bureau: there is another scheduled for the beginning of July. But as the beginning of July would

**President**

be after the Fontainebleau Summit, and I do not exclude the possibility — because that is more or less the obligation — that the European Council will take upon itself a discussion concerning the nomination of the President of the Commission, I will discuss the problem with the President of the European Council when he is here. If the need arises, we shall have to envisage the possibility of an additional meeting of the enlarged Bureau to follow the consequences of that Stuttgart Declaration.

Mr Cottrell, are you asking for the floor to speak on a point of order?

**Mr Cottrell (ED).** — Mr President, if I might correct you, I think it was you that had a point of order. I thought you were going to make a proposition to the House, and I would comment on that.

**President.** — Then I was wrong. I understood that you wanted to make a statement concerning your report in connection with the agenda. We cannot deal with that subject in discussing the agenda because Rule 56 applies and that means only two speakers. If you want to say something, you must say it now.

**Mr Cottrell (ED).** — Forgive me for being difficult, Mr President. You know I always try not to be difficult. I think you have to explain to the House what the proposal is and I shall be very happy to comment on it.

**President.** — I cannot yet deal with the details of the agenda, but I would say that the enlarged Bureau does not propose any modification to the agenda in respect of your report.

**Mr Nord (L).** — (NL) Mr President, at the April part-session we decided to hold over the report by Mr Cottrell until May. It is therefore perfectly natural that we should find this report among the items proposed by the Bureau. However, it is questionable whether it is reasonable to take this report, as it now stands, during this part-session. We asked ourselves this question in our group and came to a negative conclusion. Why was that? There are in the report two particularly important and fundamental issues. One is that the civil liberties of a number of our citizens in Europe are being threatened by the particular activities of particular groups and sects. But the report goes so far that it raises a second point, namely, the fundamental freedom of worship for which Europeans have fought for ages, many of whom died in the struggle.

Mr President, we feel that this report deals with such important matters that it should possess a stature befitting the importance of the subject and we consider that this is not the case. Some of you perhaps will have noticed that a committee of the second chamber of the

Dutch Parliament has just published a report on this subject after a study of several years. This report is much sounder and contains far more relevant information than the report by Mr Cottrell. This could not be otherwise, because of the limited time available — and here I am not criticizing Mr Cottrell in any way — but we feel that the report as it now stands is wanting in depth and can too readily give rise to misunderstandings, especially if we now begin to vote on it in a hasty manner.

For these reasons, Mr President, I should like to make two proposals to the plenary. First, that we do not take the report this week, but refer it back to the committee from which it came. Second, that we ask our committee to study this whole matter once again, to hold hearings with the groups — we have received a sufficient amount of correspondence to know that there are many people who are passionately interested in this subject — and to submit to us in the autumn a report which is sufficiently sound, solid and detailed to enable Parliament to vote on it *en connaissance de cause*. That is the proposal that I make on behalf of my group.

**President.** — I did not say that we are not yet discussing the agenda. This is in fact a sort of preliminary discussion. I have seen a number of hands raised from various groups. I believe that, given some of the controversial features surrounding this report, it would be a good idea if, before the agenda is fixed, we could give one speaker per group the opportunity to state his views on Mr Nord's proposal as a whole, in view of the fact that it was already on the agenda last time. I noticed that Mr Cottrell has also asked to speak, but he will be doing so shortly in any case. I shall first call Mr Hord and then Mr de la Malène.

**Mr Forth (ED).** — On a point of order, Mr President.

**President.** — Mr Forth, I said that under the normal procedure, as set out in Rule 56, it is not possible to have a wide-ranging debate on the agenda. You have one speaker for and one speaker against. That is it. This is a specific problem. I would deal with it outside the normal rules for preparing the agenda, and so outside the application of Rule 56, in order to enable all the political groups and not just one or two to pronounce on the issue. Then we move on to the agenda and proceed under Rule 56.

**Mr de la Malène (DEP).** — (FR) Mr President, we are faced here with a delicate problem. The committee, of which Mr Cottrell is the rapporteur, presents us with a contradictory resolution: we do not in any way intend to restrict the freedom of conscience, the free practice of religion or faith in the Community.

**de la Malène**

This is something absolutely fundamental which is not contested in any part of this Assembly.

On the other hand, we are witnessing the proliferation in our Community of a number of sects which, sheltering behind this fundamental principle, and in breach in one way or another of our penal code, behave in a way that we utterly deplore.

This is a contradiction. How is the problem to be solved? The committee, by way of its rapporteur, proposes a number of measures at European level. We think that at the moment this is premature. We condemn those sects that are in breach of penal legislation, we condemn them with the greatest severity, and we ask our national governments to apply the law, and nothing but the law, and consequently we feel that there should be a debate to draw the attention of our States to this problem and request those States to regulate them in accordance with their criminal legislation. In short, we are in favour of a debate provided that the question is not made the subject of European legislation but that our own States' legislation is applied to these sects which, once again, we condemn.

Consequently, we shall vote for the debate, Mr President.

**President.** — I think we should avoid going into the substance, because we are now having a preliminary debate on whether or not later on we shall decide for or against treating this subject.

**Mr Hord (ED).** — Mr President, you referred to the rule in question, Rule 56, and I wonder if you could tell this House, under Rule 56(1), whether in fact you have received representation by at least 21 Members to make a revision to the Cottrell report, because this point has not come over clearly at this stage. If so, by whom was the representation made?

**President.** — Mr Hord, I said in the first place that I did not want as yet to open the discussion on the agenda, where Rule 56 applies. As soon as we come to the agenda — we are now having a preliminary debate — you will be made aware that there is indeed one political group asking for the deletion of this report from the agenda for the reasons Mr Nord has indicated.

**Mr Arndt (S).** — *(DE)* Mr President, Mr Nord has stated that his group would be making this request later on. I found the procedure that you proposed a very good one, because it gives each group an opportunity to state its position here and now, so that it does not have to come back afterwards and invoke Rule 56. Notwithstanding the high personal regard I have for you, Mr Nord, I must say that what you have said here does not seem to me to have anything at all to do

with this request. You said that the Cottrell motion was not a good one and that it should therefore be referred back to the committee and not debated here at all. If you had said that we ought to discuss it at all events and to consider the amendments and then decide whether we were justified in coming to some decision in the House on the report or whether we ought to refer it back to committee, then I should have agreed. However, Mr Nord, the fact that you rule out any debate at all makes me think that the only reason that the Liberal and Democratic Group intends to table this request is that it is somehow afraid of this debate.

*(Applause)*

I do not want to pronounce here and now on whether Mr de la Malène is right or not. There are differences of opinion on the whole matter within our group also. However, since each one of us has received between 100 and 200 letters, Parliament must tackle this whole matter in a debate. After all, what have we done about it in the last five years? My group will not ask for a group whip on this question. It is a matter of conscience, and each one of us is free to decide as he wishes. My group feels that this matter should at all events be debated during this part-session and that we should then decide whether we vote on it or not. For this reason we shall vote, when the time comes, against the motion that it be referred back to committee.

*(Applause)*

**Mr Fanti (COM).** — *(IT)* I think that the proposal by Mr Nord should be considered very carefully. I also think you can take my word for it when I say that I am certainly not the sort of person to be pressurized by religious movements, whether genuine or self-styled. I shall confine myself, therefore, to expressing a layman's point of view.

The Committee on Culture — and I am sorry that its chairman is not with us right now — discussed this matter at some length. As a member of the committee, I took part in that discussion which was a very thorough one, since we were faced with a severe denunciation of extremely serious and unacceptable activities, which should be brought to the attention of Member States so that the current legislation may be strictly applied.

That said, one cannot after denouncing and condemning such activities express judgments that threaten freedom of religious faith, of expression and assembly; on the contrary, these need to be protected. Herein lies the ambiguity which runs throughout the report and the resolution we are debating.

Without wishing to make too much of this, I think that the problem should be looked at more deeply. I know, for instance, that the Dutch Parliament has car-

**Fanti**

ried out an investigation into this question, the findings of which are about to be made public. I think that we too should go into the matter more deeply so as to prevent mistakes being made in so delicate and important an area as the liberty of every single person or group.

**Sir Fred Catherwood (ED).** — Mr President, what we are discussing here is whether or not we discuss a committee report. I think it is absolutely intolerable that we should receive thousands of letters and that, because we receive thousands of letters and are under pressure from a series of groups, this Parliament should not discuss something that has come before it in the ordinary way. We really must discuss it! We cannot possibly be silenced by thousands of letters. The last thing we want to do is to go out with the feeling that this Parliament is not prepared to discuss what comes in front of it.

I entirely accept Mr Nord's point — this report does go too wide. I think this report could be interpreted as infringing on religious liberties. I would not myself vote for this report as it stands. I think that's the way of dealing with Mr Fanti's points. But the fact is that this report does deal with three very important things. It deals with raising money under false pretences, it deals with holding citizens incommunicado so that their families cannot get at them, and it involves the protection of those under age. Those are three things which we should certainly deal with. So we are having a free vote on this and I imagine most of our group will vote to limit the report, but I think we must discuss the report and we must be seen to deal with what is a very serious and most distressing problem in our Community.

**Mr Barbi (PPE).** — *(IT)* Mr President, in my Group too differing opinions have been expressed and concerns voiced; it was, however, agreed by a majority that this report should be debated in the Assembly. On this subject we have been bombarded by letters and visits of every sort, as if the committee had not already discussed the subject in depth, as if this Parliament were incapable of freely and responsibly discussing so delicate a subject.

I believe that the majority of those who have sought to put pressure on us have not read the Cottrell report: if they had, there would not have been so much concern for freedom of religion — which we are the first to defend — so much concern for freedom of thought — which we are the first to support. I urge therefore that Parliament hold an open debate on this topic.

**Mr Skovmand (CDI).** — *(DA)* Mr President, I support the proposal to postpone the Cottrell report, but for a different reason than that put forward by Mr Nord, namely that this is a matter which does not concern the EEC.

**Mr Cottrell (ED), rapporteur.** — Mr President, I shall indeed try to be as brief as possible. However, having been the custodian of this report now for some two and three-quarter years with the four drafts through which it has gone to reach this stage, with the near unanimous support of the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport and, I must remind Mr Fanti, with the support of the Communist Members on that committee, and with the unanimous favourable opinion of the Legal Affairs Committee, it would be astonishing if I did not recommend to this House that we should vote on it.

Now it is awkward that this May part-session of the European Parliament has come in the middle of an election campaign. But that is all the more reason to be seen by the people of Europe to be discharging our responsibility and not running away from it. It is a fact that most of us — all of you, I think — in this Chamber have received more correspondence on this than on many of the topics which we have dealt with in this House. Is that not then a measure of the concern which is felt by the people of this Community?

We spend a great deal of time talking about human rights in the European Parliament, and that is right. We concern ourselves greatly with human rights all over the world. We will be debating the situation in Central America this week, for example. But what should matter more than the human rights of the people of our own Community? That is what we are addressing ourselves to now.

I say to those who have their doubts about this report that it is no more than the work of a group of people who have tried to get it right. It is for you to decide by voting on the report and the amendments whether we have got it right or not. If you do not like it, throw it out. *That* is the way in which you discharge your responsibility.

The last thing I would want to see happen is this being turned into a debate on religious freedom because it is not about religious freedom, it is about human rights. But since religion has been raised, I think it is important to quote to the House the letter which I think has been sent to all Members of this House by the Catholic European Study and Information Centre. What it says is terribly important:

'MEP's should ask themselves whether the dropping or postponing of the Cottrell report at this stage would not be a sign of moral capitulation on the part of the European Parliament'.

I regret that that is the way it probably would be seen.

*(Applause)*

The journalists who are listening downstairs now to this debate are waiting for us to take our decision to get on with our job, to behave like parliamentarians and to make up our minds and vote on this report.

**President.** — The journalists will hear when we decide whether or not to keep it on the agenda, which we will do in a few minutes, I hope.

## 2. Tribute

**President.** — Ladies and gentlemen, our colleague, Angelo Narducci, departed this life in Milan on 10 May 1984.

He was born on 17 August 1930 and had been director of *Avvenire* since 1969. He also taught at the Social Communications Institute of the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart in Milan.

He was elected to the European Parliament in June 1979 and was a member of the Group of the European People's Party. He had been particularly active in the work of the Committee on Development and Cooperation and of the Consultative Assembly of the Convention between the African, Caribbean and Pacific States and the European Economic Community. He was also a member of the Joint Committee of the Consultative Assembly.

I should like to pay tribute to the courtesy, tact and generosity of our departed colleague and to express once again our deepest sympathy to his family. I would ask the House to observe a minute's silence in memory of our dear departed colleague.

*(The House stood and observed one minute's silence)*

## 3. Agenda<sup>1</sup>

**President** — At its meeting of 11 April 1984 the enlarged Bureau drew up the draft agenda which has been distributed to the House.

At this morning's meeting the chairman of the political groups instructed me to propose to the House a number of amendments.

*Tuesday:*

— Mr Deschamps and nine other signatories have asked, on behalf of the EPP Group, that the report (Doc. 1-65/84) by Mr Galluzzi be withdrawn from the agenda.

**Mr Deschamps (PPE).** — *(FR)* Mr President, everyone in this Assembly knows that the UN does not function satisfactorily and, more especially, in a man-

ner befitting the importance of this international assembly.

We are all agreed then, I think, that care needs to be taken over its proper functioning, that it needs to be watched and changes made.

But, Mr President, there are in the UN, I believe, 160 member countries and the 10 member countries of this Parliament are members of the UN. I feel it is there, Mr President, that they should bring forward, within their Assembly, the criticisms they have, what they think ought to be improved. The European Parliament is not the UN, even if sometimes there is a tendency on the part of some to mix the two and give our debates a style partaking a little too much of the UN. Added to which we feel that, coming as it does today, there are ulterior motives on the part of some behind this proposal.

Mr President, is this a matter of pure chance? I would like to think that, for some people, it is. But, if chance it be, it is unfortunate that, whilst such criticism has existed for a long time and, in any event, has been justified for a long time, this report should surface at the precise moment when, within the UN, criticism is being levelled by certain major countries at the functioning of some of the UN institutions. Speaking bluntly, is it a matter of chance that people want to discuss this subject at the precise moment when the United States and the United Kingdom are requesting clarification of certain policies and certain controls which, it appears, are not all that they might be at Unesco.

Mr President, we are not saying that this Parliament should not be able one day to discuss, as a parliament, what an international Assembly such as the UN should be, but we feel that this is not the right time and that such haste, if we were to discuss the matter now, would be interpreted in a one-sided and counterproductive way. That is why I say there are some people who have ulterior motives.

We think then, Mr President, that in our own interest and in the interests of the UN, it is better not to start a discussion on this point now.

That is why we asked that discussion of this report be rejected for the moment.

**Mr Galluzzi (COM), rapporteur.** — *(IT)* Mr President, I should like to point out that the decision to draw up a report on the UN was taken by the Political Affairs Committee of the European Parliament in September last year. Following that decision, the Political Affairs Committee authorized me to visit the United Nations Assembly in order to contact leaders of that organization, on behalf of the same committee of course, and to gather information for the report which has since been discussed on more than one occasion,

<sup>1</sup> *Petitions — Transfers of appropriations — Written declarations (Rule 49): See Minutes.*

**Galluzzi**

in different versions, by the Political Affairs Committee and approved by it, unanimously — that is, with the sympathetic backing of all the political groups.

Honourable Members might like to know that there are, I think, eight or nine amendments to the text presented to this Assembly, none of which seek to replace or dispute any paragraph in the report.

I am bound to say, therefore, that I am amazed at Mr Lenz's proposal: if manoeuvre there be, it would obviously be the work of the Political Affairs Committee, and so we are faced with two possibilities: either Mr Lenz — and I don't quite recall whether he attended the committee's meetings because he did not speak — is a member of the Political Affairs Committee, in which case I am flabbergasted, or he is not a member and his group should tell him so. I think it would be absolutely ridiculous if the European Parliament, after placing on the agenda a report unanimously approved by its Political Affairs Committee, were at this point to withdraw it without any explanation. What manoeuvre can you be thinking of, Mr Lenz? In the Political Affairs Committee all the groups are represented and all the groups were in agreement. Consequently, I request that the text's inclusion in the agenda be confirmed.

*(Parliament agreed to the request that the report be withdrawn)*

**President.** — On the report (Doc. 1-47/84) by Mr Cottrell, I feel that there is no need to go over all the ground that has been covered just a few moments ago. I would propose therefore that we vote immediately on whether or not this report is to be withdrawn from the agenda.

*(Parliament rejected the request for withdrawal)*

I have received from Mr Rumor and nine other signatories a request that the report (Doc. 1-67/84) by Mr Enright be withdrawn from the agenda.

**Mr Klepsch (PPE).** — *(DE)* Mr President, the Political Affairs Committee, having discussed this entire question, has instructed me by a large majority to urge the House to refer the Enright report back to the committee responsible and to have it withdrawn from the agenda. I should like very briefly to give the reasons for this.

In the first place, it is the Political Affairs Committee that is responsible for political statements and not the Committee on Development and Cooperation, and the Political Affairs Committee feels very strongly that it should have delivered its opinion on the matter in question. Much more serious, however, is an objection that may be raised to the content of the report. We feel that the situation has changed so drastically in the

meantime that if we were to debate and adopt this report as it stands, it would turn out to be a kind of anachronism in the light of the current state of play on this question.

**Mr Enright (S), rapporteur.** — Mr President, this report was adopted unanimously by the Committee on Development and Cooperation. It concentrates completely on development issues and on what DG VIII can do to assist Namibia towards its independence. It wishes to take no other stand and does not do so. I think that is important to realize.

The Political Affairs Committee had an opportunity of conveying its opinion to the Committee on Development and Cooperation as far back as October. It has not seen fit so to do, and therefore I find it rather odd that they should comment in the way they did in a rush. I understand from some of my friends that they were confused that this issue was suddenly brought up. I also find it odd that I was asked afterwards, because at the time I was in the next committee room attending a meeting of the Committee on Development and Cooperation and could therefore have spoken to the Political Affairs Committee.

Mr Klepsch has talked about dynamic changes that have taken place, but I think that if he had been there on the morning on which the Political Affairs Committee discussed this matter, he would have known that we did indeed take these various changes into account. For example, even in the resolution Hermann ya Toivo, who is currently visiting Europe, I am pleased to say, and is certainly interested in the positive and peaceful steps that we can take, is mentioned and also his release. There has been time, I notice, for Mr de la Malène and Mr Luster to table a number of amendments to the resolution.

I think it would be a great affront to the churches, not only here but in Namibia, if we were to refuse to debate this resolution. They are unanimously in agreement with it. The Committee on Development and Cooperation, including, in fairness, members of Mr Klepsch's own political group, are unanimously in favour of it. The Commission agrees wholeheartedly with it and has been consulted at every stage. What is more, the Member States were all consulted during the compilation of this report and there is not one single part of either the explanatory statement or the resolution which is not unanimously agreed to by all 10 Member States. Therefore it would be a very serious step if we decided not to debate this issue. I think it is important that we do so and I thank you for your patience in dealing with this matter, Mr President.

**Mr Arndt (S).** — *(DE)* On a point of order, Mr President, Mr Klepsch has said that the Political Affairs Committee takes the view that it is the committee responsible. I should like to know from you



**Arndt**

which committee is, in fact, legally and in virtue of Parliament's decision the actual committee responsible.

**President.** — Mr Arndt, the report was prepared by the Committee on Development and Cooperation. No objection was raised to that. I take it therefore that that remains the position up to the present time.

**Mr Klepsch (PPE).** — (*DE*) I only said that the Political Affairs Committee felt that certain parts of the report did not fall within the competence of the Committee on Development and Cooperation and that it had therefore gone beyond its terms of reference.

**Mrs Ewing (DEP).** — My point is quite simple, Mr President. I wish to ask that Members be refreshed in their minds as to the decision that was taken when this report was postponed last time. As my recollection goes, it was postponed and an assurance was given that it would be discussed this time.

*(Parliament rejected the request that the report be withdrawn)*

**President.** — The Group of the EPP requests that the report (Doc. 1-248/84) by Mr Ghergo, which is entered on the agenda as Item No 168, should be put after Item No 171, the Squarcialupi report. This question was discussed this morning and the chairmen of the political groups were opposed to this request, since if a rapporteur cannot be present when his report is being debated, he may be replaced by the chairman of the committee or any other member of his group. However, since the request was tabled in accordance with the Rules of Procedure, that is to say, pursuant to Rule 56, I must put this request by the EPP Group to the vote.

*(Parliament rejected the request)*

At the request of the Committee on Development and Cooperation, the report (Doc. 1-218/84) by Mrs Dury will be taken without debate and will therefore be entered after the reports without debate scheduled for the sitting of Thursday afternoon.

*Wednesday:*

— the EPP Group has asked for the inclusion of an oral question with debate to the Commission on the financial situation in the Community, and particularly on the Commission decision to set up a special reserve of 800 m ECUs.

Pursuant to Rule 42 of the Rules of Procedure, this question will be included in the debate on the reports concerning the financial situation in the Community on the agenda for Wednesday morning.

At the request of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs, the report (Doc. 1-192/84) by Mr Welsh will be entered after the Nyborg report on maritime transport.

At the request of the Committee on Agriculture, I propose that the following reports be put at the end of Wednesday's agenda:

- the report (Doc. 1-236/84) by Mr Eyraud;
- the report (Doc. 1-60/84) by Mr Howell;
- the report (Doc. 1-61/84) by Mr Stella.

At the request of the Committee on Development and Cooperation, the report (Doc. 1-212/84) by Mr Pearce will be placed at the end of the agenda after the agricultural reports already entered there.

*(Parliament agreed to these requests)*

**Mr Hord (ED).** — Mr President, could you enlighten the House as to whether it is the intention for the Howell report to be without debate or not?

**President.** — As far as things stand now, it is with debate.

**Mr Pearce (ED).** — Mr President, would you clarify the meaning of these words that you have just used, 'As far as things stand'? The messages we have got from the enlarged Bureau seem to raise some doubt as to what will happen. I would like your assurance that if, owing to the pressure of time, some of these reports which are to be added are not in fact debated, there will nevertheless be a vote on them at the appropriate time. Can you give me that assurance?

**President.** — I merely wanted to say that I have no information so far that it will be dealt with without debate. That is why I said that, as far as I know, it will be taken with debate.

**Mr Pearce (ED).** — Mr President, as regards my own report on drought, I believe the wish of the Committee on Development and Cooperation was that it should be taken with debate if there is time. However, if this proves impossible, then the Committee on Development and Cooperation, I believe, would wish that it be taken without debate. I hope that can be adopted as a fall-back position if necessary.

**President.** — We shall have to consider that question later on. At the moment we can only put it on the agenda as an item with debate.

**Mr G. Fuchs (S).** — (*FR*) Mr President, my recollections are not quite those of Mr Pearce. I believe that

**Fuchs**

whilst this report deals with humanitarian problems in its consideration of drought, it also has a number of political aspects for which reason, in my view, it would be extremely regrettable if Parliament were to adopt it without prior thorough discussion of the content of his motion for a resolution.

**President.** — Mr Fuchs, there is a misunderstanding here. Mr Pearce and you accept the proposal that this report should be taken with debate. All that Mr Pearce said was that if it became clear later on that there was no longer any time to debate it, we would then have to consider what ought to be done about it.

**Mr Arndt (S).** — (DE) Mr President, you are proposing that this report with debate should be put on Wednesday's agenda as the last item. At the moment we have no objection to this, but I would already voice the objections of my group to putting this report on the agenda at all, if it turns out that there will be no debate on it.

**Mr Gautier (S).** — (DE) Mr President, I have just heard that Mr Welsh's report on a block exemption on motor vehicle distribution and servicing agreements is to come after Mr Nyborg's report and is to be item 179 on the agenda. Would you please fix the deadline for the tabling of amendments to this report, and in such a way that we will have an opportunity to peruse this report thoroughly once again?

**President.** — We shall come to that when we have established the agenda.

I have received from Mr Martin and nine other signatories a request, pursuant to Rule 56 of the Rules of Procedure, that a debate on the wine sector be put on the agenda of this part-session.

I must remind the House that during the April part-session, that is to say, barely a month ago, we considered and voted on a report on the wine market.

This request by Mr Martin and others also asks that the agenda should include a statement by the Commission on this matter. Before I give the floor to Mr Martin, I must ask the Commission if it can make such a statement. If it cannot, I do not see how this item can be put on the agenda and I must therefore ask Mr Martin to withdraw his request and possibly to table a motion for a resolution to be dealt with by urgent procedure and pursuant to Rule 48 of the Rules of Procedure.

However, I should like to know first of all if the Commission is in a position to make a statement on the problems in the wine sector.

**Mr Contogeorgis, Member of the Commission.** — (GR) Mr President, negotiations on this complex and difficult problem are currently taking place in the Council of Ministers. Discussion of the matter is well under way, and in these circumstances the Commission does not think it would be useful to make any statement at this point.

**President.** — The situation then is that the Commission cannot make this statement and does not consider it advisable to go ahead with this debate.

**Mr Chambeiron (COM).** — (FR) Mr President, if we were to take the ongoing character of situations as a pretext for not taking decisions, we would never discuss anything in this Parliament.

I am amazed to hear — but perhaps Mr Contogeorgis was misreading the Chair — that we are asking for a Commission statement today; we are asking for a statement on Wednesday, that is to say in forty-eight hours. Armed with the intellectual material, as it were, I think that forty-eight hours leaves enough time for an answer to the question we are asking.

What is all this really about, Mr President? We have set it out in the letter. In spite of more favourable circumstances in 1983, wine growers across the Community have not seen any real improvement in their situation. I am not going to open a debate at this point and talk about the inadequacies of existing arrangements or their poor implementation, but we do know that there has been a deliberate underestimation of harvests in a number of States and that we are now going to find ourselves faced with distilling operations which were not provided for and which have entailed very substantial budgetary expenditure.

We merely ask, because the matter is important and the procedure we have suggested will not, we feel, take up too much of the time of this Assembly, that we be given a statement which would be followed by a short debate.

I have not given up hope, Mr President, that after hearing me, the Commission representative, who thought he was being asked for an immediate answer, will be able to give us an answer next Wednesday.

I therefore maintain my request that this question be placed on the agenda.

**President.** — Mr Chambeiron, you have requested a debate on the basis of a statement by the Commission.

If I have understood Commissioner Contogeorgis correctly, the Commission does not feel that it can make such a statement at all this week.

Is that so, Commissioner?

**Mr Contogeorgis, Member of the Commission.** — (GR) Mr President, the Commission considers that it would be inappropriate for it to make a statement on the wine sector this week, given the circumstances. You have, of course, indicated the procedure whereby discussion could take place in the Commission. This is a matter on which the Council will decide, however.

Let me say something, however, Mr President, in connection with the first part of the honourable Member's comment. Parliament may of course debate matters which are under discussion in the Council, but at this point the Council negotiations on the wine sector are at a very decisive stage and, in the Commission's view, any statement now would not be conducive to the best possible outcome in this sector.

**President.** — I must therefore rule that we cannot have a debate on a statement by the Commission, because the Commission only takes the floor at its own request and it does not intend to do so.

I must therefore advise you, Mr Chambeiron, to have recourse to urgent procedure and to invoke Rule 48 of the Rules of Procedure.

**Mr Hord (ED).** — You have just mentioned the point I was going to raise. I would like to have a debate, and it seems to me that if Mr Chambeiron wants to initiate a debate, he can do so under Rule 48, as you have just indicated.

**President.** — *Thursday:* Mr Barbi and twelve other signatories have asked, on behalf of their group, that the draft joint declaration by Parliament and the Commission on relations between the two institutions be put on the agenda.

This question will be put before the enlarged Bureau again at its meeting on Wednesday morning. If an agreement is reached between the Commission and Parliament, I would put the document before the House, without debate, at the voting time on Thursday afternoon.

With regard to the statements by the President-in-Office of the European Council and the President of the Commission on the meeting of the European Council, I propose that the debate be organized as follows:

— 11 a.m. to 1 p.m.:

the address by the President of the Republic of France and President-in-Office of the European Council, Mr François Mitterrand, followed by the statement by the President of the Commission, Mr Thorn, and then the chairmen of the political groups for a maximum of 10 minutes each, which will mean that the speeches of

the political group chairmen will conclude about 1 p.m.

— 3 p.m.:

Mr Cheysson, President-in-Office of the Council, will reply to the morning's speeches.

I have received from Mr Ansquer, on behalf of his group, a request that the report (Doc. 1-209/84) by Mr J. Moreau, which was to have been taken without debate, should be either taken with debate or else referred back to committee.

**Mr Ansquer (DEP).** — (FR) Mr President, I request under Rule 34(2) of the Rules of Procedure that the J. Moreau report be entered without debate or held over to another part-session.

**President.** — Mr Ansquer, your request simply means that the Moreau report is referred back to committee, which means, in the special circumstances at present obtaining, that your request effectively kills off this report.

**Mr Gautier (S).** — (DE) Mr President, it would not be a good thing if this report were to be simply 'buried', because it is about very practical matters. The Council of Ministers should settle practical questions relating to crossborder traffic. For years now Parliament has been urging the Council to put some order on these matters. Should we now remove this item from our agenda, then we must not complain later on if the Council of Ministers finds that it is not in a position to harmonize certain taxes relating to crossborder traffic. I should therefore like to ask you . . .

**President.** — . . . what you say certainly makes sense, but Rule 34(2) is perfectly clear.

**Mr Gautier (S).** — (DE) A number of Members are needed for this. Or can one Member make such a request?

**President.** — The request is being made on behalf of a group.

**Mr Gautier (S).** — (DE) But that is not a group. We are only talking about three Members.

(Laughter)

(Parliament decided to refer the report back to committee)

**Mr Hord (ED).** — Mr President, I was not able to follow precisely the dialogue between you and Mr

**Hord**

Gautier, but the point I wanted to raise on a matter of procedure concerned the suggestion that a resolution dealing with relations between Parliament and the Commission was to be presented to Parliament by the Bureau without debate. Could you enlighten us as to which rule stipulates that we should take it without debate? Under Rule 34(1), as I understand it, only the committee responsible may request procedure without debate. It seems to me that there is no committee responsible in this case, so if the resolution is to be put to the House, we must have a full debate. I would appreciate your comments on that point.

**President.** — Mr Hord, we have a somewhat specific problem. You will realize that we have to try, as an enlarged Bureau, to get agreement with the Commission on the final text. That process is still going on. If we achieve agreement, we will present that agreement to Parliament. If Parliament disagrees with the agreement, then you will have the possibility of asking for a debate which will automatically mean, I think, referral back to the Political Affairs Committee. But it is not possible, I think, in this context to amend the report because it would then be necessary to reopen negotiations with the Commission. So I think the procedure in itself is fair and respects the rights of everybody.

**Mr Forth (ED).** — You may have answered my question, Mr President, but you have just said that there will be no possibility for amendment. In other words, this House will be presented with a document and will be asked to vote for or against it in its entirety without any opportunity to discuss it. That does seem to be pushing our procedures a little too far, Mr President.

**President.** — Mr Forth, that is not right. It concerns an agreement — if the agreement is actually reached — between Parliament and the Commission.

**Mr Forth (ED).** — No, between the Bureau and the Commission!

**President.** — No, if you do not refer it back to the committee, which would mean, in fact, that there is no agreement. But, of course, the House cannot unilaterally amend the agreement without asking the Commission whether it accepts those amendments. That is why, I think, in case of disagreement on the text, referral back to the Political Affairs Committee is the best way to negotiate a new solution, if the actual one before us is considered unsatisfactory. I think there is no other way to do it.

**Mr Delorozoy (L).** — (FR) Mr President, it does indeed appear difficult to pursue any other course but referral, since the Council's proposal for a directive runs absolutely counter to previous decisions of Parliament.

And I would point out that if this directive were adopted, it would alter the present situation by restricting the free movement of travellers. So let us make haste slowly.

**President.** — Thank you, Mr Delorozoy.

*(The President read out the requests by the Council for urgent procedure)<sup>1</sup>*

**Mr Forth (ED).** — I wonder if you could tell us, Mr President, if each of the parliamentary committees has given its agreement to the requests for urgency that you have just read out or if, alternatively, the House could have the courtesy of an explanation as to the need for urgency. I think we have gone through this before. To come to the House with a mere list of items which are deemed to be urgent is surely not sufficient. One would like to know why they are urgent. I would be satisfied if the committees had given their agreement; but if not, could we please have an explanation from the Council as to why they have come to us with these requests?

**President.** — Mr Forth, as I already indicated, in only one case has the committee expressed an opinion of this kind, namely, in the case of Mr de Courcy Ling's report. The Committee on Budgets, as indicated, is deliberating this afternoon on the question and, I suppose, will give its conclusions tomorrow morning. As far as the two agricultural regulations are concerned, the Committee on Agriculture has indicated that it leaves it to the plenary to decide 'yes' or 'no'. On some new ones, I have no opinion as yet from the Committee on Agriculture.

**Mr Gautier (S).** — (DE) Mr President, you were a little bit too quick for me. I have a document in my file and I suspect that it is one of those that you read out. It is about dried grapes. — Doc. COM(84) 251 final. Is this problem also urgent or will it be dealt with this time?

**President.** — As far as the Council is concerned, this is regarded as requiring urgent procedure. We shall be voting on it tomorrow morning.

*(Parliament adopted the draft agenda thus amended)<sup>2</sup>*

IN THE CHAIR: MR KLEPSCH

Vice-President

<sup>1</sup> See Minutes.

<sup>2</sup> Deadline for tabling amendments — Speaking time: see Minutes.

4. Votes<sup>1</sup>LENZ REPORT (DOC. 1-56/84 — CENTRAL AMERICA)<sup>2</sup>

**Mr Chambeiron (COM).** — (FR) Mr President, under Rule 71 of the Rules of Procedure I request that you check whether a quorum is present before we vote on the report by Mrs Lenz.

**Mr Pearce (ED).** — Point of order, Mr President. I was trying to catch the President's eye just before he concluded the business on the agenda, and the fact that there is a new occupant of the Chair makes what I have to say rather difficult and embarrassing. I regretted the view that came from the Political Affairs Committee *à propos* the Enright resolution. I regretted that it should be said in the Chamber that one committee could take the view that something should be deleted from the agenda, simply because that committee had not delivered the opinion on it which it had been invited to do. It seemed like a wrong note on which to end this Parliament.

**President.** — Mr Pearce, what you have just said has nothing whatever to do with the Rules of Procedure. If you wish to make a personal statement, you may do that when the agenda has been completed.

I must ask Mr Chambeiron whether he is speaking on behalf of ten Members or on behalf of his group.

*(More than ten Members rose to support the request that a quorum be established)*

We have ten Members, so that is alright. Now I must find out whether we have a quorum, which would not seem to be the case.

**Mr Pfennig (PPE).** — (DE) Mr President, the meeting of the Committee on Budgets began at 6 p.m. Amongst other things it was to discuss two items that are to be dealt with on this week's agenda. I would consider it fair therefore that the members of the Committee on Budgets should be given an opportunity to suspend their meeting briefly in order to be here for the establishment of the quorum.

**President.** — No, we cannot do that.

There are 73 Members present. This means that we do not have a quorum for voting purposes. The report is therefore referred back to the committee.

<sup>1</sup> See Annex.

<sup>2</sup> See Debates of 12 and 13 April 1984.

**Mr Pearce (ED).** — On a point of order, Mr President, I should like to protest about the way you treated me on the last point of order. You barely listened to what I had to say and you did not try to restrain Members opposite from making so much noise that I was unable to make myself heard. I give you notice that I will be writing a letter of complaint to the President of Parliament about what just happened. I am very dissatisfied, and the fact that I was talking about what you yourself were involved in earlier when you were not in the Chair makes the matter worse.

## 5. Technical adaptation committees

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-205/84) by Mr Tyrrell, on behalf of the Legal Affairs Committee, on committees for the adaptation of directives to technical and scientific progress.

**Mr Tyrrell (ED), rapporteur.** — Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, for the last five years Parliament has been learning to use the powers which have been devolved to it by the Treaties. At the same time, the Council and the Commission acting together have contrived to arrogate to themselves powers which the Treaty, in fact, bestows on Parliament. This has happened over quite a wide range of Community law, when the Council has delegated its law-making powers to the Commission acting on the advice of some committee.

The method used has varied. The report before the House today deals with a particular class of committee, namely, the technical adaptation committees. The way in which Parliament has been losing its power has arisen in this way. The Commission makes a proposal for legislation under some article of the Treaty which requires consultation with Parliament — usually Article 100 or 235. It provides that, once made, the legislation may be amended by the Commission, referring the proposed changes in the legislation to a management committee. That committee is made up of civil servants. If they veto the proposed change, the matter goes to the Council to decide. If the management committee agrees with the proposed changes or takes no action, then the Commission can make the changes in the legislation.

In that way Parliament is deprived of the powers of consultation which the Treaty bestows upon it.

What is perhaps even more important, the public are deprived of the opportunity to make representations with regard to forthcoming legislation which may affect them, and they have no opportunity to foresee what kind of legislation may be coming that does affect them.

Another evil of the current system is that the management committee meets in secret. There are no pub-

**Tyrrell**

lished minutes. There is no published forewarning that the management committee is considering a particular proposal. Above all, the management committee is the Council in disguise. That is to say, it is the Council of Ministers wearing another hat, answerable neither to its national parliaments nor to the European Parliament. This system has been the subject of mounting complaints in this Parliament in the last five years, but, notwithstanding those complaints, the Commission has continued to put forward proposals along these lines. Indeed, there is one such proposal before this House on Wednesday dealt with in the report by Mrs Squarcialupi.

Our proposal is that instead of referring these changes in legislation to management committees, the proposal should be referred back to Parliament — as indeed it ought to be under Article 100 — but with a truncated parliamentary procedure, whereby Parliament undertakes to deal with matters which are more than technical, if they are, in a limited period of time and then the matter goes back direct to the Commission.

In our report, which was adopted unanimously by the Legal Affairs Committee, we have called on the Commission to produce a programme of legislation which has already gone through the Community law-making process over a period now of 15 years and to bring these technical adaptation committee directives back one by one to the next Parliament, which can start as from June 1985 to review the powers that Parliament has unwittingly permitted to be bestowed on the Commission and its management committees.

Mr President, I think it is right that that we should say at this stage that the Commission, while frequently appearing to be a friend and ally of Parliament, has in this instance shown itself to be just a lapdog of the Council. It has removed the law-making power of Parliament in order to bestow it, apparently, on itself but, in fact, upon the Council. This is not a matter which can be tolerated if this Parliament is going to be the democratic voice of the peoples of the Community. For these reasons I regard this report as being an important first step towards Parliament regaining powers which should never have been taken from it.

**Mr Janssen van Raay (PPE).** — (NL) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, we must begin by thanking Mr Collins for his motion for a resolution and Mr Tyrrell for this important report. I will explain why it is so important.

The European Parliament certainly does have powers. The criticism that we do not have any powers is not in fact correct. But we have little or none of one of the most important powers known to all national parliaments in the democratic countries: legislative power. We must therefore be extremely diligent and active when it comes to ensuring, in one way or another, that we obtain new legislative powers — and in practice

this will come about through an institutional agreement with the Commission — but we must be twice as active when we are in danger of losing what little legislative 'influence' we have — and I think it better to use the word 'influence' than 'power'. That is what has happened here. I realize, of course, that the Tyrrell report and the original resolution tabled by Mr Collins concern secondary legislation. But we all know that in almost all, if not all, the Member States secondary legislation has in practice become so significant — everyone here is familiar with all the various framework and outline laws — that parliamentary influence has become particularly important in this area too.

What the Tyrrell report is in fact proposing is that Parliament should at least have the opportunity of retrieving the influence it once had. This report is consequently so important because it concerns one of the essential powers of a parliament as one of the bodies which adopt legislation.

I therefore fully endorse the suggestions made in the report, and I can assure you that the Christian-Democratic Group will be voting for the proposals it contains. I would also make an urgent appeal to the Commission — as you can see from the report, a kind of dialogue has begun with the Commission, although there is some confusion about this for the moment — and point out that we very much want to play the role we have played in the past and above all that we object to important matters being cooked up in secret, outside Parliament's control and out of sight of the public, the press and everyone else. We therefore fully endorse the Tyrrell report.

**Mr Contogeorgis, Member of the Commission.** — (GR) Mr President, Parliament has frequently expressed concern about the question of the committees for the technical adaptation of directives. The matter came to the fore last year with the amendment of Directive 70/220 on motor vehicle pollution and of Directive 76/768 on cosmetic products. This year it has come up again, amongst other cases, in connection with the proposal for a directive on extraction solvents in foodstuffs which is dealt with in the report of Mrs Squarcialupi listed on tomorrow's agenda.

Mr President, the reasons which led the Commission not to agree with the request by Parliament for its opinion to be sought as of right during this procedure still hold good. Allow me to remind you of these reasons, because the Commission still thinks there is more to be said against than for the motion we are debating. The procedure followed by the Commission was provided for in a Council decision of 1969 aimed at simplifying and speeding up the process of decision-making in the Community which, as you are fully aware, can be exceptionally drawn out. The consultation of Parliament, especially where this would delay decision-making for 6 or 9 months, would run counter to this aim in an area where the particularly rapid rate of technolog-

### Contogeorgis

ical advance in many cases necessitates the immediate application in the Community of the latest technological developments.

As their name implies the committees deal with the adaptation of technical provisions, and this, by its very nature, has to be done in collaboration with specialists and suitably qualified scientific and technical experts. Because of this technical aspect the Commission thinks that Parliament, which exercises control in the political sphere, is not suited to play a role in this sort of work, in matters, that is, which are strictly technical and scientific. The Commission believes that by agreeing to the active participation of Parliament in this area of decision-making it would weaken the efforts it is making, in absolute concurrence with Parliament, to get the Council to delegate executive powers to the Commission more frequently under Article 155 of the Treaty. The Council will, of course, be not at all encouraged to delegate powers to the Commission in sectors where there is deemed to be a call for swift and immediate actions if it sees the Commission accepting a procedure which would lead to the decisions with which it is charged being held up for several months.

Mr President, the Commission also wishes to draw your attention to a new appraisal of the problem which backs up what I reminded you of previously. This concerns the process through which Parliament seems to want the consultation procedure conducted. The report of the Legal Affairs Committee on extraction solvents in foodstuffs, and the report on the same subject, due for debate tomorrow, of the Committee on the Environment, seek to make it incumbent on the Commission, in cases where Parliament wishes to amend the measures proposed, to submit the measures as amended by Parliament to the Council and, in the final analysis, to adopt the measures in their precisely amended form.

Under these conditions, Mr President, the Commission has cause to wonder whether Parliament is here seeking far greater powers than those conferred on it by the Treaty, given that the Treaty stipulates that the Commission should have untrammelled right of initiative. In the light of this it seems to me even more difficult for us to construe the procedure proposed in the motion for a resolution as more accurately reflecting the institutional framework established by the Treaty.

To wind up, Mr President, I would like to say again that the Commission fully understands and appreciates Parliament's wish to avoid having matters of political consequence obtrude, through inadvertence, in matters which are ostensibly of a purely technical nature. The Commission has undertaken, especially as regards discussions concerning the directive on cosmetics, to inform Parliament each time a particular technical problem could lead to political difficulties or have political repercussions. Furthermore, in cases where technical problems assume political significance and there is no longer a case for using the technical adaptation

committee procedure the Commission could refrain from using the simplified procedure and instead follow the procedure provided for in Article 100, something it did recently, moreover, in connection with motor vehicle pollution in response to the written question by Mr Tyrrell.

**President.** — The debate is closed.

Vote<sup>1</sup>

### 6. Inland waterways

**President.** — The next item is the joint debate on

— the report (Doc. 1-105/84) by Mrs Veil, on behalf of the Legal Affairs Committee, on

the proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-1239/83 — COM(83) 720 final) for a directive on access to the occupation of carrier of goods by waterway in national and international transport and on the mutual recognition of diplomas, certificates and other evidence of formal qualifications for this occupation

— the report (Doc. 1-43/84) by Mr Albers, on behalf of the Committee on Transport, on Community measures to improve the situation in the inland waterways sectors.

The following oral question with debate (Doc. 1-173/84) by Mr Albers and others, on behalf of the Socialist Group, to the Commission will be included in the debate:

Subject: Structural reform of the market in the carriage of goods by inland waterway

1. What action has the Commission taken on the resolution adopted by the European Parliament on possible measures to improve the situation in the inland waterway sector?<sup>2</sup>
2. Is it correct that market surveys of the inland waterway sector have predicted a pessimistic outlook with little hope of a recovery, as a result *inter alia* of a declining market for the transport of ores and building materials?
3. Does the Commission agree with the gloomy forecasts that waiting times for inland shippers and 'empty journeys' will increase as a result of structural overcapacity combined with the poor prospects for market recovery?
4. What importance does the Commission attach to the following proposals for improving the situation in the inland waterway sector:

<sup>1</sup> See Annex.

<sup>2</sup> OJ C 140 of 5. 6. 1979, p. 169

**President**

- (a) proposal for a Council regulation concerning access to the market for the carriage of goods by inland waterway,<sup>1</sup>
  - (b) proposal for a Council regulation amending Regulation (EEC) No 1191/69 of 26 June 1969 on action by the Member States concerning the obligations inherent in the concept of a public service in transport by rail, road and inland waterway,<sup>2</sup>
  - (c) proposal for a Council regulation on the harmonization of certain social provisions relating to goods transport by inland waterway,<sup>3</sup>
  - (d) proposal for a Council regulation (EEC) concerning a system for observing the markets for the carriage of goods by road, rail and inland waterway between the Member States,<sup>4</sup>
  - (e) proposal for a Council regulation (EEC) on a system of reference tariffs for the carriage of goods by inland waterway between Member States,<sup>5</sup>
  - (f) proposal for a Council decision setting up an information and consultation procedure for relations and agreements with third countries in the field of transport by rail, road and inland waterway?<sup>6</sup>
5. What action has the Commission taken on the request in the resolution adopted by the European Parliament on 9 July 1982 to grant aid, within the framework of aid to transport infrastructure projects, for the development of the Community's waterway network, as well as to the Rhine-Main-Danube canal, the Rhine-Rhône link and the Italian projects in the inland waterways sector, and the improvement of the inland waterway network in Northern France?<sup>7</sup>
6. What are the Commission's views on the importance of developing the inland waterway sector in the context of:
- the promotion of combined transport to relieve overcrowded roads,
  - environmental protection,

- energy-saving,
- the year of the SMU,

in view of the proposals referred to above which have not yet been concluded, and in view of the undertaking given by the Commission in an oral statement by Commissioner Giolitti before the European Parliament on 11 May 1979 that a proposal would be submitted before the end of that year on the structural reform of the market in the carriage of goods by waterway?<sup>1</sup>

**Mr Geurtsen (L), deputy rapporteur.** — (NL) Mr President, Mrs Veil has asked me to present her report for her. I do not think that I need take too long over this, not because I consider the rules governing access to occupations and the associated harmonization of diplomas to be unimportant, but because what is being proposed here for the transport of goods by inland waterway, in line with what was done for road transport in 1977, is really rather meagre. All that remains of the original proposals put forward by the Commission in 1976 is the proficiency requirement. It is to be left to the Member States to decide whether they wish to impose additional requirements with respect to reliability and financial viability.

In view of the almost catastrophic situation facing inland waterway carriers, you will, of course, appreciate that a meagre arrangement is better than none at all. All the same, I am afraid that the arrangement proposed will have no more than a marginal effect on the reorganization that is so urgently needed in this transport sector.

The main reason, Mr President, why the Commission dropped its original proposals regarding probity and financial standing was the opposition of various national delegations. Although, like the Committee on Transport, we do not object to this, there remains the interesting general question of how convinced the Commission itself is of the need for the proposals it initially makes and what has to be done before a Commissioner draws the logical conclusion from the rejection of his proposals and resigns. I hope that the new Parliament is able to define more clearly than has been possible in the past the limits to what the Commission or an individual Commissioner can and will do on its or his own responsibility. I have the impression that these limits are rather fluid at the moment, in fact too fluid, and that is one reason why the Commission's position is weak.

Mr President, if I am right in thinking that the proposed arrangement will do little to reduce the overcapacity in the inland waterway sector, it will be interesting to hear from the Commission what it intends to do

<sup>1</sup> Doc. COM(67) 720 final of 23. 11. 1967 amended by Doc. COM(69) 311 final of 25. 4. 1969

<sup>2</sup> Doc. COM(72) 1516 final of 7. 12. 1972 amended by COM(80) 907 final of 9. 1. 1981 amended by COM(82) 106 final of 11. 3. 1982

<sup>3</sup> COM(75) 465 final of 10. 9. 1975, amended by COM(79) 363 final of 17. 7. 1979

<sup>4</sup> COM(75) 490 final of 1. 10. 1975, amended by COM(80) 785 final of 5. 12. 1980

<sup>5</sup> COM(75) 640 final of 10. 12. 1975, amended by COM(77) 116 final of 6. 4. 1977

<sup>6</sup> COM(80) 809 final of 11. 12. 1980

<sup>7</sup> OJ C 238 of 13. 9. 1982, p. 102

<sup>1</sup> Debates No 243, p. 272



**Geurtsen**

to ensure that this sector is reorganized as it should be. But that lies outside my terms of reference, that is a matter for the Committee on Transport. I leave it to Mr Albers to comment on this, but I will first invite you to approve the Commission's proposals and the amendment to it that has been tabled by the Legal Affairs Committee.

**Mr Albers (S), rapporteur.** — (NL) Mr President, in the explanatory statement contained in my report on Community measures to improve the situation in the inland waterways sector I recall what Mr Kapteyn wrote in 1961 in his report on problems connected with the Community's transport policy. I quote: 'If the European Economic Community is to live up to its name, and if something is really to be done for the freedom of transport in Europe, the acknowledged aim of a common transport policy must be first to ensure that common rules are applied in the foreseeable future to the entire European waterway network.'

In the ensuing years of the 1960s and in the first half of the 1970s the Commission put forward various proposals in an attempt to establish a policy aimed at establishing common rules for inland waterway shipping. The limited speaking time I have does not allow me to refer to all these proposals. They are listed in my oral question 0-1/83, which is to be found in Doc. 173/84.

It should be noted that the Commission's proposals were not followed by a decision in the Council of Ministers. This means that in over 20 years little of any importance has been done at European level. In my report on measures to improve the situation in the inland waterways sector I cannot therefore avoid being extremely critical not only of the Council but unfortunately of the Commission too, because the hopes aroused by the statement the Commission made during Parliament's last part-session before the first direct elections in 1979 on the Fuchs report on possible measures to improve the situation in the inland waterways sector have not been fulfilled in any way at all.

The Commission said that it would submit a proposal concerning the structural reorganization of the transport of goods by waterway before the end of 1979. Five years later all we have are two paltry, controversial proposals from the Commission. The first, submitted last October, concerns joint action by certain Member States within the Central Commission for the Navigation of the Rhine regarding measures to reduce the structural overcapacity of the Rhine fleet. Parliament has not been consulted on this proposal. The second proposal concerns access to the occupation of operator in the national and international transport of goods by inland waterway and the recognition of diplomas. This proposal is a toned-down version of previous proposals dating back to 1975 and 1976. There can be little hope of this approach bringing any

major improvement in inland waterway shipping. The years of consultations with the inland waterway organizations have obviously been wasted.

In the communication it forwarded to the Council in the spring of 1983 entitled 'Progress towards a Common Transport Policy', the Commission calls for coordinated scrapping, a reduction in government aids for the building of new vessels and limited access to the occupation and for more to be spent on infrastructure. This communication states that there is no need at present for new measures regarding access to and withdrawal from the market.

This statement ignores the views of inland waterway operators and owners. The organizations that have been consulted are left with the impression that the Commission does not take them seriously. As for the European Parliament, it must be said that nothing has come of all the fine words used after the direct elections in 1979 about an alliance between the Commission and Parliament in the interests of European integration in inland waterway shipping. The European Parliament seems to be powerless. The inland waterway organizations feel betrayed. This is detrimental to the European idea, because they had put their hope in a European solution.

The sector has lost a great deal of ground to road hauliers. Its profitability has shrunk, its debt burden has increased, the surplus of carrying capacity amounts to more than 1 m tonnes or, put another way, more than 1 000 vessels averaging 1 200 tonnes. The working conditions in private, family inland waterway transport firms and of employees have deteriorated and are lagging well behind what is being done in other sectors.

Things really cannot go on like this. The Commission and Council should take the views of the inland waterway organizations and of the European Parliament seriously.

Inland waterway shipping has an important role to play in an integrated common transport system. In the interests of safety, the protection of the environment and energy conservation, its share of the transport of goods must be increased. The fleet must be modernized. New, advanced equipment must be installed on the vessels, they must be converted so that they can take more containers and become more involved in combined transport operations, the waterway network must be adjusted to new developments, and the state of the network of principal waterways in Europe must be improved with subsidies from the funds set aside for infrastructure. A European policy of this kind must not be confined to the Member States traditionally involved in inland waterway shipping, such as the Benelux countries, the Federal Republic and France, but must also take in Italy, for example, where much of the Po can be improved for navigational purposes and where there is a demand for such shipping.

### Albers

In our development cooperation with third countries we should find out what need there is for inland waterway vessels withdrawn from service in Western Europe. As part of a policy aimed at developing small types of firm, we must find out how private operators can be helped by the European funds and the European Investment Bank. Social and working conditions in inland waterway shipping must be improved and harmonized at European level. A policy of this kind, aimed at integrating this sector of the transport industry into a European transport system, goes far beyond the existing framework of the Central Commission for the Navigation of the Rhine as set out in the Convention of Mannheim. The Commission is urged to take the initiative in developing such a policy in close consultation with the inland waterway organizations. The future of the European Community is also at stake in this sector.

*(Applause)*

**Mr Klinkenborg (S).** — *(DE)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I must first of all thank the rapporteur on behalf of my group for the excellent work he has put into this report. I myself have had an opportunity of joining with him in discussions with some inland waterway operators, and I know how thoroughly he has gone about the task of drawing up this report and what a realistic approach he has taken to the problems involved. It is no accident that in the Committee on Transport Willem Albers is regarded as one of our experts on the problems of inland waterway transport. It is a pity that he will be leaving us when this Parliament comes to the end of its term of office.

We have major problems in the inland waterways sector. We have excessive tonnage — we have known that for a long time — we have too many problems as between private carriers and large-scale shipping companies and we have too many national regulations which make it almost impossible to devise European rules for inland waterway transport.

When you speak to the private carriers, you are speaking directly to the market. If we want an expanded market, we must realize that life must be made easier for these private carriers, otherwise the market will be destroyed. However, we can only protect these private carriers by guaranteeing their continued survival in the inland waterway transport sector.

This brings us already to the nub of the whole matter, namely, how is a fleet to be scrapped and how is access to the market to be regulated? The Commission steers a wide course around this point, because it quite clearly lacks the courage to face up to the fact that access to the market is a vital component of market management.

The private carriers in particular have to contend with particularly serious difficulties in the Federal Republic

of Germany, because they are caught in a vice, so to speak, between international conditions and German legislation on inland waterways. It is not to be wondered at therefore that in the German national inland waterway sector virtually no new vessels are being built any more for the private carriers.

The Council and the Commission would be well advised to take prompt and vigorous action once and for all to bring about what they have been promising us for so long now, namely, the creation of a European transport policy. The Albers report points out that on top of all the problems with which we already have to contend at the moment, a further problem is already looming into view. When the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal is finally completed, the fleets of the Eastern bloc countries will be able to move into our inland waterways. It is true that the Commission is doing its utmost to prevent this happening. It is imperative, it seems to me, that we should re-establish contact with the Austrians with regard to the situation in the Austrian inland waterway sector, and that we should do this at Commission level. After all we must not repeat all the mistakes that have already been made elsewhere, only to come finally to the realization that we cannot go on in this manner and that the situation has only been further exacerbated.

We shall vote for the report. It meets the demands of the present situation. Anyone who wants to protect the private carrier and who wants an expanded market in the inland waterway transport sector can only vote in favour of this report. We want an expanded market and we want more private carriers. For this reason we shall vote for the report.

**Mr Janssen van Raay (PPE).** — *(NL)* I should like to begin, Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, by removing an agonizing uncertainty from the mind of my friend and colleague Mr Geurtsen. The Christian-Democratic Group will be voting for Mrs Veil's report, but, like the previous speakers and Mr Geurtsen himself, with very little enthusiasm. This, of course, has nothing to do with the two rapporteurs, Mr Albers and Mrs Veil, but it has everything to do with the extremely poor effort that has been put before us.

I heard Mr Albers quoting something said in 1961 by Mr Kapteyn, a former member of this Parliament, and I assume that it was not the present member of the Council of State in the Netherlands, but probably his father who was referring to the major importance of this matter. And when we realize that nothing of any significance has happened in the meantime, I believe, Mr President, I am right in saying for the umpteenth time that this Parliament was right to initiate proceedings against the Council of Ministers for its lack of action particularly in the area of transport.

It is not only those who come from Rotterdam, as Mr Klinkenborg said, but all those who know Rotterdam

**Janssen van Raay**

and how important inland waterway shipping is and see the tragedy of so many ships lying idle who feel bitter — and I turn once again to the Commission — about the way in which this sector has always been treated as the Cinderella of the transport industry. As Mr Albers has said, those who work in this sector feel they have been let down.

We shall therefore vote for the resolution solely because we are starting absolutely from scratch and hope that something may yet be done. As regards placing this sector on a par with road transport, it was high time this was done, and very little is being done even now. Two exceptions have been made. I am also a deputy member of the Committee on Transport. I agree in every way with the objections voiced by the Legal Affairs Committee, of which I am a full member, and I therefore endorse Mr Geurtsen's criticism in this respect. In the Committee on Transport we said that in practice the proposals would make little difference, but we should at least do something.

The House and the Commissioner now in the Chamber must regard my group's vote for the resolution as born of desperation, as it were, in the hope that it will be construed as a stimulus for intensive action without any further delay.

**Mr Contogeorgis, Member of the Commission.** — (GR) Mr President, the Legal Affairs Committee and the Committee on Transport are recommending that the House approve the Commission's proposal on access to the occupation of carrier of goods without amendment. This gives coherence to Parliament's efforts and continuity to what it is doing to bring about a real improvement and the effective organization of this sector.

Mr President, on behalf of the Commission I would like to make a point of thanking the draftsmen of the reports of these two committees, Mrs Veil and Mr Albers, for their excellent work on the subject and especially for underlining and supporting the Commission's purpose in making the proposal, namely, to improve the qualifications of carriers so as to enhance the quality of service offered and to bring the basic provisions of the two sectors, waterway and road transport, into line.

The draftsman of the Legal Affairs Committee report notes that Parliament gave its approval, in 1976, to the Commission's former proposals. The present proposal, unlike that of 1975, does not cover the occupation of passenger carrier and omits the special conditions relating to good repute and financial standing. This has been done in order to avoid complicating the discussions at Council level with demands which are not essential as far as inland waterway transport is concerned. Their omission does not create a disparity between these provisions and those which apply in the road transport sector.

Mr President, sharing as I do the concern of the Legal Affairs Committee and the Committee on Transport regarding the need for harmonization of the two sectors, I accept the additional recital referring to experience gained in the road transport sector.

With reference to Mr Albers' report I would like to say that, with regard to the situation in the inland waterway sector, the Commission shares the anxieties expressed in the report and motion for a resolution of Mr Albers on behalf of the Committee on Transport and in the oral question put down by Mr Albers, Mr Klinkenborg and Mr Loo which is being jointly debated today.

This report, the motion for a resolution and the oral question make specific reference to your resolution on the same subject of 11 May 1979 which found the Commission in total agreement with Parliament. The Commission has never omitted — and it has made this manifest on many occasions — to consult with carriers, users and experts in the Member States about its various proposed measures. If the results of this activity by the Commission seem relatively insubstantial from the point of view of formal measures and specific proposals, there are many reasons for this, and examination of these would provoke major debate about the state of the market and the problems involved. We must have a clear understanding of the political difficulties involved in every endeavour in the inland waterways sector and of the special economic problems which affect this sector.

The Commission outlined its programme for action in this area in its communication to the Council of 9 February 1983 entitled 'Progress towards a Common Transport Policy', and Parliament is certainly aware of the content of this, given that it will shortly be delivering an opinion on it. This document virtually answers the oral question of Mr Albers, Mr Klinkenborg and Mr Loo and contains the intentions of the Commission regarding the measures proposed in the new resolution you are being asked to approve today.

In view of this, Mr President, I shall confine myself to stating that in general terms the Commission favours the reduction of cargo capacity but sees no reason for changing the present regime governing access to the occupation of carrier in the inland waterway transport sector.

As regards overcapacity we plan and propose the withdrawal of surplus cargo capacity on a harmonious basis and we shall approve and support every move in this direction. We shall consult with operators and governments and keep up our efforts to improve the situation in inland waterway transport.

Mr Klinkenborg raised a point which touches on our relations with the Eastern bloc countries and the problems which could arise when the Rhine-Danube link is established. On this I would like to say that measures

### Contogeorgis

to prevent unfair competition by the fleets of Eastern bloc countries are being looked at, and that agencies of the Commission are working with the Central Commission for the Navigation of the Rhine on the implementation of Protocol No 2 of the Convention of Mannheim. As soon as this work is completed a proposal will be presented to the Council on the basis of Article 75 of the Treaty, and Parliament will of course be consulted in order to ensure that the measures taken are adequate.

Necessary measures formulated with specific reference to trade with the Eastern bloc countries will also need to take account of the link to be established between the Main canal and the Danube.

That is what I wished to say, Mr President, in answer to some of the points made, and I would like once more to pay tribute to the draftsmen of these two resolutions.

**President.** — The debate is closed.

*Vote<sup>1</sup>*

### 7. Airports in the EEC

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-63/84) by Mr K.-H. Hoffmann, on behalf of the Committee on Transport, on airport planning in the European Community.

**Mr Klinkenborg (S), deputy rapporteur.** — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I have been sprung from the bench for this report. Mr Hoffmann has unfortunately been held up for business reasons and cannot be with us here today. However, we have gone into the report so thoroughly in the Committee on Transport that we think it only reasonable that it should be dealt with here in the House and not referred back to the committee.

Mr Hoffmann has asked me therefore to present his report, which I gladly do. We in the Committee on Transport worked on this report for quite a long time. Basically it tries to define the role that airports have to play in transport policy and how we can eliminate obstructions and restrictive factors in air traffic. The second important point is that airports create substantial employment and must at the same time provide a service for our citizens. We must therefore provide the conditions needed so that these two functions can be adequately fulfilled.

Mr Hoffmann has informed me that he is in agreement with the eight amendments that have been

tabled. I can be brief therefore and recommend this House to vote for the report together with these amendments.

*(Applause)*

**Mr Key (S).** — Mr President, the Socialist Group welcomes this report. All we want to say about it is that when we talk about airport policy we do not see it in isolation: it is part of the air transport service that we are trying to provide in this Community. We hoped as a committee that we should be able to have a general debate on air transport today which would include all the other aspects. As it is, we must just look tonight at the problems of airports, where they are and what their future is within the Community.

Of course, an airport is almost the first essential, but it is not enough just to run an air service to or from an airport; we have to ensure that the infrastructure is suitable and geared to meeting the needs of the surrounding regions.

What I want to talk about is not the problems of international airports such as Heathrow, which has serious environmental problems because of the number of aircraft going in over the city and its suburbs, but to consider the small regional airports which this Community has been endeavouring to develop. I want to look at one in particular. I only take it at random, not at all for electoral reasons, and it is very near to my own region of Bradford. It is one that could be a model example of how this Community could help. With a little money from the Regional Fund, we could ensure that some of the regional airports in this Community were adequately equipped with runway facilities, background and support services to enable regions which are now deprived, regions outside the golden triangle of Europe, to develop and be important.

But it is no use just providing a sophisticated airport with attractive facilities for people to go and sit down and have meals in. We also have to ensure that from these regional airports we can actually fly to the other regions of the Community. We have therefore to change the policy within the Community of inter-regional services, so that people can actually fly from a small community in Yorkshire to Lille or even to Frankfurt or Düsseldorf or wherever we decide to go. This will not only enable businessmen to keep in contact with each other easily without having to go through the major national airports and conurbations: it will help to encourage tourism out of the main cities. Anybody who visits a capital city today realizes that millions of people go into cities and do not get out to see the beautiful countryside that is to be found in all our member countries.

Further, we can encourage cargo facilities into the regions. That is very important. We are spending enormous amounts of money at the European,

<sup>1</sup> See Annex.

## Key

national and local levels to encourage new industries within our regions. Many of them are being developed round regional airports: new technologies, new scientific equipment can be based round an airport. We are not talking about the transport of heavy machinery but about sophisticated machinery which can actually be loaded onto a plane and taken within a matter of minutes or hours into another area of regional development. That can be very important.

We also look for the development, within the conurbation of an airport, of facilities which make life easier for us as passengers. All of us today have travelled here. We all know the difficulties of going through a big airport. There can be difficulties in actually getting into an airport, of deciding where you park your car. That has to be looked at very seriously. We have to look at the rail links with an airport. We have also to consider the problems of getting people through the system of safety and security checks. That must be part of our Community policy, for we are talking about people who, like us, travel every day, and people who only travel once a year on their holidays. We must be very careful how we treat the development of extra terminals into airports, how we deal with all the possibilities that are available to us.

Basically, Mr President, our group welcomes this report by Mr Hoffmann, even though we wished it could be part of a package covering a whole new Community air transport policy which would enable the citizens of Europe to fly freely and easily throughout the Community.

*(Applause)*

**Mr Veronesi (COM).** — *(IT)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, as Mr Klinkenborg observed in his brief introduction, this document has been submitted to us after a long time in committee. Whilst this is certainly due in part to the prolonged indisposition of Mr Hoffmann, essentially it is attributable to a thorough examination of all the problems connected with this topic.

The report by Mr Hoffmann is a serious and comprehensive piece of work which makes use of objective data and incorporates entirely acceptable proposals. It is not easy to strike a balance between the need for managerial and economic autonomy in the running of airports and the equally important need of coordination within the framework of a policy characterized by an improved service and hence, by a greater economic impact in the Community. The two requirements are not irreconcilable, as Mr Hoffmann's report shows — it gathers together in the resolution those points which have to be worked on if these objects are to be attained.

We agree with the proposals put forward and we shall support them. We would point out, however, that

whilst we have not yet come to the end of the road, whilst, that is, we have not yet worked out a final plan for solving the questions at issue, nevertheless we have started out on the right road.

**Mr Contogeorgis, Member of the Commission.** — *(GR)* Mr President, the Commission's memorandum on a common transport policy includes reference to airports and emphasizes their importance. In the view of the Commission there is a need for a Community policy on infrastructure projects. Among other things this policy would take account of the efficiency of airports and of the financial burdens involved. Airport infrastructure projects need to be looked at therefore in the light of the economic, legal and social problems which exist, as well as from an environmental standpoint.

Mr Hoffmann's report is very realistic and useful in this respect. The Commission would like to express its thanks to him for drafting this report in which he highlights the chief factors which would make for improved airport infrastructures and proposes ways whereby these infrastructures in the European Community can best be developed. As a first step the Commission accepts the requests made in paragraphs 9-11 of Mr Hoffmann's resolution in their entirety.

I would like to say a couple of things about small airports, Mr President. Following a proposal by the Commission last year the Council approved a directive establishing inter-regional air routes. The aim was to give a boost to the regions through the establishment of regular inter-regional air links. In Mr Hoffmann's report various measures are proposed which are necessary in order to give practical support to these small airports, and the Commission agrees with these proposals.

**President.** — The debate is closed.

*Vote!*

## 8. Commercial motor vehicles

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-204/84) by Mr Vandewiele, on behalf of the Committee on Transport, on

the proposals from the Commission to the Council (COM(84) 171 final — Doc. 1-130/84) for

- I. a directive amending Directive 83/181/EEC determining the scope of Article 14 (1) (d) of Directive 77/388/EEC as regards exemption

<sup>1</sup> See Annex.

**President**

from value-added tax on the final importation of certain goods;

- II. a directive amending Directive 68/297/EEC on the standardization of provisions regarding the duty-free admission of fuel contained in the fuel tanks of commercial motor vehicles.

**Mr Vandewiele (PPE), rapporteur.** — (NL) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the action taken by the customs officials and lorry drivers in February brought transfrontier transport within the Community to a standstill in many places. This did a great deal of harm to industry and the transport undertakings, as has been repeatedly stated here.

These blockades, which are, of course, regrettable, did have some success, notably in prompting an extraordinary meeting of the Council of Transport Ministers, which was devoted almost entirely to making transfrontier transport more flexible, the adoption of a resolution by our Parliament, making many recommendations for the easing of restrictions on intra-Community transport, and finally the submission by the Commission of specific proposals with the same aim.

Mr President, my report must be seen in this context. Ten years ago this Parliament called for what the Commission is now proposing, the duty-free admission of all the fuel contained in the normal tanks of commercial vehicles. Ladies and gentlemen, I emphasize: all the fuel in these tanks. At present, 50 litres may be transported across the Community's internal frontiers without the payment of VAT or excise duties. Only a few countries have adopted a more flexible attitude. Last year, after nine years of vacillation, the Council at last said that this quantity would be increased to 200 litres on 1 July. Ladies and gentlemen, an arrangement of this kind means little or nothing in practice. An arrangement of this kind is not progress, since checks will still have to be made at frontier-crossing points to see whether the tanks of coaches and commercial vehicles contain more than 200 litres of fuel.

This is why Parliament called for what the Commission is now proposing as long ago as 1974: complete exemption. We know why there has been this hesitation. We know that certain authorities object to a general exemption because of the relatively wide variation in taxes on motor fuels. They are afraid that competition will be distorted and that traffic will be diverted to the disadvantage of their sea ports.

The revenue from the tax levied on excess quantities of fuel at frontiers bears no relation, in our view, to the costs caused by such checks in terms of stoppages, the immobilization of commercial vehicles, salaries and so on. I would ask you to think back to the last part-session, when we considered Mr von Wogau's

and Mr Herman's impressive reports, both of which emphasized this aspect.

I will conclude, Mr President, by wishing the Commission luck with this initiative.

The Commissioner responsible for transport and we of the Committee on Transport, which unanimously decided to approve the proposals as they stand, now hope that the Council will reach an early agreement on these proposals, which are bound to facilitate the transfrontier transport of persons and goods in the Community. We therefore urge the Council to act quickly, and I hope Parliament will unanimously approve the Commission's proposal. There are no amendments, Mr President, which indicates unanimity, not only in the Committee on Transport but also in Parliament as a whole.

**Mr Contogeorgis, Member of the Commission.** — (GR) Mr President, the Commission, is in absolute agreement with everything Mr Vandewiele has said, and on behalf of the Commission I would like to thank him for his report which is of help to us in pressing the case for the proposal we have submitted to the Council for the abolition of all restrictions on the amount of fuel carried in commercial vehicles, subject, of course, to this not exceeding the normal fuel tank capacity as per manufacturers' specifications.

As you know, the restrictions are to be eased from 1 July and the duty-free amount increased to 200 litres. However, this will be implemented by only two countries, France and Germany. At the last Council meeting the Commission proposed the abolition of all restrictions, because restrictions involve checks which in turn involve delays. We proposed the abolition of this restriction in line with the aim of doing away with all the formalities which exist. Unfortunately our proposal has not yet been accepted, but we hope that it will be accepted at the next meeting of the Council and therefore the initiative taken by Parliament will be of very great help to us in achieving this abolition.

Mr President, I would just like to make clear that the easing of these restrictions and the abolition of all these checks will apply only at internal Community frontiers and not at frontier crossings between the Community and third countries. This with reference to paragraph 6 of the resolution which could be taken as meaning that the easing of restrictions will apply at frontiers with non-Community countries.

**President.** — The debate is closed.

Vote<sup>1</sup>

(The sitting was closed at 7.30 p.m.)<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Annex.

<sup>2</sup> Agenda for next sitting: see Minutes.

## ANNEX

*Votes*

The Report of Proceedings records in an annex the rapporteur's position on the various amendments as well as explanations of vote. For details of the voting the reader is referred to the Minutes of the sitting.

**LENZ REPORT (DOC. 1-56/84 — CENTRAL AMERICA): REFERRED BACK TO COMMITTEE**

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**TYRELL REPORT (DOC. 1-205/84 — TECHNICAL ADAPTATION COMMITTEES): ADOPTED**

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**VEIL REPORT (DOC. 1-105/84 — INLAND WATERWAYS): ADOPTED**

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**ALBERS REPORT (DOC. 1-43/84 — INLAND WATERWAYS): ADOPTED**

The rapporteur was:

— IN FAVOUR OF Amendment No 1.

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**HOFFMANN REPORT (DOC. 1-63/84 — AIRPORTS IN THE EEC): ADOPTED**

The rapporteur was:

— IN FAVOUR OF all the amendments.

*Explanation of vote*

**Mr M. Martin (COM).** — (*FR*) The French Members of the Communist and Allies Group are well aware of the vital importance of air transport and airport infrastructures for the orderly elaboration of a common transport policy. They will therefore vote in favour of the motion for a resolution contained in Mr Hoffmann's report.

Some months ago, when the report which I had the honour to draw up on transport infrastructures was being considered, we drew attention to the argument advanced by certain major airports that their infrastructures benefited the Community and therefore justi-

fied financial support from the Community's financial instruments. The vast fund of experience acquired by our countries in the construction and management of their airports can certainly be pooled in a better effort at cooperation, particularly where it comes to improving the various control formalities. We hope that this report, enriched as it is by our amendments, will help to bring about this improved cooperation that we consider necessary.

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**VANDEWIELE REPORT (DOC. 1-204/84 — COMMERCIAL MOTOR  
VEHICLES): ADOPTED**



## SITTING OF TUESDAY, 22 MAY 1984

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IN THE CHAIR: MR JAQUET

Vice-President

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

1. *Approval of the Minutes*

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

Are there any comments?

**Mr Arndt (S).** — (DE) Mr President, the minutes of yesterday's sitting record on page 9 that Mr Pearce requested that his report be put to the vote and that I myself spoke on that matter. If this is to be a report without debate, the Socialist Group will object, and I would ask you to have this recorded in the minutes.

**Mr Forth (ED).** — Mr President, pages 11 and 12 of the English text of the minutes gives, for each request for urgency, a reason for the request. Now these rea-

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sons were not given to the House yesterday. Although it is very laudable that they should appear in the minutes — and I welcome it — I fail to see how they can be recorded in the minutes when they were not available to the House yesterday. That is my first point.

In this connection I therefore ask that, when the requests for urgency are put to the vote — as they are going to be this morning — the House should be given properly the reasons for each request before it is put to the vote. They are in the minutes of yesterday, where they should not be, and I hope they will appear in today's minutes where they should be!

**President.** — Mr Forth, the reasons for urgency were given yesterday and will also be given this morning for each of the requests for urgent debate presented.

*(Parliament approved the Minutes)<sup>1</sup>*

## 2. Decision on urgency

### PROPOSAL FROM THE COMMISSION TO THE COUNCIL (DOC. 1-233/84 — COM(84) 254 FINAL 'MEASURES TO COVER BUDGETARY REQUIREMENTS IN 1984')

**Lord Douro (ED).** — Mr President, I would like to oppose urgency on this matter. Firstly, the Council considered the Commission's proposal some 10 days ago and the press release which the Council issued afterwards indicated that there was no sense of urgency whatever on the part of the Council. Yet subsequent to that press release, a request was made by the Council to this House for urgency. The two are not consistent.

Secondly, I believe it is premature to consider now this proposal from the Commission. The Commission has estimated the shortfall for this year, but much can happen between now and when they really need the money in the autumn and I think it would be wrong for Parliament to deliver its opinion so early in the financial year when so much can change. We could deal with this in July or even in September.

Thirdly, this is a very important matter of principle. It is the first time that the Community appears to be spending more than its income and I believe it wrong that in the dying days of this Parliament, we should deliver an opinion on something that will have such far-reaching consequences. I believe it should be dealt with by the new Parliament, and for those reasons I believe we should oppose urgency.

**Mrs Scrivener (L).** — *(FR)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, as budget rapporteur for 1984 it seems to me to be rather awkward that we should find ourselves in our present situation, that is to say, with insufficient revenues or, to put it more precisely, excessive expenditure and furthermore unable to tackle this problem in the middle of the year. There is a certain sense in which I understand perfectly the arguments advanced by Lord Douro, but I do feel nevertheless that it is our duty to solve this problem or, at any rate, to blueprint some kind of solution, even if it is not the solution that will be finally adopted. It is imperative therefore that we consider this problem, and I myself have spoken out in favour of having it put on the agenda of this part-session as a matter to be dealt with by urgent procedure.

**Mr Hord (ED).** — Mr President, with your permission I rise to call for a quorum under Rule 71(4), bearing in mind that you are about to take a vote.

*(More than ten Members rose to support Mr Hord's request — The President proceeded to ascertain whether a quorum was present.)*

**President.** — I note that we do not have a quorum. The vote will be held over until the next sitting.

### DE COURCY LING REPORT (DOC. 1-217/84 — STRAWBERRIES)

**Mr de Courcy Ling (ED), rapporteur.** — Mr President, I am in favour of urgent procedure. It is reasonable in view of the fact that we are talking about a market between November 1984 and March 1985.

I would also like to give notice to the Commission that we expect a full debate on this question and we expect the Commission to take account of the amendments contained in my report.

*(Parliament adopted urgent procedure)*

### PROPOSAL FROM THE COMMISSION TO THE COUNCIL (DOC. 1-276/84 — COM(84) 251 FINAL 'DRIED GRAPES')

**Mr Gautier (S).** — *(DE)* Mr President, I am against this matter being dealt with by urgent procedure and I should like briefly to give my reasons for this. What is being put before us here is a downright scandal. One year ago we discussed these matters. At that time, after a very lively debate in the European Parliament, the Commission explained that the measures for the distillation of raisins, which it was then subsidizing to the tune of 800 ECU per tonne, were to be confined to

<sup>1</sup> Documents received — Topical and urgent debate (announcement): see Minutes.

**Gautier**

the harvest of 1981. Now the Commission puts a document before us and says: 'We have made a mistake. We need these measures also for raisins that are in intervention for 1982, because 1983 was also a very good harvest. If we were to apply intervention in the normal way, the 1983 harvest would be interfered with.' In this way it is already preparing its arguments for resorting to these measures again next year. It wants to give away raisins in order to have them destroyed. That is what this proposal is all about, and for that purpose the Commission needs 1 300 ECU per tonne, a total sum therefore of 30 m ECU.

The Council has now requested that this matter be dealt with by urgent procedure, because the Community is supposed to be on the rocks. However, are we now to decide on some urgent measure in this connection, while at the same time the Commission has the effrontery to submit to this House a document in which it asks for 30 m ECU in order to destroy raisins? The price is a big round zero. Just look at the document for yourselves! Zero, it is giving them away!

For this reason I am against urgent procedure. The Commission should submit a report to us setting out the true situation in the raisin market. In the event, however, that we should decide on urgent procedure, which might also be possible, we should reject the document and tell the Commission plainly that it must do its work more intelligently and not come onto us every year with measures of this kind for the systematic destruction of stocks that obviously are not being used.

*(Parliament rejected the request for urgent procedure)*

**PROPOSALS FROM THE COMMISSION TO THE COUNCIL (DOC. 1-281/84 — COM(84) 192 FINAL — AGRICULTURAL QUESTIONS CONCERNING GREECE)**

**Mr Bourniàs (PPE).** — (GR) Mr President, this item is of particular importance to the agricultural economy of my country, where cattle breeding is an important sector. Because of this, I ask our colleagues to consider the matter as urgent.

**Mr Hord (ED).** — Mr President, I wish to speak against urgency on this. Too often the Commission and the Council take this House for granted, and whilst it may be an important matter — probably very important to Greece — I know of no reason why it should be urgent. We should be allowed to do our job in the way we believe it should be done. Too often we are forced at the last minute by one of the other institutions into promoting an urgent operation. I am not at all convinced that this is called for here. I believe that this is a matter which should be investigated in the normal way by the relevant committees, so that this

House can bring forward a considered and full opinion for the benefit of the other institutions. On that basis, I speak against urgency in this particular case.

*(Parliament adopted urgent procedure)<sup>1</sup>*

### 3. Human rights

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-68/84), by Lord Bethell, on behalf of the Political Affairs Committee, on human rights in the world and the Community's policy on human rights for 1983-1984.

**Lord Bethell (ED), rapporteur.** — Mr President, I am very grateful to you and the other Bureau members for giving this House the chance to have a second annual report on human rights in the world. It indicates this Parliament's particular concern with the principles by which our Community is guided and the need to preserve human rights and fundamental freedoms in the very large number of countries where they are being violated. The fact that no fewer than 41 resolutions have been adopted by this Parliament in the past year on human rights indicates the particular concern of this House on this complicated question. I very much hope that the new Parliament will proceed with this work and give the working group or subcommittee on human rights the resources that it will need to carry on with the work that we have tried to do these past five years.

We believe that only the European Parliament can effectively carry out the essentially undiplomatic and tactless task of interfering in the internal affairs of other countries in this respect. It is not something that governments or embassies can do very easily. It is up to us as parliamentarians to continue with the annual report that has become part of our schedule. It is also important that, as a joint budgetary authority of the Community, we should realize that we have considerable economic strength and muscle. It would be appropriate for us to bear this in mind in the negotiation of treaties and the allocation of funds and loans to Third World countries. We must be prejudiced in favour of those countries that have a purer and cleaner human rights record.

I do not wish to list the tremendous number of human rights violations which have taken place in the past year. This would demand a speech not of five minutes but of five hours, and would demand a report not of the modest length that you have before you but something along the lines of that put out by the State Department recently — a book of some 2 000 pages. This is the measure of the sad human rights situation of the world today. However, I should like to mention

<sup>1</sup> For the result of the vote on other requests for urgent procedure: see Minutes.

**Bethell**

just a few cases which symbolize various categories of human rights violation.

The European Parliament has more than once raised the case of the Baha'i faith in Iran and the execution of large numbers of members of that faith. We continue to support the human rights of the Baha'i religion in Iran as a symbol of those who suffer because of their religion.

We also wish to support the campaigns of Amnesty International to abolish the use of torture against political prisoners or, indeed, against any prisoner, and also their campaign against disappearances and extrajudicial executions.

Particularly appropriate today is the case of Mr Jermak Lukjanow, a citizen of our Community who has been for many months under sentence of death in the Soviet Union. Also, of course, the case, which is mentioned in our report, of Mr and Mrs Sakharov who are being harassed in the Soviet Union although they are in bad health and quite elderly. There is also the case of Mr Anatoly Shcharansky in the Soviet Union who represents and symbolizes the plight of those Jewish citizens in that country who wish to emigrate.

We must also bear in mind the case of Nelson Mandela in South Africa who symbolizes the plight of many Africans who strive for greater freedom in South Africa. Mr Mandela has already been in prison for more than 20 years, and it is apparently the South African Government's intention to keep him in prison for the rest of his natural life. I hope that the next Parliament will agitate and try to bring about the release of Mr Mandela.

It is very difficult to find any glimpse of light in this chronicle of sad events. I would, however, like to mention the happy example of Argentina. In the past year we have seen a great improvement in the human rights record of Argentina, and it is a pleasure, in introducing this report, to have a least some good news.

However, all this is a task for the next Parliament: I hope that the ministers will report to the House regularly on the question of human rights. I give notice of this through the Council representative and I hope that he will communicate it to Mr Cheysson. I shall also be raising it this evening in the colloquy with the President-in-Office of the Council and asking him to report to the Political Affairs Committee. I am grateful to all the Members of the House who have taken an interest in human rights, and I leave it to the next Parliament to carry on the torch and continue the work that we have tentatively begun.

**Mrs Van den Heuvel (S).** — (NL) Mr President, although my group appreciates the report Lord Bethell has submitted to us, I must say that it does not really

come up to Parliament's usual standards. It ought to have been possible, considering all the claims we make with regard to human rights, for a sounder report to be submitted. This has not been possible simply because we have still not managed to obtain the staff who are needed for the work that we of the Working Group on Human Rights would so like to do. I find this very disappointing.

Mr President, human rights must form part of the foreign policy pursued by any country and undeniably by a group of countries like the Ten. It is therefore regrettable that we have still not achieved what we wanted to achieve, a regular report from the Presidency to Parliament on respect for human rights in the world. On behalf of my group I therefore endorse what Lord Bethell says in the resolution, where he urges the Presidency to submit a report before September 1984.

As regards the Sakharov affair, which is also discussed at length in this report, we similarly wish to endorse the protest against what is being done to Mr and Mrs Sakharov in the Soviet Union. We Socialists are not selective in our indignation. This contrasts, Mr President, with what happened the last time we discussed the annual report on human rights in this Parliament. On that occasion — and if I remember rightly, Lord Bethell joined the majority — the passages which referred to the situation in the Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand and Taiwan were deleted from Parliament's resolution, even though the explanatory statement made it clear that human rights were being violated in those countries.

In the resolution, under the heading of 'people who have suffered for their efforts to establish human rights and restore democratic freedoms', the rapporteur refers not only to my personal friend Marianella Garcia Villas but also to Benigno Aquino, the Philippine opposition leader. This is, Mr President, perhaps posthumous proof that we were right, but it is not always pleasant to be right.

My group, as everyone knows, views with concern the developments in far too many countries of the world, and my colleague Mr Van Miert recently took the initiative by raising the question of human rights during the negotiations on the new Lomé Convention. But we are opposed to the granting of food aid being made dependent on respect for human rights. People who are hungry should be the last to suffer because of the criminal policies pursued by their governments. We have therefore tabled an amendment on this subject, which I hope will have the rapporteur's support.

One final remark: I feel Lord Bethell must be thanked for the way in which he has drawn up, with the limited facilities available to him, a report which can stand the test of criticism. Parliament owes him a great deal of respect for this.

**Mr Penders (PPE).** — *(NL)* Mr President, the European Parliament has various functions. One of them is to serve as a kind of platform where various views and opinions come together and are then shaped into a European opinion. Varying cultures meet here to give shape to a jointly determined European culture. This then forms the fertile soil for a policy aimed at promoting respect for and the enforcement of human rights in the world.

In so saying, we would do well to remain modest in view of the mistakes we have made and the opportunities we have missed in this area. We must bear in mind that a careful analysis of the human rights situation in the world should have priority over the expression of an arrogant European feeling of superiority.

I am pleased that we are now discussing an annual report on human rights for the second time. Compared with its predecessor, the Israël report, the Bethell report is a definite step forward. Nor could we have expected much more. But I hope we have laid the foundations for the development of a genuine European policy on human rights during the life of the next Parliament.

I will pick out just one set of facts from the Bethell report to demonstrate the desolate situation in the world today: at the moment 20 wars are being waged, people are being tortured and maltreated in 50 countries, 75 countries have political prisoners and there are 16 million refugees, 14 million in the Third World alone.

During the life of the next Parliament a greater effort must be made to persuade the Commission, Council and EPC Ministers to incorporate human rights issues in the policy on development cooperation, in the commercial policy and in the policy on political cooperation. This is an enormous task, but it is the only way if Europe is to achieve more where human rights are concerned than the Member States acting individually.

I hope the attempts to include a human rights clause in Lomé III succeed. The Lomé Parliament and the European Parliament have argued long and hard over this. In future the policy on arms exports will inevitably be joined by a policy on human rights. Integration is extremely difficult, but highly necessary.

If the Commission decides in future that one Commissioner should deal specifically with human rights problems, I believe it must be the President of the Commission who assumes this responsibility, because he is the first to be affected when the Commission has difficulties with European political cooperation.

I do not support the idea of setting up a separate committee on human rights in the new Parliament. It would probably become an apology for a committee, a committee where things could be quietly filed away. It is also completely immaterial whether human rights

are considered by a subcommittee or working party or some other group: what is important is that enough staff with the right qualifications should be available and that all the political groups should participate in its activities. In the last 12 months I feel that the Socialist Group in particular has done far too little in this respect.

My thanks once again to Lord Bethell.

**Mr Spencer (ED).** — Mr President, I want to continue what Lord Bethell referred to as the undiplomatic task of this Parliament. I want to draw attention to the human rights record of a European State; a European State where, in the lifetime of most Members of this Parliament, 7 million subjects were starved to death. Seven million: more than died in the holocaust! The State I refer to is the Ukraine. 21 May was designated by the US Congress as Ukraine Day of Remembrance just so that, occasionally, the civilized world would remember the 7 million people deliberately starved to death by Stalin for the crime of declaring that the Ukraine had a separate identity, a separate culture and a separate history going back to the eleventh century.

I hope, therefore, that Members will feel able to vote for Amendment No 7 that just makes a passing reference to the Ukraine, in the catalogue of misery and human disaster of which our century has been the witness. I hope, moreover, that they will feel that they can add their names to the resolution under Rule 49, standing in my name and that of Mr von Habsburg, which draws attention to the continuing abuse of human rights in the Ukraine; to the mysterious disappearances and sudden deaths amongst Ukrainian artists and popular song-writers; to the continuing policy of Russification and the movement of the Ukrainian people away from the Ukraine.

I endorse entirely the work that Lord Bethell has done. I endorse the fact that his report refers to those gallant Russians who maintain standards of human decency and human rights in the Soviet Union. How much more, therefore, do I ask for support for a whole people whose very existence, whose very cause is often forgotten by those of us who care passionately about human rights in our Continent.

**Mr Wurtz (COM).** — *(FR)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, in March 1980 Georges Marchais proposed, on behalf of our Group, that a committee of inquiry on violations of human rights in the Community be set up in the European Assembly. This proposal, as you know, was rejected.

This Parliament will have reached the end of its term without having done anything in this field, and I would remind the House that of the 78 resolutions on these matters adopted by our Assembly over a three-

**Wurtz**

year period 73 have been concerned with countries outside the Community.

Does this mean that there have been no violations of human rights in Europe?

I invite all those who share Lord Bethell's inclination to believe or make out that this is the case to spend a little time reading the 40-page document tabled by the Communist and Allies Group, in which details are given of just some of the violations of human rights committed since 1979 in each of the 10 countries of the Community.

A reading of this document should be enough to convince them that there really is a great deal to be done in Europe in order to advance the cause of individual and collective rights and freedoms. In the rapporteur's country, for instance, is there not a great deal to be done when there are a million and a half children working from the age of eleven; when Great Britain has been maintaining a state of emergency in Northern Ireland since 1973; when the high security prison blocks are being filled up with prisoners of conscience — such as the 11 young men who died in the 1980 hunger strike — tried by special courts where there are no juries; when that same country resorts to banishment, torture and corporal punishment?

It did not escape my notice, by the way, during the debate on Northern Ireland that Lord Bethell opposed every single amendment mentioning violations of human rights in that region.

To take an example from the Federal Republic of Germany, only a few days ago, on 9 May, the postal worker Hans Meister was dismissed under the terms of a judgment applied for by the responsible minister on the sole grounds that he was a communist and a supporter of the peace movement, this after 25 years' service.

Since 1972 six and a half million citizens of the Federal Republic have been subjected to so-called loyalty screening. The former Nazis, on the other hand, are treated rather differently: here a former Nazi sitting in judgment over a *Berufsverbot*, there a Nazi released on bail.

This is the same country that has no qualms about deporting Turkish refugees back to their oppressors or condoning the traffic in human lives in which some two thousand women are sold by mail order every year.

In Italy it is babies who are bought and resold, refugees who are exploited.

In France 27 racist crimes have been committed during the past 3 years. Recent months have seen a spate of cases in which right-wing local authorities have debarred individuals from jobs on account of the opinions they hold.

I invite you, ladies and gentlemen, to study this long catalogue of violence, segregation and humiliation in the European Community. You will see how sorely in need of freedom are millions of people living on territory which is directly within our remit.

I therefore put it to you: are you going to do something at last for the Europe of freedom? Are you going to accept the Communist amendments and at last decide to set up a committee of inquiry on the violation of human rights within the Community?

I would add one final point: I cannot help feeling that there is a whiff of colonialism in the proposal to include a so-called human rights clause in the Lomé Convention, which would simply be a covert way of inserting a political clause into an agreement whose value lies in the fact that it is strictly concerned with economic matters. I hope that these comments will be taken on board.

**Mr Haagerup (L).** — (DA) Mr President, before I begin to speak on Lord Bethell's report, I should like to say a couple of things about the procedure chosen by certain Members in this chamber to hold up the vote and the debate, respectively, on two reports which had been discussed in the Political Affairs Committee.

To begin with, there was an initiative — which unfortunately got a majority — to exclude the Galluzzi report on the UN, without prior consultation with the leadership of the Political Affairs Committee, and then there was a move by Mr Galuzzi's group — the Communist Group — to request a declaration of decision-making competence prior to the vote on the Lenz report, which had been debated quite normally in the Political Affairs Committee. I should like to express my personal regret that the European Parliament chose to follow these two unfortunate procedures during its last part-session.

On Lord Bethell's report I would point out that it appears in a form different to that of previous occasions; I think that Lord Bethell has given a convincing explanation for this. The Committee did not have the expertise or sufficient staff to produce a report as comprehensive as I know the Working Group would like to have produced on this major problem or more correctly this major complex of problems.

My group nevertheless has a slight reservation in that we are biting off more than we can chew: we are taking on more than we can really accomplish in practice for, in presenting the very large number of violations of human rights which regrettably occur in the world, we must not forget the individual cases. I should like to say that Lord Bethell and other members of the Working Group concerned with the question have managed in an exemplary manner to combine the general review with consideration of individual human

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rights cases on which Parliament should be able to do something.

I should like to conclude by saying on behalf of my group that we consider the work of Lord Bethell here to be an outstanding piece of work. He has set an example both for the next Parliament and for other parliamentarians in the treatment of human rights violations, and I would warmly recommend the adoption of his report.

**Mr Israël (DEP).** — (FR) So our Parliament is establishing a new tradition. Every year from now on it will fall to us to make a conscientious examination of the human rights situation in the world. This is a very good thing, despite the imperfections in our work, despite the obstacles to our efforts.

This is more than a theoretical task. I would remind the House that the working group on human rights attended the Madrid conference, where it met all delegations, including those from countries in Eastern Europe. I would remind you that the working group on human rights has been to Pakistan, where it visited Afghan refugee camps. I would remind you that it is through no fault of the working group on human rights that it has not been able to visit Chile, where violations of human rights have unquestionably taken place.

Mr President, progress has been made. I would point out to our eminent colleague Mrs Simone Veil, who is absent from the Chamber, that she was not quite right a year ago when she described our report as an 'inaccurate catalogue'. Considerable progress has been made since we drew attention to the violations that are being perpetrated in all parts of the world. For instance, of the three African countries at which we pointed the finger for serious violations of human rights, one, Guinea, has re-established democracy. The European Parliament cannot of course claim the credit for this, but the mere fact that we drew our Lomé Convention partners' attention to the flagrant, systematic and inadmissible violations perhaps counted for something nevertheless. It is therefore unacceptable to describe our report as an 'inaccurate catalogue'.

I should also like to remind the House that it was at the instance of the general report on human rights that the Council of Ministers authorized the Commission to introduce the subject of human rights into the next Lomé Convention, and I regret the attitude of Mr Wurtz, who has just told us that it is not a good thing to bring human rights into the Lomé Convention because it is an economic convention. Then how do you account for its inclusion of cultural matters, Mr Wurtz? Why is there a joint assembly where we discuss not only economic cooperation but issues of substance, such as the restoration of peace in Africa? The only solution is to have a dialogue on human rights.

Thirdly, Mr President, we have had the gratification of securing a vote — in this very ACP/EEC Joint Committee — in favour of a resolution calling for the setting-up of an ACP/EEC working party on human rights. This working party will provide a forum for really thorough dialogue on human rights.

As we debate this most grave of issues, our thoughts naturally go out to the Sakharovs, who are being subjected to unacceptable constraints, incredible pressures. When we ask what crimes they have committed, we are at a loss. They have committed no crime against communism, no crime against the socialist order, no crime against freedom. They are honest Soviet citizens who deserve to be treated as such by the Soviet Union, but that is far from the case. It gives great sadness to the whole world to see honest men and an honest woman subjected to such incredible pressures. The same applies to Mr Shcharansky, who has committed the grave crime of campaigning both on behalf of the Jews and in support of human rights, a combination of causes which has brought the full weight of Soviet fury down upon him. Lord Bethell, whom I take this opportunity to thank, will remember what the Soviet Ambassador said to us about Shcharansky at the Madrid conference; he told us that this man would be set free one day, that his lot would improve when he 'behaved', in other words when he recants his beliefs, when he denies what he stands for. I conclude by saying that our thoughts really go out to all those who are suffering and, in what are perhaps my last words to this Parliament, that it is important for each of us to understand that the sole objective of the duty of conscience which each of us bears is freedom for everyone everywhere.

(Applause)

**Mrs Théobald-Paoli (S).** — (FR) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, in the record of this first European Parliament to be elected by universal suffrage, its action in defence of human rights makes up for some disappointment over the difficulties encountered by efforts to develop common policies. Whenever freedoms are under threat, whether it be the physical or mental wellbeing of people that is in jeopardy, wherever it may be in the world, this House is unanimous in its defence of the victims, although there may sometimes be differences of emphasis among us in condemning affronts to human dignity. That what we have to say on this subject has an impact is in no doubt, as I should now like to demonstrate.

Whenever I have spoken in this House in defence of human rights — on behalf of Jews in the USSR, of Brazilians, of Iranians, Turks or citizens of South Africa — I have received emotional thanks from the victims or their families and embarrassed offers of varyingly convincing explanations from those whose crimes have been denounced. This proves that governments are not indifferent to the wishes expressed by



**Théobald-Paoli**

the representatives of 270 million people in Europe, people traditionally devoted to justice and freedom, in other words committed to the very principle of democracy.

We therefore have real proof that Europe is a living reality, an identity, a culture exerting influence in the world. Europe's collective conscience — that is the role in which the European Parliament is cast in the excellent report by Lord Bethell, chairman of our Political Affairs Committee's working group on human rights. We owe him our thanks for this document, which does credit to the House. Let us hope that this action in favour of human rights will be taken up and developed by the next Parliament.

*(Applause)*

**Mr Bournias (PPE).** — *(GR)* Mr President, whenever we debate matters relating to human rights — as we already have very many times in this House — one gets the impression that the governments in the free world, the international organizations and even the Church are bankrupt in the matter. In the three and a half years that I have been sitting on these benches, I have learned that the world today, as it approaches its second millenium, has forgotten all about the horrors of war, the inhumanity of the Nazis, and the frozen Siberian wastelands of Stalin and his successors to this day. It seems as if man today is pursued by a curse that causes him to be indifferent to age-old principles for which millions of our fellow-men shed their blood in the two world wars of our century.

On the Political Affairs Committee, of which I am a member, we have listened, in two lengthy sessions, one in 1983 and the other last month, to representatives of the international organisations for the protection of human rights, who dramatized for us in the darkest colours the tortures and degradations imposed by authoritarian and totalitarian regimes upon innocent people.

I shall not refer to specific cases, many of which were mentioned by Lord Bethell. I will just recall that it is now 10 years since Attila's invasion of Cyprus, and deplore the deathly hush surrounding the fate of the approximately two thousand missing people of that island, even after Lady Elles' report and our resolution of February 1983. Of what value, then, the international organisations and the resolutions? What is the point of the Pope's crusades all over the world? What good, indeed, is today's debate, when the governments of our peoples sacrifice man's most sacred rights upon the altar of dubious purposes and unacceptable calculations, as Lord Bethell's report in fact admits?

Ladies and gentlemen, the report we are debating on human rights during the year 1983-1984 recognizes that since the time of the first report and our resolutions of 17 May 1983, the situation has deteriorated.

For this reason, it proposes a number of measures conceived by the working party, and calls upon the Commission, by September 1984, to submit a written report concerning the working party's views. Of course the measures proposed tend to restrict the evils in question, and I therefore congratulate those who formulated them, but I am afraid the new Parliament will do no better than we did in the sector of human rights, unless the silent majority among the peoples of the free world is aroused, and makes strong demands from the governments for common and decisive measures, independent of any political considerations and motivated only by humanitarianism, ethics and justice.

*(Applause from the centre and right)*

**Mr Segre (COM).** — *(IT)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, it is true — and it is in any event the view of us Italian Communists — that, generally speaking, human rights have not progressed in recent months; on the contrary, this permanent challenge that mankind has accepted, or should accept, is not only marking time, but also shows very worrying characteristics of complexity. We must be aware of this and take the necessary action, both where individual cases are concerned — and here we cannot omit a reference, at this time, to the isolation in which the scientist Sakharov and his wife are held — and as regards the more general aspects of the problem. We must do this with firmness and we must do it objectively, without political short-sightedness, because when human rights come under fire — whether it is in the East or in the West, the North or South — it is mankind as a whole that is hit and wounded.

The role that the European Parliament can play in this regard is in consequence great, but only on condition that every form of political short-sightedness is abandoned, and every cost-accounting type of approach, in the face of a problem that requires a very different sort of political and cultural handling.

This is the point that we Italian Communists emphasized last year on the occasion of Lord Bethell's annual report, and which we feel it is even more necessary to raise now. If ours is not to be just a voice crying in the desert, then the Europe of the Ten must go forward — as, alas! has not been the case during these last 12 months — building its own unity and defining its own personality, as a factor of civil and social progress and peace: and it must acquire the ability to work strong-mindedly and consistently for a world free from dramatic injustice or pressure, and from the many unresolved problems that threaten to strangle it.

In reality, this world of ours is going from bad to worse, at an increasingly rapid rate, 16 years away from the year 2000, which in times gone by had always been indicated as a kind of terminal point in the evolution of mankind. We are in fact aware of living on a volcano of contradictions and injustices that are tearing us apart.

### Segre

Hunger takes its daily toll of the lives of thousands — nay, tens of thousands — of men, women and children, but nothing of any importance is done in the world to fight it. On the contrary, next year — according to American information of a few days ago — the world, for the first time, will spend a thousand billion dollars on arms: two hundred more than last year, and four hundred more than barely three or four years ago. Tension increases, and the absence of communication between the great powers grows ever more marked. In this dramatic crisis, which grips the whole world and affects East-West and North-South relations as a whole, the barbarous conviction that the end justifies the means seems to go on gaining ground.

How can we be surprised if, in this situation, human rights are constantly violated? How can we be surprised that that world free from fear, from constraints, and from need — which 40 years ago was said to be the necessary goal of a reorganized international society, appears to be receding ever further? The challenges that face us are immense! Our parliament, Mr President, has and will have in this connection a prime role to play; and it can be equal to the task, if it can truly express its awareness that peace, security, civil and social progress, and human rights are all inseparable. If the world progresses, it progresses in each of these fields: if it stands still, or goes backwards — as is now, alas! the case — everything is in danger of being lost.

**Mr Pasmazoglou (NI).** — (GR) Mr President, the European Parliament and the European Communities have a long-standing traditional involvement in the fight for human rights, and I would like to stress the importance of this fight, and to congratulate Lord Bethell on his previous support and on his report today on this most important subject.

Mr President, I would like to stress that we are not dealing just with matters of principle and consequence for the cultural traditions of all Europe's peoples. This is also a matter that concerns our interests, and reflects the face of Europe, of the European Community, throughout the world. From this standpoint I think the matter is of the greatest importance, and the European Parliament which directly represents our peoples, must make its position clear. That is why Lord Bethell's report is both timely and important.

Mr President, I would like to make three comments:

Firstly, it is essential that the recognition of violations of human rights and political freedoms should be objective, and should cover all the countries in the Community and, indeed, in the whole world, wherever they may be. Objectivity will lend force and credibility to all our endeavours, and this is of great political significance. Mr President, I need hardly say how sensitive we Greeks are concerning the violations that have taken place and that still continue in Cyprus fol-

lowing the Turkish invasion of 1974 and its prolonged aftermath of military occupation, with 2 000 missing persons concerning whom there is even a special resolution of the European Parliament, and with about 200 000 refugees. I also wish to stress the importance of immediately establishing the principles and rules of multi-party democracy, and of safeguarding political freedoms. These principles are inconsistent with violations and inequalities in elections for our national parliaments and for the European Parliament, violations, discriminations and inequalities that call into question the validity of election results, in other words of the true representation of our peoples.

My second comment is that the matter is clearly a political one, and should be left to the European Parliament's Political Affairs Committee and to the President of the Commission, because the policy in question relates both to matters of external relations and to the Lomé Treaties.

Mr President, my third comment is that a flexible and evolutive policy should be pursued in certain countries outside Europe. We must emphasize the protection of human rights, and perhaps, for the moment, place less importance on respect for political freedoms. This, however, is a question of relative values, and should be dealt with flexibly in conformity with the positions adopted by the European Parliament and the Commission.

Mr President, I think it is a momentous subject that we are debating at this last part-session in the present session of our Parliament, and I would again like to congratulate all those who have worked for it and especially Lord Bethell.

(Applause)

**Mrs Lenz (PPE).** — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentleman, Human rights are still being violated, human dignity is trampled underfoot, obstacles are still placed in the way of freedom of conscience. Political pressures and wars are still driving vast numbers of people from their homes, resulting in further floods of refugees in dire need and yet more human right violations. Lord Bethell's report gives only a few instances of what it means to fight with one's life for these fundamental freedoms, particularly in countries where governments suppress any expression of opinion in favour of these freedoms and view such opinions as political rebellion, and where people dare to do this under fear of death for themselves and their families.

At present the eyes of the world are turned on the fate of the Sakharovs, and I should like particularly to thank the Member States of the EC for demonstrating so clearly how strongly we support this desire, this demand, for human rights. I really admire the courage of this prominent Russian couple in their steadfast defence of their convictions; it takes more than physical

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courage to stand up, to go back to one's own country as the Filipino opposition leader Aquino did, in the knowledge that the deadly trap would snap shut. If it was so — I should like to say this to the previous Socialist speaker — then let us say so clearly. It takes more than physical courage steadily to defend freedom of conscience as the priests and nuns of the Eastern bloc do, as did the Hungarian priest Geza Palfi, who was tortured to death because he demanded that Christmas Day, which is anchored in the Constitution, be observed as a public holiday. Or the followers of the Bah'ai faith in Iran who continue to pay with their lives. It takes unshakeable conviction, the idea of freedom and the knowledge of faith to know that there is an order which goes beyond the individual.

The European Parliament can only ask and demand that the Governments of the Free World use all available means to create the conditions under which the respect for human rights, which our continent has learnt in such sorrow, can be observed. This is my answer to the Communist speakers: for us the defence of human rights knows no frontiers and anyone may defend them.

(Applause)

As paragraph 4. says, condemnation and outrage are not enough. The powerful position of governments undoubtedly makes their disregard for human rights appear more indictable than the risks run by those people who believe that the only way to enforce their political ideologies is by armed acts of resistance. Nevertheless both ruthlessly fight out their quarrels on the backs of people who want only to live in peace and for whom the daily fight for survival is difficult enough without conflicts. The Groups in the Parliament should do what they can to draw attention to these dangers by taking a clear line in their political debates and not using parliamentary tricks to set aside uncomfortable truths and so prevent the warning from getting through to those people who are already well on their way to imposing new restraints and curtailments of freedom. The bullet holes which I have seen myself over the doorways of priests homes in Nicaragua, daubings on the walls of the homes of ■ ■ members of trades unions, censorship and curbs on Press and Church, even down to pastoral letters, are clear warnings for us. In the case of the report on Central America, which was taken off the agenda, it would have told us to 'check it at the source' — *principiis obstat*; it might then have been possible to take more seriously the attitudes to the report of some of the Groups in this House.

(Applause)

**Mr Habsburg (PPE).** — (DE) Mr President, I find it important that once again in this its last session Parliament is concerned with the problem of human rights, a problem which has been like a thread running all

through this Parliament. I should like to remember here a man who has worked hard in the service of human rights, our friend Gérard Israël, and to tell him how sorry we are he is leaving us. Human rights could have done with his help for much longer!

(Applause)

The question of human rights is one which is of great importance to us, because Europe, the continent of freedom, must also be the continent of human rights, for freedom and human rights are closely linked. We must realise that freedom is not innate. It is the greatest achievement of our civilisation. Neither must we forget that freedom is in greater danger today than at many times in the past. Let us not forget that of the 154 member countries of UNO only 24 are free constitutional States. The remainder are totalitarian, i.e. Communist dictatorships, military dictatorships or single party States.

We in Europe are the custodians of a great, perhaps the greatest, treasure of mankind. We are the custodians of it at a time when it is the smallest minority in the world. Let us not forget that! For this reason I must welcome the fact that the question of freedom continues to be included with human rights in the Lomé Convention.

(Applause)

It is totally unacceptable for us to continue to use taxpayers' money, as the Commission has unfortunately so often done, to support regimes which can survive only by suppressing human rights.

In addition — and here I should like to address our Communist colleagues once more — we must defend the rights of Europeans, as my friend Mr Spencer has said, of the Ukrainians, the Baltic nations, the Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks and Poles who are deprived of their human rights. On this point our Communist colleagues could achieve a great deal from their masters, instead of trying to start a case here, which is not the right place for it.

I should therefore like to thank the rapporteur Lord Bethell for his report which we shall support enthusiastically.

(Applause)

**Mrs Spaak (NI).** — (FR) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, this is our last opportunity in the lifetime of this Parliament to express our concern that fundamental freedoms and rights should be respected throughout the world. The draft treaty establishing the European Union adopted by Parliament rightly stresses this aspect.

I should like to make three observations.

### Spaak

The EEC must lose no time in acceding to the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. The Commission's 1979 memorandum was clear on this point; the ball is currently in the Council's court, and I intend to put a question on this subject to the Belgian Government, which seems to be dragging its feet somewhat.

We must remain vigilant, even in Europe, even in the Community, in view of the recent Amnesty International report drawing attention to cases of torture in three Member States during 1980.

Thirdly, in the campaign for human rights, we must take account of two realities. Nothing is more fragile than the progress that has been achieved by dint of great effort and much suffering. Each threat, each violation must be exposed wherever it is found.

The subject of Lord Bethell's report is respect for human rights outside the Community. In this essential part of the European Parliament's work, we shall command authority only as long as we in the Community are above all suspicion. That is not the case in my country, Belgium. On the outskirts of Brussels, efforts have been made to nullify the choices made by the electorate exercising their right to universal suffrage, and now, having refused the residents of these communes the right to belong to the French-speaking community in our country, attempts are being made to deprive them of the right to nominate their representatives on the communal councils by the device of stipulating linguistic ability for which no provision is made in the Constitution. There can be no justification for making uncompromising demands on all other countries in the world to observe the principles on which the Community is founded while at the same time passively tolerating breaches of those principles by one or other of the Member States. This is something that the next Parliament must not ignore.

**Mr Contogeorgis, Member of the Commission.** — (GR) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, as you can imagine the Commission has studied with great interest the Political Committee's report on human rights in the world, and our common policy relative to these rights. In exercising its powers and pursuing the Community's aims, the Commission has always respected fundamental rights, particularly as laid down in the national constitutions and in the European Agreement on Human Rights, and always ensures their correct implementation. It uses every political and economic means at its command to promote and reinforce respect for human rights within the framework of the Treaties.

So far as concerns the lack of progress towards the development of a consistent common policy on human rights, the Commission is not in a position to comment on this since such a policy should emerge from political cooperation. Despite this, it is worth remembering

that interventions concerning human rights are often more effective when carried out discreetly.

As for the call for the Foreign Ministers to submit a written report to Parliament within the scope of political cooperation, I would like to remind you that during Council's meeting in May 1983 the German Presidency declined to undertake that responsibility. Besides, the Commission is not empowered to take initiatives where political cooperation is concerned.

As for those points which the report mentions as worthy of special attention, the Commission is already in a position to lay down the main guidelines.

Firstly, on the initiative of its President, in January 1984, the Commission agreed to delegate the coordination of all its activities relating to human rights to its President at Commission level, and to the Secretariat at the level of the General Directorate.

Secondly, as for the linking of Community aid to a minimum level of protection for human rights, the Commission does not think that conditions should be imposed upon its aid. This view is not a negative one; on the contrary, it seeks to establish the best way of acting in favour of man's prosperity. Indeed, the Community is from time to time called upon to offer humanitarian aid to countries in a state of tension or in very delicate situations, such as internal conflicts that might lead to serious violations of human rights. However, the Commission takes particular care to see that the aid it provides really does get to the people who need it, and to whom it is in any case granted, under the best possible conditions and in the fairest way.

Thirdly, as for the proposal to embody matters related to human rights in the development programmes, it has already been stressed from the very beginning of the talks between the Communities and the ACP countries that respect for human dignity, as defined in the worldwide Declaration of Human Rights and in the African Charter of Human Rights, for the prosperity and development of the potential of human beings, and esteem for the role of women, must be regarded as aims that invest development with its true importance and meaning. Talks between the two sides began on that very basis.

After the Commission's proposals and the talks with the ACP countries, the Conference of ACP-EEC Ministers, which took place on 3-5 May 1984 in Fiji, and at which the Commission was represented by my colleague Mr Pisani, took note that the EEC Presidency communicated a written proposal to the ACP countries on the matter in question, with a view to examining it at the meeting in June.

As for the Community's other external relations, the Commission considers that in most cases the best way for the authorities in the various countries involved to recognize the importance of human rights and the

### Contogeorgis

strength of feeling within the Community regarding this matter, is to continue laying stress on this point as in the past, whenever opportunities arise during the regular bilateral contacts at the political level.

Fourthly, I would like to mention that unfortunately there is little prospect of increasing budgetary appropriations for programmes relating to human rights within the Community.

Finally, as for the European Parliament's call to be kept informed regularly on the outcome of its resolutions on human rights and on the Community's other activities in this connection, the Commission wishes to stress that according to the present procedure, it already informs Parliament about the outcome of resolutions concerning various initiatives, and that within this framework it will continue to do so for anything concerning human rights as well, just as in the case of other matters.

As for the Community's other activities connected with human rights, when these are not the subject of a resolution for an initiative, they are covered by the general report provided by the Treaty.

**President.** — The debate is closed.

The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

### 4. Agenda

**President.** — I have a proposal to make concerning today's agenda.

This morning at the opening of the sitting, Parliament adopted urgency for four consultations concerning respectively strawberries originating in ACP countries, foot-and-mouth disease, three agricultural regulations concerning Greece and dairy products.

As Parliament accepted the proposals, I proposed that the four urgent debates be entered at the end of tomorrow's agenda. On reflection, and in view of the distribution of work between the two night sittings, I think it would be better to deal with these questions this evening rather than tomorrow evening as there is a danger that, if they are taken tomorrow evening, it may not be possible to debate them for lack of time. I therefore propose that we change the decision we took earlier and enter the four consultations for which urgency was adopted this morning, at the end of today's agenda, on the understanding that if they cannot be taken this evening, they will obviously be carried over to the end of tomorrow's sitting.

**Mr Dalsass (PPE).** — (DE) Of course I agree, but I would like to ask how anyone who might wish to table

an amendment can do so? Are we still working in accordance with the agenda? It ought still to be possible for anyone who wishes to express an opinion and table amendments to do so.

**President.** — Yes, amendments may still be tabled.

(Parliament adopted the President's proposal)

### 5. 'New religious movements' in the EEC

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-47/84) by Mr Cottrell, on behalf of the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport, on the activities of certain new religious movements in the Community.

**Mr Cottrell (ED), rapporteur.** — Mr President, it seems particularly appropriate to me that the debate on my report should follow that of my colleague, Lord Bethell, dealing as he did with the wide field of human rights.

Ladies and gentlemen, that is exactly the subject with which my report is concerned. I was struck, listening to that debate, by points which could well have been made with regard to my own work. For instance, my honourable colleague Mr Otto von Habsburg said it was intolerable that people suppressing human rights should be subsidized by the taxpayer. Miss Spaak spoke of the struggle for the protection of human rights, and said that each and every infringement should be confronted and opposed wherever it occurs.

That indeed is the purpose of the report which I now present on behalf of the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport and on the preparation of which I have now spent two-and-a-half years. Some people have represented this as an attack by me personally, or perhaps even by the Parliament, on religious freedom. It is, of course, nothing of the kind. I draw the attention of the House to Article 9, paragraph 2, of the European Convention on Human Rights (1950), which says this:

Freedom to manifest one's religion or beliefs shall be subject only to such limitations as are prescribed by law and are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of public safety, for the protection of public order, health or morals or for the protection of the rights and freedoms of others.

That is the context within which my report has been drawn up.

It is not concerned with belief. Let me make that absolutely clear. If we look at the movement which was responsible for this report being drawn up in the first

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place, the Unification Church, it is my understanding that the philosophy, the so-called divine principle, states that Jesus Christ failed in his mission and that the Reverend Sun Myung Moon, who has now failed in his appeal in the United States on tax fraud charges, had been handed this mission. If people want to believe that, that is their affair and it has nothing to do with me or Members of this Parliament. What we are concerned with is the whole sorry chapter of human misery which has resulted from the practices of certain organizations. It is a miserable catalogue which I have encountered this past two-and-a-half years.

It involves such revolting things as prostitution as a lure for recruits and money, sexual abuse of children, coercion, mind-bending, brain-washing, the exhortation of recruits of these movements, which have a hunger for money and ever more recruits to break the law at each and every opportunity.

Mr President, my report says nothing — despite the thousands of letters which Members of this House may have received — about the necessity for law or legislation in this field. What we have proposed, which I think is an elegant and correct approach, is a voluntary code. Those who represent my work as somehow being restrictive on those who want to have a different view from the rest of us have, I am afraid, completely misunderstood the point of it. What we have said is this. It is almost certain that this phenomenon, which has now affected every Member State of the European Community, is here to stay. Therefore, we must find some way in which we can live with these movements and persuade them to show the same tolerance towards us as we show to them. That is why we have proposed a voluntary code. This provides for perfectly normal practices such as the right to leave a movement unhindered, if you want to, always to have access to your family and friends, to be given the right to change your mind, to have proper medical treatment, not to have your telephone calls or letters interrupted — indeed, quite normal things which the rest of us in a democratic society have come to respect.

If there are movements which find that they cannot possibly accede to such a reasonable request, then I am sure that society itself will make its own judgement. It is important, I think, to understand that it is not a question of religious freedom which lies before this House today. I am grateful, indeed, for the support of the Catholic European Study and Information Centre, which makes it absolutely plain that there is no doubt whatever that the Cottrell report concerns nothing more than a question of human rights.

*(Applause)*

**Mr Beumer (PPE)**, *chairman of the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport.* — (NL) Mr President, it is one of Parliament's tasks to react to the signals it receives fairly regularly of public

concern about certain social phenomena. That is what happens in national parliaments, and it also happens when problems of this kind arise.

This is also the background to the Cottrell report and the resolution it contains on new religious movements, on which we are concentrating today. It is a subject that is already raising a great deal of dust. The parliamentary committee has devoted a fair number of meetings to the report, concerning itself principally with the resolution at its more recent gatherings. This was understandable, in view of the number and diversity of these movements and because the problems are not so easy to define and because they also had to be considered in terms of whether certain proposals and reactions would not conflict with constitutional law, the freedom of religious belief, which cannot, of course, be questioned as such and should be respected. Not all the reactions reveal that this has been understood.

Furthermore, the committee naturally felt that it did not have the authority to judge religious views and convictions. Nonetheless, it can be said that the committee modified its approach somewhat, which is natural when problems of this kind are being studied. Rather than setting itself up as a committee which passes sentence on the complaints it receives, it tried to establish criteria which new religious movements should satisfy when recruiting new members, for example. These criteria were essentially based on written and oral complaints received from those directly concerned. You will find a list of such complaints in paragraph 2, and I would point out that the Legal Affairs Committee approved the resolution in its present form after lengthy discussions. Since it emerged, Mr President, that these criteria already apply to one or other new religious movements, the committee decided at its last meeting to make further refinements, as is evident from the joint amendments that have been tabled with Mr Bocklet as the first signatory.

Without wishing to anticipate the conclusions finally drawn, we now place the emphasis on a request to the Commission and, through it, to the Ministers of Justice and Foreign Affairs to ascertain what material is available in the various countries. This might include studies by parliamentary committee, research studies and even judgments handed down by the courts, which should then be examined to see what possibility there is of a common approach being adopted. It may, of course, turn out that the legislation and regulations of the various Member States are quite capable of keeping any recruitment practices that are less than acceptable and problems connected with withdrawal from such movements within reasonable limits.

Mr President, it seemed wise to me to give this brief explanation of the nature and intention of the resolution and the way in which it came into being. The amendments I have tabled are designed to emphasize

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the conditional nature of the statements we have made. Final conclusions should only be drawn when sufficient representative material is available. We are now asking for this material, and once we have it, we can and must draw fairly definitive conclusions. I feel that the collection of further information should once again include more detailed talks — hearings, for example — with representatives of Churches, new religious movements, parents, people who have left such movements and also representatives of parliamentary committees so that we can obtain a balanced picture.

To conclude, Mr President, I should like to point out that this would also comply with what we consider to be a particularly good working method and one which we should always try to adopt: leaving no stone unturned to arrive at a fair, balanced and cautious assessment. This is precisely what the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport tried to do when drawing up this resolution.

**Mr Schwencke (S).** — (*D*) Ladies and gentlemen, for as long as Europe has had an identity there have been new religious movements. Even if most of the ones which are known to us followed the paths of existing religions, they were all original in that they questioned tradition, at the very least altered it, wanted to revitalise it, and so reacted to contemporary spiritual and intellectual challenges and, as a general rule, pointed out new ways of truth and salvation to a more youthfully-minded generation. Francis of Assisi in the 13th century and Martin Luther in the 16th were probably the most famous figures in this European movement. However much these two personalities were revered in their time by their followers, and of course *intra muros* were hated and persecuted by their enemies, they nevertheless became heroes in our common European religious and intellectual history. If we today failed to acknowledge them and their traditions we should be setting aside all the good of our common European heritage. Their theme was charity as the embodiment of the love of God. With hindsight and from the modern viewpoint it is impossible to describe their motivation as an irrational process. In our churches European enlightenment, enlightened Christianity, has been united with the Christian tradition.

Thus it can be said that the *copula*, the union of faith and reason, or in evangelical terms of the Gospel and the law, was never abandoned. The present-day, so-called new religious movements want to know nothing of what I consider to be good enlightened European religious traditions. Even where these movements are eclectic they are not 'religious' in the traditional sense. They have a cynical attitude, or no attitude at all, to both traditional religion and the enlightenment. At this point they renounce European enlightenment through the ideological dualism of good against evil in theory and in practice. In other words, concepts such as enlightenment, individual, reason, emancipation, the dignity of man, the rights of the

individual are denounced. What I referred to above as charity — I could just as well have said the dignity of man — the good European tradition, has recently in the practices of the 'new religions' become perverted into despoliation of man.

These so-called new religions are destructive cults. They promise happiness and bring dreadful misery. Never before in my life as a member of Parliament — my colleagues have had the same experience — have I received so many letters with such terrible contents.

There is the example of the young German Hare Krishna disciple who after a long search was eventually found in India by his relatives suffering from terrible burns because the sect would not allow him to receive medical treatment.

There is the twenty-year-old woman who fell into the clutches of the so-called children of God and had to earn money by prostitution while her two-year-old son was begging in the streets.

There is the former student who joined the Bhagwan and who, without any training and without insurance, has to do dangerous work with a building team from the sect. She has neither social insurance nor health insurance, works more than twelve hours a day, lives on a completely vegetarian diet and sleeps on the cold floor of communal sleeping quarters.

There is a former medical student who was brainwashed by the scientologists and who, after four years with that sect, is about to be referred to a psychiatric hospital.

There is the dental student who joined a transcendental meditation group, won over by the idea that transcendental meditation promotes creativity; his parents' bitter discovery: two suicide attempts as a result of this therapy.

The Guyana affair in which there were several hundred dead and which is familiar to us all was no accident, it is the logical consequence of a situation which the democratic countries have created by their disregard of democratic principles. Those who kept silent up till then also bear the guilt of Guyana. We, the European Parliament, must not keep silent over this inhuman treatment, these crimes, which occur daily a hundred, a thousand, times over in the midst of our society under cover of freedom of conscience.

(*Applause*)

Where is religion to be found in these sects? The latest news from the USA: the leader of the Moon sect has been sent to prison, not for an excess of piety, but because he has been found guilty of tax evasion. The same thing happens a few days later to the head guru of the Moonies in France. And if one considers the areas in which these sects operate — weapons, drugs

**Schwencke**

and other things — then it has to be said that it is clear enough and we must understand the signs. In the Federal Republic of Germany, where there are repeated complaints against the Moonies and other sects, the Civil Chamber of the Federal Court of Justice in Karlsruhe found as follows: 'The so-called Unification Church of the Korean Sun Myung-Mun, also known as the 'Moonies', was also found to have exposed people to psychological terror during weekend seminars, to proclaim a fascist system and to have driven young people to suicide' (DPA report).

I think this has something to tell us about the nature of the so-called new religious movements.

In America a parliamentary inquiry, the 'Frazer Report' made the following findings — I quote briefly: 'With the help of the Unification Church and its numerous active organisations Moon wishes to gain sufficient influence in America to be able to dictate policy in important matters, to influence the legislature and to enter electoral politics.' And one more quotation, for those here in the House and those outside who say that all this is harmless, some words of Moon himself on the 'necessity' of a third world war, 'Nevertheless there can be no doubt that there must be a final world war, however it may be fought.' Quotation from 'Divine Principles', second edition, 1973. All Moonies repeatedly have to swear, 'I will fight with my life'.

Fight for that third world war, ladies and gentlemen? Let us open our eyes at last and start to fight! We cannot remain silent any longer, but must begin to fight as Europeans for civil rights and human dignity, which means, to fight for those in the so-called youth movements who no longer have these rights.

The majority of the Socialist Group will support Mr Cottrell's motion for a resolution.

(Applause)

#### IN THE CHAIR: MR FRIEDRICH

*Vice-President*

**Mr Bocklet (PPE).** — (DE) Mr President, colleagues! Few reports in this Parliament — here I agree with my colleague Mr Schwencke — have aroused as much emotion and led to such fundamental disagreement as the Cottrell Report has. It is very seldom that the Members involved have seen as much suffering and human misery as they have in the numerous letters received in connection with this report on the effects of what are called in German the 'youth sects'. Anyone who has read the despairing letters from parents all over Europe knows that calls are being made

on us as the European Parliament. But neither would I wish to conceal the fact that the lobby of the sects in question is without equal in Europe. Compared with them all the established groups are mere babes in arms.

What is involved in this report from our colleague Mr Cottrell — whom I must thank for his report —? It concerns a phenomenon which probably has its origins in the loss of a sense of purpose and security in our countries and which has given rise to a series of organisations which claim to be religious organisations. They do in fact carry out certain religious practices in order to win people's trust, but they then abuse that trust with exploitation and oppression. Mr Cottrell and Mr Schwencke have both given impressive examples and I shall not give any further details of individual cases.

If an organisation of this type operates in this way in only one country, the laws of that country will generally be adequate to dealing with infringements. Yesterday for instance in my home city of Munich the Scientology sect was suspended on an extensive summons on suspicion of fraud, duress and many other criminal offences. We are not therefore just discussing phenomena which exist only in the minds of a few people, they are a very serious reality. I should like however to add one thing — and here I differ with my colleague Mr Schwencke — it is not for us to judge the dogma and beliefs of these groups. That is not the role of politics and we must refrain from it. There can be no restriction of freedom of religion, it is subject to limitation only when it infringes the law.

(Applause)

That is why it is immaterial to me *what* people believe. What matters is that they do not infringe human rights and oppress people under the protection of religious freedom.

I may — as joint author of one of the amendments — also say something about the title of this Report. As we have seen the German term 'Jugendsekte' is liable to misinterpretation for two reasons: firstly the people involved are generally adults, not young people, and secondly a 'sect' is a splinter group of an established Church and the term implies a denigratory attitude to new religious communities. We do not intend either of these, and it is not for us to be denigratory in our use of terminology. For this reason — and I ask the Plenary for its approval — we have tried to use a somewhat complicated circumlocution in the title of the Report, namely, 'on a common approach by the Member States of the European Community towards various infringements of the law by new organizations operating under the protection afforded to religious bodies'.

I have perhaps one criticism to make at this point: I read the comments of the British Council of Churches with great interest. I was amazed to find that they



**Bocklet**

were working with completely wrong texts. With many opinions it frequently happens that people use obsolete texts or texts which have been misleadingly interpreted in order to be provocative. This is therefore the time to make certain things clear: we do not want in any way to have any effect on religious feelings and Man's desire for realisation of consciousness, nor to make them a matter for regulation by the State. Neither will we act as the extended arm of the great Christian Churches when they want to get rid of unwelcome competitors.

*(Applause)*

Just as we are not the strong-arm boys of the lay movement which in 1901 invoked human rights to suppress religious orders in France. None of these things concern us. Our aim is simply and solely to protect the individual who has faith in a religion from having his faith shamelessly abused, whilst those who abuse his faith are allowed to operate under cover of religious freedom.

*(Applause)*

We are — Mr Beumer, the chairman of the Committee said so clearly — only at the beginning of the debate, but hundreds of thousands of parents in Europe have pinned their hopes on us. We may not disappoint them. I therefore ask you to vote for this Report as amended by the Committee.

*(Applause)*

**Mr Simmonds (ED).** — Mr President, I am not speaking on behalf of my group. I am speaking as a member of my group. There will be a completely free vote within my group on this motion for a resolution, as I believe there should be on all religious issues and matters of conscience.

Mr Bocklet quite rightly in his remarks has identified the fact that there are a number of texts available on this report. He has drawn the attention of a number of churches to the most recent text, but I have to say that there is still further confusion on this issue. Almost without precedent, I believe, in the life of this Parliament, we have an amendment which is in the name of the rapporteur and members of virtually every group of this Parliament and which actually seeks to change the title of the report. So I do beg through you, Mr President, all Members of this Parliament to pay particular attention to the amendments that have been tabled. May I mention that the amendments that have been tabled in my name and my name alone have been withdrawn.

Quite rightly, there is very considerable concern on this issue, but may I say that I believe that no Parliament should seek to interfere with the most basic of human rights which is the freedom of religion. History

books are filled with the unfortunate results of those who have tried to impose religion or indeed those who have had to fight against such imposition. The amendments today which stand in the name of the rapporteur and of the members of the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport from virtually every group seek to confine our remarks to those activities of some organizations who have broken the law. Those illegal activities have very little to do with religion. This Parliament in its deliberations has the additional difficulty of trying to find expression in seven different languages to cover the narrow dividing line between not restricting genuine religious freedom and, at the same time, ensuring that the national laws of the Member States are upheld. I believe that the very publicity given to this issue, whilst we may not be able to contain those activities within the laws of the Community immediately, is a timely warning to young people, particularly those who will be travelling abroad as part of their studies, because they will be most particularly the targets of movements who seek to recruit them by less than desirable methods.

I am grateful for this opportunity to say a few words in this debate to draw attention to one of the most concerning issues that we as Members of this Parliament have had to deal with. Like Mr Schwencke, my postbag has been larger on this issue than any other topic in the last five years with one exception.

*(Applause)*

**Mrs Cinciari Rodano (COM).** — *(IT)* Mr President, as Mr Fanti said yesterday, and as other members have recalled, Mr Cottrell's report was discussed at length both in the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport and by the Legal Affairs Committee, whose opinion was sought.

The question is in fact an extremely delicate one. We are dealing with two rights, both of which are in my view inalienable.

On the one hand, there is freedom of association and the right of everyone to manifest — not just believe — and practise his or her own religious convictions. I think it is no coincidence that the Committee debated at such length which term should be used — 'new religious movements', 'so-called religious movements', 'sects' or whatever — without its proving possible to agree on a term. Even with the best intentions, in fact, there is a danger of offending the principle of religious freedom which in truth appears indivisible. We remain of the opinion that the term adopted, 'new religious movements', is both ambiguous and dangerous. What is more, however, it is no coincidence that the amendment outlined a short time ago by Mr Bocklet is so complex and intricate: that, I believe, implicitly confirms our concern. It convinces us even further that it is extremely difficult to define the scope of the problem clearly.

**Cinciari Rodano**

On the other hand, we are faced with another right, which is just as inalienable and fundamental: the right that obliges us to defend our citizens, particularly the young — and it is worse still where minors are concerned — from practices capable of producing a state of actual deprivation of freedom — because that is what it is. It is a fact that some of the groups whose activities have been investigated — for example the so-called 'Unification Church' of the self-styled 'Father' Moon — commit inadmissible, intolerable acts. From the documentation that each one of us has received it is clear that such acts are akin to kidnapping and subjection, which is undoubtedly difficult to define legally, but which comprises elements of material, physical and moral coercion. There are other cases of incitement to prostitution and, regularly — and this is the experience of all of us — to unauthorized begging. We have heard dramatic evidence from parents who have lost their children — an intolerable state of affairs. And there are also documents that justify the suspicion that, beneath these pseudo-religious activities, there are others that are less well known, political in nature, and bordering on subversion.

In addition, I would say that the campaign itself, which was obviously organized — this collection of letters sent to members of parliament, many of which were in fact written by people whose good faith had been corrupted by false information — tells us that we are up against a reality of this kind.

But the real problem is not to punish these movements or regulate them as such; it is to punish any crimes that may be committed. And it is only when it can be shown that the sole purpose of the association is to commit acts that are punishable by law, that that association can be considered to have a criminal intent.

As it now stands — even if I have to recognize the work done by the rapporteur — the resolution does not appear to us adequate to the purpose for which it is intended. It can be dangerous, because to speak of religious movements is to generalize; at the same time there is the risk that this generalization may be used to the detriment of groups or associations that behave in an entirely legal manner. And, moreover, the code of behaviour does not show a sufficiently clear way for Member States to take administrative, legal and penal action to punish the crimes in question. We therefore still consider that further examination of the question in detail is necessary, and it is our view that, in the form in which it now stands, the report is not acceptable.

**Mr Maher (L).** — Mr President, I want to make it clear that I am not necessarily speaking on behalf of my group. I think this is a matter where every individual has a point of view and where there ought to be freedom for each individual parliamentarian to adopt his own stance or take his own particular view. I do not think it is a case where any of us in the various

groups should be dragged into taking a particular attitude on a subject so personal and so important.

I want to compliment Mr Cottrell on the preparation of this report and I also want to compliment him on this courage because I know that there are very few questions that give rise to such emotion as the question of religion, what exactly is religion, how religious organizations should be conducted in the light of the civil law, for instance, and so on. I must confess that in recent weeks I have become increasingly suspicious about the opposition to Mr Cottrell's report because it is very clear to me that the opposition is orchestrated. It is hardly a coincidence that I should have received so many letters and so many phone calls almost all in the one direction. It is too much of a coincidence. That is, in my view, a bad sign. On the other hand, strangely enough, I have received, very little advice in the opposite direction.

The basic point that Mr Cottrell is making is that there should be a juridical basis for the operation of these various religious groups and that certainly I would support. I am aware in my own country of the most distressing cases of young people who have become — and I can hardly describe it in any other way — brain-washed by certain organizations, who have been taken over completely, who have been separated from their parents and their brothers and sisters, not in a normal separation as they would by geographical distance or anything of that kind, but separated in the mind, in the emotions, in the normal attachment to the family.

That is something completely repugnant to me. I come from a country where, back in the past, there was a lot of intolerance, a lot of force used even, to try to change people's attitudes towards religion. I am proud to say that, in my country, we stood up to that because our belief was in a certain direction. We were not prepared to be dictated to from the outside or by any particular group, however powerful they may have been.

But I think it is necessary that in particular some of these new organizations that have appeared on the scene should be examined to determine what exactly their motivation is. I have a suspicion that it is not exactly to do good. It is not to uplift mankind or to improve living conditions or to better prepare people for the next world but rather to make money, to exercise power on behalf of a limited number of individuals. That we cannot accept. That I think we must be opposed to as Christians because Christianity has the very opposite aim. We are all familiar with what Christ taught when he was on earth. I am not trying to argue that the Christian churches today necessarily fulfil what Christ himself said in those early days. I think we need to go back to that but that is another question.

I think it is a bit unfortunate that a very important report which was commissioned by the Dutch Parliament has not yet seen the light of day and that Mr

**Maher**

Cottrell's report has come in advance of that. As far as I am aware from the information I have got, the Dutch Parliament set out in a very objective and intensive way to examine this question and to make a report on it. I think it is unfortunate that we have not had the opportunity to examine that report in advance of the Cottrell report because I believe it is the only one of its kind that is in preparation,

However, I believe that this Parliament should be very clear in its approach to this question. I think we need to give leadership to the people in Europe, to the ordinary parent and to the young people in particular and to warn them about the dangers of being taken over and brainwashed by organizations who do not, at the end of the day, have their best interests at heart.

*(Applause)*

**Mr Nyborg (DEP).** — *(DA)* Mr President, the European Community is a historical innovation in that we do not have a common military establishment, we do not have a common police force; it is left to the individual nations themselves to maintain peace and order. I think therefore that I have good grounds for saying that the matter we are discussing here has nothing to do with the Community. It is not a Community issue, it is a national issue. But I realize that the subject is a very delicate one for, whatever we decide here today, we can be sure that it will be misused. If we reject the Cottrell report, the sects have won the day, they will have the laurels of victory in their hands. If we adopt the Cottrell report, we shall have repudiated religious freedom and shall thereby have made Europe a less free place to live in. We are thus in a disturbing dilemma.

Personally, I think — and I am not speaking here on behalf of my group as such, for we have full freedom to vote as we wish — that we should reject the Cottrell report, but follow it up with a motion for a resolution urging the national governments to keep a more watchful eye on what is happening, how our young people are being treated; to check whether human rights are being infringed, whether people are being brainwashed, whether they are being forced into uniformity, whether they are being held in isolation and deprived of contact with the world outside. But these are still national tasks, in which the concepts of criminal law obtaining in the various Member States must be followed. We must also realize that these sects do not take the same form in all the countries. A sect may appear in one form in France, in a completely different form in Denmark, in a third form in Switzerland etc. We cannot and we have no right to set up concrete, general guidelines for how people can, may and must behave. Some sects are decent according to our criteria, and follow normal moral and religious precepts, others are less reputable.

Point 3 of the Cottrell proposal calls for the setting up of a control body under the Commission which would

have the task of investigating sects and individuals throughout the world. Well, it is foolish to think that that can be done with the economic resources available! But we should also bear in mind that it would be an infringement of human rights, if we started to build up a kind of card index of persons and movements — for the 'good' ones would also be included. Otherwise there is no point whatsoever in such an investigation.

I can therefore only repeat what I said at the start: I think that it is the concern of the individual Member States to act firmly where national provisions on human rights are being violated.

**Mr Skovmand (CDI).** — *(DA)* Mr President, I do not wish in this intervention to comment on whether these new religious movements are so dangerous that we should take action against them. In fact it is a matter which does not concern the European Community. Each of the ten Member States of the Community has the means — should it so wish — to proceed on its own account against those religious movements which it considers harmful to its citizens. But that of course presupposes a public debate on the matter beforehand. If in Denmark we implemented a proposal such as that of Mr Cottrell, for example, we would have to look very carefully at the ideas in the proposal to ensure that they were in conformity with the Danish Constitution and the traditions of spiritual freedom which we have in our country. The Community does not have such a constitution or such traditions of freedom. It would therefore be a matter of serious concern if the Community ever got powers to intervene among its citizens in the way Mr Cottrell and many others in this chamber clearly desire. Fortunately, the Community does not have such powers. There is nothing in the Treaty of Rome which authorizes the decisions which Mr Cottrell wants taken. If a proposal of this kind is ever put before the Council of Ministers, it will be met with a Danish veto.

We in the People's Movement against the EEC consider it utterly pointless to spend time on proposals of this kind, and we shall of course vote against it.

**Mr Eisma (NI).** — *(NL)* Mr President, we feel that every adult should be free to live his life as he thinks fit, provided that he does not harm others. Every adult should also be free to make mistakes and to harm himself, provided he does not harm society. Every adult should furthermore be free to give up his freedom if that is what he wants. The new sects should therefore be left alone.

However, the weaker members of society should be protected. This applies to the economically weaker and to the physically and mentally weaker members of society. Society should ensure that they are not exploited or swindled by the economically or physically and mentally stronger. For these reasons limits should be imposed on certain practices of new sects.

**Eisma**

As you see, Mr President, this is not an easy matter. We must either violate the principle of the freedom of conscience, religion and association or act in solidarity with the less privileged. In view of the examples the rapporteur has given and the shabbiness of certain practices, we are inclined to place greater emphasis on the latter aspect, solidarity with the less privileged. The rapporteur rightly refrains from attacking organizations as such and focuses his attention on improper practices. But do these new sects have a monopoly on such practices? Until not so very long ago, for example, new members of the Roman Catholic Church were not permitted to speak to their family and friends for a year. This conflicts with paragraph 2(c) of the Cottrell report. In the same Church minors have always been urged to join and train for the priesthood, 'a solemn long-term commitment that will determine the course of their lives', something which paragraph 2(a) of the Cottrell report would prohibit in the case of new sects.

There are other religious organizations with other customs that are prohibited by law in most Member States, such as the amputation of limbs as a punishment for theft, the genital mutilation of girls, the flogging of adulterous women and so forth. In short, what is not allowed should be prohibited by law. This should apply to *all* religious organizations, not only the new ones. And it should, of course, apply equally to non-religious organizations, although they are far less guilty of such excesses.

This discrimination against new organizations as opposed to old ones is apparent throughout the resolution. Unfortunately, Mr Simmonds has withdrawn a number of amendments designed to remove this discrimination. All that remains is amendment No 25 by Mr Sieglerschmidt, which calls for other religious communities to be made subject to the same criteria to those laid down in paragraph 2.

Mr President, it is to be hoped that Mr Cottrell will endorse amendment No 25 in particular. For many people this report will then be more acceptable than the text as it now stands.

**Mrs Viehoff (S).** — (NL) Mr President, in view of all the reactions to which this report has recently given rise, Parliament should really be pleased about the interest shown in its activities. But when I consider the relevant letters and particularly those I have received recently — although I would exclude some — from people in the Netherlands, I cannot help feeling that we have an organized campaign here: the same envelopes, the same machine for printing the addresses, the same postmarks, even though the letter headings indicated that the letters came from different parts of the Netherlands. I must emphasize that I have nothing against organized campaigns, but I am afraid that most of the people who wrote letters had not studied the resolution carefully but were reacting to newspa-

per reports. Newspaper reports are not always as carefully composed as they might be, as the following quotation from one of the major Dutch dailies shows: 'The Council of Churches in the Netherlands is seriously concerned about the violation of religious freedom and of human rights if the second policy document before the European Parliament on the new religious movements is not amended. The Council has expressed its concern in a letter to the Second Chamber's Subcommittee on Sects. The text to which it objects was drawn up by a Committee on Sport of the European Communities.'

Three mistakes in so short a text. We do not draw up policy documents, whether first, second or third versions. We do not have a Committee on Sport. It may have been a mistake, but it may also have been a deliberate attempt to show that this strange Committee on Sport also concerns itself with this kind of thing. Either way, the article was certainly not carefully written. If people react to this kind of thing, I consider it rather weird to pass judgement on it. When work first started on the Cottrell report, almost two years ago, I received stacks of letters from very perturbed parents throughout Europe. I said even then that parents who are ardent members of the Catholic and Reformed Churches are also extremely concerned and do not take kindly to their children joining, let us say, a Socialist youth movement. This is no reason for Parliament to intervene, but that is not the question either. The Council of Churches is concerned about religious freedom, with absolutely no justification in my opinion. If we look at point B of the resolution, we see that it emphasizes very strongly that the freedom of religion must not be violated. The basic issue has been explained at length by Mr Schwencke. I will not repeat what he said. I feel that we in this Parliament must not only take account of a report that has been drawn up in the Netherlands and will probably be published today, however good it may be, but there are other countries in the Community. I hope that the Members of this Parliament will receive the report from the Netherlands as soon as possible, but there is no reason why we should not take a well-balanced decision today. I certainly hope that the amendments which have been tabled by a group of members of the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport will be adopted. I believe that, if those amendments together with amendment No 25 by Mr Sieglerschmidt is adopted, we shall have an excellent resolution in which Parliament expresses its concern about practices which, in my view, have nothing to do with religion.

**Mr Brok (PPE).** — (DA) Mr President, colleagues, in recent weeks we have experienced a disinformation campaign on a grand scale. We have been swamped by a centrally directed mailing campaign on the part of the Moon sect, which in some cases, as we have been told by certain sources, such as pastors in the Evangelical Church, involved unauthorised use of letterheads

**Brok**

in order to give the impression that the Moon sect is supported by serious-minded people. Mr Skovmand, I find it quite unacceptable for you to hold forth here in such a cold way about the rights of the EC, when we are faced with such enormous suffering on the part of many young people and their parents.

We have here an abuse of the idealism of young people, of minors. We see the psychological terror which is used by these new sects, and whereas in earlier times slaves were driven to work with iron fetters, today it is the psychological fetters of modern slavery which are used to make certain people in these sects richer. It involves the economic, the social, exploitation of people, to the destruction of their personalities. People are forced into prostitution. We should realise that religion is only the cover which is used by a few in order to enrich themselves. Take for example the leader of the Bhagwan sect who has said himself that he is able to afford a Rolls Royce for every day of the year.

For this reason we have to make the whole thing economically unattractive for these sects. They are quite unlike the Catholic orders, Mr Eisma, and this is crucial, in that they use young people as willing workers in discotheques, factories and small businesses, give them only pocket money, and when they no longer have any labour value they are thrown out so that the State has to take over responsibility for them through the social network, through the system of social services and benefits. We should take preventative measures so that if these sects use people for their labour they must also provide them with social insurance for their lifetimes. If these costs are generated certain things will become unattractive.

If it is clearly established that the practice of religion is merely being used as a cover for businesses, then we must ensure that the latter are not accorded any kind of charitable status.

The whole thing is a monstrous trick. We should advise virtually every tradesman to declare himself to be a religious leader so that he need not pay any taxes thereafter. These sects do this and surreptitiously gain a competitive advantage over those who go about their business in a responsible manner. I think that it should thus be possible to deprive these supposed religions of much that they find attractive.

Something must also be done about the crossing of frontiers. We have often found that the German courts for instance are unable to get anywhere because people avoid legal summonses simply by crossing the border, so that even the court judgments which are possible and necessary cannot be enforced. This is why cooperation within the European Community, the exchange of information, is necessary, in order to prevent evasion of judicial pursuit by the trick of crossing the frontier.

These sects are however also a consequence of social problems. All the things I have mentioned so far are

simply a way of concealing the symptoms. The real origins are to be found in our society and are comparable to the problems of drug-taking and juvenile alcoholism. This is the expression of young peoples' escape from reality, from a reality which they see as a cold society, as a functional, soulless bureaucracy. They complain about the cynicism of politics, they see themselves as glass beings in a computer age in which they can no longer find any future for themselves because of youth unemployment.

We must once again humanise society and State. We must make the younger generation feel that it does not have its back to the wall. It is primarily the Churches which are being challenged here and they should perhaps leave more room for emotion and not just pure intellect. This raises the question of the family, of getting to know one's neighbours, of no longer speaking to people who live nearby, and this is where clubs have a part to play.

In his encyclical 'Mater et Magistra' Pope John XXII wrote, 'The individual is the origin, the goal and the bearer of all social life and of his freedom'. I believe that this must once more be our political and social task. We must make it clear that people are more important than things. If we succeed, we shall be in a better position to tackle the causes of the situation of the young generation and so humanise the position for the citizens of Europe.

*(Applause)*

**Sir Fred Catherwood (ED).** — Mr President, the heart of this report is about groups of people who tell lies to raise money, tell lies to get other people to join them, isolate those in their control from family and friends, and threaten those who oppose them. So this report has really nothing to do with religious freedom, because no Jew, Christian, follower of Islam, Buddhist or member of a house church or of a charismatic movement would want to damage religious freedom by invoking that very hard-won right — hard-won over the years by our ancestors — in order to protect that kind of practice. It is ridiculous to do that.

As a Christian, I think we have to distinguish very strongly between religious freedom and the civil misbehaviour of such groups. Otherwise, those many countries that want to suppress religious freedom will say that if religious freedom means this kind of behaviour, then they are against it. Therefore, contrary to the advice we have been given that this is an attack on religious freedom which will encourage other countries to suppress religious freedom, if we let this go unmarked and cover it with the protection of religious freedom, we will do enormous damage to religious freedom in those countries that want to suppress it.

*(Applause)*

### Fred Catherwood

Therefore, in case there is any misapprehension, the report has to be altered so that it does not say that it is about new religious movements. There is an amendment tabled to alter the title and there is an amendment tabled to make this distinction much sharper than it is. I hope those who agree with me will go along with those amendments.

These are appalling groups. I was once president of a group of 500 evangelical churches. I was approached by people to give an interview for a magazine which they told me, when I asked them, was simply a new magazine set up by a group of people not associated with anyone. I found out that it was the magazine of the Unification Church. I found that out when my church members were given the Unification Church magazine and told that their president had written an article in the magazine. When I protested on television about this, a lot of people got in touch with me. They were very frightened people who were threatened by endless legal harassment. They had been warned that if they told what they knew this rich church would sue them and pursue them through the courts. These people no longer seemed in control of themselves and were too terrified to conduct a rational conversation. I had meetings with people who were trembling from some ghastly hidden fear. I had despairing letters from parents who had lost their children, desperate to bring them back again from what was, in fact, slavery.

We must bring the searchlight of public opinion onto these fraudulent groups, warn our people and enable them to protect themselves as free citizens by the rule of civil law.

*(Applause)*

**Mrs Scrivener (L).** — *(FR)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, while we are grateful to Mr Cottrell for the immense amount of work that he has put into this report, we would have been happier, as we said yesterday, if it could have been studied in greater detail. We are aware that a number of churches have been disturbed at this report, probably because certain things were perhaps not fully explained to them, and it would have been more satisfactory, in our view, if hearings had been held and they had been given an opportunity to put their views. This is what I mean when I say that we would have been happier if we had been able to study this report in greater detail. However, things being what they are today, we must reaffirm the strength of our commitment — which I am sure every single one of us shares — to religious freedom, which is absolutely fundamental in all our democracies and must not be eroded in any way whatsoever. This is a matter of deep concern to us.

At the same time, though, there seems just as great a need for us to condemn the use of physical and psychological pressure by certain organizations when recruiting members or exploiting their work. From this

point of view, I am very happy with the amendments that have been tabled, especially the amendment concerned with the title of this report, for which we shall of course be voting, since we consider it essential to remove all ambiguity about what we are trying to do.

As for Parliament, it wants to see national laws affording individuals protection against the activities of these organizations strengthened and applied, and at the same time it wants to encourage an exchange of information at Community level.

An amendment has also been tabled along these lines, and we shall be voting for it in the hope that it will be supported by a majority.

Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, those were the few comments which I wished to make on this subject, which has apparently caused a stir, although this was no doubt a mistake since there has been more misunderstanding in this matter than we should have wished.

**Mr Vandemeulebroucke (CDI).** — *(NL)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I must begin by saying that I am pleased this report was referred back to the committee and that a number of major adjustments have been made. Mr Bocklet has made this very clear. A distinction must be made between religion and the inalienable right to religious freedom on the one hand and the degrading and shameful practices adopted under the cloak of religious movements or religious organizations on the other. Sir Fred Catherwood has also emphasized this very strongly, and Mr Schwencke has given numerous examples of these shameful practices.

I fully agree to the change in the title. At some time in history every religion was after all a new religious movement or new religious organization. They were often unpopular or at least controversial in the eyes of the dominant system and the religion generally practised. The original accusation that new religious organizations or movements corrupt the youth has been made throughout history with clockwork regularity. We need only think of Socrates, Christ, the Cathars, Francis of Assisi and so on.

And yet we must stress, Mr President, that selective restrictions cannot be imposed on religious freedom. Who is to draw the line between Churches and sects? On what basis are religious organizations to be defined? In fact, an implicit distinction is made between sects or cults on the one hand and the Church on the other. Sociologically, it is difficult to make a distinction, especially since the introduction of the term 'denomination'. What criteria are applied? Who is to establish them? Who is to apply them? When does a movement start to become religious? When can it be called new? Are all movements which have begun since the Second World War new, or is the word 'new' only applicable from now on?

### Vandemeulebroucke

It would have been difficult to include all these thoughts in the original report. Consequently, the amendments tabled by Mr Beumer on behalf of the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport are really designed to tone down the original text. I do not for a moment doubt Mr Cottrell's sincerity or his desire to put an end to these shameful practices. I feel that the nuances we have now introduced will bring us a step closer to what was originally intended. But I am sorry that we now have to approve this report, because no more than a provisional report has been drawn up in the Dutch Parliament, for example. I would have preferred to see a very thorough analysis, reconciling religious freedom, individual freedom and above all human dignity.

I would also urge that a careful study be made of the legislation in the various countries, and I also agree with the important nuance to which Mr Nyborg has referred: will a vote in favour here be interpreted as a restriction of religious freedom, and will a vote against not be regarded as a victory for the sects? At all events, the nuance is now far clearer than it was originally, and I think we have come a step nearer to our objective.

**Mr Seeler (S).** — (*DE*) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, in the flood of letters with which we have been inundated in recent weeks we have been urged to intervene on behalf of freedom of religion and of conscience. In fact, we must. For good reasons this Parliament has made the protection of human rights all over the world its task. As the voice of the peoples of Europe we have condemned violations of human rights, no matter where in the world they occurred, we have tried to help and we have fought, sometimes with success, for justice and right. Freedom of conscience is a human right, as is the free development of personality. These human rights are daily abused and violated by many of the so-called new religious movements, and not only by them. The guise of a religious movement frequently conceals nothing more than intentional personal economic enrichment. The search, especially by young people, for personal resources, for a sense of community and protection from the abrasive reality of our everyday lives, of our world, is often shamelessly abused. Physical freedom, and often psychological freedom as well, is taken away from these people. They are separated from their families. On occasion they are used and exploited, I might almost say like spiritual slaves.

Here we make an urgent appeal to the Member States of the Community and to other States in the world to use the criminal law to put an end to this activity.

Let it be said quite clearly yet again: new and genuine religious movements deserve our full protection. I say this as a practising Evangelical Christian. Christianity once started as a new religious movement more than 2 000 years ago, without at that time being able to

enjoy freedom of conscience or of religion and without tax privileges such as charitable status and the like. Tolerance towards those with different beliefs and the freedom to believe what I want to believe are one of the great achievements of the Free World, an achievement for which humanity has had to make enormous sacrifices and which cannot yet be taken for granted by everyone in the world.

The decisive criterion which characterises genuine new religious movements and differentiates them from pseudo-religious groups and movements is freedom of conscience. That includes freedom from psychological terror, the freedom to withdraw from a group of believers at any time and the freedom to have family, friends and a separate personality. Where this does not exist there can be no question of freedom of conscience, on the contrary, there is a glaring violation of human rights. For that reason, and despite certain weaknesses in the formulation, the report of our colleague Mr Cottrell merits our approval.

*(Applause)*

**Mr R. Jackson (ED).** — Mr President, I rise as perhaps the solitary voice to urge the House to reject the Cottrell resolution. My fundamental objection to it is that, even with its amendments, the resolution and the report lack sensitivity to the depth and complexity of the issues which are involved, and I do not think that the European Parliament would do itself credit by adopting it.

Let us take, for instance, the report's philosophy on the fundamental question of the relationship between religious belief and what the rapporteur calls 'the secular consequences of belief'. We should not forget that this has been one of the central issues in human civilization — certainly in European civilization — but one finds little recognition of its difficulty and ambiguity in the resolution, in the report or, indeed, I must say, in the debate today.

We see that the resolution states at recital B that 'full freedom of religion and opinion is a principle in the Member States' and that 'the Community institutions therefore have no right to judge the value of either religious beliefs in general or individual religious practices'. The report emphasizes that 'beliefs of a religious nature are personal and beyond the realm of intervention by systems of government'. But, at the same time, let us be clear that the whole purpose of the Cottrell report is to subject the practice of beliefs of a religious nature to a system of government based on what the resolution refers to as 'human and civil rights' and the possibility that such practices 'may be detrimental to the position in society of those affected'.

Mr President, to be frank, this prompts the question — which I hope will not be thought blasphemous — the question of what could have been more detrimen-

**R. Jackson**

tal to their position in society than Jesus' call to the apostles to follow him on the way of the Cross. In a sentence, I believe that the fundamental error of the Cottrell report is that it fails to consider the relevance of our concepts of human and civil rights to those who feel themselves to be living in the immediate presence and the awe and majesty of God, or who feel themselves to be in some sense joined or united to or possessed by the divine essence.

It is only the fact that this question has not been properly addressed which can explain, I think, the insensitivity with which the report condemns, with reference to so-called new religious movements, practices which are central to the whole of the Christian monastic tradition, let alone the religious traditions of other civilizations. I refer in particular to paragraphs 2.6 and 2.7 of the explanatory statement which condemn the renunciation of possessions, the undertaking of life-long commitments, the submission of the personal will to an absolute external authority, and the practice of what the report calls 'mind dependence' behaviour such as lack of sleep, control of diet . . . and sublimation of personality'. As I read these words, drawn from the 'pop' psychology of the twentieth century, it occurs to me that the rapporteur might have benefited from a brief reading of the Rule of St Benedict or a sojourn in a Trappist house.

Mr President, I am as puzzled and disturbed as anybody by the rise in our societies of these so-called new religious movements. But I am afraid that I cannot follow the rapporteur, or other speakers in this debate, in their confidence as to the way in which we should deal with them. These beliefs, these practices, are as alien to me as they are to other honourable Members. But we should always remember the possible application to this situation of St Paul's description of Christianity as 'foolishness to the Greeks'.

Mr President, I am an adherent of the Church of England. As this House approaches a vote on this difficult matter, I think it would do well to abide by the words of that great lady who was the real founder of the English church. Queen Elizabeth I said, 'We should not make windows into men's souls'. We would do well to follow that advice today.

*(Applause)*

**Mr Jakobsen (PPE).** — *(DA)* Mr President, in the 11 years I have been a Member of this Parliament, I can safely say that I have not burdened Parliament with long speeches on all kinds of things; I therefore feel called upon all the more strongly to make a protest and give a warning in all seriousness against what we are doing here.

I regard this matter as an unfortunate development at a most unfortunate time, and I will explain that more fully. It is unfortunate that it is precisely Mr Cottrell

who has put forward the proposal. I do not think that Mr Cottrell has said or done much in this chamber with I have not been 100% in agreement. If all the work Mr Cottrell has done here had been used by him in his own country, dealing with a government which has a full majority, it would certainly have achieved greater results. Mr Cottrell belongs to a group of which I was once very happy and honoured to be a member. That group once had a slogan, which it has evidently now set aside: harmonization yes, but not for the sake of harmonization. Now they are going in for the harmonization of countries and conditions which are vastly different.

But now to the most regrettable aspect for us Danes. I am the chairman of a party which is alone in Denmark in advocating greater European unity, and we shall have the greatest difficulty in explaining that European union is not limited to economies and defence and a great many other important matters. No — in the phrase used by Mr Jackson — we are about 'make windows into men's souls'. I do not know precisely what the report meant, for it does not emerge clearly; but I know precisely how public opinion will see it. To that extent, we shall recruit adherents of those who are opposed to European unity. That will be the result if Parliament adopts what we have before us today.

It is fortunate that my party has four members in the Danish government. We shall have to do all we can to ensure that that government opposes any further action on this matter in the Council of Ministers.

**Mr Turner (ED).** — Mr President, may I first answer Mr Robert Jackson who directed all his criticisms to the explanatory statement of this resolution. Now, we are not debating the explanatory statements at all. We are debating the resolutions themselves, and I agree that the original resolutions, and, no doubt, the report itself, are inept in many places and unacceptable. But they have been totally redrafted by the amendments which have been tabled and which, I hope, will be accepted. There is no doubt that there is a serious international problem here concerning abuses by some of the so-called new religions, and I have no doubt myself that they must be dealt with by the authorities in the EEC and the national governments in the way called for in the amendments to the resolution.

Two of the original paragraphs are unacceptable. One is 2A, which actually seeks to prevent baptism and confirmation in a new church and thus would have prevented the start up of the early Christian church 2 000 years ago.

Paragraph 5 is also far too loose. But as I say, of all the amendments put in — and there are 26 in all — 24 of them are acceptable to me, and I believe that if the majority were adopted the resolutions themselves would be wholly acceptable.



**Turner**

The two I do not accept are numbers 24 and 25, which, I think, unnecessarily apply the resolutions to the established religions. Now, I have had letters from Sikhs and other religious groups who are worried for their own future. There is absolutely no obstacle in the amended resolution in the way of any open or non-secret religious body. We have also all had letters from the British Council of Churches, concerning the freedom of religious belief. Again, in the amended paragraphs there are no obstacles to this at all and I therefore hope, Mr President, that the Parliament will pass by a large majority this report as totally rewritten, as it were, by the 24 amendments which we have before us. It is interesting that of all the amendments tabled, 24 of them are all wholly in accord with each other and indicate that the Parliament as a whole, having seen the original draft, has come to a reasonable conclusion, if, indeed, it accepts these amendments.

**Mr Kirk (ED).** — (DA) Mr President, I feel that Mr Cottrell, as rapporteur, has taken the least line of resistance. If we tried to implement what Mr Cottrell is proposing to the Council of Ministers competent in the matter, it would in reality mean that we would be forced to register all religious movements, and in so doing we should be starting to meddle in what for us Danish conservatives is a vital principle: religious freedom.

I cannot therefore vote for the report before us, because I think it has very dubious implications. It is of course easy to compose a text, pass it on to the Council of Ministers and ask them to try to look at the problems raised in the report. But if in reality it means we are to set about registering religious movements and attempt to intervene in the right of the individual to join various religious movements, then I fear we are heading for George Orwell's 1984, and we as conservatives are very much against that.

I think it utterly deplorable that there are movements which abuse what we uphold, religious freedom. But this abuse must be combated with the same means as we combat other violations of the law. Therefore, Mr President, we readily join in calling upon the ministers of justice to cooperate in action to counter all forms of criminality. But we cannot support a measure which singles out specific religious movements, and I must therefore vote against the report in question.

**Mr Cottrell (ED), rapporteur.** — Mr President, first of all I should like to thank the Members of this House for a debate which, I think, has been conducted at a very high level of interest, intelligence and participation and I think it is perhaps one of the most difficult subjects which we have ever had to analyse together. I thought that the contributions, without exception, were quite outstanding.

What I would say to those Members who still retain some doubts, and particularly to my colleague, Robert

Jackson, is that we are not — and I repeat this again — analysing or attempting in the House to set ourselves up as the thought police, which you will remember were a central element of George Orwell's 1984. We are not attempting to set up a thought police to look into people's minds and to control what they believe. But we are faced with a social crisis of horrendous proportions which is increasing. One simply cannot ignore the long chapter of human misery which leads not only to degradation but to death. I have to remind you that this is not an exaggeration. In the South American jungles 900 people, men, women and children, once committed suicide together, at the whim of a self-appointed guru. Now we would be doing much for the people of Europe if we prevented that ever happening here. We talk much in this House about issues of human rights and as I said briefly yesterday, this is human rights. It is the human rights of our own people in this Community who have a right to look to this Parliament as the European forum laying down the guidelines by which decency and democracy can be conducted in the future.

(Applause)

**Mr Pisani, Member of the Commission.** — (FR) While I have followed this debate with very great interest, I have equally great misgivings about stating a view on a matter which falls outside the Commission's competence.

It is clear that this debate has not been about religion or faith. Our Assemblies do themselves credit by not debating those subjects. Nor has it been about religious freedom. Our countries do themselves credit by safeguarding that freedom through their laws.

This debate has been about the acceptability of certain practices engaged in, exalted, by various groups in the name of religion.

The Commission's feeling is that national legislation is the proper means for dealing with these practices, whether they infringe individual freedom or are used by these associations for the purpose of obtaining power or money.

As soon as the problem is seen in these terms, there is nothing for it but to stress that competence for these matters lies at national level. The Commission will accordingly give all the support that it can to the amendments urging the Member States — not the Commission — to consult on this. If it is invited to give support for one or other aspect of the study, it will do so, but it reaffirms that a topic of such importance is outside its own sphere of competence.

(Applause)

**President.** — The debate is closed.

**President**

The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

6. *EEC-Namibia*

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-67/84) by Mr Enright, on behalf of the Committee on Development and Cooperation, on relations between the EEC and Namibia.

**Mr Enright (S), rapporteur.** — Mr President, may I begin by thanking most sincerely the Commission and Commissioner Pisani in particular for the superb cooperation I have had in preparing this report. In the way of assistance nothing was too much trouble for them and Mr Scott on the Commission staff was especially helpful. Secondly, I would like to thank, albeit in their absence, the Council and particularly the presidency. For various reasons going to South Africa was a very difficult task to undertake. Therefore, it was important that it be done under the umbrella of the European Community. The French Presidency was particularly helpful in South Africa and in Namibia and I would like to place that on record too.

Finally, I should like to thank the committee itself for the extreme patience that they showed towards me throughout the compilation of this report. As a result, we were able to adopt the report unanimously with both of us giving a little here and there. I think the result is quite satisfactory and with the Enright amendments which are made at the suggestion of the committee and on behalf of the committee I think the report should be adopted.

I would like to put certain things in a proper framework. First of all, it is quite clear that the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation and all the member governments bilaterally assent to the following principles. First of all, that no aid should go to Namibia directly through the current administration which it considers to be illegal. Secondly, that there should be no linkage of any sort. I emphasize this in view of some of the amendments that have been put down and I would appeal to the proposers of those amendments to withdraw them.

I should like to say something about apartheid in Namibia itself because I was particularly asked by the committee, and hence by this House, to examine what the precise situation was since it is said that apartheid no longer operates in Namibia. Now it is quite true that at national level those laws have been repealed which would apparently suggest apartheid. But in fact at the second tier level of administration apartheid exists very rigorously indeed right down to each and every tribe so that, for example, the library in Windhoek itself which used to be multi-racial under the old laws is now for whites only and the education system, the hospital system and the social services system are

equally divided. It is true — I saw it with my own eyes and I talked to the white Namibians about it as well as to the black Namibians.

What this means in effect is not only that apartheid exists, but that there is going to be a considerable problem of administration when independence does come because it is a very inefficient way, practically, of administering education in particular. To a large extent this accounts for the amazing illiteracy rate that exists among the blacks and also for the tremendous disproportion between the literate whites as opposed to the literate blacks. That is something which is admitted by the white civil service itself. They certainly did so in talks with us and they would very much prefer to see education administered at a national level. Such changes when independence comes are going to be very costly to put into effect. They are going to be very costly not because all white South African civil servants will be leaving when independence comes — it struck me that that was going to be very far from the case. Indeed, some white civil servants — and at their behest I changed part of the recommendation — affirm that they would very much like to stay on, be it under a government by the South West African People's Organization or any other body. They did not mind, they were merely hoping for the democratic process to take place very soon.

Finally, the questions of SADCC and Lomé are mentioned specifically in the report because this report is about development issues, it is not about solely political issues though all development issues must include a consideration of the politics of the place. It is certainly very important indeed that at the time of independence there should be a link up with SADCC. This point was made to us not only by the South West African People's Organization and the internal parties whom we met but also by the South African *de facto* administration and that, indeed, I found interesting. It is quite clear that all the parties will want to accede to Lomé and so in particular we have asked the Commission if they will prepare a report to ensure the smooth transition to independence and to membership of the Lomé Convention.

*(Applause)*

**Mr Vergeer (PPE).** — *(NL)* Mr President, the EPP Group believes the European Community has obligations to the people of Namibia, soon to be the 'state of Namibia'. I should like to elaborate on this in two ways.

Firstly, we must abide by our position of principle, in other words, press for Namibia's independence and so for the termination of its occupation, which will mean the elimination of apartheid from the country. It is this that is preventing the European Economic Community from having official relations with Namibia.

**Vergeer**

At the same time, Mr President, we must realize that the people of Namibia, black and white, have been hard hit by the armed conflict, the continuing drought and political uncertainty, which have resulted in the country 'drying up' completely in economic terms. The people of Namibia need our help now.

The motion for a resolution reflects these two ideas, and we therefore largely agree with it, although we have tabled amendments to specific sections. I should like to thank the rapporteur, Mr Enright, most sincerely for the work he has done and for his willingness to seek some kind of consensus.

The South African Government seems increasingly cooperative in its attitude towards Namibia's independence. How is this independence to be achieved? The Security Council has indicated one way in its Resolution 435. The Western Contact Group has rightly done everything it can to implement this resolution. Let us hope that its efforts will soon be successful.

Mr President, the motion for a resolution refers to independence in 1984. We feel that this goal must not be allowed to conceal the fact that sound and thorough preparations need to be made. The rebuilding of existing political and administrative structures and the organization of elections at national level will after all take some time. It will be time well spent. If adequate preparations are not made, independent Namibia may well face major internal problems, with all the external consequences that would entail. The European Community and its Member States might also offer other than financial services during this preparatory period.

Mr President, the Community as such cannot and must not establish formal and official relations with Namibia before it becomes independent. But we feel there are opportunities even now, before Namibia achieves formal independence, to offer the people help and support. My group very much wants these opportunities to be seized. We have taken initiatives on several occasions to this end, and Parliament has also adopted a resolution on this. We are pleased that the motion for a resolution now makes practical proposals along the same lines. They focus on training projects. The aid the Community grants can be channelled through the NGOs by joint financing means. We are much in favour of this. I should also like to emphasize the role played by the Churches in this. Mr President, is the Commission prepared in principle to react positively to this proposal? My group would be very disappointed if the answer was in the negative.

My group believes — without departing from its position of principle on pre-independent Namibia — that the European Community could offer investors some kind of guarantee if they help to create jobs for the black population. In addition to a guarantee of this kind, thought might also be given to a code of conduct like the code on investments in the Republic of South

Africa. It must be possible for a system of this type ultimately to be incorporated in a more general system of promoting and protecting investments within the ACP-EEC framework.

Mr President, the repatriation and rehabilitation of refugees and displaced persons will require a considerable effort before and after independence. The Community is already financially involved through the humanitarian aid programme of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. I hope the Commission will take up the rapporteur's suggestion and submit proposals for the financing of projects under item 936 of the budget to enable refugees to fend for themselves again. This is a chance to translate Mr Dury's report into action.

The next ACP-EEC Convention must be open to the state of Namibia. I hope the present negotiators are now looking into ways of complying with a request for accession as quickly as possible. In the meantime we call for Namibia to be treated as a partner under the Lomé Convention as soon as possible. Aid can then be channelled through the instruments for which the Convention provides, and they must therefore be used with this in mind.

Mr President, let us as a Parliament show that the Namibian people can count on Europe as they head for independence: on the one hand, by adopting a resolute position with a view to their achieving independence quickly and by peaceful means; on the other, by granting practical aid even now. And, last but not least, let us draw up a new Lomé Convention that will be a sign of hope for the new Namibia.

*(Applause)*

IN THE CHAIR: MR VANDEWIELE

*Vice-President*

**Mr Pearce (ED).** — Mr President, we would congratulate Mr Enright on the report that he has prepared and thank him for having gone to considerable trouble to obtain support, including that of other groups, in the course of preparing it. We find it a balanced and constructive report and its contents to be a matter with which we are in substantial, although not quite total, agreement. At all events we hope the report will go through. We think it is important that this Parliament should speak about this matter, and we are pleased to compliment Mr Enright on what he has done.

It is important that Europe should be seen to be saying something about the question of Namibia. It would be wrong in the context of world politics if the solution of the Namibian problem, if Namibia's acquisition of

**Pearce**

independence, which we all want, were thought to be wholly a matter that the United States had brought about and that Europe was not interested. We are interested, and we hope that the Community authorities will take whatever steps are appropriate to speed up the achievement of independence for Namibia.

We note the progress that has been taking place in recent times as regards Namibia itself and as regards the situation in Southern Africa generally. I, too, have visited Namibia relatively recently. There is a great development of change there. There is, I believe, an acceptance by South Africa that Namibia should be independent. Bringing this about is merely a matter of time, and I hope it is brought about without being mixed up with other issues which are, frankly, irrelevant to the situation in that country.

I think that we, in Europe, should pay greater regard to the changes of policy going on in South Africa. Through a mixture of the carrot and the stick, through a mixture of criticism and constructive support, the ending of *apartheid* and the bringing about of peace with prosperity for all people in that part of the world have, I believe, been brought a little closer to us. I think we should support these developments. We should continue to maintain our view about *apartheid* but where progress is being made — and I think progress is being made in the Namibian question — we should congratulate all those concerned.

Mr President, I wanted to say a word about SWAPO. It is past time that the West realized that SWAPO is not the only voice of the people in Namibia. There are many voices there, and SWAPO is beginning to look like something of the past. The SWAPO people I have met in neighbouring countries rather talk in past terms. They are not, I believe, fully in touch with the thoughts and aspirations of the people who now live in Namibia. I think that we have to be prepared to deal with all of the population there. I sincerely hope that the military forces under SWAPO command accept the new situation, the new deals that have been done in Southern Africa, and do not upset the new peace which is in the process of being achieved. I believe we are on the way to peace, on the way to freedom and on the way to an independent Namibia, and I am happy that that is the case.

Mr President, I should like to conclude with one or two remarks about the attempts made to have this item put off the agenda. I thought it was shabby that the Political Affairs Committee should try to remove this item from the agenda simply because it had not been able to produce a report — the report which it was asked to produce. I think it is a bad way for this Parliament to come to an end with that sort of trickery going on. I have to say, Mr President, that I hear repeatedly a stand of thought which says that only people from the Federal Republic of Germany should pronounce on the question of Namibia. We, whether

we are Belgian, or French, or British, or anything else, have an equal right. The idea that this is some backyard in which only one Member State can operate is one that I wholeheartedly reject.

Our group is happy to support the main lines of Mr Enright's report.

*(Applaus from the European Democratic Group)*

**Mr Haagerup (L).** — Mr President, I should like to take up the point raised by Mr Pearce. On behalf of the Political Affairs Committee, I should like to explain that it was not that the Political Affairs Committee did not like Mr Enright's report. There was a feeling in the Political Affairs Committee that the latest political developments had not been included, and that it was inappropriate that we should not be able to address those latest political developments. In fact, there was a vote — which resulted in a small majority — taken on the basis of attendance of less than 50% of the members. I do not think we should make too big an issue out of this.

Having said that, and returning to my role as spokesman for my group, I wish to congratulate Mr Enright on his report. I shall take the liberty of reminding him and also Members of the House that the Liberal Group took the initiative some years ago of going to Angola and other frontline States in order to look into the possibilities of bringing about a development that could promote the independence of Namibia. I was a member of a two-man team from my group, the other being Mr Irmer who is our spokesman on African affairs but who could not be present here today. Our conclusions were very much in line with those contained in Mr Enright's report.

There is only one point on which I would take issue with Mr Enright, and that is when he says that this is purely a development report and not a political report. As the political spokesman for my group, I do not see how it is possible to draw a sharp line of demarcation between development policies and political strategies. My group is in broad agreement with the political conclusions drawn by Mr Enright.

Therefore, I wish to offer Mr Enright our congratulations and express our support for the conclusions he has drawn. We will support his report and we will vote for it. May I end by saying that I have heard rumours — which I hope are unfounded — that Mr Enright's achievement in this Parliament as a very active Member in the field of development has not been sufficiently appreciated at home. I cannot believe that these rumours are true. Though I belong to a different group and do not always agree with Mr Enright's views, I wish to say that we are great admirers of his work in this particular field.

*(Applause)*

**Mrs Ewing (DEP).** — Mr President, first of all I must say that on this occasion I am not speaking for my group, which may not share my views. I am speaking for myself.

I wish to thank Mr Enright for all the work he has done, and to say how glad I am that this was not postponed again. I speak as a member of the Consultative Assembly of the Lomé Convention and I would feel very ashamed to face my friends again had we postponed this for a second time. The eyes of our 63 Lomé partners in the Third World are on us, and it is good that we are debating this report. I hope it will be adopted. I think it is fair, thorough, and seems to have the support of most of the groups.

I hope that Mr Enright's timetable of the events which we hope will lead to independence is correct and that the recent events — which I think Mr Enright *did* cover — are not going to be some kind of false dawn. If I might make one small point here, it is my view, as a member of the delegation that visited Angola and other frontline states, that the recent moves by South Africa are not in any sense signs of South African weakness but, on the contrary, signs of enormously increased South African economic strength.

However, let us welcome what is happening and hope that the timetable mentioned in the explanatory statement will come about. Of all the things that unite the Lomé Convention, the solidarity on the question of Namibia remains central. Anyone attending Lomé Convention meetings will immediately realize that. We have almost been put on probation by our Lomé friends. They say to us that fine words are not enough, that they will judge us by our actions. If our airports are sending planes full of people to do business with South Africa every day of the week, they have to balance that against our condemnation of South Africa and so on. That is why it is very important that this report be adopted today. It will show that we do care.

For myself, I will end by saying that I hope that those observers who came from Angola and expressed the total determination of those people who have fought for their independence for so long, will soon be sitting as a full delegation with the rest of us.

**Mr d'Ormesson (PPE).** — (FR) Mr President, this report comes at an inappropriate moment, and I find it surprising that the Committee on Development and Cooperation and its chairman should not have seen fit to agree to the request from the Political Affairs Committee, supported by the votes of a substantial majority of its members, asking for this report to be submitted to it for its opinion before being debated in plenary.

If I may say so to the chairman of this committee, one can be in command of events only if one is in command of oneself. His direct intervention in this matter to prevent reference to the Political Affairs Committee

certainly throws light on his attitude to an issue of the highest political importance, in which what is at stake is the difference between Namibia's accession to independence or its subjection to totalitarianism. If, as I want to believe, the chairman of this committee and the rapporteur himself share my hope to see Namibia accede to true independence, I should like to make three points.

First, if there is one absolute rule in politics, it is this: never make uncalled-for interventions when negotiations on peace and liberty are in progress at the highest level. This report is biased when it claims that *apartheid* subsists in Namibia, whereas it has been abolished there and, although some after-effects still unfortunately remain, it would have been appropriate at the very least to acknowledge the efforts made to abolish it.

Secondly, it omits the key fact that the 27 members of the multipartite conference representing Namibia's internal political parties are henceforward taking part, on a footing of equal rights and obligations, in the negotiations for Namibia's accession to independence, the first conference on which was held from 11 to 14 May in Lusaka under the joint chairmanship of President Kenneth Kaunda and Mr Van Nierkerk, Administrator General of Namibia. This means that, after six years of courageous and persevering efforts, the policy of Namibia's internal leaders, which has been supported by Pretoria, has led to recognition of their right to represent the Namibian people, a recognition which the United Nations Council on Namibia, in its culpable complacency, has hitherto granted only to SWAPO, whose troops are trained, advised and armed by the USSR.

What is more, the Heads of State of Gabon, Togo, the Ivory Coast and Senegal have each in turn officially received the 27 representatives of Namibia's internal parties.

Finally, this report makes no mention of the fact that these representatives have adopted a declaration of fundamental rights which is directly inspired by our human rights, a declaration such as no African parliament has yet adopted. What is SWAPO waiting for, Mr Rapporteur, before it in turn adopts this resolution?

Because it is incomplete and biased and does nothing to advance the cause of peace, it will unfortunately be impossible for me, Mr Rapporteur, to vote for your report.

**Mr Luster (PPE).** — (DE) Mr President, a word of appreciation for the rapporteur. It can be seen from his report how hard he has tried to be objective. The thing that we wish for Namibia is its independence. What we do not want for Namibia is false independence. We do not want dependence on South Africa to be

**Luster**

exchanged for dependence *vis-à-vis* Angola, Cuba or the Soviet Union. We do not want nine tribes to exchange their present dependence for dependence on the Ovambos. That is why caution is advised in the interests of the people. We welcome the movement which has been brought about in no small measure by the intervention of the Zambian president Mr Kaunda in the process of Namibian independence.

In this context, and this is a word of criticism, the rapporteur speaks of the *so-called* multi-party conference. It would be even better if that were not in the text as you do not speak of the *so-called* SWAPO. We have contacts on both sides and I value the contacts on the side of the Multi-party conference higher, because they are trying to achieve independence without the use of force. I wonder who is the greater obstacle to independence at the moment, South Africa or SWAPO. I suspect that since SWAPO allowed the Lusaka Conference to fall apart it is they who are the obstacle.

What pleases me about your report is that you say with us that help is needed now. I say with Berthold Brecht, 'Food first and then the moral'. Independence is fine and desirable but there is no need for people to go hungry over it — therefore humanitarian aid at once!

**Mr Pisani, Member of the Commission.** — (FR) The European Economic Community and its Member States have been engaged for a long time in positive action aimed at Namibia's accession to independence, notably in the context of the deliberations of the United Nations.

The report presented by Mr Enright on behalf of the Committee on Development and Cooperation is consistent with this approach and very useful in this respect.

Mr Enright puts his suggestions under three headings, and I should like to take these in turn, clarifying a few points as necessary. In paragraphs 1 to 10 he deals with the international status of Namibia and implementation of the United Nations plan. The Commission welcomes the recommendations made here, in paragraphs 4 and 5 in particular, inviting the Community to declare its readiness to help to meet the considerable needs of the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group, especially in regard to the efficient conduct of elections. In this context, the Commission is giving the closest attention to the question of repatriation and resettlement of refugees returning to Namibia during the transitional phase leading up to elections.

In his second group of recommendations the rapporteur refers more specifically to relations between the European Economic Community and Namibia, dealing in the first place with the framework necessary for

the granting of aid prior to Namibian independence. It is the view of the Commission and the Member States in this connection that, for as long as the present situation prevails, direct governmental development aid to Namibia is incompatible with international law and in breach of the United Nations framework.

Our relations are State-to-State relations, so that it is impossible for us to enter into relations with Namibia on our customary basis until such time as it exists as a State. However, having consulted the relevant United Nations bodies, the Commission is looking at ways and means of granting humanitarian aid to Namibia, through co-financing with the European non-governmental organizations which are working with the Namibian Council of Churches and independent groups active in the fields of education, training and community development.

As regards aid to Namibian refugees — this is still prior to independence — the Commission broadly endorses paragraphs 21 and 22 and recognizes the need to encourage refugee communities to have confidence in themselves. It will be investigating ways in which budgetary line 936 can be used to provide funds to support specific programmes in this field. Under its programme of cooperation with non-associated developing countries, the Commission is already providing grants for a number of Namibians to enable them to continue their vocational training in Europe, and it will examine the scope for extending this programme.

Finally, Mr Enright's text contains a section on the relations set up or to be set up between the Community and an independent Namibia. In this connection, the Commission is naturally of the view that the Community — in concert with its ACP partners, however — must envisage the prospect of political and economic relations with an independent Namibia in the context of the next EEC-ACP Convention. However, while it is right that this Convention should make specific provision for the eventuality of accession by an independent Namibia, the initiative for this should come as much from the ACP countries as from the Community. But the Commission has made known that it, for its part, would be favourably disposed towards such an initiative. Obviously, though, any final decision on accession to the Lomé Convention would depend on the existence in Namibia of an independent government and the submission by that government itself of an application to accede to the Convention. The Commission for its part is preparing itself for this eventuality, studying economic and social conditions in Namibia so that it will be in a position to act without delay, just as it did when Zimbabwe itself acceded to independence, with the Community following up with appropriate commitments.

In this context, the Commission fully appreciates the vital economic importance of Walvis Bay to the SADCC countries and to trade flows between the Community and Namibia, as emphasized by the

**Pisani**

Security Council in Resolution 432. The importance of SADCC and consultations on Namibia with the international community is recognized by the Commission, which has every intention of continuing to develop its relations with southern Africa as a whole, including Namibia.

The economic and social priorities in future relations between the Community and independent Namibia have been defined prudently, notably in paragraphs 32, 33, 34 and 35 of the motion for a resolution contained in this report, and in this context the Commission intends to set up preparatory studies in order to determine the priority areas, as I was just saying.

I repeat, however, that the context in which these studies are to be conducted will be that of southern Africa as a whole, in view of the obvious facts of economic interdependence.

You will forgive me for not commenting on the debate that we have heard in the Chamber. With negotiations in progress, it would be extremely dangerous for an institution like the Commission of the European Communities to express any view. However, it proposes to lose no opportunity to encourage a process which the Community supports and has consistently helped to advance.

**Mr Enright (S), rapporteur.** — I do not specifically wish, Mr President, to reply to Mr Pisani, for I am most grateful to him for his comments, which I found helpful and encouraging, and I am sure that the Community will play a dynamic and very important role in the process of bringing Namibia to her independence.

I should like to reply to a few of the points that were made. First of all, to that of Mr Vergeer, and this really follows upon Mr Pisani's last remark about independence and its timing in 1984. The actual date of independence is not for us to determine, and therefore the reason why that date is in merely that it is in the appropriate. United Nations resolution. I think it should be left there for the parties to the present discussions to discuss thoroughly and absolutely.

Concern has been expressed that there might be inadequate preparation for independence, and I understand these concerns. On the other hand, I think one must also understand the concern of Namibians — black and white, I underline that — that they have been waiting eagerly for independence since 1918 — certainly since the Commission investigated the question in 1964: that was 20 years ago, and still nothing has happened. So I think they would feel a little cynical about having inadequate time in which to prepare themselves.

Aid to non-governmental organizations, clearly is going well. Equally clearly, however, they could do with considerably more assistance — that is to say, the

Namibia Council of Churches in particular at this moment — and especially. I think, they could do with assistance in setting up a bureaucracy. I am not ashamed to say that. Bureaucracies can help in the efficient administration of aid. Without an efficient bureaucracy you do not get aid distributed efficiently. I think that is one aspect which I would ask the Commission to consider.

Investment guarantees, of course, are quite out of the question at the moment, because none of the member governments is prepared to give according to the United Nations resolution any investment guarantees. On the other hand, once independence does come it would clearly be very useful to assist Namibia by giving investment guarantees, and I would accept that.

On the question of a code of conduct, I am somewhat cynical about codes of conduct throughout the world, not just in the case of large firms in South Africa, but with regard to drugs, baby-food substitutes and so on. We have seen regularly that they are not kept to. The best evidence that one can see is that this or that firm is now behaving very well indeed. I had the opportunity to see the uranium mine, and I am bound to say that as far as I could see, the Rossing company are first class employers. Indeed, the mining conditions there are considerably better than mining conditions in Kent or in West Yorkshire, where I have seen the mines working.

On the accession to Lomé, I accept completely what Commissioner Pisani said about the legal difficulties at the moment of including it, and I hope that the wording, as we have it at the moment, encourages the Community to take a positive attitude towards Lomé without offending against any legal susceptibilities.

I thank Mr Pearce for his comments. He did say that SWAPO was not the only voice. That I accept and, indeed, we talked to some of the internal parties. But it is equally clear that the South West African People's Organization has the very strong backing now of a considerable part of the internal parties, including those who previously belonged to the multi-party Conference. Roughly half of SWANU, for example, has clearly thrown its weight behind SWAPO in the current negotiations. I think it is important to recognize the very constructive part that Nora James is playing. I found, within the internal parties, including even Dirk Mudge who is a somewhat suspicious, though very entertaining and attractive character, that there is a relaxed acceptance of the possibility of SWAPO rule. There is no awesome fear which I had expected before I went there and which would, perhaps, have been natural.

I thank Mr Haagerup for his very kind words and I totally accept what he says about politics and development. Mrs Ewing made some very helpful comments, in particular about the timetable and I hope she accepts what I said about it, that it is a matter for the negotiating parties to discuss and agree on.

### Enright

Although I personally cannot recommend as rapporteur, Mr Luster's, remarks about Kenneth Kaunda, I personally accept that one amendment of his which talks about the helpful role that KK has played and is playing. Of course, the current conference is also very helpful.

If I could turn now to Mr d'Ormesson who complained, first of all, about the lack of consultation of the Political Affairs Committee. In fact it was consulted way back in October, and that is very clearly stated. He talks about there being no apartheid. That is simply untrue. He does not even have to move out of Windhoek to see it in operation. You can go to two hospitals there and see it in operation. You can go to a training college there, which is about to close down, and see it in operation. It simply is ingrained in the second-tier government system. It is there, whether we like it or not. I accept that the pass-laws have been removed, but this is of no great help.

Finally, on the question of the South West African People's Organization, because I did have extra speaking time, I would just like to say this. They struck me very forcibly as men of the Lutheran faith. That is very clearly what motivates them in very many ways. To suggest that they are dominated by Soviet Russia, or indeed, that the Council of Churches is, is a simple nonsense and to claim that is to push them into the arms of people that we do not want them to consort with. I think it therefore quite wicked to suggest that they will naturally be 'red-dominated'. I do not believe it. I believe that their commitment is a Christian one, and I hope that this House will guard their Christian commitment.

(Applause)

**President.** — The debate is closed.

The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

### 7. EEC-Malta

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-59/84) by Mrs Baduel Glorioso, on behalf of the Committee on External Economic Relations, on economic and trade relations between the EEC and Malta.

**Mrs Baduel Glorioso (COM), rapporteur.** — (IT) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I think that this is the first time in the last five years that we are discussing economic and trading relations and the financial protocol with Malta, which is an important Mediterranean island — not only for Italy, because it is very close to our coasts, but also because its strategic position, its geopolitical situation, which enables it to supply the Mediterranean fleets, places it in a very much

stronger negotiating position than does its actual economic and financial status.

In its emancipatory stage the island found itself in a difficult economic situation, but it has succeeded in regaining — somewhat courageously and progressively — an economic position that is interesting. This interesting economic position is strictly bound up with Europe: just consider that over 72% of Maltese exports go to the Community, and 73% of its imports come from the Community. Therefore Malta's option — economically speaking — has always been the relationship with Europe: not always an easy relationship — and I am not speaking about friendliness. I mean, quite simply, not easy, because of mutual mistrust.

I do not know whether the fact that the new Labour government decided immediately in 1971 on a position of neutrality and non-alignment — which our countries support, particularly Italy, who is a guarantor — may have upset, rather than helped, our relations. Upset them, perhaps, because we should have preferred another choice; helped them, perhaps, because we feared a third alternative. The fact remains that there has been a lack of understanding that has continued to spread and grow, at the same time as trading relations have intensified very greatly, so that Malta's demands have sometimes increased beyond the capacity of the Community to cope with them. The Commission therefore asks Parliament today to help — and we can do this through this resolution — to place trading relations on a contractual footing. The first trade protocol, which came into force in 1978, was only renewed in its first stage — without ever passing on to the second stage — for six months at a time almost automatically, until the present paradoxical situation has been reached in which the Community, independently and unilaterally, decides what action to take and what concessions to make in relation to Malta's requests. This also places the Community in a somewhat uncomfortable position because, obviously, the trading agreement between the EEC and Malta must be negotiated in order to give the contracting parties greater security.

And then with regard to the financial protocol the story is even more interesting, because the first financial protocol of 1978 — which expired on 31 October 1983 — contained conditions that were quite favourable to Malta — namely, 26 million units of account, which was proportional to what was agreed with the other Mediterranean countries in the financial protocols concluded with them. The first financial protocol with Malta provided for the allocation of 26 million ECU, 16 million being in the form of EIB loans, 5 million in the form of special loans, and 5 million in the form of grants or interest rebates. But of these 26 million, Malta was able to use only 13 million, for the reconstruction and modernization of the Port of Valletta. There was a very simple reason for this, of which the Community was aware: namely, the existence of a Maltese law forbidding the government to accept



### Baduel Glorioso

international loans with rates of interest higher than 3%. I think this is a law motivated by the determination to remain independent — financially as well — *vis-a-vis* other countries, in view of the fact that very generous loans are available because of the strategic situation of Malta, not for any other reason regarding its wealth above or below ground.

This law — which is an internal law that we cannot interfere with, though we might possibly speed up its modification — means that the special EEC loans can be used, and the aid which has not to be repaid and which is called 'gifts' are used, to pay the difference between the interest on the real loans from the EIB — 10-11% — and the 3% that Malta is allowed to pay.

To give an example — a trifle boring, perhaps, — but it is like offering someone a fine cake, in the knowledge that they can only pay for one slice. Isn't it perhaps better to offer them one slice of cake on a plate, without all this grandness that is so typically European — offering the cake and knowing that the other person can only eat one slice of it, because he has not the money to pay for the entire cake. And something of the sort is happening in the case of Cyprus.

The new financial protocol, which has already been approved by the Council of Ministers, has ignored the proposals of the Commission, which was in favour of establishing better relations with Malta and having loyal, trusting negotiations, instead of this continuous mistrust and, indeed, reciprocal spitefulness. The Commission proposed a loan of 35 million units of account, plus a special subsidy of 10 million, to put right the past and help the future.

The Council of Ministers — or at least, some of the Member States — did not see fit to grant these facilities to Malta, and decided to reduce the loan to 28 million units of account, as well as cancelling the subsidy of 10 million ECU.

At this point a kind of cold war, a cold war in miniature, or rather an atmosphere of incomprehension, set in. And that is what this resolution seeks to put right, without proposing any conclusion, except that negotiations should be reopened on the basis of the Commission's old proposal. It is therefore a proposal for pre-negotiations, not one supporting the Council's proposal, nor one urging Malta to accept the Commission's proposal. It simply asks both contracting parties to sit down together round a table and start discussions on this basis — that is, on the basis of the Commission's 1982 proposals.

**Mr Rieger (S).** — (DE) Mr President, on behalf of the Socialist Group I should like to give our approval to the Report on relations between the EC and Malta which Mrs Baduel Glorioso has tabled on behalf of the Committee on External Economic Relations. We congratulate the rapporteur on the strenuousness with

which she has advocated an improvement in relations with Malta. The Socialist Group considers it important that these relations should be as close and as good as possible and we think that, particularly in view of the overall political and economic importance which Malta has in the Mediterranean area, it is in the Community's own interest to keep them so. I should like to emphasize that we expressly support Malta's role as a neutral, independent and balancing factor in this region.

The rapporteur went into this in detail and I too should like to point out that the relationship did not develop in the way that both sides had hoped. The 1970 Agreement of Association provides for the progressive abolition of barriers to trade in two stages. Up till now we have not got as far as agreement on the transition to the second stage. We hope and call upon the Maltese Government to declare its readiness to examine whether in future there might be more favourable conditions for the start of negotiations.

We support the rapporteur in her hope that negotiations on a new financial protocol be started as quickly as possible. In addition to what has been said in the Report I have tabled an amendment taking up the Commission's proposal of reinstatement of the aid for 1984, as well as the review of the total figure along the lines of the Commission's proposal. It is our opinion that this gesture by the European Community will create a basis for improving relations and we hope that the impulse towards improvement will be transmitted to the Council through this Report and through today's debate. This is all the more important as we naturally see the shape of relations with Malta in the context of the overall picture of the EC in the Mediterranean and, therefore, of the accession of Spain and Portugal as well.

Our aim is to help Malta in our own interest and the prime aim of the Community for the future should be to establish the best cooperation possible.

**Mrs Lenz (PPE).** — (DE) Mr President! Let me say on behalf of my Group that by and large we are in agreement with the section of this report which deals with trade policy. Relations between the Community and Malta have been depicted in a somewhat one-sided way, first by the rapporteur and then — quite understandably — by the Socialist Group. It is precisely when reference is made to the strategic importance of the island and to the importance of the trade policy of the European Community to Malta, that one realizes that relations between the European Community and Malta require a climate of mutual trust and that the blame should not simply be laid at the door of the EC. Nevertheless Malta did at one time consider an association and in the meantime has practically gone over from the prolongation of such an association — at least with some hesitation — to other negotiations.

**Lenz**

It is in this framework that the doubts of our Group should be seen. Because of the importance of its strategic position the form of Malta's overall policies is also important. These policies which are so delicately described as 'rather disturbed relations' are naturally causing us serious concern at present. Even if we here advocate the general principle that trade agreements should not be tied to political clauses, and even though it has already been said this morning in a different context that no conditions should be attached to certain measures of aid, we should like to point out that in the case of Malta, which is linked to us in a political relationship in so many ways, dangers do exist. The amendment proposed by our colleagues in the Group, Mr van Aerssen and Mr Zarges, tries to include these doubts at least in the formulation. We introduced the amendment so that it does not look as though Malta lies in some remote place with which the only relations which exist are economic ones and do not include the political relations whose present form is so unsatisfactory to us.

**Mr Spencer (ED).** — I think I can be brief. My group will support the van Aerssen amendment underlining the importance of democratic constitutional principles. We will also support the Baduel Glorioso report as it stands at the moment but not the amendments to it, and we shall do so not because of the geopolitical importance of the island of Malta but because of our longstanding affection and respect for the people of Malta. I have little respect, I must tell this House, for the Government of Malta, but a great and undying affection for the people of Malta, and for that reason, my group will vote for this report.

**Mr Richard, Member of the Commission.** — Firstly, may I congratulate Mrs Baduel Glorioso on her excellent report on the EEC/Malta relations. The Commission fully shares the view Parliament has expressed in the resolution: that it is important to develop and to consolidate our economic and financial relations with Malta. Indeed, the Commission's proposal to the Council at the end of 1982 were specifically designed to achieve this objective.

On the basis of the Commission's proposals the Council last October adopted negotiating directives for a new EEC/Malta financial protocol. These directives were not as generous as the Commission would have wished. Nevertheless, with a view to promoting the development of the Maltese economy, the Community has agreed to offer Malta a specially structured financial protocol which would enable all the funds to be utilized under acceptable conditions. We have invited the Maltese authorities to open negotiations, and we hope they will soon agree to do so.

We have also, Mr President, invited the Maltese authorities to open trade negotiations. Since 1 January 1981 our trade relations have been governed by auton-

omous measures and it is equally important to get our trade arrangements back on a contractual footing. Therefore for the first time since the entry into force of our Association Agreement in April 1971 we have neither contractual trade arrangements, nor a financial protocol. This is in the view of the Commission a most regrettable position. I am quite convinced that it is in the interests of both Malta and the Community to get round the negotiating table as soon as possible, and I would hope that this debate and this resolution will enable that to take place.

**Mrs Baduel Glorioso (COM), rapporteur.** — (FR) Mr President, while I accept Amendment No 1 from the Socialist Group and Amendment No 2 tabled by Mr Papapietro on behalf of the Communist Group, I find it difficult to agree to the amendment from the Christian-Democratic Group for the sole reason that we have our doubts about the democratic foundations of the State of Malta. I should therefore like this amendment to be withdrawn if possible.

**President.** — The debate is closed.

The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

(The sitting was adjourned at 1 p.m. and resumed at 3 p.m.)

IN THE CHAIR: MR PFLIMLIN

Vice-President

#### 8. Unemployment amongst women

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-170/84) by Mrs Salisch, on behalf of the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment, on:

the proposal from the Commission to the Council (COM(84) 74 final — Doc. 1-38/84) for a draft resolution concerning action to combat unemployment amongst women.

Also included in the debate is the oral question with debate (Doc. 1-180/84) by Mr Glinne and Mrs Salisch, on behalf of the Socialist Group, to the Commission:

Subject: Youth unemployment

On 28 April 1983, the European Parliament adopted its programme for combatting youth unemployment. On 13 October 1983, it delivered its opinion on the draft resolution submitted by the Commission to the Council, on employment promotion measures for

**President**

young people. The key elements in Parliament's decisions were its demands for integrated and guaranteed training and employment programmes for all young people between 16 and 24.

1. Can the Commission indicate how successful it has been since then in following up Parliament's decisions with measures of its own to improve the labour market situation for young people?
2. Can the Commission also state what progress it has made in inducing the Council to adopt a coordinated approach in combatting youth unemployment?
3. Does the Commission consider that the Council's lack of action on the question of a general reduction in working time constitutes an obstacle in the combat against youth unemployment?
4. Does the Commission have a list of special measures by individual Member States to create genuine, additional and specialized training opportunities and jobs? Has it received initial reports from the Member States on their practical experience with the measures they have adopted to help young people and the results of those amendments?
5. Does the Commission believe that the resources earmarked in the current financial year for action against youth unemployment are on a scale commensurate with the problem?
6. Which special programmes to combat youth unemployment does the Commission consider to be most urgently needed and how does it propose to finance them?

**Mrs Salisch (S), rapporteur.** — (DE) Ladies and gentlemen, I am laying before Parliament today a report on a problem on which there has already been a great deal of discussion in this House. I interpret the opinion as a sign to the Council of Ministers, as a signal that it should put an end to an employment and economic policy which, with the exception of solemn, but non-binding, declarations, continues to discriminate against women.

What is one to think of a Dutch government which creates the principle of head of the household, contrary to the Third Directive on equal treatment of women in social security, and thereby clearly disadvantages women in the social security system? What is one to think of a Belgian government which, contrary to the Directive to which I have just referred, introduces provisions relating to unemployment benefit, 90% of whose victims will be unemployed women? What is one to think of a German Federal government which reduces the maternity benefit for working women, rediscovers motherhood and tries in this underhand way to force women out of the labour market in order to eliminate part of the unemployment problem? What is one to think of governments which,

despite continually rising unemployment, steadfastly refuse to adopt a joint, legally determined European order on working hours leading to a fair redistribution of labour for women and for men? Finally, is it not scandalous for the Council of Ministers to dare to leave a directive on voluntary part-time work, which was carefully drafted by Parliament, untouched for more than two years and then simply to instruct the Commission to change the Directive back into a mere resolution?

I warn the Commission not to be evasive, I expect a statement on this point from the Commissioner today. I only hope that the Report will mean that this procedure becomes so widely known that it mobilizes the hundreds of thousands of women affected by it, who would otherwise continue to be exploited in part-time employment without the corresponding social insurance.

These events have demonstrated to me how imperative it is that we should revert to the principle of majority decisions in the Council of Ministers, since otherwise it will continue to be possible for individual countries to boycott forward-looking measures — in this case the countries concerned are Denmark, Great Britain and, unfortunately, the Federal Republic of Germany. The procedure involving the directive on part-time work is presumptuous trickery and we cannot tolerate this kind of thing. Politicians are acting as though they are determined to give their blessing at European level to the policies they are already pursuing in their own countries against women and against employers. I expect — I repeat once more — that the Commission will make a statement to the European Parliament about this scandalous procedure.

The French example in promoting female employment is a welcome contrast to this. I think that the French presidency has done great service here, both by its efforts at European level and by the measures in support of women which it has taken in its own country, especially as the measures being taken in France are identical to the decisions taken by Parliament towards improving the position of women in employment. The European Parliament has adopted forward-looking resolutions to protect women in employment and to prevent women being relegated to the reserve and driven out of the labour market.

The people most affected by unemployment, next to women, are young people. It is not by chance, therefore, that you find on the agenda a relevant question by the Socialist Group. We examined the question of youth unemployment over a year ago during a much-publicized special session of the European Parliament on the theme of youth unemployment. Youth unemployment and ways of combatting it were a focal point of the special session in Brussels.

What has happened since then? We are asking the Commission today for details of what it has done and

**Salisch**

how it has dealt with the Resolutions of the European Parliament. The Commissioner, Mr Richards, was somewhat annoyed when, on another occasion, I accused the Commission of being a puppet of the Council of Ministers because it did not have the courage to make proposals that did any more than echo what it expected to hear from the Council of Ministers. On that occasion I said to the Commissioner, 'Make this Parliament your partner. Fight with us to push through measures which go further than anything the Council has been prepared to accept so far.'

We would like you to tell us how things have progressed. What change has there been in the labour market for young people? What change has there been in the position of young people as regards training? What has the Commission been able to achieve in the Member States? We expect a precise answer from the Commissioner on behalf of the Commission, and not just a declaration of intent. A year is a long time for young people who are waiting for employment or training. Should it appear that the Commission has not forcefully expressed to the Council of Ministers and in the European Council the will of Parliament to combat youth unemployment on a continuing basis within the framework of a harmonized European package on employment, this will be a decisive point for the Socialist Group in its appraisal of the work of the Commission and of the conclusions to be drawn from it. Any laxity on the part of the Commission, including the question of shortening working hours, would be an offence and unforgivable. I am sure that the European Parliament would find it unacceptable in view of the 13 million unemployed, of which the majority are women and young people.

(Applause)

**Mrs Duport (S).** — (FR) Mr President, Ladies and Gentlemen, reading *L'Expansion* in the 'plane this morning, I learnt that all the indicators are improving, with the sole exception of the unemployment figures. In the two and a half years since I came into this Parliament, this is a problem which has exercised us a great deal, one which has been the subject of much effort on the part of the Commission as well as Honourable Members and the political groups, but in fact no progress has been made. And those most severely affected are of course women and young people. So can there really be a solution at Community level? I believe that there can, but probably not by the means conventionally envisaged: an increase in the Social Fund. While I am convinced of the obvious need for its appropriation to be increased, this Fund is thoroughly ill-suited to solving the problems of unemployment, which are of quite a different order. There is a danger of a worsening of the unemployment situation among women in particular because the idea that it would be as well for women to return to being housewives is gaining wider and wider currency; this is not the case in France, where this idea has been opposed

most strenuously, especially by the Government, but it is, apparently, in Parliament and in the political groups. I have also heard this view aired at home, during the election meetings that I have been holding, and I find this very disturbing, because the question put to me is this: what are your reasons for thinking that women should work? I reply that we have never obliged women to work. It is an irreversible and very understandable trend: there can be no independence, no freedom, without economic freedom, and women are really determined to have this.

There can therefore be no question, in my view, of telling women to go back to being housewives, so that solutions have to be found.

A start could be made by reducing working time, increasing investment, and displaying an imaginative approach to the creation of jobs in all our communes, jobs stemming from local initiative. The Commission has made proposals along these lines, but how can we get things moving, how can we mobilize the conviction that will make for an improvement in the situation?

Rather than use the Social Fund for training, since its resources are very inadequate, perhaps we could use the Community as the means for spreading information, for creating awareness. Material could be produced in the seven languages for use in the various countries to get across the message that women want to work, and under better conditions at that, that they want a reduction in working time and effective application of laws which, to take the example of those recently passed in France, serve their interests well. They have to be applied in practice if they are to do any good. This is the most difficult part, as we well know, it is a constant struggle. The Commission and the Community could therefore perhaps mount a consciousness-raising exercise on a much larger scale, using modern audiovisual resources, to oppose this current temptation to put pressure on women to revert to being housewives. Parental leave, for instance, which I think is going to be adopted by the Council, is an excellent means of allowing women to work and creating better conditions for the early education of children, which is far more balanced from the viewpoint of their mental and psychological wellbeing when this role is assumed by both parents, either in succession or by turns.

Finally, I feel that we must show imagination and not simply go on intoning this refrain complacently — I am confident that the next Parliament will stop doing this and really take this problem in hand — so that a really energetic effort will be made to create awareness among our peoples, working time is reduced and the laws in this field are effectively applied, especially those prohibiting discrimination against women at work and in recruitment by employers, as has been done in France.

**Mrs Maij-Weggen (PPE).** — (NL) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, this Parliament has discussed the extent and gravity of unemployment on various occasions in the past. It has always stressed that certain groups are harder hit by unemployment than others. They include young people, foreign workers, the handicapped and above all women. Unemployment among women, as the European statistics show, is almost half as high again as among men. Two thirds of the young people out of work are girls, one third boys.

We must therefore welcome the fact that the French Presidency and specifically the Minister for the Condition of Women, Mrs Yvette Roudy, have called for special action by the Council to reduce unemployment among women. This complies with requests Parliament has made in the past, in its resolutions of January and March of this year.

Before I say anything about the contents of these resolutions and Mrs Salisch's explanatory statement, I should like to comment briefly on the cause of unemployment among women.

In 1981 the report by the then *ad hoc* Committee on the Rights of Women warned of the extreme vulnerability of women in the labour market. This vulnerability is due to three factors.

Some 80% of women work in about 20% of all possible occupations. These occupations are concentrated on administration — we have millions of typists in Europe — the social services, health care, education, small and medium-sized firms — think of the millions of shop assistants in Europe — and the textile and food industries. Almost all of these sectors are under considerable pressure at the moment. Automation is being introduced into administration on a large scale, at the expense of numerous jobs. In the social services and in health care jobs are on the decrease because of the limited resources available to the national authorities. In education fewer jobs are available because the number of children is declining. In small and medium-sized firms turnover has dropped in recent years, and many shop assistants have lost their jobs as a result. And a large part of the textile industry has been transferred to the developing countries. So you can see that 80% of women work in the very sectors of industry which are in considerable difficulty.

Secondly, many women work at low levels, in minor part-time jobs, in temporary jobs or in cottage industries. All the statistics show that these are the areas in which unemployment is most likely to occur.

Thirdly, many women interrupt their careers completely or partly for family reasons, a very understandable and legitimate consideration for women wanting to devote some time to their families, but it is also a major handicap for women when compared with men.

The question is whether the Council's resolution as it now stands provides a satisfactory solution to all these problems.

One of the most important pieces of advice which women and young women in particular should be given is that they should stop setting their sights on a limited number of occupations and opt for work that is less traditionally done by women, particularly in the economic and technological spheres. Many jobs will be created in the new technology sector in the future. If women fail to get their share of these jobs, their situation will simply become even worse.

In addition, women must rise above the lower and marginal types of occupation. There is everything to be said for part-time work and temporary work. They lubricate the labour market machine, but work of this kind must not be allocated exclusively to women. It must be distributed fairly among all categories. Men should also do their share of this work.

A third aspect is that it should not just be the mothers who interrupt their careers for family reasons. My group believes that paid work and work in the family should be shared more fairly between men and women. Making more part-time jobs available for both parents, particularly during an active period in the family, may be a good solution here. We are therefore in favour of a considerable increase in part-time work provided that there is adequate social protection. In this context, Commissioner Richard, we feel that a directive would be far better than a recommendation.

Mr President, we are happy to say that these factors are adequately covered by the Council's resolution and Mrs Salisch's resolution.

One further comment to conclude. The Council's resolution again confirms that women have a right to a place in the labour market, and I totally agree with this. In some Member States, however, the tendency at present is to cast doubt on this right and to discourage women from taking their place in the labour market. Such tactics are often wrapped up in extremely sophisticated terms, with the result that women are often confused and perplexed about their statutory rights. Mr President, I have tabled an amendment which denounces these tactics of discouraging women, and I would be grateful if Members gave it their support.

Finally, Mr President, for the last five years the European Christian Democrats have supported every action, directive and resolution in favour of women in this Parliament. Christian-Democratic women in Europe have been able to count on the Christian-Democratic Group in this Parliament. And women in the Member States will be able to count on us again in the coming five years. We must simply be prepared to act in their interests. I hope women will place their trust in us in the elections. I look forward to 14 June with optimism.

**Mrs Cinciari Rodano (COM),** *Chairman of the Committee of Inquiry into the Situation of Women in*

### Rodano

*Europe.* — (IT) Mr President there is no doubt that — as is made clear also in the resolution of the Committee of Inquiry into the Situation of Women, which this Parliament adopted in January last — the question of the growing unemployment of women and girls in the central problem. The figures — I am not going to repeat them — speak for themselves. The number of women on the labour market today is growing, whilst female unemployment is growing faster than the number of women in jobs, and is also increasing faster than male unemployment.

In Italy, the figures are even worse than the European average: one woman in four today is unemployed, and one girl in two cannot find work. Clearly, in these conditions, it will be very difficult to achieve progress with the application of Community directives and regulations aimed at equality. The danger is that the reverse will be the case, and that such directives and regulations will be increasingly less applied, so that the way that jobs are divided on the basis of sex will worsen. We must also ask ourselves what will become of the hundreds of thousands of girls today if for years to come they cannot find work, cannot use their abilities and the skills that they have acquired at school or through vocational training — if, in a word, they have no hope of self-fulfilment. This can only provoke an abysmal return to antiquated, long-since abandoned stereotypes, which will seriously harm the democratic development of our entire Community.

We therefore value the initiative of the Commission of the Community and that of Mr Roudy, who drew the attention of the Council to these problems. Undoubtedly, this draft resolution of the Council is not very much of a thing, compared with the gravity and dramatic nature of the problems involved. However, it is something, and as such we value it. We should like, Mr Commissioner, to ask you to do something for us: in the text, it says 'Considers that the following guidelines for action should be implemented...' and para 3.3 says 'Measures should be taken...'. We should like to have a guarantee from the Commission that this text will constitute a precise commitment for Member States. In fact, if these few items remain nothing more than good intentions, or simply represent something that the Council of Ministers is adopting with an eye to the imminence of voting day, the women will certainly not be grateful to them, because this will be valueless.

Secondly, we must take into account the fact that the climate in Member States is not a favourable one. In particular, I ask the Commission to be very much on the alert and to insist, by accepting the amendments presented to this effect, on having a real check on equality of opportunity for jobs. As I said, the climate is not favourable: in Italy, the introduction of recruitment by nomination has seriously penalized — and the figures confirm it — the number of jobs for women and girls, even in those sectors where women represent two-thirds of the unemployed. Of the training

agreements concluded on the basis of the new law in Italy, two-thirds are for boys and only one-third for girls. A careful watch is therefore necessary to ensure that the principles of equality of opportunity are really applied. It must also be remembered that the European Social Fund can be used as an instrument to help employment, not simply in general terms, but in order to achieve some of the objectives here stated, in regard to the employment of women.

*Mrs Tove Nielsen (L).* — (DA) Mr President, when we discussed the report on the situation of women in Europe here in Parliament a few months ago, the Liberal Group tabled a number of amendments in order to show how we thought we could make our contribution to an improvement in the present situation. The ranks of the unemployed include many women and many young people. It is a problem of the utmost gravity for us all. We therefore said at the time that, in order to dispose of this problem, we had to begin at the beginning and concentrate our efforts on training. This means ensuring through the system of education and training that children of both sexes become acquainted with different forms of education and training. What in the past were regarded as traditional girls' subjects and traditional boys' subjects are no longer relevant to the society of the future or to the society of the present. It is therefore important that boys and girls should learn the same things in their schooling.

We also pointed out that it was of the utmost importance that children should have both female and male teachers from the start and throughout their progress through the education system. There seems to be agreement in the various Member States that there are not enough women occupying key posts in the education system, and we would like to contribute to a development in which women do not just feel motivated to get ahead in the education system, but also have the opportunity to do so. Precisely as Liberals, we must be the first to respect the individual, man or woman, with the qualifications he or she has. In this way we can play a part in creating a better society for us all.

Mr President, I hope that what comes out of this debate will be much more positive than what emerged from the debate on the situation of women, for that regrettably ended in a classical Marxist-Communist discussion on the society of women, and that quite simply will not help women at all. In our concern that both men and women get the best possible advantage from their situation, we of the Liberal Group want to do our bit to ensure that everyday life for the family and for the individual, man or woman, in working life is as good as it can possibly be, and we would point out that, as far as we can see, part-time work must be a good thing for men as well as for women.

My final remark is that we Liberals do not believe in the Socialist propaganda that shorter working hours

**Nielsen**

will be a help to women. On the contrary, we think that both men and women should have the best opportunities to receive the training which is necessary in contemporary society. That is why we must adopt technology. That is why we must take up the challenges, deal with them and join in creating a better life for us all. That will in our opinion offer better possibilities of employment, not just for men but also for women, and that is in the best interests of society.

**Ms Clwyd (S).** — Mr President, first of all I would like to congratulate my colleague, Mrs Salisch, on what I think is an excellent report. It underlines many of the points we have made in this Parliament over the last five years. It certainly underlines the fact that the two pressing problems which faced us five years ago are still with us — rising unemployment and the failure to control the activities of the multinational companies.

This is probably the last chance I shall have to speak in this European Parliament, since I have now been elected to the House of Commons, where I shall have an opportunity, no doubt, on many occasions to tell our Prime Minister precisely what she ought to be doing to reduce unemployment in our own country.

The fact is, of course, that in this Parliament we have failed to control the activities of the multinational companies. I have an example now within my own constituency where the Japanese Hitachi company has just made over half the workforce redundant, and two-thirds of that workforce are women. The information and consultation procedure that this company followed with its workforce went like this. The workforce found out that they were being made redundant on the same day that the company told the press. That is why I think it extremely important that we get proper legislation to control the activities of multinational companies, so that they properly inform and consult their workers. Quite clearly, this company and many other companies like it are not doing anything of the kind.

In fact, the workforce would have liked more time to consult amongst themselves so as to come forward with proposals for sharing the work in this particular factory, because it is in an area of very high unemployment indeed. Cynon Valley in South Wales, where this particular factory is situated, has an unemployment rate of 19%, and the workers there would have liked the opportunity to come forward with proposals to share that work out in the factory. That opportunity has not been given to them.

At the moment the factory is concluding a single-union agreement within that factory — the first time that any site outside a Greenfields site in the United Kingdom has concluded a single-union, no-strike agreement with a company. The workers, of course, are expected to abide by the guiding principles of the

Hitachi management; 'sincerity, pioneering spirit and harmony'. The staff have for three years already been without a wage increase. They are now to get a 7% wage increase which will be given to all staff — a relatively generous offer but without any negotiation whatsoever.

Mr President, the management quoted high absenteeism as a problem in this factory but included in their figure women on maternity leave and people on holiday. So that again is how a multinational company sees the problem of absenteeism, and I think that that is a particularly worrying factor as far as women are concerned.

The other problem that may be facing workers at this factory, Mr President, is that the normal principles of redundancy in Britain, which are that the last in will be the first out, are not going to be applied in this case. This is not the first time that women have been treated in this way in Britain in the last few years.

I urge this Parliament to support the resolution and the report by Mrs Salisch.

**Mrs Lenz (PPE).** — (DE) Mr President! For the nth time the European Parliament has taken up the urgent question of unemployment amongst women and we welcome the Commission's intention of laying before the Council a proposal in the form of a resolution, although — and here I share my colleague's opinion — we would naturally have preferred more concrete proposals. The Committee of Inquiry into the Situation of Women in Europe has tabled an opinion on this, which supports the demand and puts in into concrete form.

In view of the urgency of the problem of unemployment as a whole, and of unemployment among women and girls in particular, in February we welcomed in an emergency resolution the conference of ministers in Paris, which was to draw up proposals for solving this problem and which now, as the Council, is to lay down these proposals — if only in the form of a resolution. We saw at the time that the proposals for solutions were to disregard all taboos and that every kind of arrangement of working hours was to be included in the discussions. That includes flexible working hours, i.e. new working arrangements, as well as part-time work, and it is to this aspect that I shall confine my remarks. We ask therefore — this is the object of the amendment tabled by Mrs Majj-Weggen and myself — that the relevant passages of the resolution closing the procedure for consultation of the European Parliament on the draft Council resolution to combat unemployment amongst women be incorporated in the draft resolution itself. We do think that the more concrete sections of the resolution should be included in the draft Council resolution.

We share the Socialist view only insofar as — when it criticizes the lack of readiness on the part of our gov-

**Lenz**

ernments to take a decision on the directive on part-time work — we would very much have welcomed this directive, perhaps not always in agreement with our own governments, since it would primarily help women in countries where part-time work is virtually unknown, and for whom, if it is known, the insurance position is much worse than it is for us who live in countries where a whole series of measures have already been taken. In the end it is not a question of creating employment opportunities, but of giving women and girls the opportunity to use work skills which have often been acquired as a result of expensive training, to continue to use this knowledge later in combination with their family obligations so that they will be able to return to full-time employment later on.

We are in favour of freedom of choice, we are in favour of voluntary part-time work, but we are in favour of part-time work as *one* possibility. If the statisticians are proved right and in the coming years more jobs are available than there are skilled people to fill them in the next generation, this can be seen as another opportunity for women who are still able and willing to work, even part-time. Part-time work provides an opportunity to do this and that is why we should like to have these passages included.

*(Applause)*

**Mr Adamou (COM).** — *(GR)* Mr President, Mme Salisch's report paints a vivid sketch of the tragic situation created by unemployment among women. However, some of the measures proposed can bring no solutions to this most acute problem of our Community. For example, the proposal for part-time employment for women goes against the interests of working women, because it facilitates their still greater exploitation by securing yet more excess profit for employers, for whom women have always been a cheap pool of labour, a source of inhuman enrichment. Part-time employment perpetuates the notion that the wife's earnings are a mere supplement to the family budget. And despite protestations to the contrary, in a capitalist situation women are not regarded as equal members of society. The view is perpetuated that, according to the familiar triptych, woman's place is with the children, in the kitchen and at church (*Kinder, Küche, Kirche*). We still hear the baseless argument that the increase in juvenile crime is supposedly the result of mothers' employment in productive industry, whereas it is in fact exclusively the consequence of the structure of capitalist society. Part-time work is a weapon with which employers seek to strike at, weaken and divide the trade-union movement, and consequently the resistance and struggle of working people against the avarice of the employers.

Mr President, let me say a few words about the situation of working women in my own country, Greece. Though they make up only 31% of the workforce, they account for 45% of the unemployed as a whole,

in fact numbering 157 000, and young women capable of work account for 60% of the young unemployed. Moreover, women's unemployment lasts, on average, much longer and they account for 62% of those who remain unemployed for more than a year. In Greece the system of domestic service results in women having to work for 12 to 16 hours per day, for a wage even lower than the stipulated minimum wage for an 8-hour day. Furthermore, domestics are not covered by any insurance scheme.

In our view, general unemployment can only be met by State investment in the public sector and by the nationalization of basic industries, to create new jobs. Measures should be instituted for the education and specialization of Greek women, 90% of whom have no special training. Training schools should be established in sectors that employ women, and women should specialize in the new production systems. The age limit for retirement should be lowered to 55 for women. The situation of motherhood should be protected, maternity leave of at least 16 weeks should be safeguarded, and crèches and kindergartens should be established.

These, however, are measures that do not feature in the resolution by the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment. Yet, without them unemployment among women, instead of decreasing, will assume even greater dimensions as capitalism's economic crisis deepens day by day and the monopolies constantly strive for greater excess profits.

**Mrs Salisch (S), rapporteur.** — *(DE)* Mr President, I find it unacceptable for my Greek colleague to take from my report quotations which are not to be found in the report. He has totally misinterpreted what I said about unemployment amongst women. I must reject this.

**Mr Patterson (ED).** — Mr President, may I congratulate Mrs Salisch on an excellent report which my group in principle supports. I do not know what the opposite of a maiden is, Mrs Clwyd, but I would also like to congratulate Mrs Clwyd on the opposite of her maiden speech in this House. I would like particularly to congratulate her on her ingenuity in dragging the multinationals into a debate on women's unemployment. I wish you well in another place, because that was a speech which would go down very well in there.

Three very quick points on the Salisch report. First of all the Social Fund. My group does support, and has always supported, the idea that the Social Fund must be expanded, not just for women but for men as well. It is particularly important, however, in combating women's unemployment. If I may also be allowed, Mrs Clwyd, to make a political point: reading the Labour manifesto for the European Community elections which I am sure you had a hand in drafting, I noticed



**Patterson**

something which says that the British women have not benefited fully from the Social Fund. Well now we actually received 30% of the total Fund last year, both men and women, and I would ask Commissioner Richard to confirm that that 30% did not just go to men, but that women in the United Kingdom benefited as well.

Another point. I am also glad, Mrs Salisch, that you do not fall for the idea that the 35-hour week can just be imposed upon everybody without any reference to costs, because I noticed — and here my group is very much in accord — in point D you say that the preservation of competitiveness is important. Finally, there is one point which I would draw your attention to and that is Amendment No 3 which seeks to amend the Commission's text. It is an addition and it says that any adjustment in the social expenditure must be made for the sole purpose of eliminating distortion and waste, avoiding cuts in either public services or employment in this sector. Now, this is obvious nonsense, Mrs Salisch. You cannot say and pretend that the Council is going to vote for a resolution which says not merely that you should not cut services, but that you cannot even cut employment in the social services in order to make things more efficient. I do not believe for a minute the Council will vote for that and my group would be very much happier with your report if you could withdraw that amendment because otherwise it seems to be an excellent way of tackling women's unemployment.

**Mr Richard, Member of the Commission.** — Mr President, if I may say so, I think this has been a useful and comprehensive debate, though the fact that it is somewhat wide-ranging makes it difficult for me to answer in detail all the questions that I have been asked, but I will do my best.

It is obviously true that in an atmosphere of growing concern about unemployment generally the Commission has taken a number of initiatives intended to contribute to the evolution of a general strategy of the Member States to fight against that unemployment. To date, these initiatives include promoting employment for young people — about which I will have a word to say in a moment — the reduction and reorganization of working time and the development of vocational training policies.

Parallel with that, the Community's commitment to equal opportunities has also resulted in action at Community level, particularly by the adoption of the three directives on equal pay, on equal treatment and on equal treatment in social security, and also by the action programme on the promotion of equal opportunities for women, which was followed by a Council resolution. That resolution emphasized the need to intensify action at Community and national level in order to implement positive measures to achieve equal opportunities in practice. I take the point Mrs Salisch

makes that resolutions are one thing, action on the ground, so to speak, is different.

The Commission is particularly concerned by the fact that this difficult period is giving rise to a tendency, especially in relation to social security, to cut back in the area of equality of treatment between male and female workers. In this connection, the Commission is extremely concerned as to the correct implementation of the social security directive due to be implemented by the Member States before the end of this year. Insofar as some honourable parliamentarians asked for close monitoring by the Commission of what is going on in the Member States in this field, I can certainly give them the assurance that we are doing precisely that.

Women's unemployment in the Community was, as the House knows, the subject of a communication from the Commission last November to the Standing Committee on Employment. This communication outlined the present situation, examined the reasons for the high level of women's unemployment, and set out some possible steps that might be taken to alleviate the problem.

Over the past ten years women's unemployment has increased steadily. It is difficult to use averages across the Community to illustrate the problem, because some Member States have much higher female unemployment than others — Belgium, Italy, France and Ireland, for example. The size of the problem becomes clearer if one looks at the activity rates of men and women in the Community. It is an average of 56.1% for men and it is 31.2% for women, whereas unemployment levels are roughly similar for both men and women.

Women's employment, when they have jobs, is characterized, too, by a high concentration of women in certain specific activities and sectors. Coupled with the restructuring of the economy that has taken place, this has resulted recently in a substantial drop in employment in the sectors traditionally employing large numbers of women — for example, textiles, clothing, leather or skins. At the same time, there has been a significant increase in the numbers of women employed in the public and in the service sectors, although in general there has been an increase in low-paid jobs which require relatively few skills.

The high proportion of women among the jobless obviously has its origin in the types of jobs normally undertaken by women. Other factors that have given rise to the high levels of women's unemployment could, I suppose, be said to be an insufficiency of jobs to meet the increasing demand for work by women, inadequate skills and training on the part of women who go into employment, further reinforced after periods of unemployment, and there is an increasing tendency, too, to offer part-time and temporary forms of employment to women, with the accompanying

**Richard**

lack of job security and, indeed, with a decline in their status.

Following the discussions on this subject in the Standing Committee on Employment, sufficient importance was attached to the need for action for that committee to conclude that the subject should be discussed at Council of Ministers level and that the Commission should ensure that the right moves were made to enable the Council to propose an effective initiative. We therefore sent a draft resolution concerning action to combat unemployment amongst women to the Council giving guidelines on appropriate measures in this field.

Now the principles underlying any measures to be promoted in this area can be clearly and quite quickly stated. The principles are that men and women have an equal right to work and to seek economic independence, regardless of the economic situation, and that measures to stimulate economic recovery should include the extension of positive measures to correct *de facto* inequalities.

Taking account of measures being developed at present in the Member States, action is therefore recommended in certain specific areas. First of all, job creation and recruitment. Young women in particular are facing increasing difficulties in obtaining jobs and should benefit from positive action to recruit young women at all levels. Efforts should concentrate particularly on promoting women in the industries of the future, especially in the high technology areas.

Secondly, education and training. Action needs to be taken to improve women's skills in general in order to enable them to have a wider choice of jobs, particularly in areas affected by the new technologies.

In this connection I was asked one or two questions about the Social Fund, and I shall try and deal with them. The Social Fund in our view can play an important role in contributing to women's training, particularly in the areas for action outlined in the resolution. The Commission considers that the new guidelines for the Fund constitute a substantial and, indeed, increased incentive for women's projects, but it is up to the Member States to respond to them. There is no legal provision for refusing applications on the basis of the proportion between the sexes. The Commission's approach to this question is based on inducements rather than compulsion.

With regard to the point Mr Patterson raised, it is true that the Social Fund is available for both men and women. However, as he will know and the House will know, there was a specific line in the budget designed specifically for women's measures'. In relation to that amount of money that was in the budget, it was true that the United Kingdom was not taking up a substantial share of that money. However, the issue is now somewhat academic, since in the new Social Fund

under the new guidelines the separate budget line for women has disappeared — as I think it should have done, since I proposed it — and therefore the whole of the Fund is in theory now open.

The third area where action needs to be taken at Member State level is on the collection of data. An improvement in the availability of data on the situation of women in the labour market would lead to a better monitoring of progress in the desegregation of employment and in the identifying of women's unemployment trends.

Fourthly, action needs to be taken in relation to information campaigns. As was mentioned in the course of this debate, a change in attitudes on the part of employers and unemployed alike would be of immense benefit to progress in achieving equality of opportunity in general. One example from the United Kingdom is the campaign held this year on Women in Science and Engineering. I thought it was a good campaign, and it is something which I hope could be followed in other Member States of the Community.

Finally, I should like to stress the importance the Commission attaches to finding solutions to the unemployment problem in general, and to ensuring that attention is paid to those categories of workers for whom unemployment is disproportionately high. Our commitment to equal opportunities must necessarily include a commitment to action when we can see that women in general and young girls in particular are facing more than their fair share of unemployment. We must hope that this Council resolution will contribute positively to progress in the fight against women's unemployment.

I shall now turn to the second half of this debate, although it has not received very much attention from the floor. This is the oral question on youth unemployment. The Socialist Group has tabled some very fundamental questions about youth unemployment to the Commission, and it is difficult here to give an adequate response to each of those issues.

The Commission is deeply concerned about the lack of progress in bringing down the level of youth unemployment. The Council has adopted a resolution which contains most of the ideas for action proposed by the Commission and supported by Parliament. As yet, the level of commitment by the Council and by Member States is clearly inadequate. As the House knows, the Council refused to include specific targets for action in the resolution. The Commission is therefore trying to monitor the implementation of the resolution and will before the end of the year be holding a first discussion on this with the Member States and on the results of the supplementary and extra effort which they are committed to make in this area.

One argument which we have heard in this debate is that a breakthrough might be made if there were to be

**Richard**

a more dynamic attitude towards the reduction and reorganization of working time by and within Member States. I can tell the House that opinion on this issue is moving and I am optimistic that some progress can be made on this subject at the Social Affairs Council in June.

Massively increased resources for the Social Fund would also, of course, make a significant difference to the level of investment in youth training and of employment in Member States. This is easily said but it is simply not possible to envisage given the present Community budgetary situation. I wish it were otherwise but I fear it is not.

What I am most concerned about is that through familiarity with the problem of youth unemployment, the urgency of the problem will begin to disappear and drop out of attention. I hope that the new Parliament when it is elected will return to this question and will insist on a more detailed debate before the end of the year and I would hope that one might be in a position to give some reaction from the Member States to the terms of the resolution which they accepted.

**Mrs Salisch (S), rapporteur.** — (DE) With your permission, Mr President, I should like to re-examine what Mr Richard has just said. Firstly, the Commission has made no statement regarding my question on the progress of Parliament's directive on part-time work. The directive does, however, affect women's employment. I therefore repeat my question to the Commission: what is the present position? Is it correct that the Council requested the Commission to withdraw the directive and use the instrument of a mere recommendation? What is the Commission's attitude, when does it expect to consult Parliament on the subject, what course will things take?

As for his treatment of the oral question, I say to the Commissioner, Mr Richard, it is the same as ever. The Commission does not give straightforward answers. It was basically another wishy-washy statement. A year has gone by and in principle nothing has happened. That is how I read the Commissioner's reply, and, as I said just now, young people are waiting for something to happen.

Apart from the reform of the Social Fund, nothing has happened. The Commissioner obviously has no kind of information on what has happened in the individual Member States, or he does not think it important enough to be reported to Parliament. How can he hope to join us in the fight against youth unemployment if he does not even consider it necessary to answer questions which have been precisely defined?

**Mr Richard, Member of the Commission.** — Mr President, that, with great respect, is a ludicrous intervention by Mrs Salisch — absolutely absurd! I have coop-

erated with Parliament solidly on this issue of unemployment from the time I took up this job until today. I am not prepared to accept from her, or indeed from any other Member of this House, that the Commission has been dilatory in listening to Parliament. I have listened to Parliament *ad nauseam* on this subject. It would be infinitely better if the efforts of some parliamentarians were devoted to making their Member States listen rather than continually sniping at people who are actually trying to do something about the problem!

**President.** — The debate is closed. The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

**Mr Enright (S).** — Mr President, this is indeed a point of order under Rule 63. I was considerably disturbed to discover that some people who have come over here to lobby on behalf of Afir Begum — and I am not talking about the rights or wrongs of the case — have been refused entry to the building. Now that, I think, is quite disgraceful in principle, and I think that every Member here would agree with me. I would ask, since they arrive at half past four, that it be examined with urgency by the President's Office or by the Quaestors' Office who, I understand, gave the particular decision as to why this should be. I can find no justification for it whatsoever in any of the Rules of Procedure.

Indeed it is true to say that a couple of sessions ago we had people who were lobbying here on behalf of wine interests who were inside and who were blocking the staircase. These people had agreed that they would hand out leaflets way down there by the flags. They certainly would not be so aggressive as the farmers. They would perhaps be not nearly so effective as the large business interests that lobbied against that splendid measure that was put forward by the Commissioner sitting there straight opposite not long ago on behalf of worker participation in multinationals. Yet these people seem to have been picked out and it looks as if it is for political reasons. I can find no justification for it and therefore I think that the Presidency should examine it with urgency irrespective of the rights and wrongs of the case.

**President.** — The presidency will contact the College of Quaestors as soon as possible on this matter.

**Mr Enright (S).** — I am sorry, I am not trying to be awkward, I just want to know at what time you will tell us what the decision is because the people are arriving at 4.30 p.m.

**President.** — Mr Enright, I shall be leaving the Chair in a moment and I shall deal with the matter immediately.

### 9. Security and social legislation

**President.** — The next item is the joint discussion of:

- the interim report (Doc. 1-45/84), by Mrs Maij-Weggen, on behalf of the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment, on the Commission publication entitled 'Social Security Problems' (COM(82) 716 final),
- the report (Doc. 1-66/84) by Mr Calvez, on behalf of the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment, on the harmonization of social security legislation in the Member States.

**Mrs Maij-Weggen (PPE), rapporteur.** — (NL) Mr President, the interest the European Community has so far taken in social security in the Member States has been selective. We are all familiar with the legislation it has adopted on social security for migrant workers, self-employed migrant workers, frontier workers, part-time workers and temporary workers and on the equal treatment of men and women. All these directives are chiefly aimed at improving the freedom of movement of workers between the Member States and removing all forms of discrimination against certain groups of workers. I believe that these directives have resulted in recent years or will result in the future in a considerable improvement in the social security of millions of European citizens.

The document on social security which the Commission has now submitted to us and which we are debating today is, however, of a completely different nature. The growing budgetary problems with which the social security systems in almost all the Member States are having to contend have increased the pressure on the Community to come forward with suggestions on the course which social security should follow. The Commission document now before us contains a number of suggestions of this kind. It is now for Parliament to ascertain whether these suggestions are relevant. The Committee on Social Affairs and Employment has looked very closely at both the analysis of the problems and the suggestions made in the Commission's document. In so doing, we have come across various fundamental problems.

Firstly, we thought that the analysis in the document was too brief and far from complete. We feel that, before relevant suggestions can be made to the Member States, a number of basic factors must be clarified. I will name three. Should the problems at present facing the social security systems be ascribed to the economic crisis or to problems inherent in the systems themselves or to a combination of the two? Secondly, how is social security in the various Member States organized and financed? Thirdly, what is the link between the organization and financing of social security and its efficiency?

Only when these fundamental questions have been clarified is there any point in coming forward with practical suggestions. We therefore call in our resolution for further research in these three areas.

We shall, however, comment on the suggestions the Commission makes in its communication. They really concern three main points: improving efficiency, reducing costs in health care and reducing costs in the care of the elderly. The last two sectors have been selected because of all the various areas of social security it is here that costs are rising fastest.

As regards improvements in efficiency, we feel there is one absolute criterion. Social security must be geared primarily to preventing European citizens from being reduced to poverty. According to recent studies 30 million Europeans, including many old people, many women and many handicapped people, are still living in poverty. What is more, the percentage has risen steeply in recent years. The Committee on Social Affairs and Employment takes the view that maximum efficiency in social security must above all be geared to combating this poverty. We believe that the Member States must be very careful about reducing various forms of social security, especially where the poorest of European citizens are the first to suffer.

The Commission's suggestions for reducing the cost of health care are in themselves useful. Every Member State can learn something from them. What we miss is any reference to prevention. Some 90% of the resources for health care are spent on curing the sick and about 10% on prevention. Shifting the emphasis to prevention might result in major savings in the curative sphere and also preclude a great deal of human suffering.

As regards the third point — reducing costs in the care of the elderly — we feel great caution should be exercised. Firstly, because the elderly already account for a fairly large proportion of European citizens who live below the poverty line. Secondly, because every generation has a moral duty to look after the elderly as best it can. Cuts in the social protection of the elderly does not therefore seem advisable to us.

We were also surprised to find the Commission's document paying so little attention to the growing cost of unemployment benefits, which, according to our information, is rising just as steeply as the cost of health care and the care of the elderly. These costs have little to do with problems within the security systems. They are a direct consequence of the economic crisis, and we therefore feel that the best way to combat them is to combat the economic crisis.

So much for my comments as rapporteur. I will conclude with a few words on the Calvez report. We approve this report, but we also say that, until there is convergence in the organization and financing of social security, caution should be exercised where the

**Maij-Weggen**

harmonization of social legislation is concerned. One exception might perhaps be made. We might try to introduce a minimum European standard for any social security legislation. This might result in everyone who needs social protection being guaranteed a fixed basic benefit. It is the absence of this fixed basic benefit in many Member States that leads to the poverty from which 30 million citizens at present suffer. Combating this poverty is one of the first tasks the European Community's social policy must undertake. We have tabled an amendment seeking the inclusion of this point in Mr Calvez's resolution, and we hope and expect that he will support this amendment.

IN THE CHAIR: MR NIKOLAOU

*Vice-President*

**Mr Calvez (L), rapporteur.** — (FR) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the report on the harmonization of social legislation in the Member States which it is my privilege to present in this last part-session of the European Parliament elected in June 1979 stems from a question for oral answer with debate put to the Commission of the European Communities back in October 1979 by our colleagues Mr Pininfarina and Mr Bangemann, to which our colleague Mr Peters had attached a motion for a resolution with a request for an early vote. Four years elapsed before the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment decided to return to these matters. As you know, we do not set our sights very high, given the complexities of this problem and bearing in mind that economic and monetary convergence is being held back by the Member States' policies and, when the inflation rate is four times higher in some Member States than in others, it is difficult to harmonize taxation and compulsory contributions, and accordingly difficult to harmonize social policies.

As Mr Commissioner Richard was saying a few days ago, Community social policy has an essential role, not a secondary one, to play in meeting the challenge of information technology. And is it not one of the purposes of our debates to inform the European Parliament of the proposals brought forward by the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment, asking for its support for them and commitment to a Community action programme? There has been much talk in this Chamber of harmonization of taxation, of technical harmonization through the adoption of Community standards. There has also been talk of the efforts made in all fields with a view to approximation of Member States' policies and regulatory laws, to providing European citizens with a framework for a more fulfilling existence through legislation which is more *communautaire* in character. Above all, however, let us not forget that Article 117 of the Treaty of Rome calls for

working conditions and living standards to be improved so that they can be harmonized as progress is made.

We are aware that various factors, some historical, some cultural and others stemming from the different economic structures in each of the Member States have made for differences, often very pronounced, in their social laws. Disparities which seem excessive have survived. And yet a drive to harmonize social legislation is absolutely necessary in order to defend the European economy and to achieve equality of working conditions for companies and workers in the Community.

With the crisis, unemployment has risen above 10% of the labour force and reached the unprecedented level of 15% in the worst affected towns in some regions. The industrial landscape has been transformed by enforced rationalization. Industrial giants have collapsed, factories have closed and national businesses have been taken over by our direct competitors from the United States and Japan.

Let us remember the reports and resolutions on various aspects of social policy that Parliament has passed by large majorities. No-one could claim that these reports have helped to improve the employment situation! Nevertheless, the range of solutions proposed should have been of interest to the Member States, the employers and the workers who meet two or three times a year in the Standing Committee on Employment and have been waiting forlornly for some sign on the horizon of a fall in unemployment.

Community social policy is something that we must define together, but it is often difficult to get a clear understanding of the social situation in the Europe of Ten. Admittedly, there have been expressions of good intentions, there have been valuable declarations by the Heads of State or Government, such as the one issued at the Paris summit meeting in 1972, when the Member States affirmed that they attached as much importance to vigorous action in the social field as to the achievement of the economic and monetary union. So is harmonization of legislation a pipedream or a realistic objective? It is no longer possible in today's world, ladies and gentlemen, to isolate Europe from the international market, where the talk is of companies' production costs, of declining efficiency, of the erosion of purchasing power and rising unemployment.

Expansion of production should create the conditions for combating unemployment and raising living standards, with the adoption of the measures that we have recommended, such as temporary and part-time work, as long as they are accepted by all concerned and they are approached with maximum flexibility.

Political speeches in this Chamber ought to display great realism, ladies and gentlemen. We are con-

**Calvez**

fronted with the same challenges, the same key problems. In the social field, we cannot go our own ways. Although it may not be possible to harmonize past situations overnight, it should be possible to reach joint decisions on social legislation for the future, for which purpose we need accurate data on the current situation. I would therefore be grateful if the Commission could each year devote a special item to the stage of progress in the harmonization of social legislation and social systems in its report on social developments.

**Mr Patterson (ED).** — I am going to confine my remarks to Mrs Maij-Weggen's report on social security problems and my colleague will speak later on on the Calvez report. The Maij-Weggen report is an excellent one and is based on a very important Commission document. As the rapporteur stated, social security comes into the remit of the Community primarily through freedom of movement, and I would quote Mrs Maij-Weggen's statement because it is an important point, that as a result of Community legislation, social security has improved significantly for millions of Europeans over the years and will continue to do so. We are often asked in this election campaign what benefit has the Community been? I can think of no better quotation than that for bringing home the point.

But I make two reservations. First of all, those on the Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions will know that a very high proportion of the petitions we get and, indeed, letters we get as Members, refer to the failure of national ministries, to coordinate their efforts on social security. We have people who are due money from one country who have to wait months, and sometimes years, before payment is made and this, of course, really negates the idea of freedom of movement and is something that needs improvement. Secondly, there are two big gaps, as Commissioner Richard will know very well: family benefits and unemployment benefits, and I hope the Commissioner will continue to work for the completion of the interchangeability of social security in those fields.

But the report is about other things, particularly about the budgetary strains on social security systems. There are two very important paragraphs in the Commission document which I am going to quote — read into the record, as they say in the United States — because they consider them so important.

'The labour costs are higher in the Community than in most other countries in the world. These disparities are due not only to differences in wages but also to differences in the level of social protection which are financed by taxes and social security contributions falling in part on the employer. High labour costs may have a critical effect on the competitiveness of undertakings, especially in certain sectors vulnerable to the competition of Third World countries, such as textiles, clothing, footwear and shipbuilding. The potential

damaging effect on employment is self-evident.' We have a paradox, do we not. The first paradox is, that as we demand more and more social protection for our workers, but the very cost of that social protection is creating unemployment for those workers. It is a paradox which I am glad the Commission is drawing attention to. We have another paradox — the cost of social security has gone up. Between 1970 and 1980 the cost of social security in the United Kingdom rose by one-third, from 16% to 21.4% and yet, as Mrs Maij-Weggen points out, there are 30 million Europeans below the poverty line. It is clear that our social security systems are more expensive and yet they are not curing the problem which they were designed to solve. We know the causes; Mrs Maij-Weggen's report goes into them. The ageing population — 40% of social security costs in the United Kingdom is due to the cost of maintaining the elderly; progress in medical techniques and a combination of the two, again quoting, 'an ageing population makes more demands on health services'.

I am very interested to see that the Commission points to the health care as a particular area in which we need more efficient use of resources. I point this out again — Mrs Clwyd now having gone — in view of the fact that the Labour Party is going on about the cost of the health service and defence of the health service in their manifesto, and yet the problem is getting better value for money out of all our health services, which I am glad to see the Commission has drawn attention to.

Now the Commission also offers a few trains of thought. In fact it offers seven trains of thought and a least three of them involve more expenditure, which is perhaps another paradox. One I do agree with absolutely, namely, that we must make the law and administration of social security clearer, particularly where there are different national systems involved. I invite Commissioner Richard, when he has time, to go through all the petitions we have had on this subject and he will discover that they are nearly all from people who just do not understand the differences in national legislation, in some cases not even the civil servants up in Newcastle who in my country are supposed to organize it.

Three important points from Mrs Maij-Weggen's report which I agree with. 95% of health expenditure on cure — would it not be more effective if we spent it on prevention? In the case of old people, it is not only expensive but debilitating for them to be shuttled off into old-people's homes and so much more attention must be given to care in the home by their own families. Here we might have some research into such things as automatic wardens, the sort of thing the Commission can do very well by establishing best practices.

A final point on Mrs Maij-Weggen's report which she did not mention herself. It is worth investigating not only whether certain groups are being discriminated

**Patterson**

against but also whether certain groups are without justification receiving favoured treatment in comparison with other groups. Mrs Maij-Weggen — no doubt referring to her own country — talks about groups of civil servants. That deserves looking at.

So, Mr President, no doubt we shall return to this subject when the discussions on the Commission document are fully advanced. I note that the Commission has no ambition to establish identical social security systems in all Member States.

What we need is not identity of social security systems but exchange of experience which I understand the Commission is going for and converging conclusions. Those would be most valuable.

**Mr Frischmann (COM).** — (FR) Mr President, it is curious that the reports by our colleagues Mrs Maij-Weggen and Mr Calvez on the problems of social security and harmonization of social legislation in the Community should have found their way onto the agenda for the final part-session of this Parliament. This gives the impression that they represent Parliament's conclusion and final opinion on the social policy initiatives of the Community institutions.

In the little time granted to us, rather than seek out the points on which we can agree with what has been said by Mrs Maij-Weggen and Mr Calvez, we wish to stress that, for all his efforts, the rapporteur has had a great deal of trouble in drawing up a significant list of results achieved in the harmonization of social legislation, a field in which the Community's responsibilities are laid down in the Treaty.

The five general directives mentioned, which have been adopted over the period of more than ten years since January 1974, are not enough to create the illusion that Europe can claim a credible record of action on behalf of working people. These are texts whose application has been severely distorted in practice, not least in the case of road hauliers.

This lack of results, for instance on the restructuring of working time, is particularly hard to bear at a time when there are not far short of 13 million unemployed in the Community. Is it not really significant that no text having the binding force of law has been adopted on the reduction of working time, even though the Commission itself has said that this is an unavoidable necessity? The great movement which is currently gathering pace, whether you like it or not, among German workers shows just how the austerity policies around which a consensus was supposed to build up among our peoples had led us up a blind alley. It is really time that this legitimate demand was met.

On the more specific problem of social security systems, we cannot settle for manoeuvres aimed at reconciling public opinion to the prospect of further sacrific-

ices. We are most certainly not unaware of the difficulties being encountered currently in financing these systems. At the same time, however, we are very conscious of the fact that the main cause of these difficulties is the low level of revenues, which in turn stems from the loss of growth and increase in unemployment.

Instead of austerity and sacrifices, therefore, we commend positive action to stimulate job creation as the key factor making for a return to balanced management of these systems, to which we would add a stronger emphasis on prevention rather than cure. We therefore find it impossible to subscribe to the Commission's contention, with which the motion for a resolution concurs, that health care costs are rising excessively, except that we for our part would point to the scandalous level of profits made by the monopolies in the pharmaceutical industry.

In this connection, we issue a solemn warning to anyone who might be minded to dismantle this most precious of social inheritances, which working people have campaigned and fought for a century to earn. Anyone taking that idea into his head is likely to find the workers, their unions and us unanimously aligned against him. Let there be no mistake about that!

Without overlooking the many obstacles to be surmounted, therefore, we believe that only real harmonization of social legislation, at the highest level and on a progressive basis, will gain Europe the popular commitment which it so manifestly lacks at present. This is an objective which must be pursued with the workers themselves, in the next Parliament also, with all due vigilance and tenacity.

**Mr Pesmazoglou (NI).** — (GR) Mr President, I would like to congratulate Mrs Maij-Weggen and Mr Calvez, and to commend their reports because they refer to matters connected both with the present functions of the Community and with its future prospects. As Mr Calvez points out, the harmonization of the Community's legislations is a matter that involves equalization of the conditions of competition, but is also a matter of creating a commonality of interests between working people in all the Community's countries. It is hardly necessary for me to stress how important this is for convergence of the economic policies and for progress towards the political unification of Europe.

On that basis I would like to make the following brief comments, which stem from the experience of my own country.

My first comment is that the problem of unemployment takes a rather individual form in Greece, and that is precisely why in previous part-sessions I have put forward ideas and proposals for a special programme designed to deal in particular with the matter

**Pesmazoglou**

of youth unemployment in Greece, and proposals to promote equal treatment of women and recognition of the social contribution made by housewives.

My second comment is that there are very large differences in the conditions for granting pensions to Greek working people. And I refer in particular to agricultural workers, whose pensions are one quarter of the minimum pension granted by the national institution for social security (the IKA). This gives rise to a very large problem. There is also another very large category of pensioners in Greece, that of the TEBE pensioners, i.e. professional craftsmen whose pension is only three quarters of the minimum pension.

These differences in pensions, which also exist in Ireland though to much smaller extent, constitute a problem that is of interest to the Community as a whole. The reform of pensions legislation is a matter that interests all people in Greece, and more generally all over the Community. I think, therefore, that there is a good case for harmonization. Basically of course, the responsibility rests with the Member States, but there will have to be active participation by the Commission and the European Parliament in integrating this harmonization, and if necessary some participation by the Social Fund so that, in the early stages of implementation of a reformed pensions system, some economic assistance will be available to overcome the inevitable problems.

The subject of harmonizing social policies, as treated in the reports by Mrs Maij-Weggen and Mr Calvez, is an important one that is linked to the functioning of the Community as a whole, and I hope that Parliament will vote in favour of them by a large majority, and so deliver an important message to our peoples.

**Mr Simpson (ED).** — I am addressing my remarks to Mr Calvez's report and I should like to start off by congratulating Mr Calvez on behalf of my group on the work that has gone into the preparation of this report.

The approximation of social legislation is an extremely important and extremely wide subject, and it is perhaps difficult to get together all the strands in a single report. However, I think, and my group agrees, that this is a subject which one must approach with a certain amount of care. In the old phrase there should be no harmonization for harmonization's sake. One must be satisfied that real benefits accrue when steps are taken at Community level.

The Community already has specific powers in certain areas which are covered by this report. One of these is social security, which my colleague, Mr Patterson, has discussed. On that subject, I agree with the point made by Mr Pearce, in his motion for a resolution annexed to this report, that social security benefits should be commensurate with the contributions made irrespec-

tive of the Member State of residence at the time the person is claiming benefits. Secondly, the Community has specific powers in the field of freedom of movement. Thirdly, there is the European Social Fund, and I am well aware of the benefits of the Social Fund. Corby, in my own constituency, has received some 105 million from various European funding sources, including the Social Fund. This has helped create 5 000 jobs since the steel closure there in 1980. Equally, the Community has specific powers in the field of vocational training.

The Community needs a high level of employment, but there are other policies which can help more if they are concentrated on, namely, competition, the internal market and economic and monetary affairs. My group is not convinced of the need for certain proposals that the Commission has brought forward, namely, the shorter working week, temporary workers and part-time workers' provisions. We feel that these will add unnecessarily to employers' costs.

All in all, we feel that solutions at Community level must be both practical and cost-effective. The British approach is to build up from the ground, to make small contributions at the start, launch small policies and see them develop and build upwards. I hope that that is the approach the Community and the Commission will continue to apply in the future.

**Mr Richard, Member of the Commission.** — Mr President, can I start off by congratulating both Mrs Maij-Weggen and Mr Calvez on the quality and the excellence of their reports? I think each of them is a valuable contribution to the discussion of this particular subject.

I will begin with Mrs Maij-Weggen's report. I think there is a certain amount of misunderstanding about the object of the memorandum itself. The idea was not, frankly, to propose solutions but to open a debate. I think the phrase Mr Patterson used was that we should open up avenues for exploration. That is certainly what it was all about. The debate is taking place now on different levels, both at national level and at Community level.

I think the report itself of Mrs Maij-Weggen points out what it sees as some of the shortcomings of the memorandum. The memorandum never set out to do the things which the report reproaches it for failing to do. It was not intended to be a comparative study of national systems or a first step towards the harmonization of systems; it was simply a debate to try and explore common problems and see to what extent we could profit collectively from each other's experience in dealing with those problems.

There was another reproach, that we have not answered the question whether the problems are the result of the economic crisis or whether there are faults in the system itself. I think we do answer it to a



**Richard**

certain extent, and our answer is that it is both. It is not an either/or situation: the problems arise as a result of the economic crisis and also because of faults in the systems themselves. I do not think we are shirking the choice. That is the conclusion of our analysis.

The resolution requests the Commission to take a certain number of initiatives. Studies and actions will be continued concerning social security financing, the struggle against poverty, the cost of health care, elderly people and equality of treatment, but the Commission also has to take into account the wishes of the Council, which, to put it neutrally, is cautious about Community competence in some of these areas.

I want to make it clear, however, that we do not wish to hide behind the Council's reticence. The Commission itself is sceptical as regards some of the propositions in this report — for example, the forms of organization of social security. I think these depend on national traditions and national choices, and variety there is perfectly legitimate.

Nevertheless, the Commission does see its work in this area expanding, and the subject will perhaps be ripe for the submission of an action programme in the course of next year. In the meantime, the Commission will make the best use it can of its limited resources to carry the debate forward in the priority areas which have been identified.

I would now just say two brief words on the report by Mr Calvez. The resolution requests the Commission to undertake a fresh study of the scope for expanding the process of harmonizing social systems and approximating legislation. Bearing in mind Article 117 of the Treaty, the Commission can only say that it shares wholeheartedly the underlying aim which is expressed, but we do have doubts about the need for a study and we have to be realistic, I think, about what can be achieved in the short term.

I am not clear what a study would actually tell us. The situation is, I am afraid, only too clear. There is a reluctance on the part of the Council to adopt new directives for the approximation of laws. There are plenty of proposals for the approximation of laws in the social field on the table already. There is Vredeling, there is the part-time work proposal, there is the temporary work proposal, there are several draft directives concerning equal treatment for men and women, and I have to say to the House that I cannot be too optimistic about the chances of an early adoption of any of them.

It is not my conclusion that the Commission should accept passively the situation in the Council, still less, give up making proposals for binding legislation. We shall, of course, continue to work for the adoption of the existing proposal; but I think we need to reflect too on the reasons for the Council's reluctance and on what we can do to change that attitude.

Firstly, there is perhaps the need to reappraise the nature of some of our proposals. Should they be less detailed and more of a broad framework or an enabling piece of legislation? Should the aim in some areas be to establish a barrier to prevent backsliding from existing national standards, rather than to harmonize in the way which some people would see as being too ambitious and upwards?

Secondly, there is probably also a need to establish a clearer link between action and legislation itself. In many cases, action — for example the exchanges of information and experience or pilot projects — could provide and perhaps should provide the essential groundwork in the process of building a consensus which would then eventually become enshrined in legislation.

Thirdly, I think Member States seem to need reassurance about the implementation of legislation once adopted. The Commission is fully committed to fulfilling its role as the guardian of the Treaties and of the law, and will continue to do this in an even-handed way.

Finally, may I say that the Commission shares many of the views in the report, for example, that there is a need to ensure the increasing involvement of labour and management in the economic and social decisions of the Community and consequently in the actual process of social harmonization, which is paragraph 14. Moreover, the Commission is reassessing constantly its strategy for achieving such aims and is in no way claiming the right to sit back and say, well, we have done our bit, it is now up to other people. The fact remains, however, that it is the Council, not the Commission that Parliament has got to convince in many of these areas.

*(Applause)*

**President.** — The debate is closed.

The vote will be taken at the next voting time.<sup>1</sup>

#### 10. Question Time

**President.** — The next item is the first part of Question Time (Doc. 1-270/84).

We shall begin with questions to the Council.

Question No 1, by Mrs Schleicher (H-744/83), for whom Mr Alber is deputizing:

Subject: The so-called 'directives to restrict the use of asbestos'

<sup>1</sup> *Topical and urgent debate (announcement of the list of subjects to be included): see Minutes.*

**President**

On 23 April 1982 the European Parliament gave its opinion on the Commission proposal for a directive on the use of asbestos. The Commission's original proposal laid down rules for the use of blue and white asbestos.

Going on from this, the European Parliament, acting on my proposal as rapporteur, called by a large majority for an unambiguous symbol to be put on all products containing asbestos. The Commission took up this call in an amended proposal for a directive.

The Council of Ministers was not able to reach agreement on this proposal as a whole.

The Official Journal of the European Communities of 29 September 1983 contained a 'skeleton directive' making it obligatory for all asbestos products to be identified by a symbol and including the rules governing blue asbestos. There are still no rules for the use of white asbestos, despite the fact that the European Parliament has also made very specific proposals on them.

What is the present state of progress in the Council's deliberations, when is a regulation likely to be adopted, and how will the European Parliament's recommendations be taken into consideration in the deliberations in the Council of Ministers?

**Mr Cheysson, President-in-Office of the Council.** — (FR) On 19 September 1983 the Council adopted Directive 83/478/EEC concerning the labelling of products containing asbestos and restrictions on the marketing and use of chrocidolite or blue asbestos and products containing it. Examination of the other elements of the Commission's proposal, concerning the banning, restrictions on the marketing and use of other asbestos fibres such as chrysotile or white asbestos, is being pursued actively at the technical level within the Council.

It is not yet possible, in the present state of discussions and having regard to the complexity of the subject, to indicate possible future directions of work any more than a date for their completion. On the other hand, what I *can* tell the honourable gentlemen is that the opinions issued by the European Parliament are taken into consideration in the course of its work. Let me give you an example. In adopting the directive of 19 September 1983, the Council gave emphasis to a point to which your Assembly attaches importance. It called upon the Commission to see about the establishment of one or more uniform methods of control for accurately assessing the fixing of asbestos fibres and to present to it, where appropriate, a proposal.

**Mr Alber (PPE).** — (DE) Mr Cheysson, having just said that you cannot set a deadline for the Council, I should like to know whether the Council has set any deadline at all for its work.

**Mr Cheysson.** — (FR) The complexity and scale of the subject are such that the Council has not yet been able to set a deadline.

**Mr Johnson (ED).** — While I and, I am sure, all the Members of this House appreciate the very real effort this Presidency has put into environmental questions, is the President-in-Office aware that in one country of the Community, namely, the United Kingdom, we have already brought in or are bringing in regulations to monitor and *license* asbestos in the workplace? Could he assure us that he will use the office of President to push for the rapid adoption of these directives throughout the Community?

**Mr Cheysson.** — (FR) I can assure Members that we shall advocate that the Community adopt a position in this matter. This subject is important in itself; furthermore, it has a genuine political significance in view of the concern raised in many countries of the Community by the use of asbestos.

**President.** — Question No 2 has been withdrawn.

As the author is absent, Question No 3 will be answered in writing.<sup>1</sup>

**Mr Spencer (ED).** — On a point of order, Mr President. Exactly the same thing happened last month. Some of us came to listen to the answers that were to be given to questions put down by our Greek colleagues. Then suddenly with no warning the questions were withdrawn from the agenda. I wrote to President Dankert and he assured me that in future an announcement would be made from the Chair at the beginning of Question Time as to which questions had been withdrawn by their authors. Could you tell me now if there are any more questions which have been withdrawn by their authors?

**President.** — No other questions have so far been withdrawn by their authors.

**Mrs Schleicher (PPE).** — (DE) Mr President, my agenda says: Questions to the Commission. But now it is questions to the Council that are being taken. How come that the agenda is wrong? My agenda says that questions to the Commission should now be taken. When was the change made?

**President.** — I have just been informed that there is a mistake in the German version of the agenda, though not in the other versions.

<sup>1</sup> See Annex II of 23. 5. 1984

**Mrs Schleicher (PPE).** — (*DE*) My apologies. I was going by my German agenda and so was not in the Chamber in good time.

**Mr Pasmazoglou (NI).** — (*GR*) I am not very well acquainted with the procedural details. However, Question No 3 by Mr Papaefstratiou is an important question of broad interest, and I would hope that procedural considerations would not prevent the President-in-Office of the Council from replying to it, so that other Members may also comment on it. I formally request that this question be taken, and I would hope that my request will be complied with.

**President.** — Mr Pasmazoglou, the Rules of Procedure which we are all required to observe do not make any provision for an oral answer by the President-in-Office of the Council if Mr Papaefstratiou or someone deputizing for him are not present.

I am very sorry, but the Rules do not make any provision for this.

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Question No 4, by Miss Hooper (H-761/83/rev.):

Subject: Teaching of religion on the Greek Island of Syra

It appears that more than 300 children of Greek Catholic parents on the Greek Island of Syra (Cyclades) are not permitted to receive instruction in the Catholic faith in their schools even though the Greek law, 4397/16/24.9.1929, requires a state salaried teacher to be appointed for this purpose. They have unsuccessfully petitioned the Greek Government to this end.

Given that freedom of religion, including the religious formation of children as well as a frequently stated commitment to freedom of education, obtains in the European Community, will the Council make representations to the Greek Government to remedy this injustice?

**Mr Cheysson, President-in-Office of the Council.** — (*FR*) The Council must act within the limits of the powers conferred upon it by the Treaties. Consequently, it does not feel able to make representations to the Greek Government, or to any other government for that matter, in any matter to do with religious instruction in schools.

**Miss Hooper (ED).** — I would draw particular attention to the references in the second paragraph of my question to freedom of religion and to freedom of education. I make no apology for raising the question which affects a very specific and maybe unique case in

one Member State. It has been brought to my attention as a person interested in the creation of a truly united Europe by the breaking down of all barriers whether cultural, religious or in trade. This being so, since the Minister's reply on behalf of the French Presidency is negative, can he not at least agree that this is a matter which should be the subject of representations for an agreed ecumenical syllabus amongst the Orthodox and Catholic Churches and, if so, how should this development be encouraged?

**Mr Cheysson.** — (*FR*) However I might be tempted, I dare not exceed the powers and rights of the presidency.

**President.** — Mr Pasmazoglou, paragraph 10 of Annex I of the Rules of Procedure reads as follows:

If neither the questioner nor his substitute is present, the question shall be answered in writing by the institution concerned, and published together with the answer in the Report of Proceedings.

Paragraph 11 continues:

The same procedure shall be applied to questions that remain unanswered for lack of time unless, before Question Time is over, the author withdraws his question or asks that it be carried over to the next Question Time.

Paragraph 9 stipulates:

A question may be answered only if the questioner is present or has notified the President in writing before Question Time begins, of the name of his substitute.

The answer is therefore quite clear.

**Mr Pasmazoglou (NI).** — (*FR*) Mr President, I am aware of those provisions. The question I am asking is whether they are discretionary or mandatory and, in the event that they are discretionary, I think I am entitled to request that an answer be given to the question.

**President.** — The provisions are most certainly binding. I have just read out the relevant paragraphs.

As the authors are not present, Questions Nos 5 and 6 will be answered in writing.<sup>1</sup>

Question No 7, by Mr Hutton (H-589/83):

Subject: Reform of conciliation procedure

What action has the Council taken, and what action does it propose to take, to implement the reso-

<sup>1</sup> See Annex II of 23. 5. 1984.

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lution adopted by Parliament on the conciliation procedure based on the De Pasquale report (Doc. 1-984/83), in view of the fact that the Commission has already made proposals on this matter in a Communication (COM(81) 816 final)?

**Mr Cheysson, President-in-Office of the Council.** — (FR) Examination of the Commission's proposals regarding the conciliation procedure is continuing within the Council in the light of the European Parliament's resolution of 14 December 1983 and having regard to the position adopted by a delegation in respect of paragraph 2.3.6. of the solemn Declaration.

Furthermore the Commission, by letter of 9 March 1984, has indicated that it considers acceptable, and I quote: 'most of the amendments proposed by the European Parliament'. This point is included in the agenda of the Committee of Permanent Representatives for 30 May and the presidency has decided to raise it at the Council meeting of 18 June.

**Mr Hutton (ED).** — While I thank the President-in-Office for his answer and his recognition of Parliament's resolution of last December, does the President-in-Office recall that at the January part-session of this Parliament he himself said: 'Progress can and *must* be made in improving the conciliation procedure while respecting the powers of each institution'.

Would the President-in-Office now say why the Council has been so slow in taking so little action.

**Mr Cheysson.** — (FR) That part of the statement which I had the honour to make before the European Parliament in January constituted, both for the presidency and for the delegation which is now in charge of the presidency, a vital commitment. It is essential that we improve the conciliation procedures. It is one of the prerequisites for progress in the Community.

The President of the European Council himself will address Members, the day after tomorrow and I take the liberty, Mr President, of referring Parliament to the remarks he will be making on this subject and which will bear very explicitly thereon. Moreover, I mentioned a moment ago that the presidency pledged that it would see that the Commission's proposals were discussed since it was of course important to act in compliance with the Treaties. The President undertakes therefore to ensure examination of the Commission proposals as reviewed within COREPER at the next meeting of the Council of Ministers scheduled for 18 June and I can assure Members, and in particular Mr Hutton, that, on the presidency side, there will be full support for the proposals now on the table. They raise a problem for one of our government delegations. I do not wish to conceal from this Assembly that it is the kind of problem that it ought to be possible to air in public, as, I repeat, improvements in relations

between the institutions is fundamental to progress in the Community and hence to improvement in relations with the elected representatives of the European people.

**President.** — Question No 8, by Mr Marshall (H-679/83), for whom Mr Spencer is deputizing:

Subject: Use of reduced price butter in the food manufacturing industries

On 6 October 1983 the Commission submitted to the Council a scheme for extending the use of reduced price butter in the food manufacturing industries. When does the Council envisage making a decision on this proposal?

**Mr Cheysson, President-in-Office of the Council.** — (FR) At its session from 26-31 March 1984, the Council adopted the proposal for a regulation quoted by the honourable gentleman. The arrangements in force up till then — that is, up to 31 March 1984 — provided for the granting of aid for the use of butter by certain categories of consumer and industry, namely institutions and non-profit making organizations, armies and analogous units of Member States as well as manufacturers of pastry products and ice cream.

In view of the existence of sizable surpluses of dairy products, the Commission proposed that the Council extend the benefit of aids to cover the manufacture of other food products such as confectionery. This proposal, which formed part of the package of regulations presented by way of decisions on agricultural prices for the 1984/1985 marketing year, was adopted by the Council at the end of March. The new arrangements thus extend the benefit of aids to other food products, a list of which is to be drawn up on a proposal from the Commission within the framework of the management committees and, of course, in accordance with the usual procedures of those committees.

**Mr Spencer (ED).** — I am sure our distinguished guests would acknowledge that this is an important matter given the dairy surplus situation and the opportunity that this extension provides to use some 8 000 tonnes extra of butter in one particular branch of the confectionery industry itself. His answer does not actually give us a date. His answer referred in general terms to when the Commission got round to it in the management committees. Is he saying that there is no further impediment at Council level and that we must direct our questioning only to the Commission?

**Mr Cheysson.** — (FR) I think that my response on behalf of the Council answers Mr Spencer's question. What I mean is that the decision has been taken. We now know to exactly what it will apply, and to which food products and that the framework will be the

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management committees, in accordance with their usual procedures and, of course, on a proposal from the Commission. But the decision to extend aids to other food products has been taken.

**Mrs Ewing (DEP).** — My question is very short and simple. Does the other food include soup, because we have very large manufacturers of that excellent commodity in my area?

**Mr Cheysson.** — (FR) Unfortunately the final answer to this question does not depend on the Council but, first, on the Commission and then on the management committee.

I therefore recommend to the honourable lady that she inform the Commission, where it is not yet in possession of the information, of the reasons for which this measure, which, I repeat, has been adopted in principle, should apply to those industries to which she refers.

**Mr Hord (ED).** — Would the President-in-Office not agree that the process which has been instituted for this initiative is extremely slow? Whilst it is a move in the right direction — 8 000 tonnes — we do have 930 000 tonnes at least of surplus butter in the Community. This is not only expensive in terms of the cost of storage and also the interest charges, but the same butter is deteriorating fast. Could the President-in-Office indicate why the process is so slow, because for public assimilation this is unacceptable and when is the Council going to do something with the balance of 922 000 tonnes of butter which are in storage?

**Mr Cheysson.** — (FR) I do not think there is a more expeditious procedure than that of the management committees acting on proposals from the Commission. The management committees — and here I am drawing on my memories as Commissioner — meet practically non-stop in the area of the common agricultural policy. Their ability to make decisions is very substantial, as we all know, since much of the work of managing the common agricultural policy is done by them and, very often, Members are concerned at the speed with which decisions are taken. I do not believe therefore that there is a more expeditious procedure than the one that has been adopted.

The problem of dairy surpluses now in storage — milk powder, butter, etc. — is quite a different matter, which goes far beyond the terms of the present question.

Whilst we are well aware that the problem is formidable, it is not now getting any worse. The Community's ability to broach the most delicate, not to say the most explosive subjects, has been demonstrated, but as you well know, this problem will not be solved overnight,

if only because of the budgetary difficulties with which I gather you are all acquainted.

**Mrs Van Hemeldonck (S).** — (NL) Does not the President-in-Office of the Council consider it somewhat excessive, now that we have a butter surplus of nearly a million tonnes, that a gift should be made to a 'luxury industry' — confectionery — in the form of cheap butter for its products, whilst the ordinary consumer — and here I am thinking mainly of people who have to live on a substitute income: the unemployed, pensioners and the like — cannot this year look forward to Christmas butter?

**Mr Cheysson.** — (FR) The honourable lady will bear with me when I say that, when I was a Member of this Assembly, there was a good deal of unhappiness over the fact that butter was being placed at the disposal of customary consumers in rather special economic conditions, to break the rules of the market economy and to threaten the good health of our fellow European citizens' livers. I am therefore surprised that this comment should now be made.

**President.** — Question No 9, by Mrs Van Hemeldonck (H-86/84).<sup>1</sup>

Subject: Inspections and controls regarding the transport of dangerous wastes within the European Community

Meeting on 2 March 1984, the Council of the Environment Ministers again took the view that there was no need for a decision on the very urgent problem of inspections and controls regarding the transport of dangerous wastes within the European Community.

Can the Council provide a detailed survey of the problem areas? Has any progress been made? If so, in what areas? Can the Council assure the European Parliament that a final decision will definitely be taken at the Council meeting next June?

**Mr Cheysson, President-in-Office of the Council.** — (FR) At its session of 1 March the Council made considerable progress on this proposal. Nonetheless some difficult problems remain to be solved, including the definition of the rights and responsibilities of the Member States exporting wastes and the special procedures to be applied to wastes intended for recycling.

The Council has instructed the Committee of Permanent Representatives to continue this work with a view to arriving at an agreement, if possible even before the Council session in June.

<sup>1</sup> Former oral question without debate (0-173/83), converted into a question for Question Time.

**Mrs Van Hemeldonck (S).** — *(NL)* That is a completely unsatisfactory answer. A year ago this Parliament adopted a draft regulation under the emergency procedure. In the meantime a special committee of inquiry has been set up in Parliament and its report was tabled and debated at the last part-session. That report simply confirmed the findings and recommendations of the draft regulation of a year ago. It is just not on, now that a couple of opinions have been delivered by Parliament, now that an emergency procedure has been used, now that various tribunals in the Community have pronounced, among other things, on responsibility in the Seveso case, for the Council to go on hesitating and fail to take a decision. We might well ask ourselves if there are not some important and powerful lobbies putting pressure on the Council.

**Mr Cheysson.** — *(FR)* The recent examples to which the honourable lady refers show how great are the difficulties in this matter.

I would point out, for example, that one of the delegations of the Member States would like to compel producers of waste, except in special cases, to eliminate waste in the country of origin.

Transpose this to the issue that has just been raised by the honourable lady and you will at once see the implications.

I would also mention that discussions are taking place and that a number of delegations are particularly sympathetic, except in the case of certain wastes, for example, non-ferrous metal, to general rules that might be laid down for elimination. In other words, I repeat, this is a particularly delicate matter in environmental and economic terms but also, undoubtedly, in political terms.

That the Community should experience some difficulty in harmonizing its position, in arriving at common arrangements among countries which so far have had singularly different arrangements, that it should come up against entrenched customs, even in countries that are particularly conscious of their environment — once again, think of the example given by the honourable gentleman — all this should come as no surprise. The important thing is that this important work should be carried out responsibly.

**Mr von der Vring (S).** — *(DE)* Might I draw to the attention of the President-in-Office a disturbing problem in this connection: toxic wastes can escape intended controls by being declared trade goods. Can the Council President tell me whether the Council will ensure, or plans to ensure, that this will be made impossible by an appropriate formulation?

**Mr Cheysson.** — *(FR)* This is of course one of the really important subjects. Once again, the recent

example referred to by the Member who intervened just a moment ago shows just how much false statements can complicate decisions that have to be taken to eliminate dangerous wastes.

**Mr Purvis (ED).** — At Bonnybridge, in my part of Scotland, there is a plant which is unique in Europe in the scale and type of waste that it disposes of. There is therefore a lot of waste transported from all over Europe to this place. The existence of this plant gives rise to many scares and worries among the population. Could I say to the President-in-Office that whatever inspection systems and control systems are instituted, they must be very open and public so that the public's worries are assuaged and not just the officials are content with the results? Could he ensure that there is public confidence in the way these controls and inspections are carried out?

**Mr Cheysson.** — *(FR)* The directive in preparation concerns the transport of waste and not its treatment.

I know that the transport of waste is a subject that greatly disturbs the populations concerned. I was personally interested in this issue when I was an industrialist. It is necessary then that those people should be informed as adequately as possible of the conditions laid down for transport and supervision before and during transport.

**President.** — Question No 10, by Mrs Ewing (H-13/84):

Subject: Spanish fisheries negotiations

Will the Council inform the Parliament of the state of negotiations, in the fisheries sector, of Spanish accession to the EEC?

**Mr Cheysson, President-in-Office of the Council.** — *(FR)* This is indeed a very difficult question.

Following the introduction of the common fisheries policy in January 1983, the subject of fishing was thoroughly analysed within the Community bodies and, as a result, the Community was able, in June 1983, to make a first statement to the Conference for Spanish accession.

In this statement the Community gave an account of relevant Community achievements to date and expressed initial reactions to positions taken by the Spanish delegation in this connection at the start of negotiations. Supplementary information from the Spaniards then proved necessary in order to go more deeply into the problems and embark upon the search for solutions.

Following this supplementary information, of which the Commission was in possession in early March, it

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augmented and deepened its analysis of the subject with a view to progressing in the negotiations. In its report to the Council in the second half of March it set out the results of its thinking. The study was immediately taken up within the Council's subordinate bodies with a view to working out the Community position. This position must be finalized very shortly with the aim of commencing negotiations in this area at one of the forthcoming sessions of the accession Conference, and the presidency has no hesitation in telling Parliament that we should like this subject to be examined substantively at the June session of the accession Conference.

**Mrs Ewing (DEP).** — Will the President-in-Office go a little further and tell us when the fishing industry will be consulted, if it is consulted? It feels there is the silence of the ostrich about a problem so vast as this Armada two-and-a-half times the size of the UK fleet and three-quarters that of the whole EEC fleet. Could I not now appeal to the President-in-Office to follow the line he himself adopted when he wore another distinguished hat as Development Commissioner, the line that I have tried to follow for the last five years, that we have a solution in that the Spanish fleet should sail southwards to make a real partnership with our Lomé friends in West Africa who are being raped by Russia, Korea and Japan, who need the presence of a modern fleet, who need know-how and training and who are not getting it, and will he assure us that the idea he himself followed will now be followed by the Council?

**Mr Cheysson.** — (FR) The honourable lady has mentioned the ostrich, and I must say that it stands oddly with the fish we are dealing with. Let us therefore get this animal out of the way.

(Laughter)

It is vital that consultations should be opened with those who have a direct responsibility, namely the fishing industries. Mrs Ewing is perfectly right. These consultations will take place, as they should, at inter-governmental level, but I think that the Commission will also hold consultations of this kind although it is not able at the present time to give an answer.

As I said in the first sentence of my answer earlier on, this is an extraordinarily difficult problem given the size of the Spanish fleet and the comprehensive nature of its operations. Mrs Ewing's proposal therefore deserves serious consideration.

I feel that in the progress that can now be seen in the negotiations for a new convention with the 64 ACP countries, the proposals that these have now made in the area of fisheries are probably the most promising. And in this connection, I thank Mrs Ewing for expressing the Parliament's support or, at any rate, its interest in this matter.

In the previous negotiations which led to the Lomé Conventions, there was great reticence by our partners to discuss fishing problems in the context of our overall relations. It is very striking to note — and this is part of the progress we have made — that this state of affairs has now changed, and this is due, in part, I think — and here I am quoting Mrs Ewing — to the repeated violations they have suffered at the hands of third countries. These countries are interested in negotiating, in dealing more actively, more frequently and more systematically with the Community, in the assurance that it is in the framework of fixed-term fishing agreements that they have the best chance of developing at home the corresponding industries, both at sea and on land.

Now it so happens — Mrs Ewing was perfectly right in pointing this out — that this coincides with our own interest. It is already so before enlargement. It becomes a necessity — this is not putting it too strongly — after enlargement, given — and don't let us forget it — the doubling of the fishing fleet compared with its present size which will result from enlargement.

**Mr Purvis (ED).** — On a point of order, Mr President, I am sure the President-in-Office of the Council would like to withdraw his remarks calling for the extermination of that beautiful bird the ostrich. The nature-lovers of Europe would be appalled to think of the French Foreign Minister demanding that step for the Community.

**Mr Cheysson.** — (FR) I would never dream of attacking that animal. I would fear its revenge. I merely wanted it to be kept in its proper place which, you will agree, is not at sea.

(Laughter)

**Mr Provan (ED).** — I think we are all grateful for the very full statement that the President-in-Office has given us this afternoon. It was extremely helpful, but I am sure he is further aware that there are many practical fishermen in the Community who are extremely worried by the thought of Spanish accession and the potential reduction of the fisheries resource within the Community; and further, by the dilution of the funds that are presently available to the common fisheries policy. Can he give us an assurance this afternoon that he will drive the Commission into negotiating as hard a deal as possible with the Spanish authorities, because at the present time it appears that the Commission is not taking sufficient action to look after the very fragile fisheries policy that was agreed so recently?

**Mr Cheysson.** — (FR) The Council is too sensible to think that it can 'drive the Commission'. That would

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be a hopeless undertaking and, in any case, absolutely at variance with the Treaties.

However, I can assure you that the Council is perfectly well aware of the serious nature of this situation, which may be summed up very simply as follows. The Community's fishing fleet will be doubled after enlargement. The fish stocks available in Community waters will not be likewise doubled. That is the problem.

**Mr Van Miert (S).** — (NL) There have been a number of particularly bitter clashes between French and Spanish fishermen. In view of the delicate nature of the subject, can the President-in-Office confirm that steps are now being taken to make absolutely sure that such incidents do not recur and so make negotiations even more difficult?

**President.** — Allow me to point out, Mr Van Miert, that Mr Cheysson is here as President-in-Office of the Council of Ministers and not as Foreign Minister of France.

**Mr Cheysson.** — (FR) I shall reply in my capacity as President-in-Office of the Council of Ministers, since in the measures it has been obliged to take in order to prevent repeated irregularities committed by two Spanish vessels — to be more precise, 92 irregularities in four months — France has been acting in defence of Community decisions. These are Community waters.

It was a matter of regret to us that all this matter had to go to such extreme limits, and I am happy to be able to report to the European Parliament that since then the cooperation we have been able to establish with the Spanish Government in enforcing Community rights in Community waters has enabled us, whenever a delicate situation of this kind came to light, to alert the Spanish authorities who would then themselves oblige the vessels in question to withdraw from that particular fishing area.

**President.** — Question No 11, by Mr Eisma (H-46/84), for whom Mr Herman is deputizing:

Subject: European economic incentive policy

During the debate on economic recovery on 27 March 1984, I advocated a European investment programme of 15 000 million ECU a year on average as worked out in the D'66's European economic incentive policy.

Has the Council already deliberated on such a plan and does it intend to consider a programme along the above lines, and to what extent are the existing policy instruments being used to pursue an incentive policy?

**Mr Cheysson, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers.** — (FR) The economic policy guidelines to be followed by each Member State were considered by the Council last December on a proposal by the Commission and after having obtained the opinion of Parliament. The Council has come out in favour of a strengthening and consolidation of the economic recovery that is now getting off the ground in the Community.

Up to now the Council has not been approached by the Commission with an incentive programme of the kind referred to by the honourable Member. However, like the Commission, all the Member States are perfectly aware of the need to support this economic recovery by every means in their power. Obviously they share the concerns expressed and the aims outlined by the honourable Member.

For some years past the Community has been augmenting the resources, particularly the financial resources, that it is able to mobilize in order to back up these programmes for supporting the economy. I think I may claim that this is one of the vital new factors in the life of the Community during these past years. If you add up all the financing carried out under the auspices of the Community — by the European Investment Bank, the NCI, Euratom and the Coal and Steel Community — you will find that it comes to a total of 6 813 000 ECUs for these support programmes in 1983. This is a substantial sum of money, and one of which our countries are too little aware. It should, however, be borne in mind, particularly as it represents a substantial increase as against 1982, when the corresponding figure was a very impressive 5 300 000 ECUs.

During all of this time the Community has been resolutely throwing its weight behind a genuine European recovery, outlining the general framework of new policies designed to enable us to tackle successfully the challenges of the third industrial revolution, identifying the main individual programmes and getting some of them off the ground right now, and all of this on a European scale. I am thinking, for example, of the ESPRIT programme, the scope and importance of which will not have escaped any of you.

Mr Eisma's question reflects therefore very closely the interest shown by the governments, right up to the highest levels, in the present economic revival of the European Community, a revival which, as you know, is making remarkable progress at the present time.

**Mr Hermann (PPE).** — (FR) The plan to relaunch the European Community, to which, I may say, Mr Delors, who took part in the deliberations on it was kind enough to give his approval, was addressed directly to the Council of Ministers. It included an urgent recommendation that negotiations on the small and medium-sized enterprises be resumed. We have been informed by the press that this question was considered at an informal meeting of the Council of Min-



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isters. Could the President-in-Office of the Council tell us what is the exact truth behind this press report and what were the conclusions reached at this meeting?

**Mr Cheysson.** — (FR) I myself was invited to attend some of the meetings of the Finance Ministers and the Governors of the Central Banks in Rambouillet ten days ago. These meetings were, in fact, followed by a meeting of the Group of Ten which, as you know, brings together some of the Community's Finance Ministers together with their Swiss, Canadian and American counterparts. All of these meetings voiced a determination to shift the present economic recovery in some countries onto a larger scale and into a broader framework, and above all to impose some order and stability on its main constituent elements. The discussions at Rambouillet — and this is something that my colleague, Jacques Delors, could give you more information about than I can — brought to light some divergent views on this whole matter. Some felt that all the conditions are already fulfilled for this economic recovery to move into a higher gear. Others, Jacques Delors amongst them, felt that there are still disturbing and fragile elements in this economic recovery and point to certain anomalous economic factors such as interest rates, excessively frequent fluctuations in exchange rates and, finally, the budgetary deficits in certain countries which foster the instability to which I have referred.

**President** — We now turn to questions to the Foreign Ministers.

Question No 21, by Sir Peter Vanneck (H-661/83):

Subject: Emergency arrangements to ensure telecommunications in the Community

Have Member States made contingency arrangements to ensure telecommunications links within the European Community in the event of an emergency, for example, in the event of Soviet deployment of satellite jammers?

**Mr Cheysson, President-in-Office of the foreign ministers.** — (FR) This question does not fall within the terms of reference of European Political Cooperation.

**Sir Peter Vanneck (ED).** — Naturally I am disappointed in the answer I have received, because there are commercial considerations and priorities to be taken into account should something of this nature occur. I venture to suggest that there ought to be contingency plans if diplomatic intercommunication were required, if we had, for example, another Russian situation such as that in Afghanistan. Disappointed as I am with this response from the French President-in-Office, I can only hope that even the Irish will be able

to give me a more definite answer for something that I think is of considerable importance to the Community.

**Mr Cheysson.** — (FR) Having heard the honourable Member, I would only say that I myself would be very interested to hear the reply given by my Irish colleague, that is, if he can give a reply within the framework of political cooperation.

**Mr Howell (ED).** — I should like to congratulate my colleague on asking that question. In view of the comments that the Minister has made, would it be possible for him to say who would be responsible if the European Economic Community and its institutions are not responsible? Clearly, this is a matter to which the heads of government, the ministers and so on of the European Community must adjust themselves. If this institution cannot address itself to the problem, which institution in Europe can?

**Mr Cheysson.** — (FR) I have never heard that the Community had any direct responsibilities in regard to defence and, as I say, I would be particularly interested to know if my Irish colleague will take a different view.

**President.** — As the author is not present, Question No 22 will be answered in writing.<sup>1</sup>

Question No 23, by Mr Plaskovitis (H-723/83):

Subject: Negative developments at the Stockholm Conference

Following the recent negative developments at the Stockholm Conference with regard to the resumption of the Geneva nuclear arms limitation talks, the Canadian Prime Minister, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, is planning to contact the leaders of Eastern countries with a view to clearing the ground to open up the dialogue between East and West in all fields. To this end, he will visit Eastern European countries, and in particular, the Soviet Union.

Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation state whether they have discussed the possibility of taking an initiative to encourage the resumption of the dialogue on nuclear arms reduction?

**Mr Cheysson, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers.** — (FR) The main negotiations in which the Ten participate in the field of disarmament — they are therefore the subject of consultations within the framework of political cooperation — have to do with the Stockholm Conference and the negotiation, within the framework of the Geneva Disarmament Confer-

<sup>1</sup> See Annex II of 23. 5. 84.

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ence, of an agreement prohibiting the production and stockpiling of chemical weapons.

The European Disarmament Conference on measures relating to security and disarmament in Europe, the first stage of which is currently being held in Stockholm, was convoked on the basis of the mandate agreed on at the Madrid meeting on the follow-up to the CSCE in September 1983 and is not directly related to the Geneva negotiations, since the latter have to do with medium-range nuclear weapons or strategic weapons. The discussions in Stockholm are concerned with the adoption, on a strictly regional basis, of a number of cooperation and security measures that are of military significance, binding from the political point of view and endowed with adequate control procedures intended to lessen the risks of confrontation in Europe. With this end in view, the Western nations submitted a number of very concrete proposals in January last, not one of which had any reference to the nuclear domain. The Ten naturally wish to see progress being made in the Stockholm discussions, so as to enable measures to be adopted that will make it possible for the 35 participating States to arrive at a clearer mutual understanding of their military commitments from the Atlantic to the Urals. These measures should enable us to pass on to a second stage devoted to disarmament in the strict sense of the word, but always in the field of conventional arms. The establishment of some kind of balance in conventional weapons in Europe would boost the efforts being made to control nuclear weapons. There can be no doubt whatever of this. However, I must insist that negotiations on nuclear weapons are not the subject of any consultations among the Ten.

**Mr Plaskovitis (S).** — (GR) I thank the President of the Council of Ministers for his answer, but I must point out that the question was submitted a long time ago and unfortunately, as we know, no notable progress has been achieved since the Stockholm Conference. On the contrary, the situation has been made worse by the stance adopted by the Soviets and other Eastern-block countries over participation in the Olympic Games, and this deterioration nullifies the negotiating efforts initiated in Stockholm. I therefore repeat the question I put to the Minister regarding whether there is any prospect that the Ministers of the Ten might commence some fresh action or take up some new initiative within the scope of political cooperation, to recreate an atmosphere of contact and communication between the two superpowers, so that the hopes raised by the Stockholm Conference may not fade entirely. On this point, then, I would like a more specific reply from the Minister, if possible.

**Mr Cheysson.** — In reply to the honourable Member I would make two points. First of all, formal consultations between the Ten do not, I repeat, concern the nuclear negotiations but only the European Disarma-

ment Conference. And, in this connection, the very pessimistic conclusion drawn just a moment ago would seem to be possibly premature, maybe even mistaken. We must not forget that, in spite of the crushing disappointment they had to swallow at not being able to prevent the deployment of the Pershing missiles and the announcement that the Cruise missiles were to be deployed, the Eastern European countries, including the giant amongst them, the Soviet Union, decided in January to be represented at the opening of the Stockholm Conference at ministerial level. This was not an easy decision for them to take, and we continue to see grounds for hope in that. The fact that at a time like that they could take a political decision of this kind confirms our hope that they do attach real importance to this conference and that the tardiness with which progress is being made in Stockholm since that time stems from old habits and possibly also from short-term political tensions that are bound up to a great extent with elections in certain countries of the world, and particularly in one of the other giants.

The proposals submitted by the Soviet delegation, following the reopening of the session of the European Disarmament Conference on 8 May, were certainly not the kind that we expected, but these proposals do exist and can be woven into the broader debate on this whole matter. That is our impression, but it is also the impression of the neutral and non-aligned nations which, as you know, play a vital part in these pan-European meetings, and we are very glad of that.

The second point that I would make in my reply concerns the nuclear negotiations which take place between the US and the Soviet Union, as the honourable Member has just remarked. In this case the Ten, meeting in political cooperation, do not have any direct competence. However, that should not stop them from speaking about it between themselves. They do this every time they meet, and they will be doing so again during the coming weekend when they meet for a private seminar at the Abbaye de Sainte-Croix in Salon-de-Provence. Almost all the Foreign Ministers feel that these negotiations on strategic nuclear weapons between the Americans and the Soviet Union will inevitably have to be resumed. There is no serious reason why they should not be resumed. It is obvious that both parties have an objective interest — indeed I might almost say a selfish interest — in resuming these negotiations. We feel therefore that there is no need to allow ourselves to be excessively frightened by these moments of tension and exchanges of notes, not always of the most pleasant kind, between these two superpowers. At any rate, each of the Ten separately will do all that it can to encourage the resumption of these nuclear negotiations between the US and the Soviet Union.

**Mr Howell (ED).** — I welcome the statement which the Minister has just given us, but I would ask him to open his mind to the increasing difficulty that we

**Howell**

Europeans are facing in disassociating NATO from the EEC.

The Minister talks of the two nations involved in the talks — the Soviet Union and the United States of America — without really realizing that the territory which those two countries are now deploying weapons in and around is the territory of the European Community. Is there, therefore, any hope that the European Community, through its organization and institutions, including the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, will take a lead, as requested by the author of this question, in trying to resume talks between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, and further, will take an active part themselves? Does the Minister see any hope that the Europe that we know, the Europe that we are talking about with weapons around us today, will itself have a say in how those weapons are deployed and how we can move towards multilateral disarmament of all nations around us?

**Mr Cheysson.** — (FR) Europe, the Community, and each of the members of the Community has a vital interest in disarmament. Conventional disarmament is extremely important. We must not forget that it was imbalances in the area of conventional weapons that led to the proliferation of nuclear weapons, if I may put it that way. We must not forget either that the introduction of chemical weapons would change this balance of forces in a particularly dramatic way. In all these areas the Ten are in a position to take up common positions or joint positions. For reasons of which you are all aware, the same is not true in the nuclear field, the status of the different members of the Community being different in this regard. Since they cannot take up a joint position in the matter of nuclear weapons, the Ten are obviously badly placed to propose the opening of negotiations in which they could on no account take part.

**Mr Israël (DEP).** — (FR) I should like to pay my humble tribute to the optimism displayed by the President-in-Office of the Council with regard to the new policy being pursued by the Soviet Union. However, would he agree to give us a slightly more searching analysis of the hardening of attitudes that we observe at the present time on the part of the Soviet Union and would he tell us what he intends to do if he should be accompanying the President of the Republic of France to Moscow in the very near future?

**Mr Cheysson.** — (FR) The second part of the question goes far beyond the terms of reference of the Presidency. The President-in-Office of the Council does not have to know what the Foreign Minister of one of the Member States will do on the occasion of the visit by his Head of State to Moscow, if and when that visit takes place.

On the first part of the question, however, I should like, with the permission of the honourable Member

and in the knowledge of our long-standing personal friendship, to pick up one expression used by Mr Israël. Are you sure, Mr Israël, that there is a new policy on the part of the Soviet Union? Are you not struck, just as I myself am, by the continuity of that policy? Are you not impressed by the way in which the attitudes taken, the lines followed and the arguments advanced by the Soviet Union are all of a piece, notwithstanding the changes that have taken place at the highest level in that great country?

It is true that the mode of expression and the timing of pronouncements may change. For my part, however, I am more struck by the continuity than by the discontinuity of the policy pursued by the Soviet Union.

**Mr Radoux (S).** — (FR) Eleven years ago, in 1973, a conference was opened in Vienna that had for its objective limited disarmament between certain countries. In the context of this discussion would it be possible to ask what are the real feelings of the President-in-Office of the Council about the actions currently being undertaken and the results that may flow from them, when one realizes that after eleven years no result, I repeat, *no* result has yet been achieved in Vienna. No doubt like most or indeed all of my colleagues, I am very happy with the French initiative, because I believe that conventional weapons must be assigned a very prominent place, not to put it any more forcefully, within the context of weaponry in general. I am therefore all the more disappointed and anxious when I see absolutely no results coming from the conference to which I have referred.

**Mr Cheysson.** — (FR) Mr Radoux has given a remarkable example of continuity: something going on for eleven years in Vienna! However, I must confess that I am not qualified to comment on this matter, and that for two reasons. I am not qualified as President-in-Office of the Council of Ministers, since this subject has never been discussed between the Ten. Neither am I qualified to comment as French Foreign Minister, because while I know where Vienna is, I cannot know what is going on at a conference at which my government is not represented.

**President.** — Question No 24, by Mr Van Miert (H-54/84).<sup>1</sup>

Subject: Statutes for the staff of humanitarian organizations

Regularly over the past few years there have been incidents in which members of non-governmental aid organizations have been killed or ill-treated or taken hostage in the exercise of their humanitarian tasks. Although these aid workers sent out by

<sup>1</sup> Former oral question without debate (0-159/83), converted into a question for Question Time.

**President**

NGOs are always strictly impartial and try to alleviate distress wherever it is greatest, often in very thankless conditions and crisis situations, they still do not enjoy any legal protection.

1. What are the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation doing to ensure the early release of the two Belgian members of 'Artsen zonder Grenzen' Dr C. Delzenne and M.C. Rouckens who were taken hostage by the rebel army of Goukouni Oueddei in Chad on 24 January 1984 and have been held in captivity since then?
2. How much progress has been made on the recognition of a special statute for the aid-giving staff of humanitarian organizations, as envisaged by the Ten in their reply to written question No 562/83?<sup>1</sup>
3. Will the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation make every endeavour to ensure that such a statute is introduced at an early date, as urged by organizations such as 'Artsen zonder Grenzen'?

**Mr Cheysson, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers.** — (FR) This question reached us very late, due to a number of unfortunate accidents, and hence my reply will be unusually brief, at least my initial reply will be. All I would say is that the two doctors belonging to the *Médecins sans frontières* organization, to which the honourable Member referred, were, as everyone knows by now, set free in Tripoli on 2 April 1984. A Belgian parliamentary delegation was able to take them in charge at that time.

Secondly, the question of drawing up a special statute for the aid-giving staff of humanitarian organizations has not been specifically considered as yet by the Ten meeting in European political cooperation.

**Mr Van Miert (S).** — (NL) In spite of the fact that since the question was first put, it has been possible to free two doctors — who were, I might say, in a good state of health — and even though in various quarters efforts are still being made, the situation does of course remain precarious for a good number of these people, who are carrying out an especially useful and noble task, since they have no recognized status.

I believe therefore that action must be taken in this connection as a matter of urgency and I am actually a little disappointed at the fact that the Ten have still not taken the opportunity to deal with so important an issue in the matter of human rights, given that human lives are at stake here and that people are genuinely prepared to lay down their lives. I would appreciate it if Mr Cheysson could tell us whether France, in the

last few days of its presidency, intends to make an increased effort to ensure that appropriate action is genuinely taken.

**Mr Cheysson.** — (FR) The honourable Member will be aware that this is an uncommonly difficult question. At the present time — and there is no point in trying to fudge this — the strength and the particular interest of non-governmental organizations is the very fact that they are non-governmental. This enables them to bypass a certain number of administrative rules in their approach to problems and to carry out their humanitarian vocation without being branded with the mark of nationalism, political interest or links with any economic or commercial interests.

As Mr Van Miert will be aware, I have worked in these areas for many years and I am proud of what the Community has been able to do to support these non-governmental organizations. However, it has been prompted to do so by its realization that the diversity and the private or collective, but basically non-governmental character of these organizations is the vital element in their activities.

Must we let it be said that volunteers, people of good will, all those who are sufficiently dedicated to serve one of these organizations, are exposed to danger without protection and without a statute? This would be difficult to accept, but it is equally difficult to do anything about it.

There is one organization that succeeds in a quite remarkable way in marrying the exceptional qualities that emissaries of non-governmental organizations can bring to their work with the authority that can afford them protection up to a certain point. I refer to the Red Cross, or, to be more precise, the International Red Cross Committee.

The nationality of the heads of the International Committee — as you know, they are all Swiss — contributes to this, while the exceptional work that has been done and is still being done by all those that are sent out by the International Red Cross Committee is also a major contributory factor.

Can the fruits of this experience be passed onto other organizations? That may well be so. I feel, however, that it is essential not to consider this problem within an excessively legalistic framework. This would mean that all non-governmental organizations would be subjected to constraints deriving from checks on their political neutrality, their economic relations and the origin of their funds, thus robbing them of a large part of their independence and, if I may say so, of a vital element in their vigour, their neutrality and their purely humanitarian commitment.

My answer to Mr Van Miert therefore would be as follows. The problem is a very delicate one. For the

<sup>1</sup> OJ, C 280 of 17 October 1983, page 14.

## Cheysson

moment it is being coped with in a pragmatic manner, that is to say, any worker sent out by a non-governmental organization is, as a passport-holder, automatically protected by his country of origin if he gets into any difficulty in a Third World country. He will also be supported by his organization, and some of them are not without a considerable measure of authority and influence.

However, this is no solution in absolute terms. To tell the truth, I doubt if it is possible to introduce an international legal statute without jeopardizing some of the basic elements of the non-governmental organizations.

## IN THE CHAIR: MR DANKERT

### *President*

**President.** — The first part of Question Time is concluded.<sup>1</sup>

I thank the President-in-Office of the Council for his answers to our questions.

I would remind the House that at the beginning of the sitting, Parliament adopted urgent procedure for four consultations concerning, respectively, strawberries originating in ACP countries, foot-and-mouth disease, three agricultural regulations concerning Greece and dairy products and scheduled the debate for tomorrow evening. In order to ensure that the debates would not be prevented from taking place for lack of time, Parliament accepted the President's proposal that they be entered this evening at the end of the agenda on the understanding that if they could not be dealt with this evening they would be carried over to the end of tomorrow evening's agenda.

### 11. *Votes*<sup>2</sup>

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### 12. *Equal treatment for men and women*

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-214/84) by Mrs Maij-Weggen, on behalf of the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment, on

the proposal from the Commission to the Council (COM(84) 57 final — Doc. 1-147/84) for a directive on the application of the principle of equal

treatment for men and women in self-employed occupations including agriculture and on protection during pregnancy and maternity.

Also included in the debate is the oral question with debate (Doc. 1-178/84) by Mrs Cinciari Rodano, on behalf of the Committee of inquiry on the situation of women in Europe, to the Commission:

**Subject:** Action programme on the promotion of equal opportunities for women

Can the Commission say through which channels it obtained the information for drafting the Interim Report on the action programme on the promotion of equal opportunities for women 1982-1985 and what action it intends to take in order to expedite the programme's implementation?

**Mrs Maij-Weggen (PPE), rapporteur.** — (NL) Mr President, the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment, for whom I am acting as rapporteur, is particularly pleased that this directive on equal treatment for women in self-employed occupations has been proposed.

We are pleased because it is the fifth new directive of the seven announced in the 1982 programme of action and because it concerns a group in which we take a particular interest: women in self-employed occupations and above all women working in family businesses.

This is not a marginal group, but one that consists of millions of European women who, especially when they work in family businesses, are often not registered as gainfully active and frequently have many problems. These problems are caused, for example, by their not having an official professional status and thus separate incomes, by the inadequacy of arrangements regarding working hours, the fact that they have a dual workload, poor social security provisions, the absence of replacements, problems relating to vocational training and also problems when they try to join professional organizations.

I should like to say something about each of these problems. Although a European survey shows that women working in family businesses spend an average of 45 hours a week in gainful activities, they do not have a professional status in many Member States. As a result, they cannot represent the business in dealings with official bodies, they do not share in the profits of the business in many cases and they frequently receive no wage or salary. We are also talking about a group which not only undertakes gainful activities but usually has a considerable amount of work to do for the family as well.

According to the survey I have just mentioned, many of these women work ten or twelve hours a day, six to

<sup>1</sup> See Annex II of 23. 5. 1984.

<sup>2</sup> See Annex.

**Maij-Weggen**

seven days a week. Where they do not have a formal professional status, they frequently have no social protection. In many cases there are no arrangements for protecting them during pregnancy and maternity, illness, invalidity and old age. Furthermore, women are often excluded from the replacement services operating in some sectors even though replacement during illness, advanced pregnancy and so on is so important for this group, if only because of the dual workload with which they frequently have to cope. Such replacement is also needed when these women want to undergo vocational training to improve their professional qualifications. The absence of a replacement results in the absence of training, the danger then being that these women will be condemned to do unskilled work in their businesses for ever, despite their abilities.

The last problem I should like to mention is the exclusion of women who work in family businesses from some professional organizations. This is not only a bad thing for the women concerned but also for the professional organizations since they are then deprived of the contribution women can make and they are not encouraged to do anything about the problems women face.

The directive now before us tries to solve all these problems. From the outset there have been two concepts for giving this group of women some backing: the concept of a specifically European professional status, which some Member States already have, and the concept of antidiscrimination. In the end, the Commission opted for the second concept, and I feel we must approve this. Women who work in family businesses must be regarded as self-employed. In all the Member States the self-employed have their own legal status, and this legal status must be extended to include women working in family businesses without reservation. This directive can also liberate self-employed businesswomen from unnecessary discrimination, such as that sometimes encountered when they want credit.

Through this directive — and I now quote from the resolution — women in self-employed occupations, including women working in family businesses, will be spared any form of direct or indirect discrimination on grounds of sex, marital status and/or family circumstances and they will be given the right to a separate income, separate treatment for tax purposes and separate treatment in the social security system, the right to participate in all forms of education and training in order to attain the necessary professional qualifications, the right to full participation in the system of replacement services operating in some sectors, the right to full participation in the work of specific professional organizations and the same rights in the event of pregnancy and maternity as those usually accorded to female employees.

This will give self-employed women and women working in family businesses all the rights enjoyed by

self-employed men plus, of course, the right to protection during pregnancy and maternity. The Committee on Social Affairs and Employment believes that this will not only help the women concerned but also give enormous support to small and medium-sized businesses, in which very many of these women work and often provide a fantastic service.

We hope that this will give fresh encouragement not only to women but also to small and medium-sized businesses to optimize the running of these businesses and so help the economy of the European Community.

*(Applause)*

IN THE CHAIR: MR PFLIMLIN

*Vice-President*

**Mrs Phlix (PPE).** — *(NL)* Mr President, my group very much welcomes this proposal for a directive on the principle of equal treatment of men and women in self-employed occupations, including agriculture, and on protection during pregnancy and maternity. Parliament and the Group of the European People's Party in particular have repeatedly called for something of this kind in the past.

Provided that a few amendments are adopted, the European People's Party will approve the proposal for a directive and the motion for a resolution. We particularly stress the importance of the proposed measures relating to the legal position of women working in family businesses, the recognition of their professional status and their claim to social security.

We feel that the equal treatment of husband and wife must ensure the continuity of the business where one of them drops out, perhaps because of illness, death or retirement. Thought must also be given to the position of the two partners if their marriage runs into difficulty or breaks down completely. We appreciate that legislation cannot provide for each and every case, but it must take account of situations that actually occur. I do not want to repeat what I said earlier, but where human relations are good, legal provisions are usually superfluous.

As regards the organization of replacement services where work is discontinued because of pregnancy, invalidity and so on, we believe that services must be organized in consultation with the representatives of the groups concerned. The activities of self-employed people vary considerably, and these measures must therefore be adjusted as effectively as possible to the specific nature of such activities and to actual needs.

## Phlix

The drafting and particularly the application of this directive will act as a major impulse for the development of small independent undertakings. A very great deal is expected of them in efforts to overcome the present crisis. We can but welcome the start that is being made on the implementation of the programme of action that was established in 1983. We urge the Council of Ministers to take a satisfactory decision quickly.

**Mr Tuckman (ED).** — Mr President, Mrs Maij-Wegen has said that this directive seeks to solve all these problems. That, to me, it itself a problem because I have come across very few magic wands in my time and therefore I think we have to consider here what in fact we *can* do.

This draft directive on equal treatment of women and men is part of a range of proposals to ensure women's equality with men. Here we are asked to consider the self-employed. They are, of course, in quite a different position from those in a job where an employer pays them. They could so easily fall into a kind of no-man's-land belonging neither to protected workers nor to the entrepreneur at risk. The form of the directive and the individual paragraphs show how difficult it is to find a reasonable form of protection which does not stultify the enterprise, particularly if it is in the early stages of commercial life.

Our Amendments Nos 28 and 29 in the name of Mr Patterson are designed to exclude from the directive all forms of work or cooperation where no legal relationship exists or where such legal relationships are not intended. As in other pieces of legislation in favour of women, the real problem lies in overcoming prejudices which spread over our continent, if not the rest of mankind, and also down the long corridor of history.

Woman is regarded as less than man and this non-fact is then underpinned by laws which keep her in subjection and inferiority. In the United Kingdom my wife is not entitled to sign her own tax return, while in the Netherlands, I understand, a woman cannot be the head of a partnership. In any event, she seems to require her husband's consent. Happily that is not so in the Anglo-Saxon world where no one has suggested that Mrs Thatcher required the consent of her husband! I also notice that three EEC countries — Britain, the Netherlands and Denmark — have queens as Head of State and none of them presumably require the consent of their husbands, each of whom, incidentally, is born abroad as far as his own country is concerned.

But the proposed directive goes further than makes sense. Where in Article 4 it asks for equal treatment especially in respect of the establishment, fitting out or expansion of a business, it steps into the private domain of the risk-taking partners or of the initiating family. This must be left to private arrangement.

Again, it ought not to be a matter of Euro-law to insist that replacement services are available to women as well as men. Apparently we are concerned here with Dutch organizations which provide replacements for farmers, doctors and the like during illness, holidays and pregnancies. Hopefully, these are private commercial arrangements where the fee depends on the number of people to be covered and their risk profile. If a young firm can afford the insurance premiums to cover the husband but not the wife, why not? You get what you pay for. I would be appalled if such a service were funded out of taxation.

Many of these cases are specific to a given country. I am, in fact, doubtful about the extent to which Euro-law should intrude into private concerns. There is a limit to achievable fairness and each successive *tranche* of fairness is at ever greater social, moral and financial cost. Most people have to put up with some disadvantage, being either shorter or taller, fairer or darker, hairier or balder than they would wish. We should modestly limit the areas in which we aim to legislate. Much of the material before us really is a matter for individual States rather than for Community legislation.

**Mrs Cinciari Rodano (COM).** — (IT) We are delighted that the Commission of the Community has prepared this directive, which this Parliament has insistently called for, even quite recently with the vote on the resolution presented by the Committee of Inquiry into the Situation of Women.

We consider, however, that, for example, compared with Italian legislation, this directive is somewhat restricted in scope. Italian legislation in fact provides for equal rights for women and, generally speaking, for all the members of a family who work in a family concern, whether from the legal standpoint, or that of voting and standing for office within the trade associations and cooperatives, or from the standpoint of taxation, property and estate, and the right of succession. None of which prevents such concerns — as I should like to reassure Mr Tuckman — from being economically sound and efficient; on the contrary, the fact that all the members of the family, and hence the women, are by the same token active participants in the economic life of the business, is an advantage where the activities of these businesses are concerned.

Now the directive refers, on the other hand, only to either the self-employed woman worker or the spouse of the male worker, which very much limits the scope of the directive. For this reason I would invite the members of this Assembly to approve Amendment No 8 put forward by the Committee on Social Affairs, which aims to ensure that the more favourable provisions existing in Member States can remain in force.

On the other hand we consider that the part that refers to the replacement services is very important and

**Cinciari Rodano**

introduces a new approach, and we support the amendment presented by Mrs Martin, on behalf of the Committee of Inquiry into the Situation of Women, which aims to extend the facilities for taking advantage of the replacement services, which are also in this particular instance not at present included in the directive.

With regard to the question of maternity benefits, it seems to me that the way this is worded is rather general, and that no reference is made, as should have been the case, to self-employed women receiving at least similar treatment to employed women. I think that maternity, regardless of the nature of the worker's employment, should attract the same benefits, from both the physical and economic points of view.

Even with these reservations, we consider that the directive is very important. We only hope that the Council will be quick to adopt it.

**Mrs S. Martin (L).** — (FR) Unlike my colleague Mr Tuckman, I am delighted that, as it draws to the close of its life, this Parliament should be considering the proposal for a directive aimed at promoting equal treatment of self-employed workers, since this proposal responds to an aspiration which is deeply felt by women working in self-employed occupations, an aspiration which I have often had occasion to voice, both in the committee of inquiry and in this Chamber.

I therefore feel directly involved in the proposals made today by the Commission, especially since they coincide largely with those of the committee of inquiry.

It is some years now since the Commission implemented a series of directives aimed at promoting equal treatment for men and women in regard to pay, access to employment, vocational training and promotion, and social security. However, by their very nature, these directives — and I am thinking in particular of those concerned with equal pay for men and women — were in fact applicable to employed workers only. The need therefore remained for a text covering women having the status of self-employed workers, thereby filling the gap left by the first.

This we now have in the Commission's proposal for a directive, and we should welcome it.

We should be delighted that the Commission has filled this gap, thus demonstrating its concerned interest in a category of workers of both sexes — farmers, craftsmen, traders and many others besides — whose occupations are of immense value at this time of high unemployment and deserve to be recognized.

On the strength of experience gained and work carried out during the life of this Parliament, the Committee of Inquiry into the Situation of Women in Europe has tabled a number of amendments. Some of

these have been accepted by the Committee on Social Affairs, but nevertheless call for some explanation.

Article 8 of the proposal for a directive refers to replacement services. The Committee of Inquiry into the Situation of Women considers that access to such services should not be confined to interruptions due to pregnancy or maternity, but that a woman should also be able to call on the services of a deputy or be entitled to benefits at such times as the difficult period following the death of her husband, or in order to attend training or retraining, discharge professional responsibilities, or take a holiday.

These women, self-employed workers or wives of self-employed workers, should be able to enjoy all aspects of a normal working life. It is also necessary to extend the provisions in force in the various Member States on parental leave and leave for family reasons to self-employed workers and their spouses.

Finally, one amendment which I consider to be essential has not been adopted by the Committee on Social Affairs. This is Amendment No 10 inserting an Article 7 bis recognizing the contribution made to self-employed workers' estates by their spouses, particularly for the purposes of estate duty. No mention is made in the report of this point, which is of crucial importance. The directive would be weakened by failure to incorporate it, although Member States would still be free to make arrangements allowing a surviving spouse to reap the benefit of his or her contribution to a self-employed worker's activity.

I hope that I can persuade the House that it is absolutely essential for it to incorporate this point in the directive. Above all I hope that this directive, having been adopted by a large majority, will quickly be applied in full in each of our Member States.

*(The sitting was adjourned at 8. p.m. and resumed at 9 p.m.)*

IN THE CHAIR: MR FRIEDRICH

*Vice-President*

**Mr Richard, Member of the Commission.** — Mr President, in the Community action programme on the promotion of equal opportunities, the Commission undertook to draw up a Community legal instrument to achieve equal treatment for the self-employed and for spouses of the self-employed by reinforcing individual rights. This was an action which, as the House will know, was strongly recommended to us by Parliament in its 1981 resolution on the situation of women in Europe and also in the resolution that it passed this year. It has also been strongly advocated by COPA on



**Richard**

behalf of the agricultural interests and, as somebody said to me just before I came into the Chamber, this is supposed to be 'about Irish farmers' wives'. I must say that in the Commission's innocence we had thought that it went further than the Republic of Ireland.

In drawing up our draft directive, we were particularly concerned by the fact that a great number of women, the spouses of own-account operators in areas such as farming or crafts, have no occupational status despite the fact that they are often participating actively in the family business. If such women are without a clearly defined occupational status, it is difficult, if not impossible, to identify their contribution to the family incomes, and consequently their social security entitlement is bound to be unclear. Even when they play a full part in the family business, their status often remains that of a housewife, defined, if at all, by matrimonial rather than occupational or industrial law.

This proposal stresses the need to improve the opportunities as well for women in self-employed occupations to obtain vocational training, especially technical and management training. It is also evident that women, especially wives sharing in the running of a business but working without a partnership agreement or a contract of employment, are very largely absent from the bodies representing the occupations in question, even if the law grants them the right to participate, which is not always the case for wives sharing in the running of a family business.

The Commission's proposal would therefore require Member States to ensure that both categories of women — wives of the self-employed and self-employed women themselves — should suffer the minimum professional disruption in the event of pregnancy and motherhood. Such rights should include the right to use replacement services or to appropriate social security coverage during pregnancy or maternity leave.

With regard to a point made by Mr Tuckman, this latest proposal by the Commission is set firmly in the framework of the Community's developing body of equal-treatment law. Mr Tuckman used the phrase 'Euro-law should not intervene'. I am bound to say that the concept of Euro-law as opposed to other law is one which I find difficult to understand, let alone to accept. It seems to me that if this is a proper area in which legislation should take place, then it is a proper area in which legislation should take place: whether that comes *via* the European institutions or *via* national governments does not seem to me to matter a great deal.

The principle of equal treatment for the various categories of self-employed women cannot be implemented without changes in existing legislation and practices in certain Member States or without additional measures as foreseen by Directive No 76/207 on equal treatment and access to employment and

Directive No 79/7 relating to statutory social security schemes. While these directives do apply to the self-employed as well as to employees, they do not fully take account of some of the problems specific to the self-employed. It is to meet these specific problems that the Commission has proposed this latest measure.

The Social Affairs Committee of Parliament has proposed a series of amendments to the directive. I have few comments to make on them. Some of them are clearly designed to clarify the text of the draft; others have a broader scope. I must, however, say a few words about one of the committee's proposed amendments concerning Article 7(a). Article 7 in the Commission's draft is deliberately broad. It gives entitlement for the assisting spouse to receive due consideration for his or her work either by a holding in the increased asset value and a share in the profits or by any other form of payment for the work performed. The amendment proposed, if it is adopted, would limit the freedom of choice of spouses in this respect. Cash is not the only available form of payment, and sometimes it will be hard for the operator of the family business to pay cash. The Commission believes, therefore, that spouses should have a free choice amongst methods of payment for the work performed in the family business.

In conclusion, I would commend this directive to Parliament, as an instrument which Parliament itself has requested and to which I hope Parliament will now give a favourable response.

Finally, I am grateful for the report that Mrs Maij-Wegen has produced. It is not often the Commission is in a position in front of Parliament to get up and thank a rapporteur of the Parliament for the kind words that she has said about what the Commission has tried to achieve in the past.

**President.** — The debate is closed.

The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

13. *Fisheries*

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-221/84) by Mr Battersby, on behalf of the Committee on Agriculture, on

the proposals from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-1553/83 — COM(84) 68 final) for

I. a regulation on the conclusion of the Agreement on fisheries between the European Economic Community on the one hand and the Government of Denmark and the Local Government of Greenland on the other;

II. a regulation on the conclusion of the Protocol on the conditions relating to fishing between the

**President**

European Economic Community on the one hand and the Government of Denmark and the Local Government of Greenland on the other; and

III. a regulation laying down certain specific measures in connection with special arrangements on fisheries applicable to Greenland.

**Mr Battersby (ED), rapporteur.** — Mr President, the ratification of the Greenland fisheries agreements cannot take place without the opinion of Parliament. I therefore ask this Parliament, as one of its final positive acts, to adopt this report unanimously. Then we can start work on managing Greenlandic fisheries and Greenland can begin to control its own waters.

Most of the ideas put forward in our opinion on Greenlandic fisheries, Doc. 1-1394/83, have been incorporated in the agreements. However, one or two points recommended by us have been excluded, especially in the field of fisheries management. There is one point of major principle which does worry us. That is the problem of automatic renewal. I must point out that there is no real commitment in the agreement by either party to renewal after ten years. This is most regrettable and therefore I wish to support Mr Helms' two amendments which underline the two points I have made, the point of fisheries management and the point of automatic renewal.

I would also like to say in my opinion the price we are paying to Greenland this time round as part of the agreement, that is 26.5 m ECU per year, is very generous indeed to Greenland. However, the agreement does preserve jobs for many years for the Community, especially for the eighteen vessels operating out of north-west German ports and the much smaller number operating out of Humber side. These distant water freezer factory vessels have very few other areas to fish in and it will ensure that this fleet is employed for many years to come.

With these few words I would therefore like to recommend the report to the House and hope that it is adopted unanimously when we vote.

**Mr Gautier (S).** — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the Socialist Group supports Mr Battersby's report and Mr Helms' amendment.

(Applause)

**Mr Helms (PPE).** — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the previous speaker has been commendably brief at this late hour and I am almost tempted to do the same and simply to refer you to Mr Battersby's excellent report. However, I feel that these important problems merit a few words. Unfortunately, our colleague from Greenland, Mr Finn Lynge, does not seem to be present at what will be his last part-session,

because, much as we all regret it, the agreement by the Council of Ministers to Denmark's request that Greenland should be allowed to leave the Community means that Greenland will cease to be a Member of the Community as from 1 January 1985.

The opinion of the Political Affairs Committee expresses the European Parliament's misgivings about this first, unique procedure and the fear that it might have prejudicial effects. On behalf of my group I would particularly like to stress that I hope this will not be the case.

With the adoption of the report drawn up by Mr Jansen van Raay on behalf of the Legal Affairs Committee on 7 June 1983, the European Parliament decided, having regard to the wishes of the Home Rule Government and the population of Greenland, as expressed in a close referendum, to accept the formal request by Denmark and the Home Rule Government, with the proviso, however — as in the report of the Legal Affairs Committee — that Greenland's special relations with the Community are regulated in a manner that is fair to both parties. In addition, should Greenland be granted OCT status, the rights and obligations of both parties are to be permanently settled by an agreement between Greenland and Denmark on the one hand and the Community on the other.

On 13 February this year, prior to the Council agreement, the European Parliament, in its report on the Greenlandic fisheries, redefined its concrete demands and the problems attaching to the agreement on Greenland leaving the Community. Here I would refer you to Mr Battersby's report. To be precise, Parliament demanded a minimum ten years for the fisheries agreement, and an obligation to renew on both sides. Secondly, should Greenland be accorded OCT status, due account is to be taken of Community interests as regards access, quotas and operating conditions for fishing vessels. The same conditions should apply to the development of Greenlandic joint ventures as for all Member States. I am pleased to see that Mr Lynge is now present. During the debate it was assumed that we were all seeking a fair solution and that there should be a reasonable *quid pro quo* to achieve a balanced relationship in the long term.

It is our task to consider in this light the three Commission proposals which form the basis of the Council agreement. I would like to thank the rapporteur, Mr Battersby, for his excellent report. These proposals were scrutinized in detail by the subcommittee on Fisheries and the Committee on Agriculture and, like the previous speaker, I can say that the EPP group wholeheartedly endorses this report.

I share the view of the rapporteur that many of Parliament's initiatives and demands were taken over by the Commission in the course of 1983 and we welcome the fact, Commissioner Narjes, that, following deliberations and the debate last June, the Commission

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finally accepted many of the points made by Parliament. It is unfortunate that certain aspects were not made plain enough during this difficult debate on fundamental principles. One major question is whether, during the ratification procedure with the Danish and Home Rule governments, the Commission can clarify by 1 January 1985 that for all joint ventures established in Greenland, the legal agreements between Denmark and Greenland will exclude any discrimination against joint ventures in all Member States.

The Commission must ensure that this important matter is finally settled by 1. 1. 1985 and that legislation has definitely been agreed by this date.

We expect that further consultations between the Greenlandic Home Rule government and the Danish Government will ensure that the Community fishing industry has a fair share of any future increase in fish supplies. I made this point during my discussions in Greenland. For further information, I would refer you to my amendments and ask for your support. The EPP Group accepts the report and hopes that it will be possible to establish a long-term cooperative partnership between Greenland and the Community. I would like to thank our colleague, Finn Lynge, for helping our committee throughout the discussions.

**Mr Lynge (S).** — (DA) Mr President, I shall try to be brief. I have studied the report which is before us with great pleasure and satisfaction, because for me it represents the culmination of the work to which I have contributed over the past five years. Greenland will be leaving the Community in about six months' time, and I should like to say that it is to a large extent due to Parliament's largely exemplary treatment of the Greenland question that we are leaving the Community with honour.

As far as this report is concerned, I am personally unable to vote for the proposed resolution because it refers to things which I spoke out strongly against in the committee, for example that Parliament should recommend the setting up of a joint committee which would provide a means for continued harmonious consultations between the two parties in the future. I know that the Home Rule government in Greenland and the National Assembly there do not favour the setting up of such an *ad hoc* committee, because they think that the existing arrangements, under which consultations proceed between the Danish Foreign Ministry and the Commission, with the Greenland Home Rule Government appointing the members of the Foreign Ministry delegation, are quite sufficient. I cannot therefore vote for that. When it is also said that Parliament is worried by the fact that the agreement, when it runs out in 10 years' time, does not contain any provision for automatic renewal, I cannot vote to endorse that concern either, since I am not worried by it.

But that said, I should like to voice my great hope that the House will adopt this motion with a handsome majority, so that there will be no doubt that the Community gives its full backing to the excellent arrangement we have reached between the Community and Greenland. That is my hope, therefore, even though I personally will abstain from voting for the reasons I have stated.

**Mr Narjes, Member of the Commission** — (DE) Mr President, this is the first time in the history of the Community that we have had to deal with problems arising from a contraction of the Community. The point at issue is Greenland's secession, which we all find very regrettable. However, our respect for the right of self-determination leaves us no other choice. What we now have to consider is the nature of future cooperation between the Community and Greenland. A fair solution has been found, which takes account both of Greenland's essential interests as far as the exploitation of its fishing grounds are concerned and the Community's equally valid interest in maintaining the balance of the common fisheries policy, which includes access to Greenland's waters.

I am pleased that the European Parliament agrees with the Commission that the proposals as a whole offer a viable basis for safeguarding the fisheries interests of both parties and I would therefore, on behalf of the Commission, like to thank the Committee on Agriculture and in particular the rapporteur, Mr Battersby, for his excellent report.

As long as the question of fisheries is regulated satisfactorily, Greenland will maintain its right to free access to the Community market and its right to annual financial aid. This aid, on average, amounts to roughly the total aid that Greenland has received in recent years. For its part, the Community will be able to maintain the joint fisheries policy. This includes allowing Norway and the Faroes catch quotas on a reciprocal basis in Greenlandic waters under existing fisheries agreements.

The Commission is convinced that this interdependence of economic interests is the best guarantee for a lasting agreement. Your report recommends a clause in the fisheries agreement for automatic renewal after the first five years and correctly points out that it is impossible to specify catch quotas over a longer period of time. It was mainly biological reasons which prevented an agreement for a longer period. The ten years' terms — the protocol to the treaty on the other hand is for an unlimited period — indicates that the fisheries provisions will not be any less favourable after the first five years than at the outset. The Commission will bear in mind Mr Helms' fears concerning the transitional period.

In this context I should like to mention a further important aspect: the regulation on specific measures

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that could be taken if Greenland failed to adhere to the agreement. Of course, no-one would ever wish to see these measures applied. I would draw particular attention to the flexible nature of the agreement, which demonstrates Greenland's willingness to take account of Community needs. We have practically first refusal of all potential catches in future which exceed the capacity of Greenland's fishing fleet. Thus we are not condemning our fishermen to the status quo, nor, as would otherwise be the case in waters belonging to third countries, a gradual reduction of catches. They can expect a fair share of future quota increases and all the catches presently available which are not reserved for Greenland.

Let me conclude by saying that, given the political situation which confronted us, the agreement with Greenland is generally satisfactory for the Community and that with regard to Greenland's dependence on fisheries we can rest assured that we have treated our future partner fairly.

*(Applause)*

**President.** — The debate is closed.

The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

#### 14. *Protection of forests*

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-247/84) by Mr Ghergo, on behalf of the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection, on the

proposal from the Commission to the Council (COM(83) 375 final — Doc. 1-601/83) for a regulation (EEC) establishing a Community system to provide forests in the Community with increased protection against fire and acid rain.

The following oral question with debate (Doc. 1-859/83) by Mr Gautier and others to the Commission is included in the debate:

Subject: Exhaust gases from motor vehicles

The protection of human health and of the environment requires a swift and drastic reduction in the adverse effects produced in those areas by motor vehicles, particularly in air pollution. With existing technology, emissions from motor vehicles can be reduced substantially from the levels at present obtaining in the Community, at a cost which may be described as trivial.

The Commission is therefore asked:

1. What stage has been reached in the discussions on draft directive 15/05 in the Working Party on Air Pollution? In particular, will it be

able to complete its discussions by the time scheduled (30. 6. 1983)? When is the report likely to be submitted to Parliament, and when is the directive intended to enter into force?

2. In connection with the findings of the Working Party on Air Pollution, whose remit covers all harmful substances in petrol, is it likely that Council Directive 78/611/EEC of 29. 6. 1978 will at least be amended so that the maximum permitted lead content may be lower than 0.15 g/l?
3. What prospects does the Commission see of complying with the increasingly frequent calls for the introduction of lead-free petrol, and for the introduction in all the Community Member States of exhaust gas limit values for motor vehicles that are as strict as those which have long been in force in the USA and Japan?
4. Does the Commission intend to alter the EEC test cycle in order to bring the exhaust gas testing provisions applicable in the Community into line with those of the USA?

**Mr Ghergo (PPE), rapporteur.** — *(IT)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the subject of ecology is receiving more and more attention, and this is both as a result of the natural process of growing cultural maturity, and because of a realization of the magnitude of the risks hanging over our earth, which concern our very survival.

Although opinions may differ as to the reversibility of what is happening, and the measures to be adopted, all the experts and students of the sector agree at all events on two fundamental aspects: the gravity of the threat that overshadows the quality of life and, in the extreme, its very existence, and, at the same time, the logical awareness that the ecological catastrophe can still be avoided.

That is the verdict of the most reliable reports, amongst which I would like to mention the well-known '2000 report', drawn up by an American university for the Federal Government of the United States.

News of the pollution of water, of the earth, or of the atmosphere is, alas! an everyday occurrence, and it is increasingly alarming also because the more frequent, widespread and dangerous the individual causes of pollution become the greater is the risk of interaction between them, and the consequent starting of an increasingly accentuated process of degradation of the environment and the quality of life.

Every year an area of tropical forest that would cover the United Kingdom is lost. According to estimates by

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an expert German government source (*Forstverein*) about half of the conifer forests in the West German Republic, equivalent to about two-and-a-half million hectares, has already been devastated, or is seriously threatened, by acid rain resulting from the condensation in the water vapour of the atmosphere of pollutant agents coming from industrial waste.

In Italy, the loss to the forest heritage due also to the frequency of fires (whether maliciously started or not) is a source of great concern. According to the Minister for the Coordination of Civil Defence, the damage, in economic terms, caused by forest fires can be put at around 1 500 thousand million lire for last year alone, which is equivalent to around 1 100 million ECU. In addition to the material damage, it is hard to put a figure to the ecological damage.

Plants, as part of their physiological activity, absorb carbon dioxide, retaining the carbon and releasing the oxygen which enriches the atmosphere and is indispensable to life: obviously, the depletion of the forests has a harmful effect on the quality of the atmosphere.

In addition, the increase in carbon dioxide — both because of the increased amount of industrial waste and reduced absorption by the forests — produces what is known as the 'hot house effect': it prevents the irradiation of the warm rays, causing a rise in the earth's temperature, and since for physical reasons this is greater at the poles than at the equator, it can cause the polar ice-caps to liquefy to a greater or lesser degree, thereby raising the level of the seas.

This would in turn cause coastal regions to become submerged, and it would destroy cities and inhabited areas that are not situated very much above sea level. These are not figments of science fiction, but facts which, even if it is not certain, it is at least possible may come to pass.

And anyway, partial, local ecological catastrophes have already occurred on our planet. Only recently we had the news that British researchers from the University of Hull have cleared up one of the mysteries that has absorbed so many scientists — the mystery regarding the end of the civilization that flowered in the distant past on Easter Island, a minute fragment of the Earth that emerged almost 4 000 kilometres from the coast of Peru. This civilization was wiped out by an ecological disaster resulting from the senseless deforestation carried out over the centuries by the inhabitants of that Pacific island, which has today become a desert. The British scientists have ascertained that there were over 40 species of vegetation on the island, some with tall trunks, as is proved by the discovery of their pollens in deep-down layers of the earth. It was, amongst other things, the trunks of those trees that made it possible to transport the famous gigantic statues which, numbering over 600, are situated along the coasts of the island, and which have been of such interest to the scientists, as regards both their significance and their means of transportation.

But if the threat of ecological catastrophe is a concrete one, it is also true that man, with the resources, knowledge and technology that he has available, is in a position not only to avoid it, but also to change the environment in which he lives and, indeed, the very face of the planet. For example, it would be technically possible today to reclaim the great deserts of the Sahara and Sinai, as well as the entire Arabian peninsula, and make them fertile.

In other words, it all depends on man and his behaviour. There is nothing inevitable about the degradation of the environment.

However, a convinced, combined effort is needed from everyone individually, from public and private institutions, both national and international, if ecological reclamation is to go beyond the threshold of good intentions and finally take on concrete form, and if the words written in the last century by the French author, Chateaubriand — 'The trees precede man; the desert follows him' — are not to come true.

The measures proposed by the Commission are on concrete lines, and are undoubtedly to be supported. They follow what was approved about a year ago, which aimed at the implementation of non-pollutant or only slightly pollutant technology, and the protection of particularly sensitive natural zones. The new Community measures have in the main the two following aims:

- (a) the strengthening of preventive measures;
- (b) the adoption of firefighting measures.

The second of these objectives represents an innovation in the operating techniques of the Community, which had hitherto been concerned only with prevention. The difference in the amount allocated to the two objectives should be seen in this light. The Commission shows itself well aware of the fact that, for it to be effective, the fight against acid rain and its effects requires very much more substantial resources. It states in fact that it not only intends to pursue the steps taken against the emission of pollutants, but also to take additional action with a special initiative against acid rain and its effects. In fact in this connection the proposals have in view the acquisition of the necessary elements to set up this special initiative. We must agree with this, even if it appears very desirable, here and now, to increase the funds allocated for this purpose. We should also emphasize the need to have adequately trained personnel available in sufficient numbers, not least where monitoring the observance of the protective regulations is concerned.

One really new point which is of genuine value is the provision for the pooling of resources and equipment by Member States, to which end there are very timely proposals for standardization, without which the joint usage of such resources and equipment would not appear possible. This principle was moreover laid

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down in the resolution concerning reciprocal aid in cases of grave catastrophe, which was recently adopted by Parliament.

Finally, we agree that with regard to the proposed action, there should be a special line in Chapter 38 of the budget for Community action for the protection of forests against fires and acid rain.

I will conclude with one recommendation, namely, that everything possible should be done to give forest protection an extra-European dimension, in view of the global character of the problems regarding ecological equilibrium and the climatic system of the entire globe.

Subject to all that, I ask Parliament to register its approval of the proposals in question, and to adopt the motion for a resolution.

*(Applause)*

**Mr M. Martin (COM)**, *draftsman of an opinion for the Committee on Agriculture*. — (FR) Mr President, the 35 million hectares of forest land in the Community play an important economic role and are also vital to the environment and agriculture. As was rightly pointed out in the Gatto report adopted by the European Parliament last October, the development of our forestry assets is now a top priority. Unfortunately, efforts in this direction are often frustrated by various devastating phenomena, such as forest fires and atmospheric pollution. The resultant losses are very substantial in economic terms and the damage caused can create imbalances which have adverse effects on the environment and agriculture.

In order to raise profitability, therefore, it is necessary to improve both management and protection against these damaging phenomena. Atmospheric pollution, with its acid precipitations in the form of rain and deposits, is responsible for the destruction of trees on a massive scale, especially in the Federal Republic of Germany but also throughout the rest of Europe. Action has already been launched to combat atmospheric pollution but the problems involved — interactions between pollutants, climate and soil — are so complex that what has been done to date falls very far short of what is required.

The European Parliament is alive to this situation and, on 20 January 1984, adopted the Muntingh report calling for the implementation of a major programme of measures to combat air pollution. The proposal from the Commission represents a contribution to such a programme, one which is concerned specifically with the Community's forests, the aim being to measure the effects of damage and to gain a better knowledge of the mechanisms involved. Vast expanses of forest are destroyed by fire each year: 120 000 hectares in the EEC, representing a loss of 100 million

ECU. The scale of destruction is greatest in the south, but the more northerly regions are not unaffected. Since 1979 large-scale programmes — involving reafforestation, improvement of run-down forests, construction of forest tracks etc. — have been undertaken at Community level to improve prevention and protection against fire. They have yielded useful results but all too often the efforts made to improve prevention have come to nothing because of the complete lack or inadequacy of fire-fighting facilities. Prevention and fire-fighting must therefore go hand in hand, since they are complementary to each other.

Appreciating this point, the European Parliament adopted several resolutions under its urgency procedure in 1982 and 1983, calling for preventive measures to be strengthened and complemented by firefighting measures. Responding to the European Parliament's resolutions, the Commission is proposing finance of 15 million ECU a year over 5 years, with a Community contribution of 30%, 50% or 100% depending on the type of measure envisaged.

While one swallow does not make a summer, we have good reason to welcome the proposals from the Commission, which has largely taken account of the European Parliament's recommendations. The measures proposed are good overall and deserve our approval, since they should provide a sound basis for strengthening and supplementing the Community measures already in hand. What is required now is a sense of urgency so that these measures can be applied without delay, making use of the five million ECU set aside in the 1984 budget.

Before concluding, I should like to make a few additional comments on the proposal from the Commission, on behalf of the Committee on Agriculture.

With regard to action to combat acid rain in our forests, the committee feels that it should be incorporated into the wider programme of measures against atmospheric pollution. In order to stimulate production and employment in the Community, I propose that Community aid for the purchase of fire-fighting equipment and products should be on a higher scale in the case of equipment or products manufactured in the Community.

I noted with interest the emergency aid of 100 000 ECU granted to Sicily after the terrible fires during the summer of 1983. This exception should become the rule by extension of the procedure applicable in the event of natural disasters to include forest fires. Acid rain and fire are the two main causes of damage to our forests, but they are not the only ones, and I therefore suggest to the Commission that it could draw up an inventory of all types of damage caused to forests to form the basis of a European register, so that preparations could be made for the deployment of appropriate resources to combat them. These comments have been put into the form of amendments by

**Martin**

the Committee on Agriculture, to accompany the report by the Committee on the Environment.

Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, thank you for your attention.

**Mrs Seibel-Emmerling (S).** — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the damage to forests in my country and yours, the dying and dead trees in the Fichtelgebirge, in the Nuremberg Reichswald, in the Vosges and the area round Lyons — to name but a few forests which may soon belong to the past — shows how desperate the situation is. The harm done to southern forests by fires which threaten the environment every year in the dry season is now being matched by the devastating, irreparable damage caused by acid rain. If we resign ourselves to the death of our forests we are accepting the demise of nature and, ultimately, of mankind, as is demonstrated, to quote but a few examples, by the increase in cases of false croup, cancer and the evergrowing number of allergic diseases.

We have before us today a report which represents a tiny step forward along the road of the many measures that must be introduced without delay. I would like to thank the rapporteur, Mr Ghergo, for recognizing the problem of acid rain. This is by no means a matter of course, but is part of the learning process that we — the members of this Parliament — have gone through together. Those of us who come from colder areas have only experienced small-scale forest fires. We have seen what happens in your country. The concept of dying forests meant nothing to our colleagues in the south, and there was no word for it in their languages.

The Community must now take urgent steps to meet all the demands in the Muntingh report. The Member States must take immediate measures to reduce air pollution drastically as agreed by the Council at the end of March. We must press for the implementation of the regulation on large-scale incinerators, avoiding the mistake made in my country of excluding existing plant. This ruling has meant, for example, that the new major power station in Buschhaus on the border to the GDR with an annual output of 125 000 t is allowed not to desulphurize until 1988.

We must not delay the introduction of lead-free petrol and the reduction of vehicle emissions. We must tackle the tasks proposed in the directive as amended and improved by the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection. This includes a comprehensive monitoring programme which must not be carried out in open country, because research to date would indicate that the basic level of SO<sub>2</sub> pollution in forests is five to seven times higher than in open country. For example, according to readings taken in the Fichtelgebirge, these figures are considerably higher in foggy conditions. Studies should be made of slopes and in valleys. This phenomenon must

be explored. Pilot projects must be set up — here I am also thinking of projects such as the regional energy saving programme in the Northern Upper Palatinate — which also reduced air pollution. Special projects can reduce primary energy requirement and as a result pollution by 70% using combined power station heating, biogas and other similar systems. But this requires specific funds for pilot projects. Those involved in this project, which is only cited as an example, are hoping for Community funds for this promising project which has sadly been boycotted by the Bavarian Economic Minister who is totally committed to nuclear energy.

We must promote this and similar projects. Time is running out for our forests. The Council and the Governments of the Member States must act now.

**Mr Mertens (PPE).** — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to take up what Mrs Seibel-Emmerling has said. I too believe that action is long overdue. This is why the European People's Party welcomes the fact that the Commission has lost no time, following Mr Gatto's report on forestry, in drawing up proposals which it believes will provide a measure of control over the most serious damage to forests.

We support all these plans, even though we feel that it will be very difficult to combat the dreadful scourge of forest fires — particularly in the south — effectively with a technically perfect system because we all know that most forest fires are caused by thoughtlessness. Our aim must therefore be a large-scale information campaign through the European Community. As Goethe put it in *Hermann und Dorothea* 'thoughtlessness is unforgivable, but it is a human failing'.

The second point I would like to make is that I welcome the fact that the problems caused by acid rain were discussed along with the question of forest fires. I commend the Commission, but above all the distinguished rapporteur, Mr Ghergo, and the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection, for drawing attention to this problem. Mr Ghergo also recommends that more funds should be made available to create a comprehensive information network within the European Community and above all to promote coordinated research in this field, for we are all facing the problem that research findings are not sufficiently unambiguous.

And there is a further point which needs to be made this evening: we, the members of the committee and Parliament, thought that air pollution was the overriding problem. We were suddenly confronted in committee by the Socialist view that the regulation on large-scale incinerators and the question of nitrogen oxides — Mrs van Hemeldonck's report — were not so urgent after all, and this report was surprisingly withdrawn. No explanation was given, to our astonishment. We sincerely hope that we can re-establish a common view, as the intention was to submit Parlia-

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ment's opinion to the Council of Ministers by the end of June. What sort of Parliament are we if we cannot do our homework properly, if we fail to formulate a clear opinion quickly enough? I repeat: we deplore this action. We have drawn up a substitute motion for a resolution on lead-free petrol, so that some progress can be made and we hope that this motion for a resolution at least will gain general support.

But I must draw to a close: I am grateful to the Commissioner for listening to us this evening. Looking to the future, all I can say is that what you have achieved in difficult negotiations with your colleagues in the Commission is not enough. The transitional periods are too long. You may count on Parliament proposing significant improvements and pushing them through. This concludes what I wished to say on this subject this evening.

**Mr Pearce (ED).** — Mr President, I would like to refer to the oral question put by Mr Gautier, which says that the various moves concerned with emissions from motor vehicles could be carried out at a cost which may be described as trivial.

I would like to tell the House something about those costs. To achieve the standards of purity for motor-vehicle emissions called for, a catalyst would be required which would cost about 800 ECU per car. For a small car, that would be an increase of 10%-15% on the purchase price. To maintain the existing standards of performance, or the performance standards of acceleration and speed used in the United States and Japan, there would have to be a 20% increase in the size of the engine of cars using unleaded petrol. That is even taking into account that there is a speed-limit in those countries of 100 kph. That is part of the price to be paid for this measure. In addition, there would be an 8% increase in the amount of petrol consumed and a 5% increase in the price of petrol at the pump.

It is interesting that in Germany at the present time 42% of the petrol sold is 92 octane leaded. It seems to be the policy of the German Government to cut this out, and I can only suppose that the purpose of this is to suggest that when unleaded petrol, 92 octane, is introduced, it will appear to be as cheap as present petrol. This seems to me to be a game of deceit.

Indeed, the whole matter is far too mixed up with the German election campaign for comfort. Both of the parties in Germany — Germany is the country that is leading this campaign — are trying to take votes from the Green lobby, which is more and more influential in that country. What we are seeing, I believe, is bids from the various German political parties, particularly the two big ones — the Christian Democrats and Social Democrats — to take votes by rushing into this ill-advised step which will cost far more than people recognize. I urge the House to oppose it.

**Mr Bucchini (COM).** — (FR) Mr President, we have not had to wait until the summer for forest fires to break out, and thousands of hectares have already been devastated in various parts of France. Each year, it is the southern regions which pay the heaviest toll: in 1983 the southern regions of my country lost 50 000 hectares, 34 000 of these in Corsica.

Since 1979 national action in the Mediterranean region has been supplemented by Community action, including in particular a large number of forestry investment projects which have had a favourable impact on forestry and agriculture, but have been confined to prevention, to the exclusion of fire-fighting aspects.

Appreciating this complementarity between prevention and firefighting, in 1982 and 1983 Parliament, at the instigation of the Communists and Allies Group, adopted several resolutions on the organization of a fire-fighting programme to strengthen and complement Community preventive action. The Commission has acknowledged the validity of these recommendations and proposed to the Council a new regulation broadly in line with what Parliament has called for. The existing preventive measures would be strengthened and fire-fighting measures would be brought into effect. This should make for improved protection of forests against the risk of fire. Particularly welcome are the priority given to training and the organization of active cooperation between Member States with a view to mutual assistance in fighting exceptional fires.

Here we have some good examples of European solidarity, a welcome contrast with the all too common dismantling exercises which have been carried out in some sectors of industry in the name of European integration!

From this point of view, I am especially in favour of the proposal from the Committee on Agriculture according to which a higher rate of Community aid should be granted on the acquisition of firefighting equipment and products if they are manufactured in the Community. This is a good way to encourage production and employment in the Community. Moreover, this principle could well be extended to other sectors on which common policies have a bearing.

Would it not also be possible and desirable to adjust aid in the light of the extent of efforts made by Member States and the scale of the risks that they face?

Having made these comments, I approve the Commission's proposals, which should be brought into effect as quickly as possible, using the 5 million ECU already set aside in the 1984 budget.

In conclusion, I should like to say that I disagree with the proposal made by the Committee on the Environment in its paragraph 7, the effect of which would be



**Bucchini**

that funding for fire-fighting would be reduced in order to finance efforts to combat acid rain.

This is not to say that I am not in favour of energetic action against acid rain, far from it, but it is not only the forests that are affected by this problem. Such action should be part of a wider programme to combat emissions causing atmospheric pollution, the cause of acid rain and deposits.

Resources on a quite different scale need to be deployed, as was stressed very rightly in the Muntingh report which we adopted on 20 January 1984. Let us stick to the specific area of forestry and work within the appropriations proposed by the Commission. This is the thrust of my amendment to paragraph 7 of the Ghergo report, which I ask you to approve.

**Mrs Scamaroni (DEP).** — (FR) Every year thousands of hectares of forest in Europe are destroyed by fires, some of which are started deliberately. Be that as it may, the consequences are disastrous and the situation can only be made worse by an inadequate forestry protection policy.

Various courses of action can be envisaged and recommended, both for prevention and for fire-fighting. Two examples in particular suggest themselves: construction of roads to serve the dual purpose of carrying traffic and providing protection against fire, coupled with clearance of tracks giving access to vulnerable areas and sources of water; clearance of undergrowth to prevent fire reaching treetops. These measures would facilitate access for fire-fighters and increase the efficiency of their work while at the same time improving the intrinsic fire-resistance of forests.

It should always be remembered, moreover, that there is not just one type of forest, but many, and that fire-fighting resources which may be appropriate for a forest in the north of Europe will not be right for one in the south.

Hence the need for specific measures taking account of the type and geographical location of each area of forest.

Nevertheless, there are common lines of action to be pursued, such as the use of the fleet of fire-fighting aircraft which perform wonders for days on end under the most dangerous conditions during the summer, especially in our Mediterranean regions which suffer severe fire damage every year.

As well as these aircraft, use must of course be made of specialized fire-fighting forces.

Mention should be made, in conclusion, of the close attention paid by the Commission to protection of our European forests, which are part of the heritage of the Community, and indeed of the world.

The creation of a budgetary line for these protective and firefighting measures, which will be indispensable during 1984, is also to be commended.

In the circumstances my Group will be voting in favour of the excellent report by our colleague Mr Ghergo.

**Mr Gautier (S).** — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to reply briefly to Mr Pearce before I come to the main issue because his remarks were not entirely accurate. Mr Pearce asserted that the introduction of lead-free petrol and catalyst purification of vehicle emissions would increase petrol consumption by 20%. If he reads the Commission report ERGA II, he would see that this figure is quite simply wrong. Increased consumption depends on how high the octane count of lead-free petrol is, and this depends on the flow of energy at refinery level, which is not necessarily for motor vehicles.

Secondly, Mr Pearce maintained that this whole matter was part of the German election campaign. You are mistaken, Mr Pearce! It is not a question of whether West Germany goes green because of the Environmentalist party, but whether West Germany goes brown because of its dying forests. You should take these matters seriously and not accuse us of electioneering in what is a serious business. Even if the British Conservatives have not realized it, your forests could start to die one day and you should be prepared.

*(Applause from the left — Interruption)*

Your political position doesn't yet show that you do so!

And now to our oral question: when it was submitted, we were convinced that the European Community needed to take urgent action. Mr Ghergo's very important report explicitly refers to norms and standardization. I can only hope that he does not mean the standardization of dying forests and that we will still have something left to standardize. Any monitoring carried out should be designed to prevent damage to the environment and not to establish that damage has occurred. Sadly the damage is widespread, not only in West Germany, but in other countries as well — even in Great Britain: damage to buildings in Greece, and in France. Almost two years ago this Parliament took steps to introduce lead-free petrol in the European Community to reduce pollution from exhaust fumes. Some governments, for example the former Socialist-Liberal coalition in West Germany, made efforts to encourage the Commission to improve the environmental situation. Unfortunately, the Commission has not made much progress in this field, and this was the reason for our question.

If we look back over the last few weeks, we can see that the Commission has been behaving like a mini-

**Gautier**

Council of Ministers, incapable of forward-looking decisions and acting in purely national interests. Mr Davignon allegedly represents French interests, Mr Giolitti presumably speaks for Italy and Mr Narjes for Germany. The Treaties state that the Commission shall be an independent body and Mr Thorn never tires of pointing this out. Mr Narjes, as the Commissioner responsible for environmental policy, we judge you by the statements the Commission has made to Parliament on environmental policy, and in my view the Commission's legislation on emissions is scandalous.

I assume that the Commission occasionally manages to obtain some accurate information and that this demonstrates relatively clearly that dying forests are caused by what are known as the synergistic effects, that is the combined effects, of sulphur dioxide, nitrogen oxides and photo-oxydants, i.e. hydrocarbons and NO<sub>x</sub>.

If this is the case, Mr Narjes, then it is not enough to submit a regulation on large-scale incinerators — which we would also have liked to discuss this week, Mr Mertens. The Commission must also make substantial progress on the question of vehicle emissions. The present proposals are totally inadequate. According to the Commission's press release — nothing has yet appeared officially — something is to be done some time in the next few years. Mr Narjes, some time in the next ten years is too late. We expect the Commission to achieve concrete results more quickly than this.

The Commission is now proposing a two-stage plan, i.e. from 1989 or 1991 a first step towards reducing vehicle emissions — Mr Narjes' original proposal — with the final goal being reached in 1995. I would like to make it clear to Mr Narjes and the Commission that this is bad environmental policy, since improved technology is available to achieve this result. It is also bad industrial policy, since you are forcing the industry to adapt its designs to meet the specification of 6g NO<sub>x</sub> in 1989 and then to start all over again for 1995. Are you not expecting rather a lot of the entire automobile industry? I believe emission standards should be drawn up once and for all, so that industry knows where it is, instead of having to cope with something new every year. Regulation ECE 15/4 comes into force this autumn, then your proposals on the 6 grams and from 1995 on something different again, about which you are obviously not yet certain.

A similar situation applies to the introduction of lead-free petrol, which is a prerequisite for speedy progress in the Member States. It is scandalous that the Commission does not intend to make this compulsory until 1989. It must be introduced sooner, so that the Member States can introduce regulations on vehicle emissions on the basis of lead-free petrol actually being on offer and using tax incentives or whatever.

*(Interruption by Mr Pearce)*

... Yes, we do have some time in the Socialist Group! You can ask your own group how much time you have. I think I can speak for an additional few minutes, you should ask my own group leader. You can ask him tomorrow, then he will give you an answer. Where is your group leader?

The last point I would like to make, Mr Narjes, does not appear in the proposals at all: part of our question was whether the Commission could not formulate a sensible recycling policy from the start? Unfortunately, the question of the metals required to coat emission catalysts...

*(Interruption: ... dependent on the Soviet Union and South Africa)*

... We could reduce this dependence, which would certainly be a sensible step in terms of foreign policy, if the Commission were to provide for the recycling of used catalysts. This is one of the shortcomings.

Mr Narjes, to summarize, I would like to say that we at least find the Commission proposals totally inadequate and believe that you bear the responsibility for this and should act accordingly.

*(Applause)*

**Mr Pearce (ED).** — Mr President, obviously I respect your judgment in presiding over the session. However, if each group is allowed so much time, you do not have the power, Mr President, I submit, to change the allocation of time.

Mr Gautier had one and a half minutes of time which was not permitted to him by the Rules. I think that that means that you must deduct it from the time of the Socialist Group either today or tomorrow.

I submit, Mr President, that it is not merely a question of the power that you exercise, it is a question of the Rules that you are entrusted to observe. I hope that you will do that.

**President.** — I have been Vice-President and President-in-Office for five years and this is the first May in five years that you have spoken to me about this question of time.

You may make a complaint to the Bureau, but here and now it is the President who decides.

**Mr Hutton (ED).** — Mr President, this is a messy proposal, drafted in haste and liable to do more harm than good. I doubt if it even has any legal validity. It would be helpful to know if the Commission seriously believes that this measure will be eligible under Article 43 and if it seriously believes that it can find 100 million ECU in Chapter 38 to fund it.

**Hutton**

I would have very much preferred to see these two unrelated themes of fire and acid rain dealt with quite separately. In fact, I cannot see how you can tackle the problems of acid rain in the forests at all. By the time it gets there it is already too late. There is still no clear evidence of the precise effects of atmospheric pollution on trees. There are a lot of opinions and a lot of work is going on right now to find out, for example, why age, altitude and species seem to be significant and why the normally sensitive lichens in the forest are unaffected.

I would not be happy to vote for the spending of considerable sums of scarce money to do what is already being done, particularly when there are much worse Community-wide problems in forestry such as insects and disease and serious local problems such as the wind-blow we experience in the south of Scotland. The Commission could usefully sort out standard criteria for assessment of the work being done and the exchange and use of data. It could do that effectively, efficiently and cheaply from its own budget and not from the very uncertain resources of the agriculture funds.

**Mr Cousté (DEP).** — (FR) Mr President, the regulation proposed by the Commission and approved by the Committee on the Environment seems to our Group to be along the right lines, and it has our support.

And since any opportunity for dialogue with the Commission is always welcome, I should like to remind the Commission that — Mr Ghergo referred to the prospects for the year 2000, apropos of the report which the United States produced a few weeks ago in Ottawa — the signatures for the Geneva Convention against atmospheric pollution have now been gathered in.

With regard to the decisions taken in Ottawa, what I am interested in, Mr Commissioner, is the degree of consistency between the regulation which you are proposing, and which we support, with the conclusions adopted in Ottawa. My question is all the more pertinent, it would seem, in that on 1 March, if memory serves, a Council of Ministers meeting on environmental problems adopted another directive aimed at limiting atmospheric pollution, under which all new industrial installations on European territory must comply with the regulations on atmospheric pollution, especially that caused by sulphur dioxide.

In the Ghergo report, therefore, we have a document which has already been overtaken by Council of Ministers decisions — if I have correctly understood the chronology of this campaign against atmospheric pollution — and I would add that my concern is all the greater and my anxiety all the more justified in that not only do we have these decisions to which I have referred — Ottawa, the Geneva Convention, the decision of 1 March — but the European ministers respon-

sible for the environment are scheduled to meet on 28 June next to examine another directive, on fuel installations.

In a word, Mr Commissioner, I see the approval that we are giving to this report and the regulation, which I have to agree makes for improved protection against fires and acid rain, as marking a very considerable effort which seems to reflect a new awareness. The feature of this debate which I find most striking and deserving of comment is the fact that, as Mrs Scamaroni has just noted, we all share the same concerns, wherever we sit in this Chamber. In short, we have formed the Community of men and women who are concerned at what is happening to our forests. Why is this? Because the problem is not a national or local problem but essentially international, with complex phenomena affecting forest land in all our countries.

The drift of my conclusion, Mr President, is extremely simple: I should like the Commission, which knows that we have been concerned for weeks and months and have approved a programme, to address itself to the task of blending a series of initiatives taken at national, regional, European and world level into an overall scheme suited to the task of meeting the challenge confronting the present and future generations and all those in Europe and elsewhere in the world who are concerned about the quality of life.

**Mr Linkohr (S).** — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the present discussion is both bizarre and contradictory. On the one hand we are discussing a proposal to protect forests from acid rain at a cost of something in the order of 15 million UA, and on the other hand we are discussing a Commission proposal which by its very inadequacies will cause damage to the very same forests costing millions. This is out of all proportion! The Commission's well-meaning proposals to combat acid rain and other precipitation do not exonerate them from the major errors they are currently committing.

I know that Mr Narjes is sincere in his efforts, and he should really be excluded from criticism of the Commission and its proposals; but the oral question is not addressed to you, Mr Narjes, but to the whole of the Commission, a procedure to which you rightly attach importance. The Commission proposal concerns two main areas: the question of lead — heavy metals damage health — and nitrogen oxides, which are at least one of the causes of acid rain and dying forests.

The Commission proposal evades both of these environmental problems. It postpones any attempt to find a solution, and in my opinion the deadline suggested by the Commission for the introduction of lead-free petrol is a slap in the face for millions of people in our countries who are doing their best to ensure that the forests survive, and for whom this whole question has become an important aspect of their lives.

**Linkohr**

The deadline you have suggested must be brought forward and American emission regulations must apply in Europe. I am sure that when we discuss this matter on Thursday in the urgent debate that has been requested, the European Parliament will decide accordingly. The worst aspect of this whole matter is that it confirms the widely-held prejudice that the European Community can only agree on an environmental policy reduced to the lowest common denominator, i.e. the slowest sets the pace. I would therefore ask the Commissioner in all seriousness: following this capitulation on environmental policy, how can any sort of lead be given in progressive environmental policy? In my opinion, it has lost whatever credibility it possessed. It has not represented European interests but simply those of one or other Member State.

The Commission proposal is not only bad environmental policy, it is also bad economic policy. We will only be able to sell our cars on the world market in future if they do not cause pollution. The successes of Japanese industry clearly demonstrate that products that safeguard the environment can be competitive. Part of the reason for Japan's lead in certain areas has to do with the fact that they introduced ten years ago environmental standards and regulations which the Community is only now starting to discuss. The Commission proposal therefore reflects a wholly mistaken industrial policy. When the Commission justifies its proposal by referring to the problems in the car industry, I cannot but ask why the devastating economic damage to forests is not mentioned. Why is the horrendous damage caused by the poor quality of air in Athens not included in the calculations, and why is health not mentioned? We spend 10% of our gross national product on health, i.e. in an attempt to make good damage which is in part due to neglect of the environment.

Prevention is better than cure: it makes sense on economic grounds alone.

I believe that the Commission proposal will get us nowhere; worse, it will put us back years and the Commission is destroying the positive image that many people still have of this Community. If the turnout in European elections falls, this will be one of the main reasons why.

One final sentence, Mr President. With all due respect to Mr Narjes, this is the final straw as far as the Commission is concerned, and if it was up to me I would send all of them packing. I have had enough!

**Mr Bombard (S).** — (FR) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I have listened with approval to what Mr Ghergo was saying and to what our friends Mr Gautier and Mr Linkohr were saying about the past and the present situation, which is an absolute catastrophe. But I should like to discuss something which has not yet been mentioned, and this is the question of what is

to be done now to ensure that what has happened too often will not happen again. The reason for the forest fires that have been seen, first in the south and now in the north, is that the hardwood forests have been allowed to die out and conifers have been planted in their place, on the pretext that they grow more quickly.

They are now doing the same thing, I discovered yesterday, in the Moselle forests. They are destroying the forests, because conifers inevitably mean fire.

We must end these childish squabbles about who is responsible for the past and turn our attention to the tragedy of the present state of atmospheric pollution. I have been talking about this for fourteen years, Mr President, but I did not know what form it would take. It has taken the form of acid rain. It was obvious that the SO<sub>2</sub> and NO<sub>3</sub> being put into the atmosphere would one day be dissolved by rain to give sulphuric acid and nitric acid, to say nothing of the probable combustion in the near future of polyvinylchloride, which will give chlorine and hydrochloric acid.

Let us therefore set to work to remedy what has been done so that there is no repetition, no more fires; let us set up effective fire-fighting systems, even if they are costly. It always costs more to have a fire than to prevent a fire. We must start 'fireproofing'. And that means hardwoods. That is the solution. Let us plant hardwoods. Let us plant holm oaks. Let us plant oaks where they should grow.

We should reflect that the felling now taking place in the forest of Compiègne was planned during the Second Empire and the replanting programme currently in progress dates back to Napoleon III. We should be doing this in all the forests.

Let me be the first, I imagine, to tell you that on 6 May, at Mont-Dauphin, the President of the French Republic, François Mitterrand, who will be among us the day after tomorrow, announced the creation of a 'European environmental area'.

Let us make the preparatory moves in the creation of this 'European environmental area' by making real provision for prevention, not by showing the pride of the man who thought himself stronger than nature and said 'I have beaten it', but in partnership with nature. We cannot beat nature, because we are part of it. We must simply come to terms with nature, arrange a 'remarriage', so as to spare ourselves the appalling loss that the disappearance of the colour green from the face of the earth would represent.

(Applause)

**Mr Narjes, Member of the Commission.** — (DE) I would first like to deal with Mr Ghergo's and Mr Martin's report and then the question on air pollution.

## Narjes

For many years, Parliament has convincingly and persistently pursued the question of damage to forests from forest fires and polluted air. In accordance with the undertakings given in the past, the Commission submitted in 1983 a proposal for a regulation setting out the principles and also provisions for the financing of measures to increase the protection of forests against fires and acid rain. This is principally an economic, forestry policy initiative.

The difficult and time-consuming work by various committees has been successful. The Commission hopes to take definite action as soon as the Council has reached a decision. We expect a Council decision on this proposal in the near future, as the Council has already expressed its approval of the proposals in principle by adopting the Commission budget for 1984 which includes, at Parliament's express wish, in Article 388 Community action for the protection of forests against fire and acid rain. I would like to take this opportunity of thanking all the committees concerned, and above all the two rapporteurs, Mr Ghergo and Mr Martin, for their excellent work.

The Commission accepts Parliament's proposed motion for a resolution without reservations and intends to adopt its recommendations. This also applies to the proposed amendments; with regard to Amendments Nos 1 to 7 we accept them in principle but in some cases would prefer a different formulation. We intend to pursue this section of today's debate without delay and in line with our overall strategy. In reply to Mr Cousté: the directive of 1 March is, as it were, the parent directive covering all pollution from furnaces or large-scale plant. It goes somewhat further than the outcome of the conference of the 'like-minded' in Ottawa.

The regulation on large-scale industrial incinerators, which is initially tabled for discussion, if not decision, on 28 June, applied specifically to the reduction of emissions from large plant, principally power stations. Unfortunately, no decision can be taken on 28 June, since, sadly, Parliament was not able to deliver its opinion before the end of this legislative period. We may therefore be forced to delay adoption until the end of the year. However, the committee responsible has, I am glad to say, given me every encouragement to press forward with the matter in Council so that a start can be made before Parliament's opinion is available, so that the groundwork for a decision will already have been carried out.

With regard to the question of vehicle emissions, perhaps I may be permitted to explain the Commission's decision which has come in for so much criticism. In reply to question 1, I would remind you that the Community regulations on the limiting of harmful vehicle emissions are laid down in Council Directive No 70/220. This is the basic directive, which has subsequently been amended several times, most recently on 16 June 1983 when ECE 1504 was implemented. The ERGA

working party on air pollution investigated the technical feasibility of further reducing vehicle emissions and duly submitted its report at the end of last June. At its meeting of 16 June 1983, the Council of Ministers of the Environment instructed the Commission to investigate the possibilities of reducing the lead content of petrol below the levels specified in Directive 78/611 with a view to eliminating lead from petrol altogether. The European Council in Stuttgart also adopted this aim. The Commission then issued this second mandate to the working party. The concluding report was also submitted on schedule at the end of February 1984. Last week, after evaluating these two ERGA reports, the Commission adopted the basic parameters for a proposal for a Council directive on the introduction of lead-free petrol and for a further reduction in other harmful vehicle emissions.

The final version of the Commission proposals will be adopted before the end of this month and can then be presented to the Council and Parliament. A summary of both ERGA reports will be distributed at the same time. We hope to obtain a Council decision on both proposals before the end of this year, and I would at this point again urge Parliament to make the necessary arrangements to enable it to deliver its opinion on these Commission proposals as quickly as possible and to finalize its opinion on individual points.

I would now like to reply to questions 2 and 4 and to respond to the various remarks and criticism made in the course of this debate. I would like to begin by making one point clear: we are not merely concerned with damage to forests. The Commission takes the view that air pollution from various sources affects, firstly, health and secondly, fauna, flora and surface waters, as well as causing damage to buildings. We have taken all this into account and are gradually beginning to regret that this important discussion has been confined exclusively to forests, as if once the question of forests has been settled, nothing remains to be done. This mistake would rebound on those who are not willing to accept the fact of other damage, in particular to health. Personally, I am convinced that the fact that we are not yet able to specify in detail the damage to health is mainly due to the fact that we still do not have enough objective data, although we already have certain significant examples.

My second point concerns Mr Pearce's remarks and relates to an issue of principle. We have specified emission levels and have left it to industry, engineers and scientists and competitive market forces to find the best technical solution. It may be true that in the United States and Japan, and recently in Australia and Switzerland as well, i.e. wherever these problems have been tackled earlier than in the Community, various types of catalyst are currently regarded as the most viable technical solution. With regard to these types of catalyst, however, I would like to point out that your figures do not correspond to our observations. In our experience there is a large amount of leeway in the

**Narjes**

calculations for the actual hardware costs of catalysts, to name but one example. The justification for these extra charges may depend on a large number of factors, and in the end market forces will determine the size of surcharge that is possible. In my view, at any rate, it is unjustifiable to claim that we can expect car prices generally to rise by 8%.

As regards your comments on an increase in energy consumption, I would like to point out that there are widely conflicting views on this. I can tell you the names of British experts who would be able to confirm that the increase in consumption would amount to a maximum of 3-4%, and that for certain types there would be no increase in consumption at all.

There is an important point here: even if there were a short-term minor disruption in the downward trend of overall energy consumption — specific consumption — this does not mean that the general trend towards lower consumption would be reversed by catalysts or any other technical solution. This is crucial for our overall strategy on energy policy. The reduction in petrol consumption that we are aiming at will not be threatened by the catalyst or whatever other solution may be found, e.g. a combination of lean burn with an oxydation catalyst.

Nor does the assertion that engine size would have to be increased by 20% correspond with the Commission's technical data. What we had to consider were the costs to individual car manufacturers of changing their engines over to a new technology, and the investment and time this would take.

I would now like to deal with the measures proposed in detail. With regard to the lead content of petrol, the Commission intends in its proposal to go beyond what the proposer of the amendment suggests and to specify that the complete elimination of lead should be compulsory by 1989. At the same time, after this date, car manufacturers will be obliged to equip new vehicles such that they can use lead-free petrol. This regulation will apply from 1991 at the latest to new vehicles that have already been licensed. The directive will specifically authorize the Member States — I would like to emphasize this — to make lead-free petrol available before the deadline for the Community as a whole.

Given that a major proportion of existing vehicles are already technically capable of using lead-free petrol — at least a third of cars currently being sold could be converted to lead-free petrol without delay — the demand for lead-free petrol is likely to grow very quickly. To encourage this, and also to avoid the misfueling that occurred in the United States, the Commission intends to urge the Member States to make lead-free petrol available at a lower price than leaded petrol.

As far as the car industry is concerned, it is important in view of previous engine design and the design fea-

tures of the engines produced in Europe that the Commission has assumed that two types of fuel, i.e. normal and super, will be retained and that we are seeking to apply the appropriate standards throughout the Community. Given the life of motor vehicles, there will be a relatively long transitional period during which there will still be a demand for leaded petrol, particularly for those vehicles which cannot be converted. The Commission intends to propose that at least from 1989 the currently permitted maximum lead content should be reduced from 0.4 g to 0.15 g per litre.

So much for lead and if I have correctly understood the various speakers, there is no fundamental disagreement, simply a difference of opinion on how quickly we can achieve the transfer.

As far as the reduction of other vehicle emissions is concerned, the Commission intends to specify that by 1995 the Community should require, in two stages, the permitted levels of nitrogen oxide, hydrocarbons and carbon monoxides for all vehicles to comply with the world standard, i.e. the present American and Japanese levels. Prior to this final deadline, an additional phase of emission reduction will be introduced, representing a further tightening up on the levels specified in 1983.

Again, Member States who wish to adapt to world standards earlier are to be given the opportunity to use incentives, standardized throughout the Community, to induce industry and consumers to accept these. Indeed, these first-stage values are likely to be such that for vehicles over a certain size the introduction of a three-way catalyst would offer the best solution, even as early as 1989. The Commission has — I repeat — merely laid down the basic parameters, i.e. the levels we wish to see at the source of emission, both for possible anticipatory national measures and for Community-wide standards. The choice of method has been left entirely up to industry and the forces of competition. The technical details of these basic parameters, which have just been formulated, will be published shortly — I hope before the end of the month — and we also intend to indicate how we envisage the adaptation of the ECE cycle of tests to European conditions. However, I reserve the right to hold this back until further scientific and technical discussions have taken place. They are already being borne in mind, however, and will have a part to play in the final adaptation of world standards to Europe.

All this applies to motor vehicles with petrol engines. Special proposals for motorbikes and diesel engines will be submitted later. As you know, the Commission proposal is the outcome of protracted haggling in an attempt to find a balanced compromise between environmental, energy and industrial policies on which the Council could reach a decision quickly.

This is the only way to achieve reasonable results for the whole of the European environment and safeguard

### Narjes

the unity, not only of the Community's internal market, but also of the larger market of the Community and the EFTA countries. I should, of course, have preferred to arrive at this result earlier, but the method we have chosen is the correct one. The only outstanding question is what the authorities will decide as far as the time-scale is concerned.

**Mr Pearce (ED).** — Mr President, I believe it is within the custom of our debates on such occasions that one can put a factual question to the Commissioner. If you permit me to do this, I would like to refer to the Commissioner's statement that the Commission does not know what the risks to human health from lead in petrol are. I would like to ask him whether he is absolutely convinced that he is right to take all the steps which he is proposing to take in the light of facts which the Commission evidently is not in possession of.

**Mr Narjes, Member of the Commission.** — (DE) Mr President, thank you for the opportunity of correcting an error. I did not say that we did not know what the hazard to health was from the lead in petrol. I would refer you to last year's report by the Royal Commission in Great Britain, which goes into detail on this matter.

Our uncertainty relates to the precise effects on health caused by NO<sub>x</sub>, HC, SO<sub>2</sub> and the various synergistic effects of these substances both as dry and wet deposits. No adequate tests have been carried out, but this is no reason to follow your suggestion of neglecting this matter for the next ten years until we have conclusive scientific evidence.

I would like to come back to what I wanted to say in reply earlier, particularly to Mr Hutton. Following the international congress in Karlsruhe last year at which 450 scientists from 18 countries discussed the whole problem of air pollution over three days, we and most scientists are completely agreed that air pollution is a major factor in all those types of damage mentioned, not only in Germany but in the whole of Central Europe, Scandinavia and a large part of Holland, Belgium and France. There is similar damage in Canada and the United States. The US government's decision to shelve this matter had to be reversed after only two years. Negotiations between the United States and Canada have advanced much further, because the evidence that there is a direct connection between air pollution and damage has become so clear that action is called for.

It is precisely in the interests of a preventive environmental policy, which I have always advocated, that we should not waste a moment and should not — if I may be blunt — put forward the lame excuse that we should first wait 10 or 15 years until laboratory research has demonstrably proved once and for all that

the formation of ozone and acid in the atmosphere have an effect on the leaves and roots of trees, on human health, on surface acidity and on the drastic drop in the pH value of soils. We should not do this. Our decisions, as the Commission has always emphasized, should be for a preventive environmental policy. In my opinion, and here I agree with most of the speakers this evening, the damage to forests clearly demonstrates that it is high time that we progress from theory to practice, to prevent further damage.

(Applause)

**Mr Gautier (S).** — (DE) Mr President, at the close of this debate I would like to make a personal comment on a point of order. Following my speech, you were criticized. On the basis of my four and a half years as a member of this Parliament — I have frequently been present when you have been in the chair — I would like to state that from my point of view you have conducted the debates fairly for all political parties with remarkable calm, and always let the discussion take its course when you felt this was necessary, or cut it short when you were of the opinion it was important to come to a conclusion. I would like to thank you personally — and I am sure that many of my colleagues would wish to join me — for the way in which you have, over the last four and a half to five years exercised your duties as a Vice-President in this Parliament.

(Applause)

**President.** — Thank you very much, Mr Gautier. I should like to answer the question Mr Pearce raised a while ago. I would ask you to listen, Mr Pearce, the President now has the floor. You made certain criticisms concerning speaking time, but in the meantime I have established — I would ask you to note this — that at the time you made your criticism the Socialist Group still had 27 minutes speaking time for this evening.

**Mr von der Vring (S).** — (DE) Mr President, I would like to ask the Commissioner a general question, following his remarks in reply to Mr Pearce's criticism. I am sure Mr Pearce would be surprised if I were to throw rubbish into his garden and say: First prove it does any harm!

Would you not agree, Commissioner, that given all the difficulties of producing proof etc. that keep coming up, it is time to force the polluters to first prove that the harmful substances they produce do not cause damage before they are permitted to dispose of them?

(Applause)

**President.** — Are there any further questions at this point to the Commissioner?

**President**

As that is not the case, I would ask Commissioner Narjes to reply so that we can conclude this item on the agenda.

**Mr Narjes, Member of the Commission.** — (DE) I will put it in a nutshell. Obviously reversing the onus of proof is nothing new in politics.

**Sir Fred Warner (ED).** — I asked to put a question to the Commissioner because I am really very surprised to hear the Chair intervening in the substance of the debate in this way. I have never heard this in this Parliament before. I find it extremely strange.

The question I actually want to put to the Commissioner is: has he read the report of the Timber-growers' Organization on the question of acid rain and their own findings on this matter? If not, I would be very happy to send it to him.

**Mr Narjes, Member of the Commission.** — (DE) We have had any number of documents on forestry, but have not yet received any reports from timber growers. I should be grateful if you could let us have these.

**Mr Pearce (ED).** — Mr President, I regret to say that I did not hear most of what you said when you were responding to the question of points of order, because there was some fault in the interpretation system. I would in no way wish you to have the feeling that I am being critical of yourself. What is difficult for Members is that different occupants of your Chair seem to conduct business in different ways. We have repeatedly had this problem with Question Time, when some occupants of your Chair take the rules to mean one thing and other occupants of the Chair take the rules to mean something else. If it were always the case that Presidents used the same discretion that you have exercised tonight to permit a useful debate, and indeed a very valuable debate, with the Commissioner on the point in question, that would be fine.

My concern as a backbencher of this group with no rights and no office in my group is that I am limited in the speaking time which is accorded to me. I am limited by group to a certain number of minutes. It is very difficult to accept in those circumstances that other people can speak for a longer time than the time accorded by my group.

I hope therefore you understand my concern and my wish that all the occupants of your Chair should operate in the same way. I hope that in the new Parliament we can, in fact, have a standard procedure which accords to all the little people in Parliament, like myself, the same terms so that we all have the same rights.

**President.** — Mr Pearce, I do not make any distinction between 'little people' and other members. Perhaps you should have more confidence in your colleagues.

The debate is closed.

The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

### 15. *Protection of dialysis patients*

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-195/84) by Mr Ceravolo, on behalf of the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection, on

the proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-617/83 — COM(83) 368 final) for a directive relating to the protection of dialysis patients minimizing the exposure to aluminium.

**Mrs Squarzialupi (COM), deputy rapporteur.** — (IT) Mr President, I hope I shall waste very much less of your time than was wasted by the previous member, who was more enamoured of words than facts.

I should like to acknowledge here to the Commission, as Mr Ceravolo has already said in his report, that it has acted quickly in regard to a recent scientific discovery.

The discovery that concentrated aluminium, if present when dialysis is taking place, can not only cause osteomalacia but also a progressive neurological syndrome that is fatal, must commit the competent authorities in Member States to coherent, uniform action to guarantee the quality of the water used for this purpose.

About 60 000 people run the risks referred to in the report every year, and the estimated annual increase is around 10%. The problem is consequently one of growing importance, and the need for its solution is ever greater.

Directive 80/788, which concerns the quality of water, must first be completed, and then action must be taken regarding the methods of dialysis used, and all the sources of concentrated aluminium.

Steps should also be taken to impose checks and require guarantees for all the commercial products used for renal dialysis.

I think that the amendments that have been accepted by the rapporteur and the Committee on the Environment and Public Health make it possible for Parliament to act quickly, approving the draft directive as soon as possible and thereby meeting the expectations of patients undergoing dialysis — expectations which are interpreted for the most part by this draft directive.



## IN THE CHAIR: MR NIKOLAOU

*Vice-President*

**Mrs Krouwel-Vlam (S).** — (NL) Mr President, the Commission's proposal for a directive concerning the protection of dialysis patients is very welcome. The rapporteur, Mr Ceravolo, has drawn up an excellent report that bears witness to extensive technical knowledge to which nothing need be added.

Dialysis for patients with kidney complaints is the third best solution. The best solution is prevention, and the second best a kidney transplant. Excellent results have been achieved with kidney transplants, and patients are most likely to have a better future after an operation of this kind.

The big problem with transplants is the alarming shortage of donors, as the Commission points out in its explanatory memorandum. Parliament discussed arrangements for transplants and the coordination of organ banks during last year's debate on the Del Duca report. The Commission was happy to take over this report and promised to put forward further proposals in 1984. In view of the large number of dialysis patients, which will have doubled to 120 000 in ten years, it is high time the Community took action to ensure better arrangements for transplants in the Member States and to attract donors. Unless the Community takes suitable action, many kidney patients will be condemned to death because the high costs involved mean that, over a certain age, no one qualifies for long-term dialysis treatment. The cuts in health services necessitate this ghastly practice.

Table 2 of the annex to the Commission's proposal reveals that the number of patients undergoing dialysis treatment varies considerably from one Member State to another. Ireland, for example, has 66 dialysis patients per million inhabitants, Italy 238. That is almost four times as many. How can these substantial differences be explained? Was this also discussed at the meetings of the national experts to which the explanatory memorandum refers? Should there not be a Community study of this aspect, and should possible preventive measures not be included in a programme? The cost of dialysis treatment has been very high for several years. In addition, 10 to 40% of dialysis patients are scarcely able to go on working. Social costs are thus involved as well. A transplant is a one-time affair and costs far less than years of dialysis treatment. The social costs are also far lower because transplant patients are quite capable of going back to work.

My group fully endorses this report and also approves all the amendments since they improve and strengthen the directive. I hope the Commissioner is prepared to go along with my comments on a Community study,

preventive measures and arrangements for organ transplants.

**Mrs Schleicher (PPE).** — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen! Unfortunately, the rapporteur cannot be here this evening and I would ask Mrs Squarcialupi to inform him that our group also fully supports his report.

What is the aim of this proposal for a directive? Dialysis patients run the risk of absorbing too much aluminium from the dialysis fluid. The reason for this is the tap water used, which has different concentrations of aluminium, depending on its origin. Too high a concentration of aluminium is very dangerous for dialysis patients, since it causes a neurological disease which is ultimately fatal. There are also certain practical problems, as there is no standard method of analysing tap water.

We have criticized the Commission in other respects but in this case I must say that it has done us all a great service by taking up this matter. Parliament will lend its full support. The Commission's proposal confines itself to the health aspect. But Parliament took the view that this directive should also deal with manufacturing and marketing conditions for dialysis fluid and dialysis concentrates. This is the reason behind the large number of amendments submitted by our committee, which, at least in committee, were readily accepted by the Commission, for which we are grateful.

**Mr Richard, Member of the Commission.** — Mr President, may I say right at the outset that the Commission regards this as an extremely valuable and useful report. May I take up immediately the three points that were raised in the course of this debate.

As far as a survey is concerned, there is already available through the European Dialysis and Transplant Association a great deal of information. Indeed the Commission has worked closely with that association in producing the data upon which the Commission based its original proposals. There is obviously a mass of data, on, for example, the age of dialysis patients and their distribution, which is available but which we have not put in the report. But I must say to the House that I do not really think that an additional survey will add a great deal to the state of knowledge that we have of this particular subject.

As far as preventive measures are concerned, I think the honourable lady is absolutely right. If one can prevent the causes of renal failure from arising in the first place, then clearly that is the best way of trying to deal with it. We are at the moment engaged in a certain amount of research to try and look at whether or not exposure to solvents might indeed be partially the cause of at least some forms of renal failure. It is an

**Richard**

area which, I think, looks fairly hopeful as far as the research prospects are concerned and I think it is one which the Commission feels that it probably will be worthwhile pursuing to see just what sort of results we can actually get from it.

As far as transplants are concerned. I do not really think I can take the matter very much further than I have already taken it. The real problem with transplants, frankly, is the availability of kidneys. I do not think that there is much that the Commission can do in the immediate future to deal with that particular and very difficult situation.

I suppose it is true to say, however, that the treatment of patients suffering from renal failure has been one of the most outstanding advances in medicine over the past 20 years. Treatment by haemodialysis and for some, indeed, treatment by transplant has altered the prospects and the outlook for people suffering from this disease from one of early death to one of a prospect of survival, and useful survival, for many years. Furthermore, these years now hold the likelihood of being productive in both social and economic terms.

However, with long-term renal dialysis there can be complications. One of these has recently been recognized, that is the complication caused by the absorption of aluminium. It is a severe complication because it leads to the development of a progressive neurological disease which results in a total loss of independence and indeed in death. Thus the benefits of treatment are lost and the prospect is a frightening one. Fortunately, now that the cause is known, treatment and prevention is possible. Not only is it possible but technically it is relatively easy and the cost is surely acceptable. Certainly acceptable when compared and considered relative to the total treatment costs or indeed the costs of carling for a patient that develops brain damage.

For these reasons I thought it would be appropriate to seek to improve the protection of dialysis patients in the Community by trying to establish common standards. An indirect consequence of this would, of course, be to allow those on longterm dialysis more opportunity to travel for social or professional purposes.

I am therefore very pleased indeed to see that Parliament shares these concerns and I should like to publicly thank the rapporteur and the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection for their report. The detailed nature of the amendments is a clear indication of their interest in this matter and, indeed, of the level and extent of their support. The various amendments effectively reinforce the Commission's proposal by making the proposed limits stricter, by making the time table shorter and by identifying the need for good manufacturing practice in the labelling of dialysis materials and improved marketing in the Community. I have no hesitation at all in

accepting the amendments and accepting the need to revise the Commission's proposal accordingly.

Mr President, finally, I should like to thank Parliament for a report that is indeed very favourable to the Commission's original proposal.

**President.** — The debate is closed.

The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

### 16. *Oil spills at sea*

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-193/84), by Mr Eisma, on behalf of the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection on

the proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-890/83 — COM(83) 520 final) for a directive on the drawing up of contingency plans to combat accidental oil spills at sea.

**Mr Eisma (NI), rapporteur.** — (NL) Mr President, emergency plans are needed at both national and Community level. The Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection therefore welcomes the Commission's proposal. It points out that in some ways it duplicates the Helsinki and Barcelona Conventions and the Bonn Agreement. As Members of Parliament we must, of course, try to avoid unnecessary duplication, but the committee is convinced that the directive proposed by the Commission is needed to fill certain gaps in the conventions I have mentioned. These gaps concern, for example, the Bay of Biscay and the Irish Sea, since they are not covered by the Helsinki or Barcelona Conventions or by the Bonn Agreement.

But even international conventions do not enable sanctions to be imposed. A directive adopted by the European Community, by the Commission, and approved by the Council would permit such action to be taken. To ensure that countries which adhere strictly to the Convention are not forced to undertake additional work or to duplicate present efforts, the committee has tabled amendments Nos 3 and 4. I think that Commissioner Narjes will also support these amendments.

The Commission's proposal refers only to the discharge of hydrocarbons and makes no mention of the discharge of other harmful substances, and as all the international conventions I have mentioned cover other harmful substances, the directive we are now discussing should do the same. One of the modifications made during the recent review of the Bonn Agreement was just such an extension to include other harmful substances.

### Eisma

We understand from the discussion of the report in the committee and the Commission's response that it agrees to the modification the committee has proposed. This modification is covered by amendments Nos 1 and 2 proposed by the committee. How important this is is surely evident from the recent loss of eighty drums of the toxic insecticide Dinosep in Danish waters. That was only a few months ago. The joint fleets of the Netherlands and Denmark were unable to find the drums until fishermen from the small Dutch town of Urk brought up a few of them in their nets. This was very risky for these fisherman, but they got very little money out of it.

What the Commission's proposal does not contain is more important than what it does contain. It makes no mention of the financial consequences of disasters or of the obligations and liability of those who cause pollution.

It is not only the major disasters but also the many minor cases of illegal discharging that cause a great deal of damage. Little can be done to combat this, and prevention is therefore important. This aspect is mentioned in the Commission's proposal but not discussed at length.

The motion for a resolution tabled by the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection contains a number of recommendations which might reduce the frequency of this practice. Facilities should be provided in ports for the storage and cleaning of waste oil. The installation of such facilities in the port of Rotterdam, for example, cost 50 m ECU. So they are not cheap. But the cost to ships must be kept down as far as possible because otherwise the temptation to discharge oil at sea in the traditional manner — at night and in secret — will be too great. On the other hand, the total cost to the whole of the oil industry is estimated at no more than a few cents per barrel, and the European citizen will undoubtedly think that worthwhile to keep the sea clean.

It is also absolutely essential for surveillance to be far more stringent than it is at present and for very high fines to be imposed on those who break the law. This must be coordinated at international level in such a way that law-breakers can be prosecuted even when they seek refuge in the port of another country. This problem must be tackled as quickly as possible to make the scandalous pollution of beaches and the enormous toll among birds every year a thing of the past.

**Mr Bombard (S).** — (FR) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, for many years now the record of oil pollution of the sea has been quite appalling. I think that the Torrey Canyon was the alarm signal but since then the severity of the problem has been brought home more and more forcibly by the many accidents that have occurred, each more serious than the last as oil tankers have become bigger.

It is now perfectly possible, with the MARPOL plan, to prevent the spread of an oil slick around a tanker which has met with an accident. In the Mediterranean, for instance, where such pollution would be an ecological catastrophe for the whole coast, this plan is now operational so that booms could be set up around a damaged ship to contain the slick and allow the oil to be pumped away with minimum delay.

However, I should like to discuss a fact which is generally unknown, namely that only 25% of the sea pollution caused by hydrocarbons comes from ships and accidents, and the remaining 75% from the land. Each time that you have the oil in your car changed and a company takes the old oil away to dispose of it in some waterway or another, it ends up in the sea. Each time the oil tanks of large buildings or large factories are cleaned, the resultant emulsion ends up in the sea. In these ways, 75% of the sea pollution caused by hydrocarbons comes from the land.

It is therefore from the land that we can mount our defences. Mr Eisma was absolutely right: it is the inshore waters that we must protect, the waters where fish breed and where we shall one day be able to develop fish farms — as long, that is, as these waters are free from hydrocarbons. Obviously, fish-farming is impossible in sea which is polluted and allows no light to penetrate.

Do not forget that a mere film of hydrocarbons on the surface of the sea acts as a mirror and prevents the sunlight from penetrating. There is only one solution: to make offenders pay, with severe penalties on a graduated scale. In 1964 I gave evidence to the French Parliament's *commission des lois* on protection of the sea against pollution by hydrocarbons. In response to talk of making the polluter pay, I said 'beware, when the polluter has paid, he takes the view that, because he has paid, he has the right to pollute'. It is absolutely necessary for fines to be on a graduated scale, so that those who offend repeatedly are punished with increasing severity. But how is this to be done? By applying a system of co-responsibility of all ships sailing under the same flag, so that even if they are not of the same nationality, ships carrying the same flag would be liable to increasing penalties. In Canada, for instance, the first ship — registered in Liberia, for instance — had to pay a fine of 10% of the value of its cargo. The second ship sailing under the same flag, even if not owned by the same company, had to pay 10 times the amount of the first fine. The third paid 100 times the first fine. For the past six years there has been no third time with Liberian-registered ships. There should therefore be graduated fines, an effective campaign based on the combination of penalties and monitoring. We are perfectly able to monitor sewage waste, why not monitor those who make a trade out of the waste from large factories or large buildings? And why not recycle oil, as Mr Eisma was saying just now?

**Bombard**

Believe me, pollution always costs more than measures to combat it. We just need to draw up workable rules and then give no quarter to those who break them.

**Mr Protopapadakis (PPE).** — (GR) Mr President, on the opportunity of this evening's debate the European Peoples Party expresses its interest in protecting the sea from any kind of pollution. The seas and coasts are a source of life for man, and should be preserved by all possible means. We therefore welcome Mr. Eisma's report with satisfaction, and will support his proposed resolution. What I would like to stress, to avoid repeating what previous speakers have said, is that the matter of protecting the seas is not just a legal one, but in large measure also a technical one because we lack the technical means to monitor cases where spillage of petroleum, oil or other harmful substances into the sea takes place. The technical means nowadays available to the competent authorities are meagre, and as a result monitoring the cleanliness of the seas is very costly and very difficult. Another technical matter is that alternative solutions are not always available. For example, when someone wishes to dispose of various useless substances such as petroleum, oils and the like, and when there is no other way to do so, then the temptation to discharge them into the sea is very great. I therefore think that we should devote greater attention to technical research, which will provide us with better means for the supervision of our seas and coasts, for the immediate pinpointing of every instance involving harmful spillage, and for the provision of alternative solutions for the disposal of harmful substances.

As a Greek Member of Parliament I cannot refrain from mentioning the vital importance of a clear sky and clean seas for my country. We have kept our clear sky — except in Athens, where the pollution is exceptional — and we must preserve our other asset, the clean seas, not only in my country but along all the Mediterranean coasts that extend for thousands of kilometres.

For these reasons my group, and I personally, will support this resolution with great satisfaction.

**Mr Calvez (L).** — (FR) Mr President, accidental oil spills at sea, to which the proposal for a directive on contingency plans refers, have already been the subject of international initiatives and conventions. This is not the first time that we have discussed this subject. In my view, however, the Commission's proposal should be extended to other dangerous substances, because the sea should not be treated as a waste dump.

Cases in which oil tankers deliberately flush out their tanks into the sea do admittedly occur, but they are nevertheless relatively rare, since shipowners use cleaning facilities at ports where they are located near refineries and fines also have some deterrent effect,

although I agree with Mr Bombard that they should be increased.

The authorities have addressed themselves to this problem, as witness the conventions and agreements on protection of the marine environment and measures to combat pollution of the sea.

I take this opportunity to thank our rapporteur, Mr Eisma, whose motion for a resolution was passed unanimously by the Committee on the Environment. With your leave, I should like to say a few words drawing attention to the fact that some Member States have already adopted various measures to combat pollution of the coastline. We must avoid the mistake that has been made too often of adding new constraints to those already existing, since the superposition of Community texts and national laws is not always a good thing. This is why we support Amendment No. 3 to the Commission's proposal for a directive.

On the premise that prevention is better than cure, the Liberal and Democratic Group is anxious to see closer cooperation among the Commission, the European Parliament and bodies specializing in the study of coastal pollution.

Mr President, as you see, I have not exceeded my two minutes.

**President.** — Indeed, Mr Calvez, you did not exceed your speaking time and you made an excellent speech.

**Mr Narjes, Member of the Commission.** — (DE) First of all I would like to thank the members of the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection, and in particular Mr Eisma for his excellent report on the Commission's proposal. I welcome the report's conclusions and the amendments seeking to extend the scope of the directive to include hazardous substances other than hydrocarbons. This amendment is fully in line with the Commission's new policy and complements the decisions that have been taken elsewhere at international level, for example the 1960 Bonn agreement, which was amended in 1983, in particular to include the combating of pollution by other hazardous substances.

The Commission is a signatory to the Barcelona agreement and intends to sign the Bonn agreement in 1984, which should avoid the danger of an unnecessary repetition of the above-mentioned agreement in the Community's regulations. We want to avoid any duplication of effort. The Commission shares the committee's views as expressed in the report and points out that a specific recital is meant to rule out this danger, which must, however, be unequivocal as regards the obligation on the Member States. The Commission has also noted the comments on the efforts that must be made in the Commission and as part of international

**Narjes**

conventions in the various areas of prevention, training and research.

We will do our best to speed up this work, within the limits of our staff, which, as you know, is not as large as I would wish, and to keep Parliament regularly informed.

The Commission accepts the amendments, except Nos 5, 6 and 7. Nos 5, 6 and 7 deal with the question of special treatment for flags of convenience. In our view, a general ruling is not currently justified. As Mr Bombard's example shows they are already subject to strict controls in port and besides negotiations are going on in UNCTAD with a view to tightening up controls as far as other causes of damage by ships sailing under these flags are concerned. We should wait for the conclusion of these negotiations before we specify other measures for the ships sailing under these flags and their owners and operators.

**Mr Eisma (NI), rapporteur.** — (NL) Mr President, I should just like to ask Mr Narjes if the Commission is willing to accept amendments Nos 1, 2, 3 and 4 and rejects amendments Nos 5, 6 and 7. I should like this to be clear before we take the vote shortly or tomorrow.

**Mr Narjes, Member of the Commission.** — (DE) I specifically excluded the three amendments Nos 5, 6 and 7, which refer to the flags of convenience. I have accepted Amendments No 8 and 9, presumably tabled by Mr Seeler and Nos 1 to 4.

**President.** — The debate is closed.

The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

**17. Foodstuffs**

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-243/84) by Mrs Squarcialupi, on behalf of the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection, on

the proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-1111/83 — COM(83) 626 final) for a directive on the approximation of the laws of the Member States on extraction solvents used in the production of foodstuffs and food ingredients.

**Mrs Squarcialupi (COM), rapporteur.** — (IT) Thank you, Mr President, for allowing me the opportunity to present this last message that the European Parliament is sending to European consumers.

In five years which, for European consumers, have been nothing much to write home about, five years

during which the Commission has not put forward many proposals, Parliament has tried to interpret, by moving resolutions and asking questions, the legitimate concerns of European consumers, in the face of galloping inflation but also in the face of an ever-growing demand for health protection in relation to consumer products, as well as a demand, which Parliament itself has very often made, for a different style of consumption, a different way of interpreting the requirements and the needs of European consumers.

This draft directive concerns solvents, the solvents that the consumer does not see but which are contained in the foodstuffs through which he takes his nourishment. These solvents play a very important part in the food industry, and it can therefore be appreciated why the Commission has made a proposal of the kind that we are discussing this evening. It is undoubtedly an interesting proposal, even if we have to say that it is not very inspiring, and is by no means the most that could be done to protect the health of consumers as well as their interests.

The Parliamentary Committee on Consumer Protection decided however to leave the Commission's proposal almost unchanged, showing special appreciation in this way for the 'good' lists — the lists, that is, of those solvents that can be used in the production of our food products.

We have made reservations regarding the many derogations. This directive, as is unfortunately the case with all the directives presented to us recently, is full of derogations. And this is an ugly sign, because national considerations are given preference over the interests of the Community, the Community dimension. This diminishes both the role of the Commission and that of Parliament, which ought always to give preference to Community solutions.

As I have said, we have been highly critical of all the types of derogation — national derogations, temporary derogations — that this draft directive contains. Taken as a whole, however, we have approved it, even willingly, in the hope that it will be adopted as soon as possible and not finish up like many other directives that concern consumers, and that have lain for many years now in the Council's drawers.

As regards the amendments that will be put forward — and which will be voted on tomorrow — as rapporteur I obviously strongly recommend those that have been adopted by an overwhelming majority of the committee. There are, however, a few amendments in the name of Mr Schleicher, which the committee has already rejected for precise reasons: these amendments propose that in addition to the 'good' lists there should be a 'bad' list, without taking into consideration the fact that there are a whole series of products that would not be on either the 'good' or the 'bad' lists. We consider that this might cause confusion, and the executive Commission agreed with us. Another

### Squarcialupi

very delicate amendment refers to the resolution that was adopted yesterday — Mr Tyrrell's report — on the committees for the adaptation of directives to technical and scientific progress. As rapporteur, I cannot express a favourable opinion because, in the Committee, this amendment, which was put forward by Mr Tyrrell, was not discussed. For this reason I should like the Committee, which was already very critical of the amendment to article 8 that we put forward, to give its views on this further amendment on which, however — I repeat — as rapporteur I cannot express a favourable opinion, and leave the decision to this Assembly.

This, Mr President, in brief, is the report on solvents, the last directive — as I said before — that the European Parliament has addressed to European consumers, sending thereby a message of good intent, albeit within the limits already stated.

**Mr Turner (ED), deputy draftsman of an opinion for the Legal Affairs Committee.** — I am speaking on behalf of Mr Tyrrell, who was draftsman of an opinion for the Legal Affairs Committee. May I say straightaway to Mrs Squarcialupi that her Amendment No 8, which she has already proposed in her committee, is entirely acceptable to the Legal Affairs Committee and follows entirely their proposals. The problem is that there are regulatory committees set up by the Commission and under directives. Here it is a committee for adaptation to technology and scientific progress set up under the original directive. It leads to possible amendments to the original directive on technical grounds because of advances in technology and also because there may be occasions when the Commission actually decides it can apply stricter provisions because of the advance of the economy of the EEC, and for other reasons.

These committees are composed of officials of the 10 Member States. The Commission proposes amendments to its original proposals to this committee and if the committee approves of them, then the Commission acts on that approval. If the committee takes no action, then again the Commission will act on its own proposals. If the committee refuses to agree to what the Commission did, then the matter is referred to the Council of Ministers, and if they refuse to act, nothing happens. If they take no action, the Commission acts on its original proposals. This means that there is a secret veto on behalf of all the 10 member governments. First of all, in the technical committee on technical and scientific progress and, secondly, in the Council itself.

Only if the representatives of the 10 governments agree does the Commission act. This means that the Commission is the cat's paw of the 10 governments. Left out of the whole proceeding is Parliament. If Parliament has the right to be consulted, then it has not been consulted. In certain cases it has the right, and

this occurs when, for instance, in the original opinion of Parliament it had not dealt with the matter which subsequently comes up when the Commission proposes an amendment to its original directive. In this case the Treaty of Rome has been infringed. The Legal Affairs Committee has brought this up on a large number of occasions, notably last time on the emission of gases from internal combustion engines and only last night in connection with the report by Mr Tyrrell on the matter in general. On each occasion Parliament has voted and said quite clearly that it requires the right to comment and give its opinion on the proposals for amendment of a directive by the Commission, even though it is entitled a technical and scientific progress amendment. We insist on this right. I can say quite clearly on behalf of this Parliament, which has almost reached the end of its term of office, that when the Legal Affairs Committee is reconstituted after the elections, we shall take this matter to the Court, unless the Council and the Commission agree that Parliament has the right to be consulted when on a subsequent amendment of an original proposal something is done which the original opinion of Parliament did not cover. It is clearly contrary to the Treaty of Rome that steps should be taken in such circumstances without a subsequent opinion of Parliament.

Mr Tyrrell's report adopted by Parliament last night proposed that on all such occasions the Commission should put its proposals to Parliament and Parliament should say within two months whether or not it proposed to write an opinion on the matter. It should then, within three months from that date, provide an opinion. If it failed to provide an opinion, then the Commission could go ahead. It so happens that Mrs Squarcialupi's Amendment No 8 to Article 8 does precisely that. So although she says she does not understand the point, in fact she does understand it entirely and has already included it in her original proposals. She has only slightly changed the time-limits, and the Legal Affairs Committee does not object to that at all. So may I say to the rapporteur that she already has incorporated in her report what the Legal Affairs Committee requires.

In conclusion, if the Commission does not answer positively to the question, where there is a proposal under a directive for modification upon which Parliament did not originally give its opinion and the Commission does not agree that Parliament should be consulted, then they do not accept Amendment No 8 to Article 8 put forward by the rapporteur. In that case, I already have the agreement of the rapporteur that she will not vote through this report tomorrow but will defer it under Rule 36 and the matter will be delayed. I know the Commission will say that delay is an important matter and is contrary to public interest. However, in this case, They cannot possibly say that, because they have already admitted, in putting forward their case under Article 100, that there is no present barrier to trade existing with national regulations on solvents.

**Turner**

They are bringing forward this proposal to deal with a potential problem: if national governments were to bring forward different regulations on solvents, there would then be the barriers to trade. Therefore, there is no reason to speed this matter up because of damage or delay. I therefore propose to the House, and I know the rapporteur agrees with this, that if the Commission does not accept our proposals on consultation of Parliament in the manner set forth in Amendment No 8 to Article 8, then we will not vote on it tomorrow. We will delay it until the new Parliament, when we will take the matter up again.

**President.** — Thank you, Mr Turner.

The President-in-Office was not in a position to undertake everything you asked for, but perhaps the Commissioner will take a position on it.

**Mrs Seibel-Emmerling (S).** — (DE) Mr President, when people in the Community are asked what is most urgent in Community politics one of the replies is that the Common Market must provide safe foodstuffs with no health risk. The citizens of the Community have every right to safe foodstuffs. We must therefore pay particular attention to anything that is added to food.

The Commission has chosen the right way of dealing with this sensitive topic. It has drawn up a list of foodstuff additives, which, as far as we know, do not present any risk to the consumer, i.e. it has named the solvents which can be added to foodstuffs.

My group are very grateful to Mrs Squarcialupi for retaining this system, which we also consider the best. The committee specifically confirmed this view. Parliament must vigorously oppose all attempts to reduce consumer protection in the Community and increase profits for industry, i.e. any attempts to change this list of permitted additions into a list of banned additives. We therefore ask you all to vote for the Commission proposal and Mrs Squarcialupi's report on behalf of the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection and particularly to oppose the concept of a list of banned additives as proposed by Mrs Schleicher.

The other problem that Mr Turner referred to in his very interesting speech is, of course, not simple. Without wishing in any way to detract from the quality of his other arguments, I cannot agree with one of his points, namely that this matter is not urgent. One study classifies something like a third of the solvents currently in use as hazardous. We must remedy this situation by submitting this report as quickly as possible, and by drawing up the list of permitted additives. I think that this matter is urgent and would particularly ask the Commission to reconsider seriously whether they cannot agree to Parliament's demands, as formulated by Mr Turner.

**Mrs Schleicher (PPE).** — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen! The Commission's proposed directive on extraction solvents used in the production of foodstuffs and foodstuff additives is supposed to solve a major problem of health policy. In my opinion, this proposal is totally irrelevant and ineffective. The administrative work involved will be enormous and the effect minimal.

Unfortunately, the discussions in committee were not very extensive, since this subject is too complicated and tried the patience of those unfamiliar with the matter. The legislation is formulated in a manner that is far too complicated for the problem to be solved. I refer to the so-called method of lists of permitted additives. Even if Mrs Seibel-Emmerling considers my solution to be inappropriate, I am not in favour of a list of permitted additives. What I would prefer are lists of banned substances: if a substance represents a health risk, then it should be banned. This is something that can be controlled on an individual basis. If a system of lists of permitted additives is to be used, how is each product to be analysed down to the last detail if there are thousands of items on the list? In my opinion, this defies control. Where health is concerned, a list with clear prohibitions strikes me as a more practical solution than endless lists of permitted additives. Particularly if, as you say, Mrs Seibel-Emmerling, there are at present a number of hazardous substances on the market, then in my opinion if these are not completely safe, then they should be banned. These enormous lists simply generate bureaucracy. I have no objection to lists of permitted additives on file with a supervisory authority which keeps them under review, on the grounds that the substances have been investigated once and up to now they have been proved safe. But this is no reason for drawing up legislation with an enormous appendix of umpteen thousand substances, if the health authorities and the food control authorities are not to have any real powers of control.

I tried to put this view in committee, but it did not gain much support. I have submitted an amendment and if this is not adopted, I shall not be able to vote for this legislation.

**Mr Narjes, Member of the Commission.** — (DE) First of all the Commission would like to congratulate the rapporteur, Mrs Squarcialupi, on her comprehensive report on the Commission proposal. She has not only investigated the basis for the proposal thoroughly, she has also considered the practical effects of its application, a task which the debate has demonstrated is not easy. However, the basically positive reactions of the three parliamentary committees we consulted have assured us that the Commission's plans are feasible. In many cases, the Commission also accepts the amendments.

Extraction solvents form part of a special group of foodstuff additives, which are in general known as

### Narjes

technical aids and which, as far as is practically possible, are removed from the finished product, in contrast to foodstuff contents.

In my opinion, many of the doubts regarding the principle of lists of permitted extraction solvents is based less on the fact that the regulation is held to be too far-reaching — the maximum levels were established in cooperation with the industry — than on a fear that the Commission intends to regulate the use of all technical aids in the same way. There is no justification for this in general. It is true that the Commission is in favour of lists of permitted additives for foodstuff contents, but it would decide on an individual basis for other substances and it would depend on circumstances whether a system of lists of permitted substances were to be proposed, or a different system.

The Commission proposal also complies with a request from the Council relating to cocoa and chocolate products and coffee extracts. A general regulation on solvents would eliminate the need for a number of individual directives for the various sub-areas. I would also like to emphasize that, in the light of the findings of international studies into the safety of various solvents in use in the Community, both the Commission and the Member States would have failed in their duty if they had not approached the problem both from the aspect of consumer protection and of the elimination of technical obstacles to trade. I am convinced that the proposal does justice, both to consumer protection and the free exchange of goods.

Before I reply to Mr Turner and comment on Amendments Nos 7 and 11, which I will deal with at the end, I would like to say that we accept Amendment No 1, we reject No 2, Nos 3 and 4 are acceptable, we reject No 5 and No 6 is acceptable, Nos 7 and 11 will be dealt with separately, No 8 is acceptable, regrettably we cannot accept Nos 9 and 10, and we also have doubts on Nos 12, 13 and 14. No 15 may be acceptable.

I would now like to deal with Nos 7 and 11 and Mr Turner's comments. The problem he raised, that my colleague Mr Contogeorgis referred to on Monday in his discussion of Mr Tyrrell's report, is of a fundamental nature that goes far beyond this proposal and is tied up with consumer protection and the elimination of borders. I must make it clear from the beginning that I very much regret that I cannot agree and that I freely admit that there are considerable problems in relations between the Commission and the Council of Ministers where committee work is concerned. We are permanently on the defensive in our attempts to avoid encroachments by the Council of Ministers. For this reason, and for fear of creating a precedent which would have wide-ranging consequences, I cannot accept Amendment No 11. I emphasize No 11 as the most far-reaching amendment on this matter. It blurs the classical division of power between the executive and the legislative — I would like to make myself

quite clear — a concept that also applies to the interpretation of the constitution of the Community. It would lead to a confusion of responsibility. I reserve the right to contest the matter between the European Parliament and the Commission at the European Court of Justice.

Mr Tyrrell's proposal calls for more than an obligatory *ex ante* consultation of Parliament. It would grant the European Parliament a modified veto of the Commission in a purely executive matter, possibly even on the basis of chance majorities. The decision-making process would be even longer, contrary to the European Parliament's demands for a European Community capable of greater effectiveness. Further: since the Commission would have more rights under Article 100 in the legislative process than in the full procedure, or even a committee process as suggested by Mr Tyrrell, the Commission would be forced always to use the normal process, even for minor technicalities, as otherwise it would be depriving itself of its own rights, if it were to use the full procedure. This would be absurd and in my view cannot really be what Mr Tyrrell wished to achieve. I wish to make this clear, particularly in view of the differences of opinion between Commission and Council on this matter, since we do not wish to incorporate any further elements which may endanger our position. I feel, Mr President, that because of this problem we will have to refer the whole matter to the next Parliament.

**Mrs Squarcialupi (COM), rapporteur.** — (IT) Mr President, contrary to what Mr Turner has said, I wish to say that I have no intention whatever of asking for this report to be sent back to committee, since I believe, on the contrary, that it must be adopted as soon as possible. We hope on the other hand that the other question, regarding scientific committees, will follow the institutional procedure indicated.

**Mr Turner (ED).** — Mr President, one of the problems is that everything the Commissioner said appeared to relate to Amendment No 8, but he accepted Amendment No 8. I do not know if it was a mistake of translation or not. I was referring to Amendment No 8 and I would have thought all that he said in reply to me was that Amendment No 8 is unacceptable to the Commission. In fact, the translation came through that No 8 was acceptable and Nos 7 and 11 were not. So, may I ask him in a moment to make it clear that he is referring to Amendment No 8?

**Mr Narjes, Member of the Commission.** — (DE) I was referring to Article 8 and Amendments Nos 7 and 11 thereto. I commented on Amendment No 11, as it proposes the most far-reaching amendment of Article 8. I wish to make my position clear on this most far-reaching amendment, in order to clarify the legal problems involved.



**President.** — The debate is closed.

The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

I should like to thank Commissioner Dalsager for remaining, but unfortunately there was not enough time to speak on the report we are dealing with.

*(The sitting was closed at 12 midnight)*<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Agenda for next sitting: see Minutes.*

## ANNEX

*Votes*

The Report of Proceedings records in an annex the rapporteur's position on the various amendments as well as explanations of vote. For details of the voting the reader is referred to the Minutes of the sitting.

**BETHELL REPORT (Doc. 1-68/84 — HUMAN RIGHTS): ADOPTED**

The rapporteur spoke:

- IN FAVOUR OF Amendments Nos 1, 5 to 7, 10 to 12
- AGAINST Amendments Nos 2 to 4.

*Explanations of vote*

**Mr Adamou (COM).** — (GR) Jesuit monks are famed for their hypocrisy, and it seems as if there are many Jesuits in this House. They were uncovered by what they had to say about Lord Bethell's report on human rights, a report that can be regarded as a monument to Jesuitism and hypocrisy. They spread their anticommunist nets to fish for violations of human rights in Socialist countries, and closed their eyes to the crimes being perpetrated in front of their very noses.

They made no mention of who did away with Bobby Sands and his companions. Who is spilling the blood of the Northern Irish patriots? Who implemented the Hitler-like Berufsverbot law in West Germany? How many Turkish and Kurdish patriots has Evren tortured and murdered? How many Palestinian women and children were annihilated a few days ago in Lebanon by the Zionists of Tel Aviv? They have not yet told us what happened to the 2 000 Greek-Cypriot patriots who, ten years ago, disappeared under the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, and above all they have told us nothing about the great crime of trampling on the most humanitarian of rights, the right to work. The number of unemployed in the Community has risen to 15 millions. Who is to blame? Someone said that the present situation ensures freedom for his fellow-citizens. Indeed, it ensures that employers retain the right to savage exploitation, and working people the right to remain unemployed, poor and hungry.

We denounce all this, and will condemn the hypocrisy of the Bethell report with our vote.

**Mr Israël (DEP).** — (FR) In announcing that I shall be voting in favour of the Bethell report, I should like to draw one of the items in this report to the attention of the House.

As you know, elections are always unpredictable. I therefore prefer to say something to you now which I may not have an opportunity to say at a later date.

The ACP-EEC Joint Committee has decided to set up its own working party on human rights; this is an extremely important development on which it was very difficult to secure agreement in Brazzaville.

Our colleagues on the Joint Committee have agreed that in future they will discuss human rights issues with the European Community. This is going to be an extremely delicate process. There should be discussions on all matters that the European Parliament instructs us to raise, but this will have to be done from the standpoint to which the ACP countries are accustomed, in other words by directly recommending application of the fundamental

rights, namely the right to life, the right to physical integrity of the person, and the right to a fair hearing before an independent tribunal.

I therefore beg members of the Committee on Development and Cooperation and those who will be sitting on the next Joint Committee not to allow this idea to lapse but to use all their energies to ensure that the ACP-EEC working party on human rights becomes the first forum of political cooperation between the European Community and the Third World.

**Mr Chambeiron (COM), in writing.** — (FR) During the debate this morning my friend and colleague Mr Francis Wurtz drew attention to what we saw as the main defect in the Bethell report, which was its partial — in both meanings of the word — approach to the human rights issue, so partial that one could justifiably suggest that the rapporteur was suffering from a political strabismus.

We had hoped that we could correct this distorted view with our two amendments calling for something we have been urging for four years now, the setting-up of a committee on inquiry on the violation of human rights within the Community itself. I note with regret and concern that, apart from the Communist and Allies Group, all the other groups voted against our suggestion. On the other hand, it was considered desirable to strengthen the Bethell report by adopting an amendment from Mr Israël designed to turn the human rights issue into an unacceptable means of bringing pressure to bear in relations with the ACP countries, which we find especially regrettable at a time when the negotiations on renewal of the Lomé Convention are in progress.

Lord Bethell writes in his report that

the Members of the European Parliament (. . .) as elected representatives, can be considered to have a primary duty to speak out on behalf of individual victims (of violations of human rights).

We entirely agree. But when the victims are British or Irish, are we supposed to hold our tongues?

Because we are always willing to discuss human rights and violations of them, wherever, they occur, but are not prepared to do so in a blinkered, selective manner, we shall abstain from voting on the Bethell report.

**Mrs Hammerich (CDI), in writing.** — (DA) The report seeks to give the Community — and Parliament in particular — more tasks and greater powers with regard to intervention on violations of human rights in other countries — not in the Community, of course. We think that is a bad idea. The Community is too economically fixated and politically narrow to take such tasks upon itself. The ACP countries are known to be against the Community imposing demands on human rights as a condition for trade and aid. The hypocrisy is perhaps most clearly apparent in the Community's relations with South Africa: on the one hand, mild condemnations of apartheid and at best ineffective codes of conduct and, on the other hand, the Community as the economic lifeline of the apartheid system.

Nor have I forgotten the scandalous treatment by Parliament's Political Affairs Committee of the Turkish opposition and peace movement, which came a long way to take part in the Turkey hearing in April. Suspicion was cast on many participants, and their testimony was brought into doubt in an extremely embarrassing manner.

We feel that intergovernmental bodies, such as the UN, are much better fora for the discussion of human rights and we also value the contributions of non-governmental organizations, such as Amnesty International, which do endeavour to pursue a line which is free from party-political positions and economic considerations.

We do not approve of Parliament as a human rights tribunal and we cannot support the Bethell report.

**Mr Spencer (ED), in writing.** — I shall vote for this report because I believe that Parliament's activities in the area of human rights have been useful and productive.

The voice of the people of Europe as expressed by this Parliament has been useful in relation to the Third World; it continues to be useful in Eastern Europe. We nominated Lech Walesa for the Nobel Prize; we will continue to work for the release of political prisoners in Poland.

I commend this report to all those in Europe who care about human decency.

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#### COTTRELL REPORT (Doc. 1-47/84 — NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN THE EEC): ADOPTED

The rapporteur spoke:

- IN FAVOUR OF Amendments Nos 1, 14, 17, 19 to 22, 27, 30, 31, 33 to 35
- AGAINST Amendments Nos 13, 18, 23 and 24.

#### *Explanations of vote*

**Mr Brøndlund Nielsen (L).** — (DA) After much deliberation, I will say that I can vote for the Cottrell report, particularly after the amendments adopted to alter the title and certain other aspects. It is essentially to secure individual freedom and religious freedom, which must not be allowed to be impaired by an unacceptable abuse. Given the distribution of powers between the institutions, I will also vote in favour, because it is the Council's task in the final instance. But it is right for us in Parliament to present a proposal, so that this matter can be taken up in the individual countries as appropriate, but in cooperation. We are confronted here with a kind of spiritual multinational organization which is able to exploit situations in the modern world in an unacceptable way. I therefore feel that it is also necessary to make an effort on a transnational basis to get these things under acceptable control. I am also glad of the suggestion that it should be taken up by the Council of Europe. I think that is the right place, as it is something which belongs within the purview of human rights, and there the matter can be dealt with in a wider context. I would stress that in the first instance I wish to associate myself with the defence of religious freedom, and that is an essential reason why I will vote for this, which is a call to the governments to control abuse in these matters.

**Mr Croux (PPE).** — (NL) The adoption of the amendments has resulted in such major changes to this report and resolution that we shall vote for it. Firstly, there is now no threat to the freedom of religion. Secondly, research is no longer recommended. Thirdly, we cannot ignore the dreadful suffering that many families go through as a result of the abuses we have been discussing. We shall therefore vote for the resolution.

**Mr Møller (ED).** — (DA) We, Kent Kirk and I, abstained in all previous votes on this matter, because we feel that religious questions are not something with which a European Parliament, whose task is to develop European cooperation, need concern itself. Now we are coming to the final vote, and I must say that on this matter we have all received more letters than on any other subject we have dealt with these past five years — perhaps with the exception of seal pups and battery chickens. Even so I think that, seal pups and battery chickens aside, it is a matter which affects most people because it concerns human beliefs and conscience. Such depths of feeling are involved here that I make no protest over the fact that we have taken it up, because Parliament has so decided, but I do protest against any adoption of the motion, and I will vote against it. If anyone commits a criminal act in

getting minors to sign undertakings they cannot honour, why then it must be the criminal law and courts of the individual Member States that must act in these matters. It is not our concern. We should try to refrain from intervening in religious affairs, because it is a question of conscience for the citizens which is at issue.

**Mrs Phlix (PPE).** — (NL) In the light of the amendments that have been adopted, I shall vote for this report, even though all my doubts have not been cleared up. I find it regrettable that in this extremely delicate matter, which has been the cause of so much human suffering, our Parliament did not make a more thorough investigation of all the facts before submitting this motion for a resolution. We hope that following consideration of this problem in our Parliament, for which after all the Member States must have a high regard, the latter will be persuaded to listen to our appeal, to exchange information amongst themselves and above all to bring their own penal provisions up to date. Only in this way can much further suffering be avoided.

**Mr Petersen (S).** — (DA) Fifteen years ago, I was a psychological expert witness in a lawsuit against the Church of Scientology and its psychological methods. They are and they remain pseudoscientific and therefore dangerous. The dubious conduct of other new religious movements has also been abundantly demonstrated. But that is not the point. Any political organization, including the European Parliament, can only join with Montesquieu in saying, 'I detest your opinion, but I would give my life for your right to hold it'. Religious freedom is indivisible, for no-one can define the boundary between belief and superstition. I must therefore vote against the motion, along with the other Danish social democrats. Then there is the fact that the new religious movements have nothing to do with the Treaty of Rome. People in my country will inevitably say that now the EEC wants to harmonize religion too. All things considered, it is doubtful whether this initiative will promote Parliament's image. Mr President, as my last words to the European Parliament, I should like to remind you of Goethe, a good European whose statue stands just along the road from here in front of the University. One of his well known sayings was: 'It is in self-limitation that a master first shows himself'. My wish for the next European Parliament is that it will exercise more self-limitation than the present one and refrain from becoming involved with issues such as these.

**Mr Chambeiron (COM).** — (FR) The Communist and Allies Group will abstain in the vote on the Cottrell report. We explained the reasons for our unease during yesterday's debate when it was decided to put this report on the agenda. I must stress that the amendments which have been adopted today amply demonstrate that our anxiety about the content of this text was well founded. The text that has emerged from our deliberations is beyond a shadow of a doubt infinitely better than the one that we found on our arrival.

The fact remains, however, that there are still grey areas in this text, and our concern that a text should never be used against the spirit intended by its authors, against the interests of the freedoms that we seek to defend, obliges us to abstain. I therefore have to say that we shall not be taking part in the vote on the Cottrell report.

**Mr von der Vring (S).** — (DE) I am also speaking on behalf of Mrs Seibel-Emmerling and Mr Schmid. We would have liked to vote for this report because we support its basic contention and should not like to create the impression that we are influenced by the propaganda put about by sects which abuse their power. But in its present form, Paragraph 2, which sets out the very commendable criteria for investigating, evaluating and assessing the new organizations benefiting from the protection afforded to religious freedom is very one-sided. All religious organizations must be equal before the law, before the legislature, including our Parliament and in the eyes of the authorities. I welcome these criteria but they must be applied universally.

And this is why I believe we should not embark on a major inquiry into religious movements but should urge all religious bodies to accept a general code of conduct which many accept already as a matter of course. No legislation can be drafted in relation to an indefinite quantity from which certain religious movements are excluded *a priori*. Given there-

fore that this would reflect badly on us, I cannot unfortunately vote for the report and my colleagues and I have no option but to abstain.

**Mr Hahn (PPE), in writing. — (DE)** I endorse the motion for a resolution contained in the Cottrell report on the activities of certain new religious movements within the European Community. Notwithstanding the view which has been expressed in the European Parliament and elsewhere that this represents an assault on religious convictions and the freedom of religion, it is important to recognize that the motion for a resolution makes no observations whatsoever on religious matters. Nor does it contain any value judgements on any religious body. It simply comments on the practices of certain organizations which curtail their members' rights of liberty as guaranteed by the declaration of human rights and violate the law. The practices of such organizations create serious problems for many of the young people who have succumbed to them and also represent a burden on the state and society which foot the bill when the members of these organizations, cut off from the social welfare system, finally turn up suffering mental injury.

This motion for a resolution only seeks to reconcile religious freedom with the freedom of the individual. It does not affect any religious community which stays within the law and respects the individual liberties of its members which include, for example, the right to renounce. The massive resistance to the demands set out in the motion for a resolution — which are axiomatic in a democratic society — clearly shows that organizations exist which are not prepared to respect personal freedom.

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#### ENRIGHT REPORT (Doc. 1-67/84 — EEC-NAMIBIA): ADOPTED

The rapporteur spoke:

- IN FAVOUR OF Amendments Nos 1 to 8 and 28;
- AGAINST Amendments Nos 9 to 17, 22, 24 to 27 and 29.

#### *Explanations of vote*

**Mr G. Fuchs (S). — (FR)** The negotiations which have been proceeding for years on Namibia's accession to independence and application of United Nations Resolution 435 have been heavily impregnated with the rankest hypocrisy. Is South Africa really willing to agree to independence for this country, which many South African leaders look upon as an adjunct essential to maintenance of the *apartheid* system? The United States claims to be in favour of independence, but is it not making the prospect much less likely by insisting on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola as a prior condition and refusing to bring the slightest pressure to bear on Pretoria? As for the Soviet Union, is there a real desire, underneath all the rhetoric, for normalization of the situation in the region, which would undoubtedly lead to a diminution of its influence? In the circumstances, the positions adopted by the European States and the Community are all the more important, provided, of course, that they adhere unequivocally to international law and admit of no indulgence towards any of the parties concerned, especially South Africa, whose inadmissible *apartheid* policy appears to be supported by some Honourable Members, which I find scandalous. Now that the amendments tabled by Mr Luster and Mr d'Ormesson have been resoundingly defeated, I find that Mr Enright's motion for a resolution is still in line with the principles to which I have referred. I shall therefore be supporting it and invite the House to adopt it by a massive majority. The influence of our European Community in Africa and the Third World will be all the stronger for that.

*(Applause from the left)*

**Mr Pearce (ED).** — Together with my colleagues I have tried as hard as possible to agree with Mr Enright in his report. I congratulate him on what he has done in an attempt to get

everybody on board. But at the last moment we find this business of Walvis Bay coming into the argument. Walvis Bay and its islands are not part of Namibia and they have not been for any part of this century. I honestly believe that it is confusing the issue to drag this matter into this debate. They were ceded to South Africa by treaty a long time ago. I believe that the first thing to do is to get Namibia to be free and independent with a society which gives equal rights to all of its citizens and at a later stage to talk about this. I fear that Mr Enright has allowed a little bit of the traditional prejudice that we have seen so often in this House against South Africa to come into this. I wish that had not happened.

I am happy to see that in Amendment No 6 he recognizes that six hundred million European currency units of South Africa aid go each year to Namibia. I hope that that point goes home. I feel on balance, with great regret, that I have to abstain on this report, although I congratulate Mr Enright on a great deal of what he has done.

**Mr Denis (COM).** — (*FR*) The situation in southern Africa is evolving rapidly. In the view of the French Communists and Allies, only independence, sovereignty and an end to the suffering caused to the Namibian people by the inherent injustice of the *apartheid* system maintained by the regime in Pretoria can guarantee a return to peace in the region. The unworthy advocates of *apartheid* in this House, such as Mr d'Ormesson, have just been defeated, to my great delight. At this stage it is essential for the Community to reaffirm its total support for implementation of Security Council Resolution 435.

It is especially important for the Community to declare its support for a real international drive towards this goal in that it has ties with most of the countries in southern Africa under the Lomé Convention, the current renegotiation of which offers the opportunity for the EEC to make provision for the possibility of political and economic relations with an independent Namibia. As long as the present situation prevails, direct official development aid to Namibia would be incompatible with international law and UN decisions. We therefore consider that if the Community is to grant humanitarian aid, this should be channelled through the NGOs, which are playing an invaluable role, as we have often had occasion to remark.

I should like to express my appreciation of the excellent work that the rapporteur has done and assure him that the French Communists and Allies will be voting in favour of his report.

**Mr Enright (S) rapporteur.** — First of all, I feel that I should reply to the question concerning Walvis Bay. In fact, the paragraph as I had it is deliberately placed in that position as a result of consultations with the South African Embassy. So I do not think I can be accused of rushing heedlessly into something there.

It is very clear in South Africa that there is a split between the military and the economic people and also some of the white Namibians who will be remaining there who see Walvis Bay ultimately as being very important indeed but, agreed, do not think that it should be a linkage issue, and it is no part of this report to make it a linkage issue. This matter will be taken up later.

I was very surprised indeed to see Mr d'Ormesson voting against Amendment No 8. Had he consulted me, I would certainly have included the derogatory term 'Bantu education'. I thought it was an altogether odd thing to do.

Finally, I would like to thank the members of the Committee on Development who have kept good faith. We have negotiated long and hard. Their word has been given and accepted and they have remained faithful to it. I am very grateful indeed to them and I shall be voting for my resolution.

*(Applause from the left)*

**BADUEL GLORIOSO REPORT (Doc. 1-59/84 — EEC-MALTA): ADOPTED**

The rapporteur spoke:

- IN FAVOUR OF Amendments Nos 1 and 2;
- AGAINST Amendment No 3.

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**SALISCH REPORT (Doc. 1-170/84 — UNEMPLOYMENT AMONGST WOMEN). ADOPTED**

The rapporteur spoke:

- IN FAVOUR OF Amendments Nos 1 to 6, 9 to 13.

*Explanations of vote*

**Mr Enright (S).** — I shall be supporting this report most strongly. It counteracts the vicious exploitation of female workers that is going on at this moment in the fields of Kent.

*(Laughter)*

I call upon the Member for Kent East, who is currently there for a mere three weeks, to make sure this does not continue to happen during the three weeks before I take over his tenure of office.

**Mrs Hammerich (CDI), in writing.** — *(DA)* Since 1974, the Commission has been sending economic guidelines to the individual Member States. The guidelines which Denmark has received — and in the last analysis has followed — have always been full of instructions to cut back public expenditure, in the social sector too.

Female unemployment in Denmark during our membership of the EEC has been 23 times greater than it was before. This is due not only to the international economic crisis, since countries which remained outside the EEC and stuck to EFTA, such as Norway, Sweden, Austria and Switzerland, have been able to keep their rates of unemployment to less than one-third that of Denmark.

We consider our EEC membership to be one of the causes of the deterioration in the working and living conditions of women which has taken place. And we regard the Commission's proposals at best as papering over the cracks and at worst as hypocrisy.

We consider the Community to be a poor tool for the creation of equality between men and women. Independent countries are in a much better position — in free international cooperation — to work for an improvement in employment and social conditions.

We cannot therefore support either the Commission's proposals or the report.

**Mrs Le Roux (COM), in writing.** — *(FR)* This report discusses measures which could be adopted to combat unemployment among women. Its subject is excellent, as is its intention.

By contrast, the quality of the answers to the questions posed by this issue and the remedies suggested is thoroughly disappointing. At a time when the 35-hour week is a live issue everywhere in Europe, especially in the Federal Republic of Germany at this moment, this motion for a resolution contains no proposals for reduction of working time on a sufficiently significant scale to make a contribution to a reduction in unemployment.



This omission is especially regrettable when the Cinciari Rodano resolution adopted in January 1984 by the European Parliament called for a reduction of the working week for women to 35 hours without loss of pay.

Moreover, the store set on the solution of temporary work in the motion for a resolution does not square with the French Government's findings on the status of women.

The French Government has often commented on the fact that more extensive recourse to part-time employment would have the effect of devaluing women's work and discriminating against them indirectly. The Communists agree with this view. Since our amendments have not been adopted, the motion for a resolution from the Committee on Social Affairs is still unsatisfactory and represents a considerable retrograde step compared with the resolution adopted by the European Parliament on a motion from the Committee of Inquiry into the Situation of Women in Europe. We shall therefore not be supporting it.

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#### MAIJ-WEGGEN REPORT (Doc. 1-45/84 — SOCIAL SECURITY): ADOPTED

The rapporteur spoke:

- IN FAVOUR OF Amendments Nos 4 (1st part) and 6;
- AGAINST Amendments Nos 4 (2nd part), 7 to 9 and 12.

#### *Explanation of vote*

**Mr Ephremidis (COM) — (GR)** The report by Mrs Maij-Weggen is characterised as provisional by its author herself. For us, it is something worse still: it is superficial. Of course this superficiality is hardly her fault, since she claims, and rightly so, that she did not have enough facts and figures, in general concerning the subject she was dealing with, but also of a comparative nature concerning how the matter is treated in each country within the Community. Besides, she claims — and this is a fact — that even the Commission's own documents concerning matters of social security are unclear and vague. However Mr President, what emerges clearly from this vagueness and lack of clarity is the Commission's intention to proceed with the sought-after convergence in limiting and curtailing social and security provisions for working people, on the well known argument that such provisions prevent the Community's products from being competitive. This pretence conceals the truth that it is the profits made by vested interests that make the Community's products uncompetitive. Despite the fact that the report and the Commission's document show some attempt to improve matters, I would like to remind us all, Mr President, of the well-known saying 'beware of Danaeans, even when bearing gifts'.

We Greek working people are very wary of the Community, and we well know what lies behind some measures on behalf of working people. For this reason, we shall abstain from voting.

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#### CALVEZ REPORT (Doc. 1-66/84 — SOCIAL LEGISLATION): ADOPTED

The rapporteur spoke:

- IN FAVOUR OF Amendments Nos 2 to 6, 10 and 11;
- AGAINST Amendments Nos 1, 7 to 9.

*Explanation of vote*

**Mrs Hammerich (CDI), in writing — (DA)** The proposal recommends the harmonization of the Member States' social legislation. It appears that the primary intention is to prevent distortions to competition, in other words the aim of the harmonization is first and foremost to protect the profits of the producer.

In Denmark we are opposed to such harmonization, because we consider that social legislation is a sovereign national prerogative.

All social progress — at all times and in all places — has been made by people fighting for better conditions of existence, where they live and work. Also progress in the individual countries has provided impetus and examples for people in other countries. We thus take a positive view of international cooperation but not of compulsory uniformity and directives which take away the initiative from the individual nations, thereby impeding social progress.

As an example of successful initiatives, the report mentions the provisions for equal treatment of men and women. For your information I would inform you that Norway and Sweden — independently of the EEC — have implemented provisions that are far more progressive.

We cannot therefore support the proposal.

## SITTING OF WEDNESDAY, 23 MAY 1984

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## IN THE CHAIR: MR MØLLER

*Vice-President*

*(The sitting was opened at 10 a.m.)*

1. *Approval of minutes*

**President.** — The minutes of yesterday's sitting have been distributed. If there are no objections, I shall consider them approved.

**Mrs Viehoff (S).** — *(NL)* Mr President, on page 20 of the minutes there is a list of motions for resolutions, including one by Mrs Viehoff, Mr Albers and Mr Glinne on the Iranian atom bomb, which is followed by a second motion on the mission of seven Arab countries. On page 31 there is an announcement for a joint debate on the Gulf war. There is no mention of the Iranian bomb here. I thought it was the same motion. Is that a mistake?

**President.** — The question which Mrs Viehoff raises concerns an objection to the list of topical and urgent debates. You can raise your objections at three o'clock. For the moment we are discussing only the minutes.

**Mrs Viehoff (S).** — *(NL)* We are talking about the approval of the minutes, Mr President, and I see that the motion in question is not included in the joint debate in the minutes. I thought that this matter should be brought up at this point. If I do it this afternoon, I shall be politely told that I failed to do it when the minutes were being approved.

**President.** — Mrs Viehoff, if you do not agree with the list as it stands in the minutes, you can say so at three o'clock. This has nothing to do with the minutes.

**Mrs Viehoff (S).** — *(NL)* That is not the point, Mr President. The point is that the minutes do not list for a joint debate on the Gulf war an urgent motion for a resolution which was tabled in time. I think it should be included in the joint debate. I am asking if there has been a mistake in missing out this particular motion. You have not answered my question. I just want to know why the motion is not listed for the debate. I cannot do anything this afternoon because then I have to propose urgency. My request is simply to include a particular motion in the joint debate. Obviously a mistake was made yesterday.

**President.** — Mrs Viehoff, the minutes cannot include something which was not said yesterday, and the list in

the minutes on page 31 is the list the President read out yesterday. If there are any amendments to it, they must be submitted at three o'clock and then a vote will be taken. We cannot do it any other way. We cannot alter the list which the President has presented and which has been included in these minutes.

*(Parliament approved the minutes)<sup>1</sup>*

2. *Preliminary draft budget 1985 (Statement by the Commission)*

**President.** — The next item is the statement by the Commission on the preliminary draft budget of the Communities for the 1985 financial year.

**Mr Tugendhat, Vice-President of the Commission.** — Mr President, this is the eighth time that I have presented in this Parliament, on the Commission's behalf, a preliminary draft budget of the European Communities for the forthcoming year. It is also, I anticipate, the last occasion on which I shall be doing so.

The preparation of the Community's budget has not, alas, become any easier over the years. On this occasion the Commission's work took place against a background of intense discussion in the Council and in the European Parliament on the future development of Community policies and of the Community's financial and budgetary regime. These discussions are, of course, not yet over. However, the Commission has sought to take account, to the maximum extent possible, both of the decisions which have been taken and those which seem to be in prospect. Of these decisions, one of the most fundamental is, of course, that concerning an increase in the own resources potentially available to the Community. When I presented, at around this time last year, the Commission's preliminary draft budget for the 1984 financial year, I observed that 1984 seemed likely to be the last year for which it would be possible for the Commission to propose a valid and credible budget within the confines of the existing own-resources ceiling. It is for this reason that the Commission has consistently stressed the urgency of early agreement on new arrangements for the financing of the Community, proposals for which have been on the table since last May.

In the event, as a result of the decisions which were taken in response to the Commission's suggestions for the reform of the common agricultural policy, supplementary financial means over and above the 1% limit of VAT will be required already in 1984, if the Community's financial obligations relating to this budget year are to be discharged within it. The Commission has, as the House knows, presented a legislative pro-

<sup>1</sup> *Written declarations (Rule 49 of the Rules of Procedure): see Minutes.*

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posal designed to obtain these additional resources and Parliament's opinion on that proposal is eagerly awaited.

As regards 1985, the Commission is presenting its preliminary draft budget on the assumption that as a result of decisions to be taken before the adoption of the budget, own resources in excess of the current ceiling will be made available to the Community in the course of the budgetary year. The Commission has also had in mind the aim, which has underlain recent discussions in the Community, of achieving a significant revival of action at Community level in a number of priority fields, while at the same time, ensuring that Community expenditure represents the most cost-effective use possible of the resources deployed.

The budget, which the Commission is presenting today, therefore seeks to reflect a proper balance between what is desirable in terms of the development of the policies at Community level, and what is attainable in terms of the overall constraints on public expenditure in the Community and the requirements of sound budgetary discipline. The Commission has also paid heed to the general objectives affirmed in Parliament's resolution on the guidelines for the budgetary policy of the Communities for 1985. The Commission broadly shares Parliament's view of the priority needs facing the Community and has sought to reflect these priorities in its own choice of budgetary options. In doing so, the Commission has, however, had to take account of the need, in the first place, to propose appropriations which will enable the Community's existing commitments to be honoured.

These commitments arise not only in those expenditure areas designated as compulsory in the technical sense and which govern over two-thirds of the budget, they also arise in the field of non-compulsory expenditure. The technique of dissociated appropriations used in many areas of such expenditure means that a significant volume of payments will be required in 1985 simply in order to finance the commitments which have been contracted in previous years' budgetary exercises. Against this background the Commission is presenting the following principal expenditure proposals.

I deal first with EAGGF Guarantee. For EAGGF Guarantee the Commission's proposal is based on the best technical estimate we can currently make for expenditure requirements in 1985 on the basis of the existing regulations and without assuming any adjustment of these regulations in the context of the 1985 price decisions. This estimate amounts to 18 965 m ECU. In addition, the Commission considers that a special Community destocking programme is necessary in view of the exceptionally high levels of stocks of certain products, notably butter, skimmed milk powder and beef. 350 million is proposed for this programme. Total EAGGF Guarantee expenditure proposed by the Commission thus amounts to 19 315 m ECU. This figure needs to be compared with the

16 500 m ECU voted in the 1984 budget and the 18 631 m ECU which the Commission currently estimates will actually be required for EAGGF Guarantee in 1984. The Commission maintains its policy aim that EAGGF Guarantee expenditure should, expressed as a rolling three-year's average, grow at a rate lower than that of the Community's own resource base. This aim cannot as a result of the decisions taken by the Council yet be fulfilled in relation to past years, but the relatively modest increase of 3.7% proposed for 1985 appropriations in relation to actual 1984 expenditure estimates would be consistent with such a guideline in the future.

I now turn to non-compulsory expenditure. For non-compulsory expenditure the Commission has borne in mind that the maximum rate established under Article 203, paragraph 9, of the Treaty is 8.5%.

The application of this maximum rate to the base of non-compulsory expenditure of 1984, excluding expenditure on special measures in favour of the United Kingdom and Germany, would result in a total amount of 6 103 m ECU, of which about half would be needed for commitments which the Community will already have entered into before 1 January 1985 and which will have to be honoured in that year.

This important rate of commitments, already entered into in the past, means that a limitation of payment appropriations to no more than the maximum rate would, on the assumption of a normal relationship between payments and commitments, leave room for only a very limited allocation of new commitment appropriations in 1985. The Commission does not believe that it would be right in this way to amputate the Community's existing policies, or to abort its new ones. In order to maintain a reasonable rhythm of development in its existing policies and to allow scope for the development of certain new actions and initiatives, a rate of increase somewhat in excess of the maximum rate is, in the particular circumstances of 1985, justified. The Commission is therefore proposing an overall increase of non-compulsory expenditure amounting, in both payments and commitments, to 12.75%, that is to say, one-and-a-half times the maximum rate. This will allow the maintenance in real terms of all the Community's existing actions in the structural and sectoral fields, together with the selective intensification of some of them in line with the Commission's policy proposals and priorities.

For both the Regional and Social Funds, the Commission proposes increases in commitment appropriations designed to ensure the same level of activity in real terms in 1985 as in 1984. In view of an estimated rate of inflation in the Community of 5.1%, the amounts in nominal terms in the 1984 budget have been increased by this rate. This rate of increase falls short of the Commission's and Parliament's long-term policy objective in these fields, but a higher rate would give rise to insuperable problems on payments given

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the Community's overall budgetary situation. Even this level of increase for commitments may make it necessary to reduce the rate of advances paid under the Social Fund in 1985. The Commission will, if and when appropriate, make a proposal to this effect.

The proposed increases in appropriations for payments are 16.3% for the Regional Fund and 12.8% for the Social Fund.

Elsewhere, the Commission has given a particular budgetary priority to research, the Mediterranean programmes and transport. This corresponds largely to the priorities formulated by the Community's other institutions. In particular, they are consistent with the draft conclusions of the European Council and with the European Parliament's guidelines for budgetary policy.

In the field of research, the implementation of specific actions follows the objectives and criteria set out in the Community framework programme for 1984-87, adopted in July 1983. Within such a framework, the Council has now agreed to the Esprit programme. The figures put forward in the preliminary draft budget correspond to the financial information contained in this programme. Appropriations for other research activities have also been increased, taking into account the need for budgetary discipline and according to the priorities outlined by the Commission. The Commission has thus directly responded to the injunction in point 8 of Parliament's 1985 budgetary guidelines proposal.

For the Mediterranean programmes, the Commission proposes 160 m ECU in commitment appropriations which would enable a substantial start to be made in implementing concrete measures in this field in 1985. In the field of development aid, and especially for the fight against hunger in the world, the Commission's proposals envisage the adoption of programmes involving the same quantities as those proposed in the Commission's preliminary draft budget for 1984. Similarly, the allocation proposed for aid to non-associated developing countries is of the same order of magnitude as proposed by the Commission last year.

The preliminary draft budget also includes a provision already created by the European Parliament in the 1984 budget. This will enable the EDF to be introduced into the budget when the current negotiations have been concluded. The Commission reserves the right to propose at a suitable time any adjustments that may be required.

Mr President, I would now like to say a few words about the correction of budgetary imbalances. Under this heading, the preliminary draft budget contains no provision for special expenditure measures of the kind undertaken in previous years. The Commission assumes...

**Mr Christopher Jackson (ED).** — Mr President, I am rising to protest — and I apologize for interrupting the Commissioner — at the filming activities going on in the corner of the Chamber there which have nothing whatsoever to do with the Commissioner's speech, and I would be grateful if you could use your authority to cause the filming to cease.

*(Applause)*

**President.** — Mr Jackson, you should not interrupt a Member of the Commission. If Members are being inconvenienced by the filming, we must ask the television team to go outside. If the filming is proving a distraction, then it must be done outside or in the lunch break — to that extent, the Members' views should be respected.

**Mr Fergusson (ED).** — Mr President, this Chamber is being used as a studio. Look at it! The person being photographed is also being interviewed. It cannot happen in a Parliamentary Chamber, especially when the Commissioner is talking. Those people must go out and you must order them out.

**President.** — I must ask both the cameraman and the Member who is being filmed to leave the Chamber.

**Mr Rogers (S).** — Mr President, I find this absolutely appalling. For the last five years, you have had Members of this Parliament continually saying that the press and television do not come here and report what is happening, that it is a backwater Parliament, that they do not get publicity. Yet suddenly the British Conservatives get very touchy about this horrible budget being presented, and so on.

**President.** — I must ask that the filming be done outside. If this means that television teams won't come here in future, then it can't be helped. They are only allowed to work in here on condition that they do not inconvenience the Members.

**Mrs Castle (S).** — Mr President, I do wish to make a very serious point of order. It is the normal practice for cameras to be allowed into this debating Chamber. I have sat here many a time blinded by the lights that have been directed at Commissioner Tugendhat and I have never complained, because I am glad that the media do take an interest in what we do. So I think it would be wrong for you to arbitrarily order a camera out of this Chamber if a Member wishes to be filmed against the background of an actual sitting of the House. It happens all the time. Mr President, I beg you not to amend the Rules unilaterally but to take a note of the point of order and have it discussed in the proper place.

**President.** — Mrs Castle, when the Bureau gave permission for television teams to come in here, it was on condition that Members were not inconvenienced. Now there are Members who feel that they are being inconvenienced because there is an interview taking place as well. Perhaps there are people here who want to hear Mr Tugendhat and do not want to be distracted by TV cameras.

**Mr Tugendhat, Vice-President of the Commission.** — Mr President, I noted with interest what Mrs Castle said about being blinded, but I may say that I have more often felt as if I were a satellite in her firmament rather than the other way about.

*(Laughter)*

Mr President, I was going to say a few words about budgetary imbalances. Indeed, I think I did say that the preliminary draft budget contains no provision for special expenditure measures of the kind undertaken in previous years. The Commission assumes, in the light of discussions on this subject currently under way in the context of the Community's future financing, that any correction in respect of 1984, to be implemented in 1985, will not affect the level of Community expenditure. In so far as these procedures involve modulation of Member States' payments of VAT, the Commission will present the appropriate proposals for the rectification of the revenue provisions of the budget once the necessary legal base for such modulation has been established.

The subject of financing is obviously an important one this year. The total volume of expenditure proposed by the Commission for 1985 amounts to 28 104 million ECU in payment appropriations and 30 228 million ECU in commitment appropriations. Taking account of the estimates of the availability of customs duties and agricultural levies as well as the miscellaneous revenue, this level of expenditure will require a VAT rate of 1.12%. The Commission assumes, as I indicated at the outset of my remarks, that before the adoption of the 1985 budget in December this year agreement will have been reached in the Council on a proposal allowing additional VAT revenues beyond the present 1% ceiling to be called up.

The Commission also assumes that this new decision on own resources will contain a specific clause providing for its entry into force on 1 October 1985 and for the new regime to be applicable with effect from 1 January 1985. The Commission will, within the coming weeks, present a proposal for the amendment of the new own resources decision along these lines. Thus, although for the first nine months of the year the Commission will only be able to call up VAT on the basis of a transitional rate of 1%, a definitive rate of 1.12% applicable to the whole of the year will, if the Commission's budgetary proposals are accepted, subsequently be established.

The Commission recognizes, however, that even though the new decision by the Council on own resources can be expected to have been taken before the end of this year, the national parliamentary procedures which will be required in order to achieve ratification of this decision may not necessarily have been completed. Until they have been completed, there is no legal authority enabling the Commission to call up VAT in excess of 1%. Nor would the budget authority, in adopting a budget geared to expenditure in excess of 1%, have the legal certainty that, as required by Article 199 of the Treaty, the revenue and expenditure shown in the budget would be in balance. In the Commission's view it is essential that at the moment of the adoption of a budget there exists an absolute and unqualified assurance that revenues corresponding to the proposed expenditure will in all circumstances be available.

Given the inevitable uncertainty which is attached to the completion or to the timing of the completion of national parliamentary procedures, the Commission does not think it would be proper for the budget authority to adopt a budget for 1985 geared to a VAT rate of 1.12% without some additional safeguard.

The Commission is therefore proposing that the Council should, before the adoption of the 1985 budget, adopt a decision whereby financial means will automatically be made available by the Member States to the Community to cover the amount required in excess of a 1% rate of VAT, should, by any mischance, one or more of the national ratification procedures not be completed before 1 October 1985. The Commission will within the coming weeks present to Parliament and to the Council a draft legislative proposal for such a decision. On the basis of this preliminary draft budget, the sum required will be 1 913 million ECU.

In this way, Mr President, the Commission believes that it will be possible for the budget authority, later this year, to adopt a budget for 1985 which, while reflecting a due regard for the restraint which the Commission believes must be applied to all public expenditure in the Community at the present time, none the less will be of a sufficient scale overall to allow the proper development of those policies and actions to which all the institutions and governments of the Community have committed themselves. It is on this basis that I commend the Commission's proposals to this Parliament, and to the Council to which they will be presented later today.

Before I sit down I should like to make one brief personal statement. I recalled at the beginning of my remarks that this was the eighth budget that I had presented in this Parliament and that it would be my last. Naturally, therefore, one's mind goes back over the earlier years and over the earlier occasions. I remember vividly that the rapporteur for the first budget was Michael Shaw. I cannot remember all the rapporteurs



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thereafter — most of them, but not all — but there has been one constant element in all our budgetary debates and all our budgetary proceedings. There has been one person whose contribution has always been eagerly awaited, and it has set the tone of the debates thereafter. I think the whole House knows that I refer to Mr Lange, and I should like to take this opportunity...

*(Applause)*

... not only to congratulate him on all that he has done for this Parliament and for the European Community during his many many years in this Parliament — far more years than I have been coming here — but also to offer him my best personal wishes for his retirement.

*(Applause)*

**President.** — I should like to apologise to the Commissioner for the interruption.

And now, in accordance with Rule 40(2) of the Rules of Procedure, you have the opportunity to put brief, precise questions to the Commissioner concerning the statement he has just made. You have a total of thirty minutes.

**Mr Langes (PPE).** — *(DE)* Mr Tugendhat, did I understand you to say that the Commission is intending to include in the 1985 budget a proposal for which there will be insufficient funds, i.e. for which the income will not cover the expenditure, with a statement to the effect that own income will be increased in 1985 and the shortfall will be made good in that way?

**Mr Tugendhat, Vice-President of the Commission.** — Mr President, the budgetary authority — i.e. Council and Parliament — cannot adopt a budget in which there is not a balance between income and expenditure. The budget authority must adopt on the basis of a sufficiency of revenues. We have put forward a preliminary draft budget with a VAT rate 1.12%. In other words, we have put forward a preliminary draft budget which goes above the VAT ceiling.

Because we recognize that the budget authority can only adopt a budget in which there is a balance between income and expenditure, we are saying (a) that we assume that the new own resources will be made available in 1985 in order to provide the income, but (b) as a safeguard in case they are not made available, the Council should commit itself to providing additional resources. On the basis of an opinion from Parliament, the Council will have to take this decision before the budget is adopted, if, of course, the Council and Parliament decide to adopt a budget that goes above the 1% ceiling. I am very much aware of the fact that the proposals which the Commissions puts

forward in the preliminary draft budget are not always those which are finally accepted.

To elucidate further, the Commission has a range of responsibilities. It is not easy to meet all the responsibilities that we have, but, as I said in my speech, we believe that we have a responsibility to the Community not to amputate existing policies nor to abort new policies. Therefore, we believe it is right to put forward this proposal but necessary that the Council should provide an absolute guarantee that income and expenditure will be in balance.

**Lord Douro (ED).** — I have two questions. Firstly, could the Commissioner tell us what proportion of the preliminary draft budget for 1985 is represented by agricultural expenditure? My second question is: how can the Commissioner reassure those who are worried about an increase in own resources for the Community when the preliminary draft budget, as far as I can see, is about 13% higher than the 1984 budget, and when already in 1984 the Commission is finding itself with a shortfall of approximately 2.5 billion ECU? None of these figures seem to indicate that the Community is able to control its expenditure, and I do wonder therefore how the Commissioner can reassure those Members of this House and all national parliaments who will have to approve an increase in resources that the Community can control its expenditure.

**Mr Tugendhat, Vice-President of the Commission.** — Mr President, the EAGGF Guarantee Section percentage in the 1985 budget is 68.7%. That compares with 68.3% in 1984 if one takes out of the 1984 budget the special measures in relation to the United Kingdom and Germany, which do not feature in the 1985 budget. So comparing like with like, there is an increase from 68.3 to 68.7%.

As to Lord Douro's second question, I have to point out to him that the budget is in part a manifestation of the Commission's will and the Community's will to engage in new policies. One has only to read the statements submitted by the British Government — I mention it first because of Lord Douro's nationality — the German, French, Italian, Belgian Governments to see that all these governments appear to envisage a revival of Community activities and an expansion of the Community's range of operations. In addition to being a manifestation of the Commission's will and the Community's will further to develop the Community, the budget also represents the means by which we carry into effect the decisions taken by Parliament and by the Council in previous years. The budget has to provide the means to carry into effect the policies which have been voted by the duly constituted budget authority.

I have ringing in my ears the criticisms made by Members from all parts of the House alleging that we have

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not been vigorous enough in implementing Parliament's decisions. I hope therefore that we will not be criticized now from the other point view. I also remember that Mr Robert Jackson, a distinguished member of Lord Douro's party and, indeed, of mine, was recommending an increase of 100% or even 130% in the Social Fund during his period of rapporteurship.

**President.** — I should like to suggest that we take a combined answer to the questions. I shall also ask the Commissioner, despite the fact that this is his eighth budget, to try, as the Bible says, to let his yea be yea and his nay, lest he fall into condemnation.

**Mr Hord (ED).** — Mr President, with reference to Lord Douro's first question concerning the proportion of the budget being absorbed by agricultural expenditure, would the Commission tell us what the proportion of agricultural spending would be on the presumption that the VAT ceiling was still maintained at 1%?

My main question is as follows. Clearly the Commissioner is aware of the legal authority and responsibilities of the Commission in proposing the preliminary draft budget. However, it seems to me that, as part of the exercise of conditioning the mind of Member States' Governments and other Community institutions to fulfill their responsibility in the preliminary draft budget, their proposals should include an annex showing where the cuts would need to be made in their proposals in order to conform with the existing financial own resources of 1%. I would be interested in the Commissioner's observations on this point and on whether he intends to show where the cuts would need to be made in order to conform to the existing levels of own resources.

**Mrs Castle (S).** — With regard to the percentage of agricultural expenditure, has the Commissioner the figures for 1982 and 1983? If so, could he give them to us?

Secondly, since it is clear from what he said that agricultural spending as a percentage of the budget is going to rise still further next year, is it not clear that some, at any rate, of the additional revenue he is asking for is to finance an expansion of the agricultural budget and not exclusively the new policies, as demanded in the Arndt report?

**Mr Barbi (PPE).** — *(IT)* Mr President, there are two things I would like to ask. The first is this: does the Commission's draft budget for 1985 include cover for the shortfall in the 1984 budget? You may have already said that, Mr Tugendhat, when I was momentarily inattentive, and if so I beg your pardon. My second question is as follows: I was pleased to hear

that the 'structural funds' — the Social Fund and the Regional Fund — are to be increased by 12% in 1985. How does this fit in with the news that the Commission is intending to propose a special reserve of 800 million units of account, to be achieved through reductions, with some of the appropriations coming from these very funds?

**Mr Fergusson (ED).** — On a point of order, Mr President, I wonder if we could have a compromise. Perhaps the Commissioner could answer the questions in batches of three. Then there would be some sort of dialogue between us. Do you think we could have the Commissioner now, then three more questions and the Commissioner again, rather than the whole lot?

**President.** — Only two more members are down to speak, and I think we should take them first.

**Mr Seeler (S).** — *(DE)* My question concerns the revenue side of the 1985 budget. We must at present work on the assumption, Mr Tugendhat, that we can rely on a maximum of 1% of VAT as revenue. My question, therefore, is what rate of economic growth was taken as the basis for your calculations for the coming year, since the amount which VAT represents, and hence this 1%, depends very much on the growth rate in the gross domestic products of the Ten Member States?

**Mr Lange (S), chairman of the Committee on Budgets.** — *(DE)* Mr President, I did not actually want to put a question to the Commissioner but to thank him for his kindness and also to thank this House for the kindness it has shown me in this connection. Nevertheless, I cannot bring myself to break with tradition.

The points made by the Commissioner sounded very optimistic, and I can remember that it was exactly the same when the preliminary draft budget for 1984 was presented. However, it transpired at the second reading that the figures were all over the shop and I am afraid that your optimistic assumptions for 1985 will be just as off beam. Presumably we will end up in the same difficulties as in 1984, since I see — at least so far — no signs that the Council is either willing or able to keep within the financial limits to which the Community is subject. This applies particularly in the case of the agricultural Council and here lies the danger, Mr Tugendhat, i.e. that the Council will under no circumstances take account of your wish to keep its hands off the other areas of policy if similar decisions to those taken for the 1984/85 season are taken again one day.

How far do you think you can rely, in this connection, on being able to keep to your forecasts? I regard Council guarantees as highly questionable. How do you intend to gain this assurance?

**Mr Tugendhat, Vice-President of the Commission.** — Mr President, I will, if I may, take the questions in the order in which they were put, which means beginning with Mr Hord.

I think he asked first of all what proportion agriculture would be if the budget were confined to 1% and, secondly, what cuts would be needed to keep within the 1% ceiling and whether the Commission would be making a proposal in that sense.

I cannot answer the first question, because, of course, so much would depend on what decisions the Commission, Council and Parliament took about the way in which the limited resources should be made available. One could, for instance — I take this simply as an illustrative example — stop all exports of agricultural goods. We should then save a great deal of money on export restitutions, naturally, but we should be building up costs for future years. We could, as we did last year, prolong the time which people have to wait for certain advances. That would save money, but it would build up expenditure in the future years. We could suggest to the Council that despite the difficulties they had in reaching decisions at the end of March they take some more decisions and reduce the milk threshold, for instance, still further. One could do various things in relation to a non-obligatory expenditure. So much would depend on the decisions taken.

The Commission will not be producing the proposals which Mr Hord suggested. As Mr Hord knows, it is the Commission's task to produce a preliminary draft budget and the Parliament and the Council then decide what the final budget should be. No doubt, the Council and Parliament will make their own alterations to our proposal in the light of what they regard as the likely outcome of events on the revenue side. If I might again refer to my experience, it is, in general, that at the first reading of the budget certain amendments are made and at subsequent readings as well.

Mrs Castle asked what the equivalent figures for agriculture were for 1982 and 1983. I do not have them with me: we will forward them to her. She also asked whether she was right in assuming that new own resources would be needed for agriculture as well as for new policies. The Commission has always said that it needs new own resources to maintain existing policies and to develop new ones. The maintenance of existing policies refers, of course, to the common agriculture policy as well as to the structural funds.

Mr Barbi asked me whether the 1985 budget included provision for meeting the 1984 deficit. The answer to that is, no, it does not. Our proposal for meeting the 1984 deficit is contained in a specific proposal which is to be debated in this House today or, more likely perhaps, tomorrow on the basis of a report by Mrs Scriver.

He also asked me how I reconciled what I had said in relation to the growth of the structural funds with

what he had read in the press about the reduction in the structural funds and related matters. I would say to Mr Barbi with all the force at my command that it is very unwise to believe all that one reads in the newspapers, and it is particularly important not to believe all that one reads in newsletters as well.

*(Laughter)*

I will have more to say on that subject when we come to the debate on budgetary discipline that Mr Lange will be launching, where there is a question from Mr Barbi himself, Mr Ligios, Mr Adonnino, Mr Diana and Mr Barbagli.

Mr Seeler asked what assumption we were making about the rate of increase in own resources during the coming year. The figure works out at 3.2%. We are anticipating increases in some and reductions in others. I would emphasize that, looking as far ahead as that, one cannot be absolutely precise. We do rely a great deal, of course, on the estimations of Member States. Our record, as I have had occasion to point out in the past, is statistically a good one, remaining within a 2% margin of error which many economists and statisticians in the Member States would be pleased to attain. As I have given a precise figure, I think it is important to mention the caveats as well.

Mr Lange asked whether I was not being a little over-optimistic. I might reply by saying that, in the present state of the Community, if the Commission is not optimistic, I do not know who will be. I do think that one of the duties of the Commission is to provide a signpost indicating what should be done and where the Community should go. A very great British politician called Rab Butler, who amongst the many offices he held was Chancellor of the Exchequer, said that politics is the art of the possible. I think that if politics is the art of the possible, one of the duties of the Commission is to try to bring things which are not at present in the realm of the possible, first, into the realm of the possible, then into the sphere of the probable. If we work hard at that, we may even then transfer them into the sphere of the actual. That is the spirit which has inspired us in this operation.

*(Applause)*

**President.** — I should like to say, as, I think, Winston Churchill said, that politics is the art of the possible, but the impossible takes a little longer. As regards time, you have exercised in full the art of both the possible and the impossible.

### 3. Preliminary estimate for Parliament for 1985

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-280/84), drawn up by Mr Pfennig on behalf of the

## President

Committee on Budgets, on the draft estimates of revenue and expenditure of the European Parliament for the 1985 financial year.

**Mr Pfennig (PPE), rapporteur.** — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the preliminary estimates for the European Parliament for 1985 have turned out to be extremely problematic. After 1984, when the estimates for routine administrative expenditure — i.e. excluding the extra funds for the information campaign in connection with the second direct elections — were 0.2% below the corresponding estimates for 1983, there was obviously a sort of gap to be made up for 1985 and for this reason the Secretary General had originally tabled a proposal for 261 million ECU for the 1985 budget. In view of the deficit in the general budget of the European Communities, the Committee on Budgets right from the outset regarded this estimate as unrealistic. It finally proved possible in cooperation with the Enlarged Bureau's Working Party on Budgets to submit a preliminary estimate representing 235.9 million ECU on the expenditure side and 228 million ECU on the revenue side. The expenditure side included an extra 4 million ECU for the extensions to the Parliament buildings in Strasbourg which will be necessary with an eye to the accession of Spain and Portugal and as a general reserve for the second directly elected Parliament. In this way it proved possible to limit the increase in routine administrative expenditure to a mere 5.2% compared with the corresponding estimates for 1984. At nominal value the 1985 preliminary estimate is, at 235.9 million ECU, approximately 3.1 million ECU lower than the corresponding estimate for 1984 (239.1 million ECU), which included, as I have already pointed out, the extra funds for the information campaign.

Since there will also be an increase in revenue in 1985 as a result, for example, of the so called 'special crisis levy' which is deducted from the salaries of our officials and will account for some 3 million ECU, the European Parliament's budget for 1985 will cost the Community a mere 213.7 million ECU compared with 219.8 million ECU in 1984, if the Assembly adopts these figures. In other words, the proportion of total Community expenditure accounted for by the budget of the European Parliament will drop from 0.87% in 1984 to 0.75% in 1985 if this total expenditure in fact corresponds to the forecast, i.e. 28 200 million ECU. In this case, the Parliament will account for 0.75% of the total expenditure of the Community, i.e. substantially less than 1%.

These figures demonstrate, I think, that in a time of budgetary crisis in the Community and shortly before the second elections to the European Parliament, this Parliament can live up to its responsibilities *vis-à-vis* the tax payers.

I have also for the first time asked the national parliaments for information on the increases they expect in

their own budgets for 1985 and the answers I have received so far, from five parliaments, have shown that we are very much in line with the general trend. I think this comparison is important, since in view of the deficit in the Community's total budget the national parliaments will obviously in the course of this year ask who is responsible for this deficit and why.

With this preliminary estimate, the European Parliament can, I think, count on being free from reproach, whereas the Council of Ministers must be regarded as bearing sole responsibility for the Community's budgetary deficit.

In spite of this broadly speaking satisfactory development in our budget, I will, as rapporteur for the years 1984 and 1985, make no secret of the fact that there is some cause for concern and that some of the expenditure estimates could have been tightened up a little. This, however, would have required the enlarged Bureau to take appropriate decisions in advance. I have submitted to the enlarged Bureau a list of nine main points on which, as I see it, it should take decisions with a view to cutting down long-term costs, both for members, staff and meetings on the one hand and for publications in the Official Journal on the other. The enlarged Bureau should, I think, have taken appropriate decisions by the first reading of the budget in October at the latest. Particular consideration should be given, I think, to staff costs and the question of how many posts have become superfluous as a result of the informatics programme and which it should be possible to transform into the posts necessary for the accession of Spain and Portugal.

The Committee on Budgets would therefore propose not approving any new posts with a view to the accession, but rather to make the necessary preparations for some of the currently vacant posts to be occupied by Spaniards and Portuguese. The enlarged Bureau must let us know how many posts in all the accession will require and then create them on the basis of the existing vacant posts — perhaps by means of concentration or regrouping. This could be done in time for the first reading of the budget in October.

I might sum up my report as follows. The preliminary estimates for 1985 are realistic. There is no money available for extra wishes and the enlarged Bureau must take various decisions with a view to coping with costs in the long term.

I hope therefore that at the first reading in October 1984, this Parliament will make whatever corrections are still necessary. I would therefore urge you on behalf of the Committee on Budgets to support the preliminary estimates and the motion for a resolution without amendment.

## IN THE CHAIR: MR ESTGEN

*Vice-President*

Lord Douro (ED). — Mr President, I would like to begin by congratulating Mr Pfennig on his work on this matter. It is, I realise, customary to thank rapporteurs, but being the rapporteur of Parliament's budget is not an enviable task; it is very difficult and in his case he has had to do it two years running, so I think congratulations are more due than normal.

Mr President, Parliament does not have a reputation for being a model of good management. I realise that the President of Parliament, Mr Dankert, and successive rapporteurs of Parliament's budget, have made strenuous efforts to make the management of Parliament more efficient, but it is my impression that there is still much to be done. I am not sure that we are conscious enough of the costs of this institution, and I am not sure that we have been prepared enough to bring in outside objective advice to help us rearrange our management systems. I very much hope that in the next Parliament, in the next five years, we will make greater efforts to increase our efficiency and to increase our cost-effectiveness.

The estimates which are now before us are, in my opinion, still on the high side. As you know, they are a compromise figure between the views of the Committee on Budgets and the views of the Bureau. It is unfortunate that in that discussion between the Committee on Budgets and the Bureau, it is the Bureau which is always asking for a higher figure and the Committee on Budgets which is asking for a lower figure. I wish that the Bureau would take a more responsible attitude towards the costs of this institution.

I should, Mr President, remind Members that this is an occasion when we can change Parliament's estimates by a simple majority. When these estimates are included in the draft budget which we will vote on in October, qualified majorities are needed to amend the figures. But today — or rather tomorrow when we vote — we can change the figures by simple majorities. Therefore this is the time that we should get it right.

Mr President, we have tabled a number of amendments. They are all based on the excellent paper that Mr Pfennig prepared for the enlarged Bureau and which I am sorry to say, not enough notice was taken of. Once again I congratulate Mr Pfennig because it was a very good paper and it clearly showed ways in which further savings could be made. We have tabled, as I say, a number of amendments. Mr Pfennig points out that there are too many delegations envisaged for next year; they are too numerous. We still have the problem of too many members of our staff travelling with each delegation. Therefore we have sought to delete certain estimates on those two lines.

Mr Pfennig also refers to the amount of rent which the institution pays and he believes there are savings possible in that area. Again, we have proposed a small reduction in the rent.

Finally, Mr President, we have proposed deletion of an allocation of 200 000 units of account for the Parliamentary Association. I was one of many Members who supported this idea of a Parliamentary Association — a club in Strasbourg — but I did not realize, and it certainly would not have been my intention, that any public money should be devoted to it. If there is need and desire for a club it should be paid for by the members of that club.

So, Mr President, in conclusion, what I would say is that we are proposing certain small reductions in expenditure. We believe they are possible to achieve. There are always with Parliament's budget considerable requests for transfers during the year. It is no bad thing that the administration should be forced, if they feel it necessary, to come and request transfers and justify greater expenditure on that particular line. Therefore in the interests of budgetary discipline we have tabled these amendments and we hope that they will be supported by the House.

Mr Bonde (CDI). — (DA) Mr President, this House takes advantage of every possible opportunity to demand more budgetary powers for the European Communities, but Mr Pfennig's report has given us new proof that Parliament cannot even control its own spending. On average, each Member of the European Parliament now costs 4 million kroner a year. The practice that has been used hitherto whereby the budget is a cheque book full of blank cheques, is still continuing instead of expenditure being calculated as it is, for example, in national finance bills, and as the Committee on Budgets now and again demands from the Commission. Every figure in the budget is pure guesswork. The rapporteurs for Parliament's budget find it impossible to check the accuracy of the calculations because so little work on the budget is done here in the House. If a Danish minister presented such a hopeless budget in our Parliament, he would be forced to resign. This is not the biased judgment of a fanatical opponent of the European Communities. It was a Danish auditor of public accounts who made this comment when I once showed him the results of a few months' work as rapporteur for Parliament's budget.

The European Parliament loses no opportunity to ask people in the Member States to go in for wage restraint and make savings in the public sector. How can such an appeal be consistent with Parliament's own spendthrift ways when it comes to fringe benefits? In two days, a Member of the European Parliament receives more than a Danish student has to live on for a whole month under the Education Ministry's 'starvation grants'. In three days a Member receives as much as a senior citizen has to live on for a whole month.

**Bonde**

For each flight from Copenhagen to Strasbourg he makes a profit of over 3 000 kroner, and for the eighth, ninth or tenth time the Members of my party, together with those of the Socialist Party, are tabling amendments to the report on Parliament's budget, in which we urge that payments for travel allowances and other expenditure should be withheld if they exceed the amounts actually spent. We do not propose that Members should travel by train rather than fly. We do not even propose that they should travel second class instead of first. We are merely proposing the simple principle that travel allowances should correspond to the money actually spent, and that a hidden, illegal payment should not be made from the account which is entered in the budget as a travel allowance. Is this really so difficult to understand?

In view of the forthcoming European elections, we hope, this time, to receive a few more than the usual five votes for the proposal. We hope for a majority so that we can go home to the election campaign and say that, despite everything, we have had a little influence during the five years we have spent here in Parliament.

**Mr Nielsen (L).** — (DA) Mr President, I should like to protest at Mr Bonde's quoting a Danish auditor of public accounts without mentioning any names or giving any indication as to who he was. Anyone could come along and make all kinds of assertions.

**Mr Bonde (CDI).** — (DA) The information has already been given, but I will be pleased to repeat it: it was Mr Bernhard Baunsgaard. He is often quoted at home.

**Mr Kirk (ED).** — (DA) Mr President, I too should like to thank our rapporteur, Mr Pfennig, for his excellent speech on Parliament's budget. I can fully endorse what our rapporteur, Lord Douro, has just said about the Conservative Group's attitude towards the budget, namely that we are quite prepared to have a critical look at it and that we will try to make savings wherever possible.

But I should like to devote the rest of my speaking time, Mr President, to Mr Bonde. We have now heard yet another of his speeches on Parliament's budget and on the European Communities' budget as a whole. Mr Bonde has criticized the way in which the money is used — the way in which travel allowances are worked out. I should like to remind the Members present of the situation that developed shortly after the 1979 direct elections, when Mr Bonde, together with the other three opponents of the European Communities, fought a really hard battle here in Parliament to be allowed to join with the Italian radicals to form a Technical Coordination Group — a political group, in order to get money out of Parliament, more money for his Community work at home in Denmark. In five

years now, this group has not been capable of doing any political work.

(Applause)

We have never seen this group do anything at all which could be considered as political work, so it seems that their only reason for acting as they did in 1979 was to squeeze money from Parliament's coffers. They succeeded, and I believe that the Members should be aware of the duplicity with which the Communist Member, Mr Bonde, behaves here in the European Parliament.

Another thing I should like to mention, Mr President, is that Mr Møller and I proposed in 1980 or 1981 that Members' travel allowances should be paid as per account rendered, according to the money actually spent. At that time we could get no support from Mr Bonde. What kind of duplicity is it, that in the time leading up to the elections, he now makes that same proposal? When we brought the matter up, Mr Bonde did not emerge as one of those who were willing to support and try to implement what we were agreed on.

We have also seen the kind of technique which Mr Bonde invariably uses in his political work: comparing Parliament's expenditure with 'starvation grants' at home in Denmark, when what we are discussing is not the same thing at all. As Mr Pfennig said in his rapporteur's speech, we have compared Parliament's expenditure with the expenditure of other parliaments and we discovered that the European Parliament does not spend any more money than other parliaments in its parliamentary work. That is the kind of comparison that should be made, but instead we are seeing once again the kind of Communist agitation which leads to two completely different things being compared.

As I said in my introduction, we are very much against the way in which Mr Bonde is treating this budget. At one time he was the rapporteur for Parliament's budget, but he had to resign after being forced to realize that he did not have the political strength or the will to cooperate politically that he would have needed to find savings in the budget.

Mr President, we are prepared to find these savings. Our Group will work to make savings wherever possible and to ensure, at the same time, that Parliament can function as an effective Parliament. That is the balance that we desire. Mr Bonde only wants to sabotage Parliament.

(Applause)

**Mr Hord (ED).** — Mr President, I would like to join others in congratulating Mr Pfennig on very good job of work he has done over the last two years. I would particularly give him my appreciation of the work that he has done in negotiating with Parliament's Bureau.

## Hord

However, I think we can say once again that Parliament fails to do the basic job of estimating its expenditure in what could be described as a cost-efficient way because what we do historically is to compare not actual expenditure of previous years but previous budgets. I am one of those who has pressed for Parliament to concentrate on drawing up its budget for the following year on the actual expenditure on each of the budget lines. In this context, I think this House ought to understand that we have a very substantial and unhappy record of underspend. In the last four years Parliament's budget was underspent by 22%, 13%, 13% and 10%. There was an average 15% underspend. Those of us who suggest that Parliament's budget is too fat are sustained by the actuality of the past four years and more.

So I do believe that there is much more to be done in getting a more slim, more efficient budget for Parliament and I particularly encourage Members to support Lord Douro's amendment, which calls for an across-the-board cut of 5 million ECU. This proposed cut is only 2.5% of the total budget and when you compare 2.5% of the budget with an average of a 15% underspend in the last four years, I am sure you will agree that that is a move that Parliament should make.

May I draw attention to areas which call for investigation by the new Parliament. Rents of buildings: I believe we spend much too much money on rent. When you realize that we spend 10 times as much money on the IPE building as we do on the Palais de l'Europe and also provide substantial money for the Luxembourg Chamber, I am sure Members will agree that this does require urgent attention.

In conclusion, may I say that I hope that Members will support the amendments put forward in Lord Douro's name and again I thank the rapporteur for his good job of work.

**Mr Bonde (CDI).** — (DA) A correction, Mr President. We did in fact support the Conservative proposal to limit overpayment of expenses by introducing the principle that only expenditure actually paid could be reimbursed, and we ourselves have made this proposal every single time this question has cropped up in Parliament since 1979, so there has been ample opportunity to get this principle carried through. I also signed, for example, Mr van Miert's proposal, which was similar in content.

Mr Kirk said that, compared with national parliaments, the European Parliament was not expensive. This is not the case. The national parliament in which Mr Kirk sits costs only one fifth as much per member as this Parliament costs. And if Mr Kirk is so annoyed at members of my Party also getting money from Parliament, he will have an opportunity tomorrow, in any case, to curtail this practice by voting for the motion that from now on only expenditure actually incurred can be paid out.

**Mr Kirk (ED).** — (DA) Mr President, I must insist that Mr Bonde was unable to support our proposal that travel allowances should be paid as per account rendered, as reservations were expressed concerning the proposal which had been tabled. I must also emphasize that our rapporteur has shown in this connection that the European Parliament's expenditure is below or on a par with that of five other national parliaments. I can tell you, for example, that the European Parliament expenditure is roughly half that of the British House of Commons, so it does not help to make a comparison, as Mr Bonde is always so keen on doing, and say: Parliament in Denmark, which consists of 179 Members, is cheaper than a parliament consisting of 434 Members using 7 different languages. One of the things we Danes attach great importance to is precisely the fact that we have the different languages, and that is one of the things we will continue to support and which it is necessary to spend money on. Therefore I stand by everything that I said in my first speech.

**President.** — Mr Bonde, I really cannot let this discussion continue. Since you both speak the same language you have no need of interpreters I would therefore ask you to come to some agreement outside this hemisphere. We are not going to continue this debate in public.

**Mr Pfennig (PPE), rapporteur.** — (DE) I have asked to speak once more since I should like to go into a point touched on by both the previous speakers, i.e. Mr Bonde and Mr Hord. I have no wish to get involved in Mr Bonde's electioneering but I nevertheless think that one thing is not on, i.e. that someone should make use of the Danish Parliament or the Danish Court of Auditors for the purpose of his argument without quoting the relevant figures. I do not have these figures in writing and I do not wish to go into details. It is simply not acceptable, however, that somebody should simply get up her and talk about something without quoting any figures or telling everyone else how he reached his conclusions.

Mr Bonde and Mr Hord both agreed that the budgetary estimates could not be properly verified or that they were too high compared with actual expenditure, I should like to say in this connection that several years ago it was indeed difficult to verify this Parliament's estimates of expenditure — and this was in fact at a time when Mr Bonde was supposed provisionally to be rapporteur. Now, however, we have developed a system whereby the rapporteur and the Committee on Budgets can verify the estimates for each individual line and subheading and in which the breakdown of the costs is shown. Consequently, Mr Hord, I can also say that the figures you quoted are perfectly correct as regards the difference compared with what is not spent. Nevertheless, your string of figures has already shown that the unspent proportion is becoming less

**Pfennig**

from year to year. We will see in the case of 1984 that the budgetary estimates are already fairly realistic, and they will be even more so in the case of 1985. This is all I wanted to say on the points made by the two speakers.

**President.** — Your comment is noted, Mr Pfennig.

The debate is closed. The vote will be taken at 3.30 p.m. tomorrow.

#### 4. *Budget discipline and the future financing of the Community*

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-247/84), drawn up by Mr Lange on behalf of the Committee on Budgets, on questions of budgets discipline and the future financing of the Community.

The following oral question with debate (Doc. 1-306/84), tabled to the Commission by Mr Ligios and others, is also included in the debate:

Subject: The Community's financial situation: the Commission's decision to set up a special reserve of 800 million ECU

According to press reports, in particular in 'La Lettre Européenne', the Commission has decided to set up a special reserve of 800 million ECU by means of budget transfers, deferred payments and the cancellation of previous commitments which will not be renewed and hence mainly at the expense of the structural funds (EAGGF Guidance Section, Social Fund, etc.)

Can the Commission say:

- whether these reports are true;
- whether the Commission intends to use these funds for compulsory expenditure, assuming that by the end of the year the funds allocated under the budget for such expenditure prove insufficient;
- whether it considers that such steps can be reconciled with its institutional responsibilities towards the budget authority, especially the European Parliament, in view of the fact that this would mean using funds for non-compulsory expenditure and for purposes other than those laid down, in respect of which the European Parliament also has responsibilities and special powers, without Parliament having been given prior notification or having held the necessary debates on the subject?

**Mr Lange (S), rapporteur.** — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, this report puts us in a somewhat curious situation since the three proposals — i.e. the Commission proposal dating from the end of 1983 on budgetary discipline, the Commission proposal on the future financing of the Community and, finally, a new proposal on the creation of own resources, also dating from 1984 — have been submitted to the Council. We

are sure of this — otherwise we could not discuss the question — and have therefore called on the Council to consult Parliament on these proposals. It has not, however, done so up to now.

This is somewhat curious and indeed suspicious on the part of the Council in that it points, if I might perhaps put it this way, towards deteriorating relations between the Council and this Parliament — and this is the reason underlying the phrase 'not having been consulted by the Council, despite the request it submitted' in the second indent, which is quite unprecedented in a Parliamentary report. This deterioration had already been apparent in the communiqué of the European Council held in Brussels in March this year, which speaks quite flatly, as far as budgetary discipline is concerned, of the supremacy of the Council which in the case of non-compulsory expenditure too, would like to determine for itself, without consulting Parliament, the room for manoeuvre which this Parliament enjoys or does not enjoy.

The Council would therefore appear to be on the way to depriving Parliament of its powers under the Treaty and would basically like to restrict it to performing an advisory function.

If we were to tolerate such actions on the part of the Council at the end of this Parliament's lifetime, it would mean that the next Parliament, which is to be elected between 14 and 17 June and to hold its constituent assembly on 24 July, would be in a worse position than in 1979 and perhaps even worse than before the agreement of 1975 or even the supplementary agreement of 1970, since the budgetary and financial powers of this Parliament were established step by step between 1970 and 1975. In 1970 the Council had even taken the additional decision that there should be no limit to Parliament's participation in work on legislation with financial implications.

So far the Council has done nothing to put this decision into practice. It is keeping Parliament out of things. This started in 1977 when the gentlemen from the various national governments who form the Council — and I say 'gentlemen' quite deliberately since we have never yet had a woman member of the Council of Ministers — although there have of course been a few female officials — nevertheless it was these gentlemen who suddenly realized what they had in fact accorded Parliament in the agreement of 1975 and that they were no longer the only ones running the show, since a budgetary authority has been in existence since 1970/75 which consists of Parliament *and* Council or, to put it more politely, of Council and Parliament. However, if the budgetary authority consists of these two halves, this can only mean that sooner or later they must both have *equal rights* as regards decisions on the budget! Thus it simply cannot be that the Council lays down the framework for a future budget all by itself and Parliament has to be a good little boy and follow the Council's decision. This is not on. Par-



### Lange

liament must therefore — as provided for in the Commission proposal — demand that both bodies must decide on the basic framework that they must work in in connection with the future budget. I must make it quite clear that this Parliament has always been in favour of budgetary discipline — otherwise we would not have rejected the budget for 1980 — and that it has always been the Council which has overstepped the Community's financial limits!

*(Applause)*

It has overstepped these limits in an area of which the Council can always be relied on to take particular care, i.e. agricultural policy. However, this Parliament has repeatedly made it clear that it is under no circumstances prepared to let this Community degenerate into a mere agricultural Community. Quite the contrary — this Community must develop in all the various policy areas, since only by going further and deeper in this way will it be able to cope with all the external and internal obstacles to its development. Only in this way will the Community be able to survive in the long term as an economic and political force in the world and for this reason we must demand that the Council regard this Parliament as an equal partner in its dealings with it and *vice versa*. There must finally be an end to all this nonsense about compulsory and non-compulsory expenditure! This then is all contained in our motion for a resolution. But this is not the end of it. It also states that we are in favour of increasing own resources and that these increased own resources should not be used to help the Community degenerate into a mere agricultural Community, but should be put to use in all the various other areas of policy which will permit the Community to develop into a full-scale political force and not merely remain at a particular level at which it no longer carries any weight. We must do away with the distinction between compulsory and non-compulsory expenditure and find a way — and there is a way to be found — whereby the two halves of the budgetary authority can discuss the extent and details of the budget.

As we have advocated on previous occasions, we should lay down the budget for the next year in a joint discussion at the beginning of each budgetary year and we were prepared to make this decision, which would have been binding on us in subsequent budgetary deliberations, at the beginning of the year.

*(The President asked the speaker to conclude)*

Mr President, I do not want to criticize you, but the task before us and the phase we have reached in our development may well be of vital importance to this Parliament and its competency. I should like to draw attention to this fact. Parliament must know exactly what is going on. However, I have virtually reached the end of what I wanted to say anyway, and will try to fall in with your request.

We are — I repeat — in favour of increasing own resources. However, they should not be used to limit the scope of the Community but rather to deepen and extend it. We will soon have to deal with Spain and Portugal and for this reason there must be appropriate developments in all these areas of policy. As we called for many years ago in connection with the second supplementary agreement of 1975, we need a financial forecast which is binding for the detailed planning of budgetary years, but which must subsequently be supplemented in the light of developments. However, Council has so far always rejected this financial forecast which the Commission has also called for in the past.

However, this will only work if the Council and Parliament come to some agreement on future policy requirements in cooperation with the Commission. However, this also means that we must clear up the question — and I say this particularly for the benefit of the Member States — of what the Community can or must do on its own, what the Member States can do on their own and what must be done by the two together. The answers to the financial questions would then become virtually self-evident.

We call on the Council and Commission to hold three-cornered talks on the basis of the agreement of 30 June 1982 in order to draw up joint proposals for solutions to these various questions — which are of great significance for the existence and scope of this Parliament — so that Parliament and the Council can, as budgetary authority, guarantee the further development of this Community, which will also guarantee that our citizens and Member States can benefit from the Community.

*(Applause)*

**Mrs Nikolaou (S).** — *(GR)* Mr President, the Commission's proposals at the Brussels summit last March on the future financing of the Community and on budget discipline call for a firm and clear statement of position by the European Parliament. As regards the budget procedure, we have repeatedly dealt with this subject. When I say 'we' I mean mainly the Socialists, but also all the other groups as well as the Committee on Budgets. In fact, at the end of 1982, the Committee on Budgets put forward proposals for a revision of the Financial Regulation based on the fact that this Regulation is out of date, does not meet the Community's new needs and is urgently in need of revision.

A typical example is the classification of expenditure as either compulsory or non-compulsory. This distinction has given us all a great deal of trouble. It has prevented financial transparency and complicated relations between the European Parliament and the Council of Ministers by artificially masking contradictions, because there are contradictions. At the end of 1983 the Committee on Budgets made a new move to revise

**Nikolaou**

the Regulation and asked the Commission and the Council, together with the President of the European Parliament, to put forward certain proposals. But instead of proposals for tackling the problem at its roots, the only concrete proposal to come from the Council sought to limit the European Parliament's rights and powers with regard to budgetary procedure. Was this the problem? We feel that budget discipline cannot be achieved if the Council, unilaterally and without taking account of the political necessities, excludes in advance any possibility of exceeding the maximum rate of increase of non-compulsory expenditure. This would mean not only restricting Parliament's scope — already limited, in any case — for influencing the revision of the budget, but also violating the spirit of the Treaties. In this case it would mean an infringement of Article 203(9) of the Treaty, which stipulates that this rate may be exceeded if there is agreement between the European Parliament and the Council that the needs of the Community call for it.

But what does this demand of the Council actually mean? If one examines Parliament's priorities and the way in which it has spread its margin over specific headings all these years, it is clear that this decision by the Council runs counter to the European Parliament's effort to restructure the budget within the already suffocatingly narrow limits by reinforcing the social and regional policies and aid to the Third World. Thus, instead of the Community ceasing to be simply a Customs union with only a common agricultural policy and progressing to other policies, the Council of Ministers is anxious to tone down even these minor efforts in the right direction. We are against such an over-cautious attitude. The Socialist Group has repeatedly called for a global and ambitious policy in conjunction with an overall rise in own resources, which will enable the Community to meet successfully the challenge of the moment.

As regards the Commission's proposals for curbing agricultural expenditure, the problem is not the statistical connection between certain rates or the participation of the Finance Ministers in the debates on agricultural prices, but . . .

**President.** — Mrs Nikolaou, I am sorry but I must now be very hard on the Socialist Members as I was very lenient with your rapporteur. I now call Mr Barbi.

**Mr Barbi (PPE).** — *(IT)* Mr President, may I begin by telling the Council representatives that we find it hard to tolerate this continual preaching and these repeated warnings over budget discipline, that is the need for the budget to be strict and severe.

We members are not to blame for the money wasted and the shortfalls in the Community budget. Moreover, the Council has the last word on compulsory

expenditure, which is by far the greatest share of the budget, and Parliament is confident that it has done its duty right from the start in this respect. In December 1979 we rejected the 1980 budget, mainly in order to draw attention to its structural imbalance, as it allocated too much expenditure to agriculture and too little to other Community policies of vital economic importance which could help in combating unemployment. In 1980 a working party of the Committee on Budgets drafted timely and clear proposals to increase own resources and submitted them to Parliament for a vote in Spring 1981, as we were convinced that we could not reduce expenditure on the agricultural policy without renationalizing it. That would have entailed increasing expenditure on agriculture in our individual national budgets, since we can hardly wish to reduce farmers' earnings, which have improved considerably in the last few years precisely as a result of the common agricultural policy. Another consideration is that similar financial aid to American farmers cost the Federal administration twice what the CAP costs, although the number of American farmers is considerably lower than in Europe.

Therefore, since it was unrealistic to reduce agricultural expenditure, there had to be an increase in the funds available for new policies to allow the Community to take up the technological challenge posed then — and even more now — by Japan and the United States, and which the individual Member States are not capable of facing.

This was also the only proper way of working towards a solution of the British problem, which stems precisely from the fact that Britain is not a major agricultural producer and consequently does not benefit greatly from the advantages of the CAP. On the other hand, it has a mainly industrial and tertiary economy and could benefit a good deal from new Community policies in these sectors.

The Commission allowed over two years to pass before taking our requests into account. The positive short-term trend in the world market for some basic agricultural products gave the illusion, and no more than the illusion, that agricultural expenditure would be curbed automatically or even reduced, and that funds would thus become available for other policies even under the 1% of VAT system.

Furthermore, not only did the Council show how incapable it was of restructuring the budget — apart from preaching about budget discipline — but it did not even manage to come to any definite decision regarding scientific research, technological innovation, transport or energy, in spite of clear suggestions and constant urging from Parliament. So with no pressure arising from new expenditure, decisions on new revenue could simply be put off. But now the problems have caught up with us, and in the worst possible manner. The financial requirements of the agricultural policy have expanded considerably and there are still no new Community policies.

**Barbi**

We have always made it clear, as at the time of the vote on the Arndt report, and as Mr Lange, the Chairman of the Committee on Budgets, reiterated just now, that we want new financial resources not in order to finance old policies, but above all to launch Community actions in new sectors. The Council appears to be working towards increasing own resources, particularly with an eye to the accession of Spain and Portugal.

Now that the crunch has come, all of us, the Council, the Commission and all groups in this House, must face up to reality. The enlargement of the Community, the CAP and the new policies all require new resources, and there is no getting away from this. We must face the facts: since we have to make good the deficit in the 1984 budget, which stemmed from the Council's decisions on the agricultural policy, it thus seems logical to us that rather than depend on loans, we give thought to drawing advances on future finance available in 1985, which must be decided quickly if we want it.

We obviously prefer advances to the loans suggested by the Commission or the other possible solutions put forward by various colleagues, from my group as well. Our main reason for preferring advances is that we do not wish to abandon the own resources system. Loans could turn out to be a disguised way of returning to a type of national contributions scheme, whereas advances are closely linked to the own resources system and have the effect of compelling even those who do not want to admit it, that resources need to be adequately increased. That is why I asked Mr Tugendhat whether the 1985 budget included a provision for meeting the 1984 deficit, because I think that is where the deficit must be made good, and not by resorting to any other means.

The thing we must really try and prevent is that some stratagem is found to make good and conceal the 1984 deficit, which should be kept visible for everyone to see. The Council, the governments and national parliaments have to realize that, with such limited resources, the Community simply cannot function. They must have the courage and political perspicacity to choose between strengthening the Community financially and institutionally and going back to a state of national self-sufficiency and self-interest, narrow national viewpoints and all their economical and political consequences.

Let us also make it clear that we cannot stand by and allow any attempt to be made to reduce or disguise this deficit by cutting funds for the regional and social policies or the very modest appropriations set aside for what amounts to a bare start on Community policies in the new sectors, funds for which we had to fight so hard year after year in this Parliament. If the already unfavourable balance between compulsory and non-compulsory expenditure is altered, the very limited powers of this Parliament would be further reduced,

but more importantly this would mean abandoning even the first beginnings of Community actions which we consider to be the only way of combating unemployment through the economic recovery and development of Europe.

Those, Mr President, are the general political reasons why we support Mr Lange's motion and the Scrivener report. Mr Notenboom and Mr Langes will say more about the economic, financial and budgetary details.

*(Applause from the centre)*

**Mr Lange (S), rapporteur.** — (DE) Ladies and gentlemen, I must urge you not to get my report mixed up with Mrs Scrivener's as you will otherwise end up with something of a hotchpotch.

One of these report concerns the total clarification of the competency of this Parliament while Mrs Scrivener's report on the other hand says that we must come to some clear agreement as to how, if at all, we can cover budgetary requirements given the exhaustion of own resources. These are two completely different questions and I would be grateful, Mr President, if you could keep this very much in mind while chairing this discussion.

**President.** — I have nothing against a hotchpotch Mr Lange, but I go along with you.

**Lord Douro (ED).** — Mr President, it is appropriate that Mr Lange should end his term as a Member of the European Parliament and as chairman of the Committee on Budgets by presenting to us today such an important report about — as he rightly says — the budgetary powers of the European Parliament. We are at a stage now where all the Community institutions realize that the budgetary procedure could be improved, and I would very much like to support the sort of ideas that Mr Lange was referring to, which he has expressed in his report, and which the Commission also supports, namely, that at the beginning of a budgetary process there should be a joint agreement between the institutions including the Parliament on how the Community should spend its money and the limits that it should place upon expenditure. That seems to me absolutely essential in the present state of the Community's budgetary affairs and it is the sort of idea which this group would like to support in every possible way.

I also would like to support on behalf of our group the proposal by Mr Lange in his report that the distinction between compulsory and non-compulsory expenditure should be eradicated. It has always been an artificial distinction. It has led to the most complicated budgetary procedures with Parliament really only having powers over non-compulsory expenditure and the Council having the power over compulsory expendi-

**Douro**

ture. That in itself has led to inter-institutional rivalry which was not necessary, and I think the Community would be well-rid of this distinction. I hope that will be not only supported by this House today, but adopted by the other institutions as well and will lead to a change in the Treaty.

Mr President, my group has only tabled one small amendment to Mr Lange's report. We believe that the way the new resources are spent — which will probably be made available to the Community and from what Mr Tugendhat said this morning, are urgently required — was more precisely defined in Mr Arndt's report of last November. Therefore we favour that wording and would like to introduce that as an amendment to Mr Lange's report which I hope he will feel able to support as well. We think it is a good report and we will support it.

**Mrs Scrivener (L).** — (FR) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I should first of all like to join my colleagues in thanking Mr Lange for his report on a subject which is most essential, and I would even go so far as to say vital, for the life of the Community. I should like to add that the Liberal Group naturally wholeheartedly supports the report.

As in the past, we ourselves wholly approve the fact that emphasis is put on budget discipline and agree that this means that we must still aim to improve management. We also unreservedly second the view that budget discipline should enable us to ensure that expenditure committed is more effective at European than at national level. But on the other hand we cannot accept that budget discipline should be an excuse for challenging decisions taken by the budget authority.

I will certainly not be the only one to have noticed that, for some time now, several Member States have wanted to disregard the powers of the European Parliament. There are times when things need to be said: I find this attitude astonishing at a time when we are preparing for the second elections by universal suffrage to the European Parliament and when these same States claim to be resolutely in favour of continuing the construction of Europe. We are admittedly accustomed to such inconsistencies, but even so there are times when it is advisable to point these things out.

As for the Commission, which is the subject of the oral question, it has concluded that appropriations will not be enough to cover the EAGGF Guarantee Section and it has decided on its own authority to economize in the non-compulsory expenditure section. All this is rather irresponsible and in fact even infringes the provisions of the Treaties. I think that by adopting the report tabled by Mr Lange, Parliament will be giving the Commission a solemn warning. To be honest, we cannot understand the Commission's attitude. Why should the Commission regard the Parliament as it does?

Mr President, I will conclude by reminding the House that in our opinion Parliament cannot be blamed for the Community's financial position today, since we have for a number of years continually drawn the attention of the other Institutions to the dangers of this happening. When we look back over the past we can see that in 1979, for example, we rejected the 1980 budget. I have no compunction about saying so — it is a sort of admission of guilt on my part — because the Liberal Group opposed it. At that time we were already faced with all the difficulties confronting us today. The responsibility must lie with the Council, which has been unable to overcome its differences, and also with the Commission, which has hesitated so often. So it is high time to react, for what the Community needs is close cooperation between the Institutions and not a constant search, which is what is happening today, for ways of circumventing Parliament's budget powers.

**Mr Eisma (NI).** — (NL) I should really keep my mouth shut since I cannot put it any better than Mr Lange has already done. However, we fully agree that steps must be taken to improve budgetary discipline if the available resources are to be allocated efficiently.

Under a proper budgetary procedure, the budgetary authorities should decide on measures of this kind jointly. We are strongly opposed to the idea of the Council one-sidedly imposing measures regarding budgetary discipline and future financing without consultation with the European Parliament, since this is in conflict with the Council's obligation to consult Parliament on questions of this kind. Indeed, the Council's practice of restricting expenditure on the assumption that the European Parliament will amend the budget in fact constitutes an attack on the budgetary powers of this Parliament and the same is true of the recent internal procedure applied in the Council. These practices mean that the European Parliament is reduced to a second-class budgetary authority which may be allowed to join in the game even though the results are known in advance. We therefore wholeheartedly support the motion for a resolution by the Committee on Budgets in its rejection of this behaviour on the part of the Council.

We also support the proposal to abolish the distinction between compulsory and non-compulsory expenditure — indeed one of the main objectives of the new European Parliament should be to abolish this artificial distinction and hence bring about a more balanced division of competency between the two halves of the budgetary authority. Mr President, we all want a new policy. This is quite clear and will necessitate increasing own resources. Certainly, with an eye to the accession of Spain and Portugal, the Community's share of VAT should in our view, be increased to between 1.8% and 2%.

I should like to conclude, Mr President, by saying that we regard the motion for a resolution by the Com-

**Eisma**

mittee on Budgets as very important. We shall therefore give it our wholehearted support and I should like to repeat, that I once more found what the rapporteur, Mr Lange, had to say quite fascinating. We shall miss him during the next period of office.

**Mr Langes (PPE).** — *(DE)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, both in the Committee on Budgets and here in the plenary assembly the Christian Democrats have not only always gone along with the basic ideas put forward here today by the Chairman of the Committee on Budgets, but, unlike certain Members of this House, explicitly defended them. It is regrettable that so few Members are present this morning, since we are faced with the problem of defending the budgetary rights which our predecessors fought for from 1970 to 1975. Thus we are by no means cheerfully extending these budgetary rights — as implied in the Spinelli report — but have reached a point where a very curious inconsistency has come about in the political arena. On the one hand we hear talk in various quarters — including the election campaign — to the effect that European Parliament must be given more rights and legislative powers — and I am very much in favour of this — while many representatives of the Council say in the same breath that they want to restrict Parliament's budgetary rights when the question of Community financing comes up, since the proposals by the Brussels Council — to the effect that the Council of Ministers should, so to speak, fix a ceiling, would obviously not only restrict the budgetary competency of this Parliament but eliminate it completely in several areas.

I regret, therefore, that so few Members are present, since when we Members are asked in discussions whether or not we in fact have anything to say in Strasbourg, we have hitherto always proudly pointed out that we have our budgetary powers and our right of control. For this reason, when this Parliament comes to vote on the report by Mr Langes it must take it quite clear to the Council with a massive majority that it could not tolerate its rights being restricted, and it must make it clear to all the people of Europe that so-called economy measures could be used by the Council of Ministers as a pretext for attacking parliamentary rights. This is why today's debate is such a serious matter. Mrs Scrivener's report concerns the question of how we are to bridge the budgetary gap. We have made it clear in the Committee on Budgets that, as the saying goes, whoever calls the tune must pay the piper. Thus if the Council of Minister of Agriculture decides that something must be paid for and that the necessary funds are not available, this same Council or the Council of Minister of Finance must obviously also ask the question of how it is to go about it. The criticism I would make of the Commission is that it has taken the responsibility for this problem upon itself once more, whereas it should be first and foremost a question for the Council to answer. What is all this about loans with interest? Should we pay the

Council interest on its loans for something which the Council itself wanted and put into practice, i.e. the legislation in the agricultural field? This is surely nonsense both legally and politically, I should like to say to the Commission that we can forget Article 235 in this context since filling this gap would not be a matter of exceptional expenditure but something which forms a normal part of the work of this Parliament and the Council. For this reason, Mr Lange, your report must provide us with a solution which is acceptable within the overall context of this Parliament's policy. The only form this solution can take is for us to say that the own resources at our disposal are not sufficient so we must use them as an advance for 1985. Then the gap for 1985 and hence the pressure on the Council will become still greater and the question will arise as to when the 1% ceiling will be exceeded. This question will thus come up once more in 1985 and we will have to put pressure on the Council once more to find a solution in collaboration with this Parliament. The issues dealt with in the report by Mr Lange and Mrs Scrivener are interrelated and we should consider them in conjunction. We want a joint policy with the Council and the Council must respect our rights which were not, after all, handed to us on a plate because there was no choice in the matter, but with a view to building up a democratic Europe.

*(Applause)*

IN THE CHAIR: MR JAQUET

*Vice-President*

**Mr Tugendhat, Vice-President of the Commission.** — Mr President, in the light of what Mr Lange has said, perhaps I should begin by emphasizing that it is my intention to devote myself to the report on budgetary discipline and future financing, in other words Mr Lange's motion for a resolution, and that it is not my intention to deal with Mrs Scrivener's report, about which the Commission will have its say in due time when the House debates it. I want to make it clear that, as Mr Lange suggested, I am dealing with one subject and not with both. In any case, the resolution which Mr Lange has put before the House is quite sufficiently important to receive a reply in its own right.

In the end-of-term spirit pervading the proceedings of the House at the moment, it would be indelicate of me to say too much to the effect that the resolution is addressed largely to the Council and that the Council is conspicuous largely by its absence. That is a point which, perhaps, ought to be made, though I won't go into it any further than that, except to say that I think it is a pity that the Presidency is not represented along with the permanent staff — with great respect to the permanent staff.

### Tugendhat

I should like to comment briefly on what Mr Lange said. It is important not only in its own right but because it is, to some extent, going to be Mr Lange's testament. With a large part of his report the Commission can only express its full agreement. Indeed, in our own communications on budgetary discipline we have sought to reinforce many of the points to which Mr Lange attaches importance. We too have stressed — and I and my colleagues have argued this point at length in the face of a not always receptive Council — the need for close cooperation between all three institutions if the Community's budget procedure is to work effectively. We have also argued that optimum use of the Community's resources can only be assured on the basis of clearly defined guidelines and priorities to be determined by both — and I do repeat both — arms of the budget authority. We have emphasized the importance of multiannual financial planning in this respect.

The Commission has also, as this House is aware, justified an increase in the Community's share of VAT in order to further development and consolidation of Community policies in all areas. I answered a question to that effect from Mrs Castle earlier. Indeed, we have gone further and proposed a specific regime of guidelines for the growth of agricultural expenditure, designed to ensure that in future such expenditure increases at a rate less than that of the growth of the Community's own resources. It is perhaps surprising therefore in the light of the Committee on Budget's past position on this issue that Mr Lange's resolution does not express support for such a guideline.

There is, however, one specific point in the resolution where the Commission has adopted a different approach. It is proposed in Mr Lange's motion for a resolution that the differentiation between compulsory and non-compulsory expenditure should be abandoned. This would mean an amendment of the Treaty of Rome. It is for this House to judge whether a revision of the Treaty in such a fundamental area would in the present circumstances be desirable. We, for our part, have not thought it wise or realistic to advocate any such amendment. Instead we have been prepared to seek a smoother operation of the budget procedure on the basis of the existing provisions of the Treaty and in full respect of the powers which both halves of the budgetary authority already have.

Finally, since I see from the agenda that it has been included in this debate, I should like to answer on the Commission's behalf the question raised by Mr Ligios and others concerning the way in which the Commission is executing the 1984 budget. This is a point to which I referred in answer to a question from Mr Barbi. I regret that Mr Ligios is not here to hear the reply which I promised him, but no doubt one of the other members of his group who is here will be able to convey to him what I am about to say. The question refers to press reports for which the Commission is not responsible and which deliberately seek to give a mis-

leading picture of the Commission's intentions. The true position concerning the 1984 budget, for whose execution the Commission is solely responsible, is as follows. Since the beginning of the year we in the Commission have been conscious of the need for a particularly prudent management of the 1984 budget, given the virtual exhaustion of the Community's own resources. Since the early months of the year, we have also been aware of the likelihood, in addition to a potential overrun on EAGGF Guarantee expenditure, of a certain shortfall in the Community's revenues by comparison with the budget forecast.

As a result, the Commission has taken certain precautionary measures designed to control and monitor the execution of the budget during the early part of the year, pending the preparation of decisions for submission to the budgetary authority.

The Commission finalized its preparation of these decisions on 17 April. Its proposals are set out in document COM(84) 250 final and are now being examined both by Parliament and Council. In that document, the Commission indicated that it would be able, without putting in peril any of the Community's own policies or actions, to find management economies of the order of 350 million ECU in its execution of the 1984 budget, particularly as a result of a more rigorous attitude concerning the recommitment of cancelled credits and the carryover credits from last year.

This decision by the Commission replaces the regime of precautionary measures which preceded it. The management economies involved, full details of which have been given both orally and in writing to the budgetary authority, concern both compulsory, and non-compulsory expenditure and both agricultural and non-agricultural expenditure. They are designed to cover part of an anticipated shortfall in the Community's own resources. There is no question of their being used in order to transfer credits from the non-compulsory part of the budget to EAGGF Guarantee.

These are, Mr President, I repeat, the only specific management economies which the Commission has identified. None the less, we are, given the difficult and uncertain budgetary situation this year, seeking to manage the whole of our execution of the budget in a general spirit of prudence and care. I do not believe that in the Community's current circumstances it would be wise or responsible of the Commission to do otherwise.

Mr President, as Mr Lange pointed out in his speech, the House is unfortunately not very well attended this morning. However, I hope, none the less, that what I have said will be marked and noted by Members of all political groups and that they will put this definitive statement of the Commission's actions in the forefront of their minds rather than some of the rumours, allegations and speculations that have gained currency in recent weeks.

**Mr Lange, rapporteur.** — (DE) I should like to begin by making a remark on the procedure. It is true that Mrs Scrivener's report does not yet figure on the agenda. However, it very clearly states our views on what must be done to tackle the problem of exhaustion of own resources. This is a question which must be discussed separately and not in conjunction with the report on budgetary discipline, since no written opinion in the form of a resolution is otherwise before the Council. Since we have to decide once more this afternoon on the question of whether or not Mrs Scrivener's report is to be included on the agenda, I would ask you all to do your bit to see that it is in fact included so that we can deal with it separately and in detail.

This is what I meant when I said that the two matters were not so closely interrelated. It would be pointless to take them together since even if we would thereby have voiced our opinion on it, the Council does not need to take any notice of things which are merely recorded in the minutes and not explicitly addressed to it.

As regards the question currently before us, I should like to thank those Members who have said they will support the motion for a resolution. However, this was already clear from our discussions in the Committee on Budgets. I should like to point out, by way of explanation for the amendments we have tabled, that all previous reports have been listed in our present report, which means that Parliament's old position is entirely unaffected. It did not appear essential, but it was the wish of the Committee on Budgets that all these positions should be mentioned explicitly once more in this report. Otherwise the central question of this debate might well not have been the question of whether Parliament's position as described by the Treaties has been maintained, which is the main point we are discussing today. This is what our debate is about, but not only this.

The point we make in paragraph 3 is, I think, completely logical. If the Council tries to restrict or even abolish our competency, it is this Parliament's down-right duty to say that this is not at all what it has in mind. This has nothing to do with realism or *Realpolitik* or anything of that kind. It is simply showing the Council what is really called for and for this reason we also call for the application of the agreement of 30 June 1982.

Then we will see how far we can get together. Then we will have to discuss these questions. We cannot ask right at the outset whether it is advisable to try and introduce an amendment to the Treaty in the current difficult political situation. There may be other ways of coming to agreement on this matter. We have already settled other questions in this way with the three different institutions, i.e. the Council, Commission and Parliament. Why should it not be possible this time too? I am optimistic on this point, since it would

appear to be a logical development. Since we had no doubts about the fact that optimism has its place in policy making, this should also be assessed accordingly, and paragraph 7 is of decisive significance in this connection. We will get together, discuss matters, try to find a joint solution and then turn again to the bodies responsible for making the decisions. This will lead to a solution which is acceptable for all concerned and, most important, this annual repetition of a totally superfluous budgetary conflict will be avoided.

Parliament is constantly blamed for this and people claim that it is merely trying to throw its weight about or something like that. That is all nonsense. What Parliament is trying to do is to exercise its competency and meet its responsibilities. Basically it is always the Council which is to blame for these conflicts. We can put an end to this state of affairs in this way and we should both try to do so in a positive spirit. I sometimes get fed up hearing the expression 'Realpolitik' since many people use it as an excuse for leaving everything as it is. I hope the Commission will be able to take this step and discuss matters with us and with the Council. Then we will see what comes of it.

It will still be possible for us to do this during the life of this present Parliament so that the next Parliament, which is to hold its constituent assembly on 24 July, can inherit what we have achieved.

It strikes me as a little too highfalutin to refer to it as a heritage, but I hope that the work and time which various people including myself have put into the development of democratic institutions within the Community will not come to nothing but will rather be followed up. It will only be possible for us to build a European Community if it is organized in a completely democratic manner. Otherwise it is a non-starter.

(Applause)

**President.** — The debate is closed. The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

**Mr Sutra (S).** — (FR) According to the agenda that we have been given for this evening's votes, we are going to vote on the report by Mrs Scrivener. Mr Tugendhat has just told us that he would reply to the report by Mr Lange. Are we scheduled to vote on these two items or only on the report by Mrs Scrivener?

**Mr Lange (S), chairman of the Committee on Budgets.** — (DE) Mr Sutra, I said something earlier in connection with the Scrivener report. We shall be required to decide at three o'clock whether the report is going to be considered this afternoon, and I urge all the Members to be here in the Chamber at three o'clock so that this report can be placed on the agenda. I am also

**Lange**

appealing to those who used the quorum rule yesterday to keep this report off the agenda not to do so again. I am asking everyone to be present so that we have a quorum, since we have to deal with this Scrivener report and let the Council know our views on this matter. I think that answers Mr Sutra's question, Mr President.

**President.** — Thank you for answering the question, Mr Lange. You made an appeal to those who were present. I think it is much more important to appeal to those who are absent.

**5. Economic situation**

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-210/84), drawn up by Sir Brandon Rhys Williams on behalf of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs, on the

communication from the Commission to the Council on the economic situation in the Community, in accordance with Article 2 of the convergence decision of 18 February 1974 (COM(84) 108 final).

**Sir Brandon Rhys Williams (ED), rapporteur.** — Mr President, it has been my good fortune to serve in the past 11 years as a member of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs. It was a particular honour to be asked by my colleagues to act as rapporteur for the last of our series of reports in this Parliament on the economic situation in the Community. As I am not standing in next month's elections, this is the last serious responsibility I shall undertake as an MEP.

When I joined the committee in January 1973, the Bretton Woods Agreement setting up an economic order for the free world had still not completely broken down. Many people believed that the discipline of fixed exchange rates and the good-neighbour economic policies adopted at the end of the war could be put back in place. Two things made that hope a vain one: the shock of the rises in energy prices in the following years and the growing volume of fast-moving capital shifting between the major financial centres of the free world in search of short-term advantage. These factors gave rise to the inflation of the national paper currencies at different rates and created conditions both for public-sector and private-sector decision-makers which severely restricted confidence and the ability to predict the future course of industrial, trading and monetary conditions.

The free world has largely come to terms with the return of high-cost energy, but we still have to tackle the problems of unstable exchange rates and anomalous monetary conditions in the financial centres of the free world, including those within our own Community, which make it difficult to embark on econo-

mic and investment policies of the kind that would enable us to make the most of our economic potential.

Before the breakdown of the Bretton Woods Agreement, the common market was a triumphant success. Now it is marking time. There are certainly some hopeful signs, as the Commission points out in its report. In the United States, in spite of the distortions caused by the imbalance of the federal budget, there have been some important forward moves towards economic recovery. The continuing expansion of the Pacific economies is one of the phenomenal, benign developments of our century. In Europe, we stand to gain from the improvement of economic conditions in the two other time zones of the world's economic activity. There are some improvements to be noted in economic conditions within the European Economic Community too.

The tone of the text of the Commission's report is, however, too optimistic. The facts are made clearer in the tables on the last page of it. Unemployment in America and in Japan is now falling, but in our Community it is still slowly rising. World trade is increasing in volume, but our share of it is falling. The proportion of available resources we are devoting to research and to investment is much too small. The missing element is confidence.

There are still too many factors inhibiting the revival of the European economy. We should ask ourselves why. It is not because our national economies are too closely integrated or harmonized by the terms of the Treaty. It is because our European economy is still fragmented by barriers to the completely free movement of goods and capital like tax differences and exchange- and interest-rate uncertainties, resulting from the persistence of independent nationalist direction of the circumstances in which European business — public and private sector — still has to operate.

If we sincerely want the solutions to our economic difficulties, we shall find them in the Treaty. The answers are to be found in this book. We know how to solve our problems. The question is, have we the will? In our democratic Community, can common sense break through? I am confident that it can and that it will, because it must.

Because we have not fully learned the lessons of the period of economic nationalism which damaged our economies so terribly 50 years ago, we are still repeating our mistakes. But we do not have to. My report is strongly unionist in character, and in that, I believe, it reflects the convictions held on all sides in the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs.

I shall not try to summarize the recommendations which my committee has endorsed in my report, although I trust that each will be thoroughly considered by the Council and by those responsible for monetary policy in the various national and interna-



**Rhys Williams**

tional institutions of the Community. I would like simply to end my speech by drawing attention to the paragraph which closes my motion for a resolution: "The European Parliament . . .

records its dissatisfaction with the low level of cooperation between Member States in formulating their monetary, economic and fiscal policies, but recognizes that in many instances the governments of the Member States are pursuing the commitments on which they were elected; stresses the extent of the danger to the economic achievements of the Community of separatist and protectionist trends, and trusts that the Community electors will continue to recognize the economic benefits to be gained through the achievement of European union.

I trust that my report will win the approval of the House.

*(Applause)*

**Mr Papantoniou (S).** — *(GR)* Mr President, I am tempted to repeat some points from my speech on the Herman report last March. In fact, the background is still the same. The economic and social situation of the Community remains grim, the basic points in the report by Sir Brandon Rhys Williams are close to those in the Herman report and, lastly, there seems no hope of a real change in the economic policies of those countries which are in a position to change them.

But on the other hand, it is becoming more and more apparent every day that the continuation of the current economic policy is leading to the prolongation of mass unemployment, which sooner or later will put our democratic institutions to the test. Three weeks ago the Centre for European Policy Studies published a remarkable paper by Professors Layard, Basevi, Blanchard, Buiters and Dornbusch entitled 'Europe — the case for unsustainable growth', which refers to the economic impasse into which the continuation of the current economic policy is leading and makes an urgent appeal for a change of course.

I would warmly recommend Mr Ortoli, Mr Herman, Mr von Bismarck and Sir Brandon Rhys Williams to read this book very carefully in order to understand how broad the scope actually is for a change in the economic policy currently being pursued in the Community and for conducting an expansionist financial policy in the two countries where there is such scope, namely Germany and the United Kingdom. In fact, the analysis of this book unreservedly supports the views put forward by the Socialist Group during the debate on the Herman report last March.

In particular, this analysis shows that the productive resources, i.e. capital and labour, which are now available to the two Community countries I mentioned, Germany and the United Kingdom, to which I would also add the Netherlands, permit a much higher level of demand, production and employment than that which exists in the Community at present.

Another important point is that the existing structural budgetary deficits, when adjusted to allow for the effects of inflation and the recession, are positive, in other words, they are actually surpluses, so that there is considerable scope for pursuing an expansionist financial policy, i.e. for boosting demand by lowering taxes or increasing public expenditure.

Lastly, the coordinated application of financial policy avoids any balance of payments risks. It is difficult, Mr President, for people who are aware of economic facts to deny these simple economic truths. When they do so, it is in order to cover up the fundamental ideological shift which their espousal of monetarist dogma has imposed on them. It is in fact the first time since the war that the European Right denies that the State, with the economic policy it pursues, is responsible for economic activity and employment.

Sir Brandon Rhys Williams, as the rapporteur of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs, is the spokesman of this new spirit of the European Right. In voting against the report by Sir Brandon Rhys Williams, the Socialist Group is issuing a message before the elections. We Socialists, wherever and whenever we are in power, side with the unemployed.

**Mr von Bismarck (PPE).** — *(DE)* Mr President, before I begin I should like to make a remark for the benefit of Mr Papantoniou. I would advise him to contact the former chairman of our Committee, Mr Jacques Delors, who is now the French Minister of Finance, and ask him to explain the real facts so that the Socialists do not go on making gross errors. Ten years ago, the Council decided in principle that the Commission should draw up guidelines for the convergence of the 10 economies making up the Community. It obviously did this because it realized in a lucid moment that the European family of Ten in reality had only a single joint future and that mistakes made in any one country were always at the expense of the other nine.

Now, 10 years later, the question arises as to why the Commission, particularly in the last report which we are debating here today, feels it has to be so easy on the countries which have so far failed to follow up, or at least to follow up adequately, its excellent recommendations and hence failed to act in accordance with the interests of their citizens. The main reason — i.e. the real reason which they are keeping quiet about — is clear: the Commissioners have frequently acted more on the basis of national interests rather than pan-European interests and criteria. Why should this be? The answer is that, like politicians in general, they are more afraid of incurring disapproval at home than incurring the disapproval of this European Parliament which was elected by 270 million people. If this should continue in this area as in practically every other, I am confident that it would encourage, indeed force, the next Parliament to exercise its right to dismiss the

**von Bismarck**

Commission, which would make it clear once and for all to everybody including the subsequent Commission that the Commission's authority derives from the Parliament and that the Parliament is the Commission's authority.

What, above all, must the new Parliament insist on in the field of economic policy?

Firstly, the market economy laid down by the Treaties is intended to be for the benefit of the citizens and must remain so or, more precisely, must move more and more in this direction, as Mr Lange has already said.

Secondly, this market economy is defensible only if it has positive social implications — indeed this is what the parties to the Treaty had in mind. It must serve the social interests and welfare in the broadest sense of all concerned.

Thirdly, how can this be done? On the one hand lively free competition is an essential feature of a market economy since only with this principle of free competition as its taskmaster, so to speak, can the self-interest of those involved in the market be pressed into the service of the common good. Only in this way does it lead to democratic freedom.

On the other hand, a socially-orientated market economy calls for stable currency and zero inflation if the exploitation of the weak, who have their savings locked away in a cupboard or in a savings bank, is to be avoided. A socially-orientated market economy requires a zero inflation rate if there are to be enough jobs to be able to offer work to everyone who wishes to work. Any degree of inflation is a threat to jobs — indeed, it is the mother of unemployment. Inflation in one country also affects the other nine, it militates against mutual support and social interests and leads to the exploitation of the weaker sections of the population in the nine partner countries too. This is an area in which we feel a particular need for clarity on the part of the Commission. We need adequately specific guidelines based on a sense of social responsibility for the citizens of Europe.

A further prerequisite for a European market economy which is in the social interests of all concerned is a European currency — a common, stable and reliable world-class currency controlled by a central autonomous authority and based primarily on the maintenance of stability.

Finally, the cry of 'me first'! and the nationalistic vetos practised by the Council have no place in a socially-orientated and mutually beneficial market economy of this kind. Anyone who continues to defend this practice is working against the general interests not only of his own citizens but of the people of Europe as a whole. There can be no such thing as going it alone in future, since all the members of the European family

of Ten have to foot the bill regardless of where it is actually presented. This is something they will have to realize sooner or later.

Parliament, must, therefore, insist that in future decisions are taken in a democratic manner and in accordance with the majority wishes of the people, so that our market economy may genuinely function in the social interests of everyone alike. We in this Parliament have, with the Herman report which was based on the general opinion by Ball and Albert, stated our views as to what direction economic and social policy should take in coming years. One of the points on which the Commission will be judged in future is whether and how it follows Parliament's suggestions.

*Videant consules.*

**Mr Bonaccini (COM).** — (IT) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, this is the first time in the life of this Parliament that we have had the opportunity of discussing the economic situation in the Community in circumstances which are not constantly worsening but allow us to glimpse a first few modest but sure signs of recovery.

So even if we have not yet reached the turning point we all hope for, the present situation is worth examining carefully. Naturally the data we have available are provisional, so the report can only be conditional: the next Parliament will carry out a more detailed examination. Nevertheless I believe that, as of now, there are signs which encourage us to be slightly more forward-looking and attentive to the possibilities which might open up.

There is no doubt that company balance-sheets are improving, and not only in Italy. It is also true that productivity is tending to rise in national economies and, I believe, generally throughout the Community. Moreover, some Community measures are allowing lost time to be made up. I am referring to the steps taken in the last few days in respect of an intervention programme in growth industries and advanced sectors, and I think the Commission should be urged to proceed further in this direction.

Even public balance-sheets are tending to improve, and something is being done about structural deficits. Whether this is being done well or badly is another matter, but at least it is being seen to.

From this point of view I must say that the Commission has done excellent work with the working document submitted to us, because it draws our attention to the main points very succinctly. One of these is unemployment, which is on a par, so to speak, with the external factors affecting the policy of economic recovery. The Commission documents states on page 4 that some policies applied — by the United States that is — threaten to jeopardize the growth capacity of the

**Bonaccini**

American economy and to encourage new protectionist pressures, and further on it deals with the link with problems in the Third World.

Our debate today follows on a series of international meetings at which the problem was tackled without, I would say, producing any appreciable results, although progress is said to have been achieved behind the scenes. If that is so, why not announce them publicly, so that this climate of confidence to which Mr Rhys Williams referred is really created in the world economy as a whole? Until we know exactly what progress has been made, I can only say that serious problems remain, as the Commission's report points out, concerning the continuing great instability of exchange rates and also the enormous influence still exerted by the interest rates factor.

Up till now, Mr Rhys Williams, I have confined my remarks to the Commission document because I observe a certain disparity with your report. As I said in committee, I am aware of a difference which makes me appreciate the Commission's efforts and disapprove of certain points which you have decided to stress. For example, when presenting the overall situation, you emphasize what you term 'anomalies' and continue to refer to them as such. More especially, you do not mention certain aspects which this Parliament has dealt with, such as the short-term intervention measures, which were conceived as a package of measures to provide protection against inflationary effects (which, Mr von Bismarck, none of us here want) and at the same time to reinforce growth. No emphasis is put on the need to keep on constantly restructuring our industries and accordingly persevering with relevant measures. Nor is any account taken of the special determined effort which the Committee called for in connection with investment policy.

As a result we cannot approve your report, not on account of any personal antipathy — there is none — but because it falls far short of the commitments which Parliament, like the Community, can and must make.

**Mr Damseaux (L).** — *(FR)* Mr President, Mr Commissioner, ladies and gentlemen, I should first of all like to congratulate our colleague, Sir Brandon Rhys Williams, on his report which, although difficult to draw up, gives us a sound analysis of recent economic developments within the Community.

It is right to stress that the Commission's revised forecast for 1984 draws attention to a series of improvements. Things are certainly moving, and moving in the right direction.

But we must be very careful when considering these favourable indicators, for Community performance is still behind that of our industrialized partners. Thus the United States and Japan will have double the increase of 2% estimated for our gross domestic prod-

uct. The rapporteur's recommendations for improving the economy are therefore well-advised.

Only by observing budget discipline and by reducing public sector deficits in the Member States with the weakest economies can we return to a healthy situation.

Although we cannot fail to be pleased with any improvement, however tiny, in the economic situation of the Member States, they should beware of pursuing a recovery at the expense of Community solidarity.

The interdependence of our economies implies that there is a real recovery and naturally involves attempts to achieve greater cooperation. This means that we must continue to pursue the establishment of a real internal market by demanding that protectionist arrangements of any sort should be dismantled.

In the long run, the convergence of the economies of the Member States and the strengthening of the European Monetary System are the mainstays of our Economic Community.

I think that we should once again express our support for the introduction of a convergence indicator or a system of 'warning lights' which, like the divergence indicator for currencies in the European Monetary System, would make it the Council's responsibility to make recommendations to the Member States concerned in order to bring about the greatest possible degree of convergence between their economies.

The European Monetary System is the other means of achieving progress. It is imperative that it should be fully completed. In particular we should promote the entry of the pound sterling into the system and encourage the use of the ECU in both private and institutional transactions.

The interdependence of our economies will ultimately force all the States of the Community either to achieve greater cooperation or else to decline in the case of those which continue in error.

What Europe needs more than ever is the will to take real decisions and for Parliament and the Commission to work hand in hand to achieve this throughout the future of the Community without postponing, as the European Council has been doing from one summit to the next, the implementation of the necessary policies.

**Mr Lalor (DEP).** — Mr President, I too would like to thank Sir Brandon Rhys Williams for the very thorough and accurate approach which he has adopted in presenting his report on the economic situation in the Community.

My group acknowledges the Commission's assessment of the present economic situation in Europe and the

**Lalor**

fact that certain areas of the economy are beginning to show signs of improvement. However, we also agree with Sir Brandon that in comparison with the US and Japan, Europe is still faced with very serious economic problems and, in particular, high unemployment rates. We agree with the rapporteur's call for industrial reconstruction within the European economy. We certainly can no longer afford to invest in uneconomic and wasteful projects. Our investment resources must be channelled towards a greater production of goods and services that we can sell competitively.

For peripheral regions such as Ireland we have to invest in developing markets and creating a better distribution network so that our goods can compete more favourably on the European market. This sort of high-cost investment would have to be assisted by proposals from the Commission and aided by the European Investment Bank. We also feel that the problems of small and medium-sized firms are all the greater in peripheral areas but their potential to provide employment and promote economic growth is more substantial. EEC policies should be adjusted to meet the needs of small and medium-sized enterprises in peripheral regions.

Training programmes for young people must include provisions for the new technologies. More companies should be encouraged to participate in Esprit and other research programmes. We have an obligation to ensure that Community aid will continue to be made available for increased support for basic science and its application and for promoting joint research programmes in areas such as microelectronics and biotechnology.

School leavers must be given the opportunity to acquire a skill to enable them to actually find a job. It is therefore important for us to very carefully monitor EEC-funded training programmes to ensure that they are helping to create productive and satisfying employment. The rapporteur calls on the Commission to examine and promote viable proposals for infrastructure investment projects, particularly in energy supply and transport facilities. My group endorses that call and emphasizes the future role of natural resources in the Irish economy. We need the support of the European Community to develop our infrastructure in relation to oil exploration and the related industries. I would like to point out that in Ireland, as indeed in other Member States, spiralling wage costs are having a dramatic effect on creating unemployment. My group feels that a national consensus is needed between government, employers and employees if we are to succeed in tackling this problem.

In conclusion, I would like to draw this Parliament's attention to the fact that even the boldest policies to strengthen the common market, to stimulate innovation in investment and to regain growth do not offer an immediate solution to the problem of absorbing Europe's present high rates of unemployment within a

reasonable time span. Any examination, therefore, of solutions like work-sharing or the reduction of working hours will have to be done on a completely European level. Otherwise, independent policies would lead to destabilization of the market and eventually worsen the unemployment situation rather than improve it.

**Mr Moreau (S)**, *chairman of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs.* — (FR) Mr President, as we reach the end of this Parliament we could indeed be wondering why we should have another debate on the economic situation. We, as the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs, insisted that this debate should be held, and the Bureau of Parliament agreed, for which we are very grateful.

As we reach the end of this Parliament I think it would be useful if we were to assess the Community's economic situation, even if our approach to certain questions is slightly repetitious, and despite the fact that we recently held a debate on the report by Mr Herman on the Community's economic recovery.

I obviously agree with what Mr Papantoniou said as a Socialist, but I would also like to say that I agree with the broad outlines of the Commission document. The economic situation of the Community is indeed improving, but the problem facing each of us is knowing what commitments we can make for the future and ultimately to what extent this recovery and this improvement will be guaranteed. Unfortunately I do not think that any of us can feel reassured because the future depends on what happens in other areas of the world. Recent international meetings, in particular in the OECD, have shown that Europe must first rely on itself before it can overcome its present difficulties. The recovery, which is, as I have said, already visible in certain countries, is therefore fragile and subject to developments which do not depend only on us.

What is Europe's basic problem? It is that of how to guarantee lasting economic and social development. This involves creating a climate to promote growth and, in particular, investment. But we know that we cannot create such a climate unless — and I would stress this point — there is real agreement between the various countries both on the analysis of the difficulties and on the solutions to be applied.

I myself believe that there will be no substantial improvement in the European economy or any new dynamism unless all those involved in business and industry can join in the recovery. This is a vital point. If we forget this we will merely be producing something provisional, precarious and inadequately sustained for the people of Europe.

At the heart of the problems is the question of the division of labour and the compromise to be reached between the gains in productivity provided by better production organization and modernizing production,

**Moreau**

and how much of the gains in productivity is to be ploughed back into investment and how much is to enable jobs to be maintained and bring a marked reduction in unemployment.

Some people will say that I have failed to grasp the problem. On the contrary, I think that I have grasped the very nub of the problem facing the Community and of the problem of achieving recovery at Community level.

Everything that the Community can do in relation to convergence — the European Monetary System, developing the work of the European Investment Bank or of the New Community Instrument and so on — can only be really meaningful within the context mentioned earlier.

As we reach the end of this Parliament, I would like Parliament's position to be seen as an appeal to the European Institutions and to the Member States to take all the necessary steps to create a genuine internal market and establish and implement a consistent trade policy.

However, we are aware that the future of the Community depends on a certain macro-economic balance being achieved, on joint action or cooperation in the convergence of economic, budgetary, monetary and financial policies, and also — and I would stress this point — on action in the micro-economic field.

Common policies, in whatever form, must be introduced for the research and development sectors and for the industrial application of work carried out to enable Europe to take up the crucial challenge to which I referred, in other words to become once again an area of development promotion while still remaining open to the world. It only remains for us to hope that the next European Council will take some steps towards this and that it will be possible for the Community to make a fresh start.

*(The sitting was suspended at 1 p.m. and resumed at 3 p.m.)<sup>1</sup>*

#### IN THE CHAIR: MR VANDEWIELE

##### *Vice-President*

**President.** — As was announced from the Chair on Monday, the first item on this afternoon's agenda is supposed to be the joint statement by Parliament and the Commission on relations between the two institutions.

*(Parliament agreed to the proposal)*

<sup>1</sup> *Agenda: see Minutes.*

The enlarged Bureau has asked me to propose to the House the inclusion in tomorrow's voting time of a motion for a resolution setting up a special interim committee on budgetary affairs. The document will be distributed during the course of the day.

Pursuant to Rule 48 of the Rules of Procedure I have received the following written objections . . .

**Lady Elles (ED).** — Mr President, I just wanted to stop you before you read the next item on the agenda. I understand that a decision was taken by the enlarged Bureau that you should make a proposal concerning the setting up of a temporary budgetary committee. I would like to inform the House that I was not present when that vote took place. It was not on the agenda before the enlarged Bureau meeting took place and I therefore strongly object to matters being slipped in under 'any other business' which were not discussed formally in that enlarged Bureau meeting. If any proposal to deal with transfers — which I presume is the purpose of this temporary committee — is made after Parliament is dissolved, it should be left to the Committee on Budgets as a whole to whom the powers have been delegated to take such decisions. I therefore object to the proposal which is now being put by the enlarged Bureau and demand that your proposal should be replaced by a proposal that it should go to the Committee on Budgets.

*(Applause)*

**President.** — I think you are jumping the gun, Lady Elles. It will not be until tomorrow that we consider the powers of the Committee on Budgets. The matter has to be settled between the election and the first meeting of the new Parliament. So you see, there is a problem. Please look at the note which has been placed in your pigeon-hole, Lady Elles. You will be able to speak tomorrow.

**Lady Elles (ED).** — Mr President, thank you for your explanation but, of course, I am referring to the proposal that is going to be put to the House tomorrow. Are we allowed to put an amendment to that proposal and suggest that it should be the Committee on Budgets that should deal with this matter and not individuals from the committee? As long as I get an assurance from you, Mr President — and I know that it will be upheld — that we can amend that proposal in the lines that I suggested, I shall, of course, be contented.

**President.** — Yes, you can table amendments to this proposal.

**Mrs Castle (S).** — Mr President, what is the purpose of this announcement at this present moment? Is it the

### Castle

intention to try to persuade Parliament not to vote for urgent procedure on the Scrivener report and thus to deny Parliament the chance of pronouncing on how the alarming budget deficit for 1984 should be filled? I find this announcement very, very sinister.

**President.** — You should be reassured if you read the document that you received today. It is about Parliament's budgetary responsibility between the elections of 17 June and the beginning of the new Parliament, and Parliament has to take a decision on this. Read the text and you will be reassured. It is not the intention to do anything that does not meet with your approval.

I shall now call Mr Lange. He can clarify matters in connection with Mrs Castle's important question.

**Mr Lange (S), chairman of the Committee on Budgets.** — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the expression which was used there is of course misleading. The Committee on Budgets and the Committee on Budgetary Control have long had the powers that Lady Elles would like to give to them. The essential matter is that the transfers which have to be done happen within a certain time.

Since we are in the middle of the election campaign, the Committee on Budgets and the Committee on Budgetary Control got together to discuss how one can get round the vote on the quorum. If there is no quorum, Parliament cannot make a decision. That is what it says in the Rules of Procedure. This means that Parliament cannot express an opinion on any plans of the Commission or of the Council that the Commission is implementing. In certain circumstances Parliament must be in a position to do something. This is what we told the Bureau but I do not know yet what the Bureau has done about it. I am also curious about how the debate is going to be organized today or tomorrow. Our idea was to have the chairmen of the two committees, the President of Parliament, the rapporteurs for Sections 1, 2, 4 and 5 as well as the rapporteur for Section 6, and then to round things off so that all the groups get their fair say. That was the idea.

We are not setting up anything new but just an interim body that can keep Parliament functioning and is not going to founder over the problem of the quorum. It has been done for years. It was done before the election of the first directly elected Parliament. There are no risks. Wait and see — let's think about the matter and make up our minds tomorrow. But do not start protesting right now!

(Applause)

**President.** — Ladies and gentlemen, just as Mr Lange pointed out, I have also said that we shall have an opportunity to debate the matter tomorrow. It is a

matter of an interim arrangement between the elections and the business of the new Parliament.

**Mr Fellermaier (S).** — (DE) Mr President, you have mentioned a document. Can you tell us when we can read this document? There is one criticism of the Bureau that cannot be avoided. Since the date of the elections was announced, we knew what the effect on the budgetary procedure would be. Why is such a plan being sprung on Parliament at the eleventh hour, so that an *ad hoc* decision can be taken tomorrow? Those in charge should think about interim periods in good time, since there is nothing new about this interim period and the budget situation. The same thing happened in 1979. Why can't something be proposed on the basis of the 1979 arrangement, so that it can be discussed by the groups and then given a fair debate here? This thing is being pushed through and some Members have the feeling that they are just being trampled on by the Bureau.

### 6. Topical and urgent debate (objections)

**President.** — Pursuant to Rule 48(2), second subparagraph, I have received the following objections justified in writing to the list of subjects proposed for tomorrow's topical and urgent debate.

(The President read out the objections)<sup>1</sup>

I must remind the House that there will be no debate on these objections.

**Lady Elles (ED).** — On a point of order, Mr President, I asked that the resolution on Libya be put on the list for Thursday morning, but I was content to have it without debate, which you did not indicate when you read out the list. This would mean that no time would be wasted on the subject; it could be voted on immediately.

**President.** — I note your question. The matter will be considered by the Bureau.

**Mrs Van den Heuvel (S).** — (NL) Mr President, the motion for a resolution on unemployment benefits in Belgium which the Socialist Group wanted added to the list can also be considered without debate. I do not know if you have that in your document, but that is what the Socialist Group actually wants.

**President.** — First we are going to vote on whether or not to accept the proposal I made, but I nevertheless take note of your kind statement.

<sup>1</sup> See Minutes.

**Mrs Castle (S).** — Mr President, if we can take Lady Elles' motion on Libya without debate, can we also take my motion on the British Government's determination to abolish local elections in the metropolitan county areas next year without debate? It is equally important, if not more so, because it attacks the very heart of local democracy in Britain.

**President.** — A motion for a resolution cannot be placed without debate on the list of items for a topical and urgent debate. However, Members may waive their right to speak.

**Mrs Castle (S).** — I will accept that Mr President. I merely want a vote on my resolution about the abolition of local elections in Britain by the Conservative Government.

**Lady Elles (ED).** — I merely wish to point out, Mr President, that under Rule 48 of the Rules of Procedure, requests to amend the list of topics for urgent debate must be submitted in writing, before 3 p.m. Mrs Castle's request — which I well understand, since she does not seem to be able to fight this fight in the United Kingdom and has to bring it here — to have the topic included on the urgency list for Thursday, was not submitted in writing and cannot, under the Rules of Procedure, be accepted now.

**President.** — Let us not get involved in a procedural wrangle, ladies and gentlemen.<sup>1</sup>

### 7. Decision on urgency

#### SCRIVENER REPORT (Doc. 1-322/84 'COVERING BUDGETARY REQUIREMENTS IN 1984')

*(Parliament agreed to urgency)*

**Mr Arndt (S).** — Mr President, after all the votes we have just had — and I must congratulate you on the way you kept order — I should be grateful if you would once again read out what the House has decided to place on the agenda for tomorrow's topical and urgent debate lasting two hours. We shall then be able to prepare carefully for the debate.

**President.** — Your question will be answered right away, Mr Arndt. I am grateful for your kind words

and I am especially happy that I do not need to be in the Chair for tomorrow's sitting. I am counting on your cooperation.

**Mrs Elaine Kellett-Bowman (ED).** — Mr President, I tried to catch your eye earlier on because we wanted a roll-call vote on Sir Fred Warner's motion to give cheap milk to pensioners against which all the British socialists voted, and we would like that heartless fact to be put on record in a roll-call vote. And I was trying to catch your eye to ensure that we got a roll-call vote to show the socialists up for the hypocrites they are.

**Mr Enright (S).** — May I join with Mr Arndt in congratulating you on the splendid way that you have conducted this discussion. That is why I have been so patient in bringing up under rule 48(5) what I really should have said at the beginning, which is, that I am quite happy now to withdraw my request for urgency on the motion to enable miners' families to receive subventions from the surplus food stocks of the Community and to say that I shall table it again at the July part-session as the new Member for Kent East.

**President.** — Your statement is noted.

**Mr Spicer (ED).** — Mr President, may I join with all those who congratulated you on the way in which you have conducted what is almost the closing debate in this House. But I think, sir, there may have been some slight confusion about one vote, and it may be that you would like to give those who voted against it an opportunity to rectify their vote. Lady Elles put forward the problem of the Libyan People's Bureau. It really related to the brutal and savage murder of WPC Fletcher outside that bureau in London. Now, sir, I do not believe that anyone in this House could possibly have not voted in favour of Community action on something like this. Maybe our socialist friends misunderstood. I wonder if you could just put that motion again so that they could have an opportunity to think and decide that they will join with us in condemning what happened outside the Libyan People's Bureau in London.

**President.** — Mr Spicer, you are very kind, but it is impossible for the President to repeat the vote.

**Sir Fred Warner (ED).** — I am a little bit late now, I think, but I think it is always nice for people to know what they have voted for, People often don't, you know!

What I have proposed in my motion for a resolution is to make a small dent by making it possible for old age pensioners to get a larger proportion of the milk. Although Mrs Castle voted against it, I would like her

<sup>1</sup> See Minutes for the votes on the objections.

**Warner**

to know that as one of our most distinguished old age pensioners we hope she will benefit by this resolution.

*(Laughter and applause)*

**Mrs Castle (S).** — Mr President, I am always brief and to the point! I want to ask you on a point of order whether in future we are to be allowed *explications de vote* at the end of urgency discussions because it is intolerable that an argumentation for these motions should be allowed after the vote when one is not allowed before the vote.

Is it not a fact that we have two hours for urgencies tomorrow? We therefore have to define the word 'urgency' very closely indeed. Any Conservative Member of the Committee on Agriculture could have moved a long time ago for the giving of milk to pensioners! This is not the place to do it except for propaganda purposes and the same with the other motions to which reference has been made!

Therefore, may I ask you, Mr President, to deplore this abuse of the Rules of the House and the political behaviour by the Conservatives who are running scared because they know they are going to lose so many seats in the Euro elections!

*(Applause from the left)*

### 8. Question Time

**President.** — The next item is the second part of Question Time

(Doc. 1-270/84).

We shall deal with the questions to the Commission.

I call Question No 34 by Mr Ephremidis (H-724/83/rev.):

Subject: Commission statement on Cyprus

On 21 December 1983, the Commission made the following statement: 'The Commission confirms that it will diligently take the necessary measures to follow up the Cypriot Government's communication of 28 November 1983 with regard to the new certificates, labels and signatures needed to establish the origin of products coming from Cyprus.

From the date to be specified in the Commission's communication to the customs authorities of the Member States, only goods accompanied by Republic of Cyprus certificates will be able to benefit from the preferential system of the association agreement.

Moreover, the Commission has announced that these measures are to be implemented on 1 March 1984.'

Can the Commission state whether this is an official and therefore binding statement? If not, what concrete measures does it intend to take to put an end to the irregular practice of importing products from the occupied northern part of Cyprus which illegally calls itself a 'Turkish-Cypriot state', a fact which the Council and the European Parliament have condemned?

**Mr Richard, Member of the Commission.** — The text of 21 December 1983 was not an official declaration of the Commission. Action was taken on 21 February 1984, when the Commission transmitted the new specimen custom stamps and signatures, notified by the Cypriot authorities, to the customs authorities of the Member States in accordance with the normal procedures and in conformity with the regulations in force concerning originating products. These measures took effect on 1 March.

**Mr Ephremidis (COM).** — (GR) I listened to the Commissioner's reply, for which I thank him. However, I should like to ask a supplementary question, to which I would ask him to give me a clear answer.

The Commissioner said that the Commission statement in question was not official and, consequently, not binding on the Member States. My supplementary question is: Mr Commissioner, is there any other official and binding Commission statement on this question, and if not, how is the Commission implementing the European Parliament's decision on the non-recognition of Denktash's illegal state, and how is it condemning the proclamation of that State? There is another similar resolution adopted by Parliament, as well as statements by the governments of all the Member States, which furthermore do not recognize this state. I should like to ask whether the Commission's policy is different from all these?

**Mr Richard.** — The honourable gentleman asked a fairly narrow question and, I hope, got a fairly precise answer. The question that we were asked was whether or not the statement of 21 December 1983 was or was not an official and binding statement. I gave, I thought, a precise answer to that.

As far as the position of the Commission is concerned, of course we do not part company with other countries, nor do we part company from the position set out in Article 5 of the Association Agreement between Cyprus and the Community. I think it is very important that that should be borne in mind when people are considering this particular situation.

Under the terms of Article 5, there is a responsibility to ensure that the rules governing trade do not give rise to discrimination between nationals or companies of Cyprus. That is the position of the Commission, it has been the position of the Commission, it remains the position of the Commission.



**Mr Marshall (ED).** — Would it be a fair summary of the Commissioner's answer that the Commission will be doing nothing in respect of trade following the declaration of UDI? Would the Commission indicate whether, following President Reagan's financial initiative of a fund for Cyprus of US\$ 250 m, the Commission agrees that it is time to have a diplomatic initiative to end the impasse in Cyprus which has now lasted for nearly 10 years?

**Mr Richard.** — I think that is the most interesting question that the honourable gentlemen has asked. If he would be prepared to put down a question to that effect, the Commission would be prepared to consider it and give him a considered answer.

**Mr Adamou (COM).** — (GR) I would ask the Commissioner to tell us whether, following the illegal proclamation of the Turkish-Cypriot State and its recognition by the Government of Turkey, which is a country associated with the EEC, it is possible for further progress to be made towards the Customs Union between Cyprus and the EEC, and if so, on what conditions. Should not the EEC perhaps first of all take a decision condemning these illegal acts?

**Mr Richard.** — I think it is fair to say the situation is somewhat ambiguous at present. I think it is also likely to remain somewhat ambiguous until the Council adopts a common position. In so far as the Commission's position is concerned, I think I have made it clear to the House today, and indeed the Commission has done so on previous occasions. I do not think, frankly, that there is very much I can add to what the Commission has already said on this issue. As the honourable gentleman will know, it has been considered by the Council of Ministers, and the honourable gentleman will also know with what result it has been considered.

**President.** — Since their authors are absent, Questions Nos 35 and 36 will receive written replies.

I call Question No 37, by Mr Seeler (H-778/83):

Subject: The EEC-Pakistan Cooperation Agreement

Will the Commission report on the outcome of the meeting, on 25 February 1984, of the Joint Commission set up under the EEC-Pakistan Cooperation Agreement?

**Mr Davignon, Vice-President of the Commission.** — (FR) The Joint Commission set up under the EEC-Pakistan Cooperation Agreement met at Islamabad on 25 February and noted several points. On the one hand there had been an increase in trade in both directions, although Pakistan was still lagging behind somewhat in its exports, and on the other hand there was a wish to diversify Pakistani exports under the promo-

tion programme which the Community had organized. The fields of energy, science, technology and industrial cooperation were also covered. We jointly examined the results of the Community generalized system of preferences applied in this area and noted an increase in Pakistan's industrial exports.

It was also noted that in the difficult field of textiles, the bilateral agreement which had been concluded was operating satisfactorily and the Community programme of aid to Pakistan under the 1983 budget — particularly, specific development projects — were discussed.

Finally, we called on the Council by means of a Commission proposal, to give us a mandate to step up our cooperation with Pakistan with a view to concluding a new agreement which would be wider in scope than the previous trade and economic cooperation agreement which had expired in 1981. We hope the Council will give us this mandate so that we can open negotiations with Pakistan before the summer holidays.

**Mr Seeler (S).** — (DE) I should like to thank the Commissioner for answering my question and for confirming what I had heard to the effect that the Commission had asked for a mandate to work out a broader cooperation agreement between Pakistan and the European Community. However, I should also like to ask whether the Commission has forgotten the agreement requiring it to consult Parliament in a case such as this before negotiations on an agreement of this kind are initiated. Have you forgotten, furthermore, that in the case of India this Parliament was adamant that a cooperation agreement of this kind should be negotiated only when democracy had been restored. In the case of Pakistan, we have received all sorts of promises by the Pakistani President which have not so far been kept.

**Mr Davignon.** — (FR) I can assure you, as far as the first question is concerned, that the Commission has not forgotten. Indeed we discussed the question of how Parliament and its committees should be informed at great length, and forwarded our proposal to Parliament a fortnight ago, I think. The matter was delayed a little owing to the technical problems which translation involves and with which you are familiar.

Secondly, as regards the specific question of the general conditions governing agreements between the Community and third countries, we intend to return to this question of human rights and the application of this agreement to all interested parties in our future discussions with the Council on our mandate and in the talks we intend to hold with the parliamentary committee on this mandate and the developments in our negotiations.

This is a question which will need to be constantly monitored and the Commission will keep a close eye on it.

**Mr Israël (DEP).** — (FR) Mr Davignon, a high-level Commission official accompanied the delegation of the European Parliament, which I had the honour of heading, on a visit to Pakistan last February. Has this official reported to you and have you decided to help Pakistan considering the substantial efforts which that country has made to take in almost three million Afghan refugees?

**Mr Davignon.** — (FR) Obviously, if a Commission official accompanies a delegation he draws up a report. This is one of the basic rules for running an organization. The report is subsequently studied by the appropriate department. Thus, the discussions which have taken place and the points arising from the visit of the parliamentary delegation have indeed been taken into account. More generally, as regards Pakistan's economic problem, account is obviously taken of the particular circumstances and the particular stress on the budget arising from the current situation. We do not think that a general framework agreement on cooperation with Pakistan is the proper context for dealing with these specific questions, but rather that they should be settled under Community action in the context of aid by international organizations to refugees. We have an on-going policy in this area.

First, my reply to your question is 'yes, but not in the specific context of the wider bilateral agreement we envisage'.

**Mr Seligman (ED).** — It is understood that Pakistan is on the verge of producing an atom bomb. Was any mention made of the non-proliferation treaty, and did the Commissioner get any assurance from Pakistan that they are seriously considering joining the non-proliferation treaty, and also India for that matter? If both of them could join, this would be major progress.

**Mr Davignon.** — (FR) We have had a meeting to examine the contents of a cooperation agreement strictly governed by the terms of reference of this cooperation agreement. The non-proliferation treaty does not fall within the Community's competence, nor is the nuclear field covered by the scope of the existing agreement. These two questions have not been raised.

**Mr Rieger (S).** — (DE) I should like to return once more to the Luns-Westerterp procedure. As we see it, this is eminently an area on which the European Parliament should have its say and I should like to ask the Commission whether it can give us its assurance here today that it will take up negotiations with the Pakistani authorities only after Parliament has issued its opinion.

**Mr Davignon.** — (FR) Parliament has been notified of the agreement. The Commission shares the honoura-

ble Member's view that the correct application of the Luns-Westerterp procedure is one of our achievements in the field of cooperation between the Commission and Parliament.

However, I would hesitate slightly to give a positive answer to his question since we are supposed to be discussing the matter in July, by which time Parliament would have to have submitted its opinion, since we cannot delay the opening of negotiations too long. This is the point I wanted to make whilst assuring you that the Commission sets great store by the respect of this procedure. We will have to see how soon an opinion could be issued, since it must not come too late if we are to avoid a conflict of interests between the development of our cooperation with Pakistan on the one hand and the specific problems you have raised on the other.

**Mr Enright (S).** — Mr President, on a point of order under Rule 45. I am asking for a debate on that afterwards because this morning we heard that we are pressing very hard under Lomé for an agreement on human rights in that particular Convention. I think frankly that what the Commission has told us about consultation with Parliament is not good enough and I think we have to discuss it fully *before* agreement is entered into. Therefore, I am asking as is our right for a debate under Rule 45 after Question Time.

**President.** — I have taken due note of your request: you will receive an answer at the end of Question Time.

I thought Mr Enright wanted to propose restricting the number of supplementary questions. I should like to make a proposal to that effect now.

Ladies and gentlemen, if you put six supplementary questions in connection with every question, as in the case of this very important question by Mr Seeler, this will mean we have seven questions on every single topic. Do not forget that there are still 40 questions to be answered. I would propose, therefore, that from now on we restrict the number of supplementary questions to two in each case so that we can make some headway. Are there any objections?

**Mr Marshall (ED).** — Mr President, I regard that proposal as quite monstrous. We already have a rule in this House which restricts members of this group to one supplementary . . .

**President.** — I'm not a monster, Sir! I have no wish to do anything monstrous. Fair enough, we will press on and deal with 15 questions instead of 50. If that's what you want, that's what you'll get.

**Mr Davignon.** — (*FR*) Mr Enright maintained just now that the Commission had made no commitments. I should like to correct this statement. The Commission has undertaken that no agreement would be concluded with Pakistan before Parliament had issued its opinion. I had simply, in reply to the previous question concerning the start of the negotiations, pointed out at the purely practical level that we would have to discuss the problem with Parliament if it had not yet issued its opinion by July. This is a purely practical question. If the honourable Member takes this to mean that we would sign the agreement without hearing Parliament's opinion I must point out that this is not the case and that I said just the opposite.

**Mr Enright (S).** — It is a withdrawal. I accept completely the Commission's assurance and good faith and I look forward to the future President of the Commission putting that before this House.

**President.** — You are a gentleman, Sir, thank you!

I call question No 38, by Mrs Ewing (H-11/84):

Subject: Road Equivalent Tariff.

In view of Parliament's repeated demands for pilot projects on Road Equivalent Tariffs and in view of the Commission's failure to act on these to date, will the Commission state whether it has any intention of financing such programmes in the foreseeable future?

**Mr Narjes, Member of the Commission.** — (*DE*) My colleague, Mr Contogeorgis, said as long ago as last October in answer to Mrs Ewing's Question No 973/83, that pilot studies on Road Equivalent Tariffs were primarily a matter for the Member States. I can only repeat that the Commission will not be in a position to finance studies of this kind in the foreseeable future nor has it so far received any results of pilot studies carried out in the Member States.

**Mrs Ewing (DEP).** — Will the Commission accept that to people who live on islands, including the 81 I represent, and the glorious islands of Greece and the Mediterranean and elsewhere, the principle of road equivalent tariff is one of the most vital election issues. The Commission's attitude to it will no doubt affect the turnout in these islands.

Will the Commission confirm that they are still in favour of the principle of road equivalent tariff? Perhaps it may be difficult for the Commissioner, who is replacing Commissioner Contogeorgis to answer this, but why is it that in correspondence with me it was indicated that there would be financing for pilot projects? I would really ask the Commission to take this away and look at it again, because this is the best way to prove that road equivalent tariff would actually help peripheries, which is what this Community keeps telling us it is trying to do.

**Mr Narjes.** — (*DE*) The Commission is not denying the basic point that Road Equivalent Tariffs could be an appropriate instrument for correcting regional imbalances. However, it feels that this is a problem for the individual Member States concerned. As far as I know, you accepted this basic stance in your correspondence with Mr Contogeorgis and there is therefore no reason for the Commission to take the matter up again.

Whatever might be said about the principle of equivalent tariffs — either from the point of view, of theory or policy — the fact remains that the Commission will not be in a position in the foreseeable future — if ever — to subsidise current tariffs.

**President.** — I call Question No 39, by Sir Jack Stewart-Clark (H-8/84):

Subject: Suggestion for a European Pensioners' Identity Card

There are in all Member States certain concessions granted to people of pensionable age. These often take the form of cheaper travel and reduced admission prices to places of entertainment for example.

Similar concessions are offered to students and, as proof of their status, every student from the country concerned can show an International Student Identity Card and thus take advantage of the reductions offered.

Pensioners, as far as I am aware, do not have such a convenient and internationally recognised proof of their entitlement and cannot, therefore, take advantage of concessions offered when travelling outside their own country. The problem is even greater for pensioners resident in a different country from the one which pays them a pension.

Does the Commission not think that some form of European Identity Card for Pensioners would be an initiative well worth taking? It would help a large number of individuals financially, with the minimum of bureaucracy and with no cost save that of printing the cards. Such an initiative would also show the European Community in a sympathetic light as a body seen to care for those citizens within it who need help most.

**Mr Richard, Member of the Commission.** — May I say that I think this is an excellent and useful suggestion. It will mean that as far as the Commission is concerned we will have to collect a fair amount of detailed information about all the benefits available in Member States for old people and pensioners and there would then have to be negotiations between the relevant authorities in the Member States, some of which may indeed not be public bodies, to obtain the creation of the card in question.

**Richard**

If the honourable gentleman thought it sensible, I would merely say to him that I think it is a useful suggestion. I would like to look at it seriously and come back to the House at a future date if he would put another question down so that we may give him an indication as to whether or not we think it is feasible.

**Sir Jack Stewart-Clark (ED).** — I would like to thank the Commissioner for his very positive reply. On the assumption that I am returned to the next Parliament, I would certainly intend to table this not later than the end of this year.

**Mr Albers (S).** — (NL) Could a card of this kind serve to enable British pensioners to obtain free milk in other Member States, as it would appear that these people are feeling the pinch under the Thatcher Government?

**President.** — Is that a question to the Commission?

**Mr Richard.** — It may indeed be a question to the Commission, but it is a question which, with respect, this Commissioner does not propose to answer.

**Mr Balfe (S).** — Since we can now confidently predict that there will be no Conservative. Members here after the election, I welcome the Commissioner's reply and assure him that I will be happy to table a question. Since we already have the precedent of the International Student Identity Card, would the Commissioner not agree that it could be a much simpler process than he seemed to be outlining?

**Mr Richard.** — The Student Card is not a direct precedent. I wish it were, because then, as the honourable gentleman said, it would be simple to transfer the mechanism. What I hoped I had done today was to indicate that my mind is open and on the whole receptive to the idea, but I really must be given the opportunity of looking at the practicalities of it. I should tell the House — one obviously cannot tell lies in confidence — that there are considerable doubts at the functional level as to whether or not this is feasible. It is in order to resolve some of those doubts that I think I would like to have a look at it.

**Mr Chanteric (PPE).** — (NL) I should like to ask the Commissioner whether, firstly, he can confirm that we will indeed have a European passport by 1 January 1985? Secondly, would it not be useful to add certain data to such a passport, and thirdly, is he not afraid that we might encounter similar difficulties in connection with this proposal as we experienced in the case of the European passport, where the British dragged out the discussions on minor points, such as the size of the document, for several years?

**Mr Richard.** — The only part of that three-part question that is relevant to the subject under discussion is the last one.

As far as I am concerned, I would very much hope that we would not have that sort of nonsensical discussion if we were to introduce a pensioner's card. As to the future of the passport, I think that is another matter which, no doubt, the Commission will be pleased to answer when asked properly.

**Mr Seligman (ED).** — Many pensioners in my constituency are worried about a decline in the standard of living. Is the Commission prepared to take on the question of a harmonization of pension arrangements in the Community, particularly in relation to indexing with the rate of inflation?

**Mr Richard.** — The short answer to that question is 'No'.

**President.** — I call Question No 40, by Mr Gerokostopoulos (H-9/84):

Subject: Regulation (EEC) No 1196/81 on the development of bee-keeping

The above regulation expires on 30 June 1984. Since the aims of this regulation have still not been achieved and many Community bee-keeping organizations consider it a matter of vital importance that it be extended, can the Commission state what its intentions are with regard to extending the regulation and what measures it has taken or intends to take in this respect?

**Mr Dalsager, Member of the Commission.** — (DA) With Regulation No 1196/81, the Council introduced a system of aid to bee-keepers for the three production years between 1981 and 1984. This arrangement comes to an end on 30 June 1984. The Commission has not proposed extending the arrangement but it is felt, however, that bee-keeping in the Community could benefit from common arrangements already in force or envisaged.

Firstly, there is the question of research into varroasis in addition to the one-year *ad hoc* research programme which is to be conducted pursuant to Article 2(a) of the regulation in question, the Commission intends to continue research into this bee disease under the five-year programme for the coordination of agricultural research. The bee-keepers and the European Community as a whole will, I think, benefit from this research which will contribute towards wiping out this disease which can have very serious consequences for beekeepers.

Secondly, we will provide aid to producer associations and federations of producer associations under Regu-

**Dalsager**

lation No 1360 of 1978. This will include aid to beekeepers in Italy and Greece. Thirdly and finally, there is Community financing of marketing projects which come under specific programmes drawn up by the Member States pursuant to Council Regulation No 355 of 1978 on common measures to improve the conditions under which agricultural products are processed and marketed.

**Mr Gerokostopoulos (PPE).** — (GR) The Commissioner has, as usual, given an evasive answer. The question was plain. Is the Commission of the opinion that the Regulation which expires on 30 June should be extended or renewed? And I would ask the Commissioner whether the measures which he referred to and which have nothing to do with the Regulation have been satisfactory, since the Regulation was adopted and put into effect four years ago. Indeed, as the Commissioner will be aware from the steps taken by the COPA and the COGECA, these measures have not had the expected results, which is why all beekeepers and bee-keeping organizations are calling for an extension of the Regulation on the same terms as now apply.

**Mr Dalsager.** — (DA) The Commission does not think that the regulation we introduced four years ago should be extended but rather that efforts should be made in the various areas I have already mentioned.

**Sir James Scott-Hopkins (ED).** — I do not know where the Commissioner has got his advice from, but he is utterly wrong. Bee-keepers in the United Kingdom are very upset by the withdrawal of the aid which has been given to them and are anticipating, bad times in the coming winter if that aid is not renewed, as has been asked, at the end of July. I hope he will reconsider his decision, because it really is utterly wrong.

**Mr Dalsager.** — (DA) The honourable Member has asked me to reconsider the situation, so naturally I will. On the other hand, however, I would point out that the Commission has been called on to reconsider a whole series of aid arrangements in the agricultural sector in the light of the economic situation in the Community, and I would therefore point out to the honourable Member that this is one of the questions which the Commission has considered, since we think that we can make better use of the funds available in the way I described in my first answer.

**President.** — I call Question No 41, by Mr Balfe (H-15/84):

Subject: New rules for the European Social Fund

Can the Commission give an assurance that the new rules for the European Social Fund abolish the previous deplorable practice of applying

weighting when projects were already under way, and will the application of point 6.4 of the Commission guidelines for the management of the European Social Fund in the financial years 1984 to 1986 which appeared in the Official Journal of 10 January 1984 not entail such weighting?

**Mr Richard, Member of the Commission.** — In the period 1981 to 1983 the Commission approved a total of 11 applications for Social Fund aid from the Southwark and Lambeth areas of London. These comprised five applications in 1983, five in 1982 and one in 1981. The amounts of Fund aid approved were 632 179 ECU in 1983, 645 315 ECU in 1982 and 20 724 ECU in 1981. A total of just over 800 persons were assisted over the three-year period. The schemes concerned the training of women, both under and over 25, in fields of work in which women are traditionally under-represented, the training of disabled persons and training in new technologies for both the unemployed and the employees of small and medium-sized firms.

In the period 1981 to 1983 the whole of London lay outside the Social Fund's priority regions. New rules have been introduced for the Social Fund with effect from 1 January 1984. Once again Southwark and, indeed, the whole of London lies outside the Fund's priority regions, reflecting as that does the regional designations of the United Kingdom Government. However, under the guidelines for the management of the Fund in the years 1984 to 1986, provision exists for certain types of operation to be given priority regardless of the area in which they occur. These operations are explicitly stated in the guidelines of the Fund and concern, for example, training related to new technologies carried out in limited areas where the unemployment rate is exceptionally high in comparison with the national average. Thus opportunities for Social Fund aid for areas like Southwark may be found from amongst these types of operation.

As far as the Regional Fund is concerned, this has given no assistance at all to the London Borough of Southwark. Inner city areas in London are ineligible for the Regional Fund and no change in this situation is foreseen at present.

I apologize for the length of this answer, but it is a somewhat complicated issue dealing with three, or perhaps even four, of the Funds of the Community. It is perhaps right therefore that I should give the information to the House.

As far as the Investment Bank is concerned, the EEC Treaty sets out certain spheres of action for the Bank. Most of the finance the Investment Bank provides goes to investment in areas covered by national regional aid schemes. South-east London has no assisted area status. The honourable Member may wish to bear in mind, however, that the EIB can also

**Richard**

provide finance for investments of common interest to several Member States or to the Community as a whole — e.g. international communications or projects helping to meet Community energy requirements — or for restructuring and modernizing industries, essentially in sectors which are recognized as undergoing severe structural problems. Viable projects under these headings located in South-east London would be eligible for EIB support.

In addition and finally, the Bank handles, under Community mandate, the New Community Instrument lending operations. The Council of Ministers determines the kinds of investments eligible for loans. These currently include small and medium-scale enterprises wherever they are located. Several global loans have been provided from NCI resources to financial institutions in the UK, specifically to support small- and medium-scale industrial enterprises in non-assisted areas. Firms in South-East London could take advantage of these facilities, and one in Southwark has in fact done so.

**Mr Balfe (S).** — I thank the Commissioner for his very thorough answer and for the commitments which the Commission has given in previous years to projects in this area and which are greatly appreciated.

I would also ask for his assurance that so long as sufficient viable schemes can be put into operation in this area — where unemployment has risen by 177% since Mrs Thatcher came to power and where youth unemployment has risen by over 300% in the same period — the Commission will continue to offer the type of assistance that it has up to now, while we await the happy day when we can get rid of this Tory government and go back to a policy of full employment.

**Mr Richard.** — I can give the honourable gentleman and the House the assurance that if schemes which qualify under the guidelines are submitted, they will be dealt with in exactly the same way as schemes which qualify under the guidelines from areas other than Southwark.

**Mr Price (ED).** — The question tabled by Mr Balfe asks about projects in the London Borough of Southwark, and it says that the borough includes Greenwich. Since Southwark does *not* include Greenwich, does the Commissioner, like me, find it extraordinary that a Member of this Parliament should not know the basic facts of a constituency that he has purported to represent for the last five years?

*(Laughter)*

Will he also — since Greenwich has been asked about — provide the relevant details about that borough and will he bear in mind the high unemployment in the

borough of Greenwich when future applications are submitted from that borough?

**President.** — Mr Price, that is not a question

**Mr Richard.** — I think the Commission would be very unwise to comment upon one Member of Parliament's perception of the knowledge of another Member of Parliament. Therefore, if the honourable gentleman will forgive me, I will not follow him down that speculative path.

**Mr Balfe (S).** — I did not make the point when I stood up for my supplementary question, but the way the question was written was in fact a misprint. Obviously, I do know what I represent, though the carpet-bagging Mr Price, who has been hunting England for a seat until he eventually ended up in South-East London, clearly does have difficulty with geography.

**President.** — I call Question No 42, by Mrs Duport (H-30/84):

Subject: Projects in the London Borough of Southwark

Can the Commission state how many projects and to what value they have aided in the London Borough of Southwark (Lambeth, Lewisham and Greenwich), What prospects can the Commission offer for further aid in the foreseeable future.

**Mr Richard, Member of the Commission.** — The application of a weighted reduction coefficient to certain applications for assistance which cannot be fully financed is a necessity arising from the extent to which the volume of eligible applications exceeds available appropriations. The new rules adopted by the Council and the Commission, principally concerning the submission of all applications for assistance by 21 October of the year preceding the implementation of the operations, and the approval of all applications by 31 March of the year in which the operations are to be implemented, should help to reduce the inconvenience caused to promoters by delayed approval and by weighted reduction.

**Mrs Duport (S).** — *(FR)* I am not satisfied with Mr Richard's answer. When I joined this Parliament I was approached by an organization which, because this weighting system was introduced when its project was already underway, was obliged to dismiss part of its staff since it was counting on aid which it did not in fact receive. As I pointed out in my question, the provisions currently in force under point 6.4 of the guidelines mean that the same difficulties will continue.

**Duport**

I have considered the question with Ministry officials and we agreed that we would probably end up having the same kind of difficulties. I do not know the answer and I expect the Commissioner to consider ways of speeding up the procedures for granting aid — which should not be impossible — or only to grant aid to projects which are sure to be put into practice. After all, what is going on? A large number of applications are submitted, including a number which are dropped after having unfortunately been taken into account. However, the weighting is calculated on the basis of the applications taken into account but not followed through. This is highly irregular and cannot be allowed to continue since it constitutes an administrative problem. I do not know the answer, but I should think that the Commission officials would be capable of solving such a simple problem.

**Mr Richard.** — There is no way at all in which we will be able to avoid a weighted reduction procedure — none at all. I give two figures. I am sorry but the honourable lady must accept this. Take 1984 for example, the number of applications that we will get in will be somewhere in the order of 4 billion units of account. The number of available credits is somewhere in the order of 1 billion 850 million units of account. There is no way therefore in which one can avoid a weighted reduction procedure other than by doing one of two things neither of which, I think, would be acceptable to this House. One is altering radically the list of priorities for application, which is an exercise which we have just been through in relation to the guidelines of the Social Fund, and we have been through it in very close consultation with this House and with the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment. The other alternative is to do it on the basis of first come, first served which I am bound to say, I think, would be thoroughly unsatisfactory. Now what I have tried to do is produce an administrative mechanism which means that the likelihood of people being affected in the way the honourable lady's constituents were affected is diminished. In other words, from now on, we are in a situation, as I say, where applications will have to come in by 21 October of the year before the operation starts and we will approve those applications by 31 March of the year in which the operations are to be implemented. It is not a perfect system — I accept that — but frankly there is no system that I can think of which will avoid some of the difficulties that the honourable lady has talked about.

**Mr Pearce (ED).** — Would the Commissioner say whether the new rules for the European Social Fund will make it easier for the Commission to indicate that 20% to 25% of the cost of the Youth Training Scheme operated by the British authorities in fact comes from that Fund; and will it make it easier for the Commission to give figures for payments from the European Social Fund through the Youth Training Scheme in each country or borough of the United

Kingdom so that our citizens can see much more clearly where European money is being spent on their behalf?

**Mr Richard.** — One of the problems with Social Fund money is that when it goes to Member States it tends to become invisible. If one is dealing with local authorities, municipal governments or regional authorities, then it is much more visible and much more obvious. But if you take the monies that the Commission put into the Youth Training Scheme in the United Kingdom for example, it is basically a subvention to Her Majesty's Treasury.

Now, I wish that there were some way in which I could make more visible and more obvious to the citizens of the Community what we are actually trying to do on their behalf, but I really do not think that I can put up a plaque on the wall of the Manpower Services Commission district region in Liverpool and say that this is part-financed by money from the European Social Fund. Regrettably, it is not like a dam or a piece of motorway where you can see it and say that it has been financed by the Regional Fund. It is much more of a sort of a continuing contribution towards part of the expenditure. But I am grateful to the honourable gentleman for giving the figure that he did. I hope that it will be noticed at least by those people who are at present in a position to notice it.

**Mr Clwyd (S).** — A question I would like to put to the Commissioner is this: would he not agree that not only would it be more visible if the Social Fund were used in the correct way in the United Kingdom, but also that it would have more impact if it were truly additional and not simply substituted for Treasury money which would have had to be spent in any case on those particular projects? Can he assure us that despite the changes in the Social Fund — and he will know that some of us in the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment were concerned about the changes in the rules, because we felt that the margarine would be spread more thinly throughout certain countries and not concentrated on some of the disadvantaged regions as it has been in the past — certain regions of the country such as the Cynon Valley will continue to have a fair proportion of the Social Fund despite the changes in the rules because of the high percentage of unemployment in that particular area?

**Mr Richard.** — I think the honourable lady must do the mathematics herself. She will know, because she was a member of the committee, what the new guidelines are. She will know the way in which the Commission approaches the problem of priority areas. She will know the extent to which we are bound by national regional designations. In those circumstances, if the applications come in, then obviously they will be dealt with according to the guidelines in the way that the Commission has set out, quite honestly, time and time

**Richard**

again. I cannot give any undertaking that things in the future will for ever remain exactly as they have been in the past. Of course I could not give that undertaking, and it would be very foolish to try to. On the other hand, what I can say is that they will be dealt with by the Commission in accordance with the guidelines. I hope that administratively they will be dealt with rather more expeditiously, perhaps, and with less difficulty in the future than they have been in the past.

Now, on the first point that she makes on additionality she will know that the Commission's position is clear. We think Social Fund money should be genuine additional money and that is an argument that we have had with, I think, all the Member States from time to time.

**Mr Gerokostopoulos (PPE).** — (GR) I am not speaking on the question but would like to raise a point of order. I am afraid that in wishing to get through most of the questions you are not adhering to the Rules of Procedure as you should.

I asked to speak on a point of order when Mr Balfe's question was being discussed. I wanted to ask you whether you, as one who always keeps to the Rules of Procedure, do not think that it is inadmissible for Question Time to be used as an occasion for arguments between Members of two different parties, as has happened in the present case and as habitually happens between Labour and Conservative Members. Their domestic problems can be settled in the House of Commons or in the House of Lords, and not in the European Parliament. If you think I am wrong, please tell me.

**President.** — I have taken note of your kind suggestions and I hope everyone will take heed of your advice.

## IN THE CHAIR: MR LALOR

*Vice-President*

**Mr Chanteric (PPE).** — (NL) Having heard what the Commission has had to say I should nevertheless still like to ask the following question. The whole point of revising the European Social Fund was firstly to simplify the procedures and secondly to improve the way in which the money was allocated, particularly in those areas where it was most needed according to the priority criteria we have set out.

From the various points made by the Commissioner in his answer it would appear to me that in fact nothing has changed, in spite of the revision of the Fund. I hope I am mistaken, but I should nonetheless like to

hear the Commissioner's views on this point once more.

**Mr Richard.** — I am sorry, but there is no mystery about this. The guidelines are there. The way in which the Commission hopes to concentrate its resources, both in terms of the geographical areas that it wishes to concentrate on, and, indeed, the sort of things that it wishes to spend its money on, were, I had thought, well known and clear. Broadly speaking, we have undertaken — and the Council has expressed the legal position — that 40% of the Social Fund will be spent in the suprapriority regions — Ireland, Northern Ireland, Greece, the Mezzogiorno and the French Overseas Territory. The remainder of the Fund will be spent in the rest of the Community. Now, obviously we have to have some kind of geographical concentration otherwise the jam is spread too thin. To a large extent we are bound, as I said earlier, by national regional designations.

On the other hand, there are now some sectors, some things, some actions upon which in the future we hope to be able to assist which are no longer subject to regional designation. The sort of things are, for example, actions to enable women to be trained in non-traditional occupations. That is no longer subject to a regional designation. Another example is action in the new technologies to assist small and medium-sized enterprises to use them and to make them more available. That again is no longer subject to regional designation. I will be happy to send the honourable gentleman a copy of the guidelines but I think, with respect, it is all there and spelt out. I do hope that the new Fund will, indeed, be simpler and administratively neater and more accessible than the old one was. But to come back to the question, because we have strayed a very long way from it, there is no way in which I can control the fact that I am receiving applications for Social Fund money which at the moment are running at at least twice the amount of the money available in the Fund to meet them.

**President.** — Mrs Duport, you have your hand up, apparently for an additional supplementary question. I cannot allow you to put an additional supplementary question. Do you want to raise a point of order?

**Mrs Duport (S).** — (FR) I do not think my question has been answered. I asked that funds should be committed to projects which are actually underway and not to imaginary ones with the result that we end up in the curious situation of financing dreams at the expense of projects which are actually underway.

**President.** — I cannot allow a supplementary question. However, it is a question of clearing up the reply already given by the Commissioner. If he wishes to clarify his answer, then we will hear him.



**Ms Clwyd (S).** — On a point of order, Mr President you should defend the right of Members to put pointed questions to the Commissioner and you should insist that he reply. It is no mistake that three Members . . .

**President.** — I am protecting the rights of the other Members of this House by enabling them to put questions.

Question No 43, by Mr Bord (H-43/84):

Subject: Restrictions on the free movement of persons.

Bearing in mind the provisions of the Charter of the International Labour Organization, the applicability of Article 48 of the EEC Treaty and Article 85 of the Treaty which provides for free competition, what measures does the Commission intend to take in order to counter the provisions laid down in some European countries with the aim of limiting the free movement of professional footballers within the EEC? More particularly, is the Commission considering bringing a case before the European Court of Justice?

**Mr Richard, Member of the Commission.** — The position under Community law on this issue is quite clear. Article 7(4) of EEC Regulation 1612/68 renders null and void any provisions which lay down or authorize conditions which discriminate against workers who are Community nationals, particularly as to eligibility for employment. Rules limiting the number of foreign players who can play for a professional football club without making a derogation for Community nationals fall into this category. The Commission does not consider, however, that Community competition rules — Articles 85 and 86 of the Treaty — are relevant in this context.

As Mr Davignon told the House, in reply to a question tabled by Mr Moreland in January 1983, the Commission has conducted an enquiry in the 10 Member States in order to discover what progress is being made towards the elimination from the Football Association's rules and regulations of such nationality clauses. Progress made has not been satisfactory. The Commission is now proceeding to make the necessary contacts with the Member States and Football Associations to ensure that rules and practices are changed so that the principle of free movement is respected. The Commission will, of course, use the means provided by Article 169 of the Treaty, if it has to, including as a final step, bringing any persistent infringement before the Court.

That being said, I would not agree with the implication in the text of the question that the nationality clauses are designed to prevent free movement. They may undoubtedly have that effect, and the Commission will certainly take steps to eliminate that effect. However, their intention is rather to preserve a particular identity for clubs. It is this not unreasonable

preoccupation that makes the matter a sensitive one, on which the Commission prefers to proceed by means of persuasion.

**Mr Bord (DEP).** — (FR) I should like to thank the Commissioner for his very lucid and interesting reply and simply ask him to conduct this enquiry as quickly as possible with a view to eliminating the problem I have raised and thus permitting free movement among this group of European citizens.

**Mr Richard.** — I can give the House the assurance that we will carry it out with due expedition. However, it is a delicate and sensitive matter, where we prefer to proceed by persuasion rather than coercion.

**Mr Marshall (ED).** — As the Member for Tottenham, the pre-eminence of whose footballers will be confirmed in open competition this evening, can I ask the Commissioner not to progress with undue speed and to look at the impact of imported cricketers upon the game of cricket in England where they had disastrous effects? Can he ensure that football is not allowed to go the same way?

(Laughter)

**Mr Richard.** — As a rugby player I can only say that this Commissioner never proceeds with undue speed.

**Mr Herman (PPE).** — (FR) As an Anderlecht supporter, may I ask what means the Commission intends to use, pursuant to Article 169, to put its recommendations into practice?

**Mr Richard.** — As I said a little earlier, we are in the process of trying to resolve these difficulties over footballing nationalities by a process of discussion and we hope, in the end, persuasion and consensus. But it is a slow process and it is a difficult process. We will proceed with all due deliberations but without undue haste.

**Mr Balfe (S).** — Does the Commission accept that in a number of sports, football being one, the way in which contracts between the players and the clubs concerned are drawn up could be said to limit the availability and freedom of those players to move around on the international market and is this not a matter that we should be looking at in order to make sure that people are not put in situations where they contractually limit their freedom of movement under the Treaty?

**Mr Richard.** — I think it is an interesting question and I hope the honourable gentleman will be in a position

**Richard**

to put a question down to that precise effect in the not too distant future.

**Mrs Lizin (S).** — (FR) I should like to ask the British Commissioner whether or not he regards it as equally urgent to take urgent steps in connection with the noisy, not to say disruptive, supporters of various British clubs. I am thinking of the performance they gave in Belgium and which, it would appear, they are intending to repeat at the next European Cup match.

**Mr Richard.** — I think it is high time that action was taken against noisy supporters of all clubs who behave like noisy supporters whether they behave that way in Belgium or whether they behave that way in other countries, whatever country they happen to come from.

**President.** — Question No 44, by Mr C. Jackson (H-17/84)<sup>1</sup>

Subject: Community agricultural expenditure

The Court of Auditors has reported in response to the conclusions of the European Council of 18 June 1983. The Court of Auditors pointed to shortcomings in internal control of the whole system of Community agricultural expenditure, and noted that clearance of accounts is currently taking five or six years.

What action is the Commission taking in respect of the recommendations that national paying agencies should be accredited by the Commission and should be directly accountable to the Community, and that the national and various Community controls should be integrated to produce a more economical and more reliable system?

**Mr Dalsager, Member of the Commission.** — (DA) In his question, the honourable Member refers to the report by the Court of Auditors which contains a number of points which the Commission very much appreciates. If I have understood him correctly, the honourable Member thinks that changing the relations between EAGGF Guarantee Section paying agencies and the Commission and integrating the various national and Community control could improve the situation as regards control of agricultural expenditure and help make up the delay in the clearance of accounts.

It should be borne in mind that the backlog has been substantially reduced in that the accounts for 1978 and 1979 were cleared at the beginning of 1984. As the Commission sees it, these two points are not automatically related. EAGGF financing takes place via advances, centralized at Community level, to the paying agencies. The actual payments and control thereof are thus decentralized at national level and are the respon-

sibility of the Member States. This decentralization, which was laid down in Council Regulation No 729 of 1970, has certain advantages from the control point of view, since the payment agencies are closer to the recipients of the aid. If the payment agencies were to be directly linked to the Commission and the control measures integrated, this would call for a reorganization of the various Community and Member State bodies, since it would imply a strengthening of the Community's role. The Commission can understand the appeal of such an approach, but is not convinced that a reorganization of this kind would be possible under existing conditions. The Commission has decided to conduct an enquiry with a view to finding suitable methods for monitoring the utilization of the monthly advances more effectively and obtaining information on the payments more swiftly.

As regards the integration of national and Community control measures, there is on the one hand an internal coordination procedure for Community control and, on the other hand, an attempt is being made to improve the application of the national control measures for expenditure financed by the EAGGF. The Commission has started auditing work in the paying agencies with a view to analysing the accounting and control systems and thereby determining their reliability. If appropriate, the Commission will make recommendations for remedying any shortcomings which may come to light. This auditing should also lead to improved coordination in national and Community control.

It should be pointed out that the Commission is in favour of developing the joint system of technical inspections involving both Community and Member States officials together with inspection of actual expenditure. An arrangement of this kind has been in operation several years in the veterinary sector and a similar arrangement was introduced in the beef sector some months ago. These quality inspections may indirectly have a positive effect on agricultural expenditure.

**Mr Christopher Jackson (ED).** — If the translation of the first question into Danish was perhaps not clear, I trust that my supplementary will be.

Does the Commission not agree that it is ludicrous to take five years to clear up the accounts in the agricultural area, and does it not agree that it is vital that all agricultural aids should be seen to be fair as between one country and the next and also that it would be to the advantage of the Community if national aids also were to be more closely controlled by the Commission itself?

**Mr Dalsager.** — (DA) If I have understood the three questions correctly I can, I think, answer in the affirmative since the Commission goes along with Mr Jack-

<sup>1</sup> Former oral question without debate (0-144/83), converted into a question for Question Time.

**Dalsager**

son on these points. The question of clearance of accounts is, after all, one with which the Commission has had to contend for several years. We feel that we have already improved the situation substantially and that we will make further substantial improvements in the near future. At any rate, we have made considerable efforts in this area. The Commission made its decision on the clearance of accounts for 1976 and 1977 on 14 January 1983 and on 8 February 1984 for 1978 and 1979.

Thus, the observation made by the Court of Auditors in the so-called Stuttgart report concerning a five- or six-year delay in the clearance of accounts is fortunately no longer relevant and we in the Commission have made and will continue to make a major effort to make up for the delay. Ultimately, however, it will not be possible to reduce the time taken for the clearance of accounts to less than one or two years since it inevitably takes a certain time for the work to be done and for the Member States to submit information and supporting documents to the Commission. However, we have taken note of this problem and have made substantial efforts to reduce the time between the clearance of the accounts and the auditing.

**President.** — As the authors are not present, Questions Nos 45 and 46 will be answered in writing.<sup>1</sup>

Question No 47, by Mrs Van Hemeldonck (H-35/84)<sup>2</sup>

Subject: Hormone preparations

In a recent case in Belgium the problems of hormone preparations were highlighted once again. Scientists drew attention to the fact that hormone preparations were carcinogenic. It was also stated that anyone using these preparations was imposing serious risks on future generations because all manner of abnormalities could arise as a result of genetic changes. A uniform European approach was advocated.

Is the Commission aware that the national provisions on hormone preparations differ considerably? If so, what proposals has the Commission drawn up on uniform provisions in this area? What results have been achieved to date?

**Mr Dalsager, Member of the Commission.** — (DA) The Commission fully realizes that national provisions on the use of hormone preparations for fattening still differ considerably and feels that certain uniform regulations should be drawn up in this area. We have already made proposals which have led to the adoption, in 1981, of Council Directive 602 which basically bans the use of all preparations containing oestrogen, androgen or gestagen, or thyreostatic agents. These proposals were accompanied by proposals regarding

inspection. Unfortunately, the Council has been unable to reach agreement on all our proposals and for this reason we must continue our work, particularly as regards the use of five particular substances for fattening. This is a complex issue and work has taken longer than we expected. However, we have now finished and the results — including our conclusions for proposals — will soon be submitted to Parliament so that, we hope, it will be possible to solve the problem very swiftly.

**Mrs Van Hemeldonck (S).** — (NL) I should just like to thank the Commissioner and I hope that these proposals will indeed be submitted to Parliament in the very near future.

**Mr Bonde (CDI).** — (DA) The newspaper 'Notat' reported yesterday that eggs from sources including the German chain 'Aldi' containing residues of medicines suspected of being carcinogenic were feared to be in circulation in Denmark. I should therefore like to ask the Commissioner for agriculture whether or not he can confirm this and possibly tell us what he intends to do to prevent the sale of eggs containing residues of medicines?

**Mr Dalsager.** — (DA) I was not aware of the situation described by Mr Bonde since I do not have such close links with the newspaper he mentioned and have not therefore had the opportunity to read the article in question and at any rate I do not have a copy in front of me at present. However, this is first and foremost a matter for the Danish veterinary authorities, which must conduct the investigations necessary to ascertain whether these eggs in fact contain the substances in question. It is not primarily the task of the Commissioner for agriculture to conduct investigations of this kind, but I obviously assume that the Danish veterinary authorities are aware of the problem.

**President.** — Question No 48, by Mr Adamou (H-784/83):

Subject: Statements by Mr Thorn on the establishment of a 'common defence policy'

The President of the Commission, Mr Gaston Thorn, is reported by the press to have said that the time has come to consider the question of a European defence policy and that within two years there will be positive results.

Does the Commission consider that these statements are consistent with the spirit and the letter of the Treaties, which do not make any provision for a common defence policy and, so long as the Commission is the guardian of the Treaties, is it permissible for its President to make such statements?

<sup>1</sup> See Annex II.

<sup>2</sup> Former oral question without debate (0-167/83) converted into a question for Question Time.

**Mr Andriessen, Member of the Commission.** — (NL) This Question refers to statements made by Mr

**Andriessen**

Thorn last year during lectures in Munich and in February of this year in Geneva concerning a European defence policy. The President of the Commission made it very clear on these occasions that he was stating his own personal opinion in his capacity as a politician and not as President of the Commission. The Commission takes a view that its members, including the President, have a right to voice their personal views on political questions which do not fall within the official scope of the Community. May I also point out in this connection that Parliament has, in the past and indeed very recently, discussed security questions and demonstrated that the majority of this Assembly regard a common European defence policy as important for the future of Europe — and this is something which I personally welcome.

**Mr Adamou (COM).** — (GR) I am grateful for the reply, even though I fail to understand how someone who is an official representative of a body can express a personal opinion. I should like to ask whether the EEC as an economic organization is being militarily threatened by any other country and must consequently organize its defence, and which country it is.

**Mr Andriessen.** — (NL) As I have just pointed out, the President of the Commission was stating his own personal views on these two occasions. I would prefer not to state my personal opinion in this Assembly on the point raised by the honourable Member.

**President.** — As the author is not present, Question No 49 will be answered in writing.

Question No 50, by Mrs Lizin (H-6/84):

Subject: Employment in Wallonia

Can the Commission report on the situation with regard to the authorization of employment zones in Wallonia which were approved by the Belgian State by Royal Decree of 13 September 1983? So far only the Flemish region has been granted an authorization by the European Communities and no news has been received as regards Wallonia.

**Mr Andriessen, Member of the Commission.** — (NL) It is true that the Commission has so far only taken decisions regarding two employment zones in Flanders and it is also true that the Belgian Government had, at an earlier stage, given notification concerning a number of employment zones in Wallonia, but these were not eligible for approval by the Commission as the proposals were in conflict with one of the principles underlying the Commission's decision making, i.e. that a maximum of three zones in Wallonia could be approved. Very recently, the Belgian Government has submitted a new notification concerning employment zones in Wallonia on which the Commission will decide as soon as possible.

**Mrs Lizin (S).** — (FR) I must say that I found the Commissioner's reply very confusing and I do not know whether this was the fault of the interpreters. I hope I will be sent a copy of your answer. May I ask when exactly you received the details from the Belgian Government, whether you regard them as useful and when you intend to adopt a position since, obviously, employment zones are an interesting proposition if you are the first in the queue. If you are the last, however, all the investments have already been drawn to the other part of the country. You are sufficiently familiar with Belgium to realize that we regard this as a priority issue and for this reason I hope the Commission wastes no time in dealing with it.

**Mr Andriessen.** — (NL) I cannot at the moment tell you the exact date of the second notification on the part of the Belgian Government, but I think, off the top of my head, that the most recent notification we have received was submitted a few weeks ago.

I will make no bones about the fact that the Commission's decision to approve the plan of the Belgian Government to set up employment zones has come up against considerable criticism in the Community. Various Member States have made it clear that they are by no means pleased with this decision. Nor does the Commission think that the setting up of zones of this kind is the best way of promoting action in the field of employment. After the plans had been adjusted, however, the Commission felt that it should not withhold its cooperation as regards the establishment of these zones, although it is giving careful consideration to the question of whether the proposals by the Belgian Government satisfy the criteria applied for the purposes of decision making. This will take some time, but I can assure the honourable Member that the decisions regarding Wallonia too will be taken as quickly as at all possible.

**President.** — Question Time is closed.<sup>1, 2</sup>

### 9. Action taken on the opinions of Parliament

**President.** — The next item is the statement by the Commission on action taken on the opinions and resolutions of the European Parliament.<sup>3</sup>

**Mr Martin (COM).** — (FR) On 13 April the European Parliament adopted the Committee on Agriculture's report on the wine market, a report which revealed that the deteriorating situation of wine growers was to a large extent the result of inadequacies in

<sup>1</sup> See Annex II.

<sup>2</sup> *Deadline for tabling amendments: see Minutes.*

<sup>3</sup> See Annex III.

**Martin**

Community legislation and its poor application. The report also proposed a whole series of improvements which the Commission would be well advised to bear in mind.

There was one measure proposed in the report which could help improve matters without delay. I am referring to Article 15 and the special distillation measures. Has the Commission at last made up its mind to put this into operation?

**Mr Dalsager, Member of the Commission.** — (DA) Mr President, I can say in reply to Mr Martin that for many reasons the Commission is not at the moment prepared to make that proposal. At the meeting back in April, when we discussed Mr Martin's report, I spoke on the Commission's view of the situation in the wine market. I can add that, since we last discussed the problem, the situation has become even more confusing and unclear, since it seems that the Commission, which receives information from the Member States, is continually being given new figures which make the situation even more confused. Together with the heads of the various departments in the Member States, we are now trying to find out what the real situation is on the wine market, since it would seem that more wine keeps turning up, in excess of the figures which were forecast, even though the harvest was a long time ago. At the present time, therefore, I cannot give any further information, except to say that the Commission, together with the Member States, is investigating the whole wine market situation. At the unofficial meeting of agricultural Ministers which is to be held in France in a few weeks' time, the whole wine problem will be tackled, as proposed by the French Presidency.

**Mr Denis (COM).** — (FR) My good friend, Mr Paul Vergès, asked the Commission to grant emergency aid to Madagascar, the Comoros and Mayotte which had been hit by cyclones.

We know that a first instalment of 300 000 ECU has been sent. Can the Commission tell us if any other aid has been given, how it has been shared out and to what extent it meets the needs of the local authorities?

**Mr Andriessen, Member of the Commission.** — (NL) The Commission has taken no other concrete decisions at this time. Should the Commission decide to make any more aid available to the stricken areas, Parliament will be informed in writing.

#### 10. *Covering budgetary requirements in 1984*

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-322/84), drawn up by Mrs Scrivener on behalf of the Committee on Budgets, on the

proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-233/84 — COM(84) 250 final) for a regulation introducing measures to cover budgetary requirements in 1984 given the exhaustion of own resources.

**Mrs Scrivener (L), rapporteur.** — (FR) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, when we examined the 1984 budget, we were aware, as we pointed out at the time, that it would mean major adjustments. However we decided to pass the budget because we considered it essential not to aggravate the crisis in the Community and, to that end, to give the Community the resources to operate normally.

It is appropriate to recall these facts because it is precisely the normal operation of the Community which is now at stake.

We now have an estimate of the adjustments forecast. Further to the Council's decision of 31 March 1984 on the fixing of agricultural prices, the Commission has drawn up an estimate of the financing requirements for 1984. The Commission's calculations reveal requirements which exceed the present ceiling of own resources by 2 700 million ECU. More than 2 100 million ECU of these additional requirements are for expenditure under the EAGGF Guarantee Section, while the remainder is the result of a large shortfall in own resources from the agricultural sector.

I shall not waste time in analysing the estimates which Parliament will be examining as part of the next supplementary and amending budget. Whatever the exact figure for the requirements, one thing is now clear: in 1984 there will be a deficit in the Community budget for the first time. Unless we find new resources, the Community will not be able to fulfil its commitments!

Two things must be said. On the one hand, it is the duty of the budget authority to provide the Community with the resources to enable it to operate normally. This responsibility is clearly stated in the Treaty which lays down what measures should be adopted for this purpose.

On the other hand, it is up to the Member States which decided to increase agricultural expenditure to ensure that the budget balances. It is the primary responsibility of the Member States which is the dominating factor in this matter.

The Commission is proposing two parallel ways of dealing with the situation: strict management of appropriations for the structural funds, and borrowing from the Member States.

The first method does not seem acceptable to Parliament. It cannot accept that its decisions to increase structural expenditure should be rendered ineffective by management measures which pursue the opposite objective. The Committee on Budgets did not find resorting to borrowing to be a satisfactory solution

### Scrivener

either. Borrowing is contrary to the principle that the budget should be in balance, as laid down in Article 199 of the Treaty. Moreover it has never been an element in Community resources either during the period of national contributions or after the introduction of own resources in 1970. Nor is it a source of finance which can be introduced on the basis of Article 235 of the EEC Treaty, which clearly provides for the introduction of new policies where the Treaty has not provided the necessary powers.

The Committee on Budgets therefore considers that loans should be used solely for financing investment expenditure which will generate wealth in the future. Borrowing to finance expenditure in support of agricultural markets does not seem compatible with sound financial management. Furthermore, the Commission's suggestion to appeal to the central banks — in other words printing money — is a step which appears equally questionable.

The Committee on Budgets considers that we must rule out any payment of interest to the Member States. We know that they have plenty of cash in the accounts opened by the Commission with the national Treasuries. These accounts, as we know, do not bring interest. It is therefore only fair that any extraordinary aid granted by the Member States to the Community should likewise be non-interest-bearing.

For all these reasons the Committee on Budgets cannot support the use of loans in the form proposed by the Commission. The Committee is in favour of a mechanism which will preserve the financial autonomy of the Community. Since a link must be established between requirements as they stand at present and the new own resources to be introduced probably in 1986, a *sui generis* system of advance payments from future own resources appears to be the most appropriate solution, although it must be said that there is no really satisfactory solution.

These, ladies and gentlemen, are the reasons which led the Committee on Budgets to amend the Commission's proposals.

Some Members consider it premature to express an opinion while the exact amount of the deficit is still uncertain. This is exactly the attitude which has put the Community in its present position. How can we claim that there is no hurry when the coffers will be empty in a few months? In our opinion this would be forgetting that these are matters of principle to be debated with the Council under the conciliation procedure and which will require the inclusion of the necessary resources in the next supplementary and amending budget.

Parliament will then be able to assert its views fully when it votes on that budget, but it must still indicate today — and this is why we considered the matter urgent — what line it wishes to take.

**Mrs Nikolaou (S).** — (GR) Mr President, the Scrivener report is one of the final chapters in the saga which began in 1980 when the European Parliament rejected the Community budget, thereby expressing its political will to see a radical revision of Community policy. This wish is still a dominant element in the annual budget, in the message of the 30 May Mandate, and in the proposal for the future financing of the Community.

The further development of the Community means new common policies, which in turn require adequate resources. But instead of a global and generous policy combined with an overall increase in Community resources to enable such developments to take place, the Community confines itself of fragmentary solutions and stopgap measures. The Commission's proposals for covering the 1984 financial deficit are a blatant example of this tactic. When we adopted the 1984 budget, we all knew that it did not correspond to reality. But we adopted the budget in order to avoid the consequences of another crisis. However, we made it clear to the Council that financing extra agricultural expenditure at the expense of the Regional and Social Funds is something which we can on no account accept.

We are totally opposed to the Commission's proposal to cover part of the deficit at the expense of the structural funds. The Socialist Group has repeatedly stated that it does not accept that the Council's political compromises should go against the priorities set by Parliament.

The majority of the Socialist Group agrees with the view expressed in Mrs Scrivener's report that recourse to borrowing from the Member States is liable to affect adversely the financial standing of the Community while still failing to provide a proper solution to the deficit problem.

The majority of the Socialist Group is of the opinion that the deficit should be covered by exceptional contributions from the Member States. It does, however, recognize the technical financial difficulties involved in such a solution and considers that the most appropriate solution would be to have recourse to the system of advance payments. But we would stress that this solution also only puts off till later the problem of the shortfall in the Community's own resources. Thus we are now using up part of the 1986 funds intended for the development of new policies.

The Socialist Group will vote for the Scrivener report and calls on the Council of Ministers to assume full responsibility for the financial consequences of its political decisions.

Now allow me to make one personal remark. Certain measures will have to be taken so that the effects of this additional burden on countries on the outskirts of the Community which are already facing great finan-

**Nikolaou**

cial problems do not exceed their financial possibilities.

**Mr Langes (PPE).** — *(DE)* Mr President, I should like to begin by expressing my sincere thanks to Mrs Scrivener, who has undoubtedly packed a great deal of arduous work into the past few weeks, and who has presented the fruits of her labours with admirable clarity here today. I wholeheartedly support her thinking and proposals, and that goes for my group too.

I should like this afternoon to pick out just two points which seem to me to be of political importance. We take the view that, by basing its borrowing on Article 235 of the EEC Treaty, the Commission is proceeding along a misguided and dangerous path, given that the Article states that only unforeseen measures may be financed. Parliament surely cannot share the view that the result of the Agricultural Council's decision — i.e. a shortfall of DM 6 000 million in the 1984 budget — was unforeseen; it was quite simply the inevitable outcome of the Council's decisions.

We must therefore find a solution in the Treaty, and that solution can only be that the Council — which, after all, is the budgetary authority, along with this House — cannot simply enact legislation in the agricultural sector, but must really ask itself first how it is going to pay for the decisions it has taken. Basically, there are only two options open to us. Either we must expect the governments of the 10 Member States to make a contribution in accordance with Article 200 of the EEC Treaty, or advance payment must be forthcoming from the own resources for 1985.

We believe the first option to be wrong. We think that Parliament has invested enough effort in the system of own responsibility and own resources. We do not want additional contributions; what we want is for the Community to accept its clear responsibility, which can only be on the basis of prepayments from 1985 revenue. Our authority here is Article 203 (10), Article 199 and Article 5 of the EEC Treaty, and we call on the Council to join with us in adopting this course. Of course, we realize that the 1985 shortfall will be that much bigger — 10 to 15% bigger — but we are of course prepared — and I would stress this point on behalf of my group — to give some thought to making savings and rethinking what could be done about the budget — but only, ladies and gentlemen of the Council and Commission, on the basis of a supplementary budget. We shall take a look at the matter item by item, and we shall certainly not accept any attempt by the Commission to delete, say, 350 million ECU from the Social Fund or the Regional Fund. Mrs Scrivener was quite right in this respect. That is the kind of thing we cannot support. After all, we cannot simply start hacking around at a policy we ourselves have helped to set up.

So we are quite prepared to think about how to make savings, but only on the basis of a supplementary

budget, and that seems to me the right way to go about instituting the conciliation procedure. The Council must realize that it cannot simply impose ceilings in the Community, and thereby restrict the rights of this House. We must get together to see what we must do, what expenditure is really essential, what we are prepared to do and how we can then cooperate in getting hold of the requisite own resources.

Parliament is prepared to make its good offices available, and we are quite sure that together — in other words, by way of the conciliation procedure — we can achieve our goal. I should like to thank Mrs Scrivener once again for her report, which we shall certainly be supporting by a large majority.

**Lord Douro (ED).** — Mr President, I have great sympathy with Mrs Scrivener in trying to prepare a report on this very difficult matter. It is the first time that the Community finds itself without sufficient revenue to cover its expenditure. However, I believe that it is far too early in the year for Parliament to be in a position to deliver an opinion on the Commission estimates of what the shortfall will be. Often in the past the Commission has found that its estimates — which, admittedly, have to be made quite a long time in advance — proved to be inaccurate. They can be thrown for all sorts of different reasons. Certainly in the fifth month of the financial year, it is very difficult to say with certainty whether the precise figure now estimated by the Commission to be the 1984 shortfall is accurate. Therefore, we believe it is premature for Parliament to deliver its opinion.

However, the Committee on Budgets is making matters worse. At least the Commission in its proposal is talking about a precise figure. The Committee on Budgets' amendment mentions no figure at all. The Committee on Budgets' amendment talks about advances. No figure is mentioned, and that is like giving the Commission a blank cheque. That is a principle we strongly object to. This is an important matter of principle. It is the first time that the Community finds itself in this position, and we believe that it should be the new Parliament which delivers an opinion on this very important matter.

Another point that concerns me very much is that in its presentation on this proposal the Commission has made little attempt to make economies in order to cover the deficit. We know from last year's experience that there are economies that the Commission can make. This year, faced with this probable deficit, the Commission does not appear to have made the same efforts to economize as they made last year. Certainly we would hope that before the Community decides on this extraordinary and unusual measure to cover the deficit, the Commission will be required to make further economies.

Last November Parliament agreed that the new resources which might become inevitable for the Com-

### Lord Douro

munity should be used for policies other than agriculture. It will not have escaped the notice of Members, however, that in this proposal the amount which the Commission seeks to borrow is going towards covering only two matters — firstly, an overspend on agriculture and, secondly, a smaller revenue than anticipated. That goes directly contrary to Parliament's resolution of last November, and therefore my group has tabled an amendment which would allow the Commission to borrow only the shortfall in revenue and not the amount of the overspend in agriculture. We commend this amendment to the House.

Throughout the budgetary difficulties of the last year the European Parliament has sought to keep maximum pressure on the Council, so that it will make a lasting and final decision on a future method of financing the Community. One of the major problems about this proposal is that it lets the Council and the Commission off the hook. That is yet another reason why we oppose this proposal.

Finally, there were members of the Committee on Budgets who favoured so-called advances rather than loans, because they imagined that advances would not require approval in national parliaments. I have to tell Members that whether they be advances or whether they be loans, the approval of the House of Commons will be required in the United Kingdom. Nobody should be under any illusions on that point.

I very much hope, therefore, that Parliament will support our amendment. If it is rejected, my group will unfortunately be unable to support Mrs Scrivener's resolution.

**Mr Baillot (COM).** — (FR) Mr President, it is now certain that the resources in the 1984 budget will not be adequate to cover our requirements. But are we yet in a position to give an exact figure? Going on past experience we should not rely on any figures given by the Commission, which very often uses them to force through certain policies. Yet again this whole business is being used to mount an offensive against agriculture which has already taken severe punishment under the shoddy agreement of 31 March.

Furthermore there is nothing to help us assess the amount of the shortfall of resources because of fluctuations in the short-term economy and the situation with regard to appropriation commitments.

We therefore find it premature to put forward figures. It would be better to wait until we resume in September when we will have a clearer idea of how things stand in the account books and on the benches, but on the other hand, we should express an opinion on the methods for covering the missing resources.

The Commission is proposing to contract loans from the Member States to be repaid by increasing the rate

of VAT. The Committee on Budgets opposes this plan for various legal and political reasons. We wholly share its view, although we do not agree with its assessment that farmers are to blame for the extra expenditure.

There is no question of the Community stopping payments and of Member States having to fulfil their own financial commitments under the arrangements, in particular in the agricultural sector. To fill the gap in the budget we are in favour of advance payments of funds by the Member States on condition that such payments are deducted from the 1985 budget. This, in our view, is essential in order to have a good grasp of the budget at a time when discussions are just beginning on the 1985 budget. We also consider, of course, that the sums must be divided fairly between the various States.

This whole business is once again adding fuel to the argument which is forever coming up in this chamber that resources could be increased if we abolished all exemptions from Community preference which cost the Community budget more than 3 000 million ECU, or around 20 000 million francs, every year, mainly to the benefit of the United States.

On the other hand expenditure could be restricted by better control of agricultural expenditure, adjusting it to benefit small and medium-sized farms, and by a clearer definition of the criteria for granting and using structural appropriations. By 31 December 1984 scarcely more than 50% of the appropriations will have been used in certain sectors. So something can be done about this and economies can be made starting this very year.

We will go on making this point in every budget debate and we shall continue to do so for as long as is necessary.

Finally, I believe that our budget problems, which have kept on resurfacing to poison the atmosphere in the Community ever since the agreement of 30 May 1980, could be partially resolved if the problem of the British contribution could be solved once and for all, and the only way of doing this is not to give in to Britain's never-ending blackmail.

**Mr Louwes (L).** — (NL) Mr President, on behalf of the Liberal and Democratic Group, I should like to say that we whole heartedly share the views put forward on behalf of the Committee on Budgets by Mrs Scrivener, and I should like to take this opportunity to pass on to her my group's congratulations. For more than a year now, she has been leading the Committee and this House through the budgetary minefield in this new and difficult situation. And let us not forget that 1985 will follow the same pattern. Hats off to her!

My group is very concerned about a lot of things — more than I can possibly discuss in the three minutes



**Louwes**

available to me. One of our major concerns is the attitude of the European Democratic Group, or the Conservatives if you prefer. As far as this matter is concerned, they appear to be on a collision course with the European Parliament. The situation we had yesterday morning, when one of the Conservatives raised the quorum issue, is something I find utterly baffling. I just do not understand the thinking behind that kind of thing. I have here before me a press cutting dealing with the Conservatives' election manifesto in the United Kingdom, which claims that one of their major achievements has been to work out exactly how much money they have got back from the Community kitty. That kind of thing makes me cross and worried about the position of this House and our ability to extricate ourselves from our political and financial problems.

The European Democrats' spokesman complained just now that Mrs Scrivener's motion for a resolution contained no figures. I would have thought that he would have known better. This is after all a motion for a resolution, not a supplementary budget — that is where you can expect to find figures.

Lord Douro went on to talk about an amendment allowing the Commission to borrow enough to cover the shortfall in revenue, but not allowing agricultural over-expenditure to be financed by loans or prepayments. What exactly is the view on the other side of the Channel regarding commitments you have entered into? That surely is a legitimate question. The Community has certain commitments, and nothing has changed in that respect. Something is in the pipeline, but for the time being, we must meet our obligations and finance them. I can tell Lord Douro right here and now that my group will not be voting for his amendment.

A second major concern of ours has to do with the Council of Ministers, which is partly responsible for guaranteeing the future financing of the Community. As far as I am concerned, the Council's mills grind far too slowly. It seems to me that the ministers' actions do not reflect the seriousness of the situation, and that is something which worries me. There is one thing we must make clear, and that is that no money must be diverted from other policy sectors to fill the gap caused by the ministers' inability to reach decisions. My group could not support any such attempt.

Mr President, I only wish I could share the optimism shown by Mr Tugendhat this morning when he presented the 1985 budget.

**Mrs Scamaroni (DEP).** — (FR) The Group of European Progressive Democrats once again denounces the budget submitted by the Commission of the Communities for 1985 as bogus. The Assembly has been deceived. It has expressed its views on a budget which contained from the very beginning the difficulties which now face us. This is intolerable. We thus now

find ourselves forced to dream up solutions to ensure that our income is in line with the expenditure authorized, arising solely from the application of the Treaty.

The EPD Group considers that under no circumstances can the Community afford either politically or legally to cease payments.

That is why, of all the solutions put forward or mentioned up to now, it is that of our rapporteur, Mrs Scrivener, which seems the most realistic and satisfactory to us.

We are thus in favour of the option of advance payments of funds by the Member States on the legal basis of Article 5 of the Treaty. Agricultural expenditure is compulsory, in other words it derives directly from the Treaties. We are under an obligation to carry out this expenditure, which means that it has to be financed, and such expenditure must be financed out of the Community's general budget.

Furthermore, we do not know the probable amount of the deficit. The discrepancy in the estimates is such — up to twice the lowest figure — that it affects our choice of the method to deal with it. If the deficit proves to be 1 000 million ECU, it can be covered by making savings. But if it is as much as 2 330 million ECU for agriculture, another solution must be found.

It is with this in mind that the EPD Group will vote for the report by Mrs Scrivener. My group has asked me to thank her warmly for her difficult work under difficult conditions, involving the drawing up of equally difficult proposals. I hope she will allow me to congratulate her.

**Mrs Castle (S).** — Mr President, this is the main issue of the week and we ought to have been spending a great deal more time on it. The Community has run out of funds because it has failed to control the excesses of the common agricultural policy. Of the shortfall in the 1984 budget of about one-and-a-half billion pounds sterling, over a billion pounds is due to overspending on agriculture, which only goes to show how phoney were the alleged reforms agreed by the Ministers for Agriculture a couple of months ago. This year, far from agricultural spending having been reduced, it is up because the production targets set by the Commission have been exceeded and because the prices fixed have been far too high. According to Commissioner Tugendhat, there is worse to come next year.

We in the British Labour Group cannot accept either the Commission's proposal to cover the gap by raising loans of dubious legality or Mrs Scrivener's proposal that we should cover the gap by committing in advance funds which we do not possess. That is hardly the way to instil a sense of budgetary discipline or to secure agricultural reform. We of the British Labour

## Castle

Group, therefore, have tabled a number of amendments to the Scrivener report which nail the responsibility where it belongs, firmly on agriculture, which reject any proposal to meet the budget deficit by raiding the Regional or Social Funds and which cannot agree to a supplementary budget unless such a budget is designed to bring agricultural spending within the figure for agriculture originally fixed for this budget.

We therefore propose a simple way out of the dilemma, namely — and we have an amendment to this effect — that Member States should be authorized to make good any shortfall in agricultural or other spending from national funds. The only way we shall ever get any discipline into this agricultural field is if, when our targets are exceeded, the national exchequers have to bear the burden of it. Then we might at last begin to get some reform.

Lord Douro said that he thought it was far too early in the year for us to be reaching decisions; they ought to be left to the new Parliament. I think it would be outrageous to leave these decisions until after the elections on 14 June. The people of Europe need to know now where their governments stand on this issue. I call on Mrs Thatcher to toughen her stand and categorically refuse to make any increase in resources available, not just until the British rebate has been settled — which she is now holding out as her condition — but until there has been fundamental reform in the common agricultural policy. That is the test as to whether or not this Community can survive or whether it is going to go down in a shambles of budgetary indiscipline.

**Mr de Courcy Ling (ED).** — Mr President, a point of order. Mrs Castle referred to the British Labour Group. I am not quite sure what the British Labour Group is. I am aware that there is a European Socialist Group. There is a European Socialist Group, but is there a British Labour Group in this House, Mr President, or not and was she speaking for the Socialist Group?

**President.** — That is not a point of order. Keep your local battles at home.

**Mr Notenboom (PPE).** — (NL) Mr President, I too should like to add a personal word of thanks to the strong lady, Mrs Scrivener, who has had such a burden placed by us on her shoulders, and who has been so untiring in her commitment to budgetary matters.

It is wrong to say — as Lord Douro did just now — that it is far too early. It is true that we have no figures as yet, but they belong to an amending budget. As far as the legal basis is concerned, though, it is up to this House to express its opinion now and no later, otherwise we shall be giving the Council of Ministers four months to excuse their inability to reach decisions by

the fact that Parliament has failed to state its opinion. The fact is that, if we fail to do so today, we shall have to wait until September to express our opinion, thus giving the Council four months to pass the buck to us. As right-thinking Parliamentarians, Lord Douro, that is something we cannot do.

Mrs Scrivener is aware that I am not very happy about the content of the report. But that does not mean that I shall be voting against it — I just feel that a word of explanation would be in order. The fact that this solution — i.e. advance payments — has been chosen as that most favoured by this House runs the risk of giving the impression that Article 200 of the EEC Treaty was invalid, and effectively did not exist. My contribution to this debate is intended to do away with this misunderstanding. I am not speaking against the report as such, nor — as I said just now — shall I be voting against it. None the less, we must never give the impression that Article 200 of the EEC Treaty had ceased to exist. The fact is that the said Article was deliberately retained when 100% own resources financing was introduced with the provisional 1% ceiling. Article 200 did not disappear at that time, and it would in theory be applied again now, but Parliament has chosen a different approach which I am not contesting here. It would be a great shame, though, if the importance of Article 200 were to be neglected, because it is after all there to ensure that the Community remains solvent.

All the stories about the Community being bankrupt are not true. The Community is going through a bad time at the moment, politically it is in a crisis, but financially it is not bankrupt and cannot become bankrupt. It just so happens that we have here today Mr Ortoli, the borrowing man, and no one knows better than he does that the fact that the European Investment Bank and the Community can borrow money at advantageous conditions in such places as America is thanks to the solvency of our budget, which rests in turn on the fact that, apart from own resources, we can if necessary have recourse to another source of finance, like Article 200. This fact of solvency cover is something we should not forget. I have no intention whatsoever of seeking to amend this state of affairs; I merely wish to get rid of the impression that Article 200 may have become unusable. That is the most important thing I wanted to say.

Otherwise the views of my group have been expressed by Mr Langes. As a budget person, I am always in favour of budgetary rigour at all times — i.e. not just at a time of crisis. When things get difficult, it is quite right and proper to take a harder look at the budget. Is all the expenditure we are incurring in 1984 strictly necessary? It is quite right to take a close look before spending a sum of money which will have to be financed later on but — along with all the Members who have already adopted the same stance — I object most strongly to any attempt on the part of certain members of the Council of Ministers — not the Com-

## Notenboom

mission — to do this at the expense of the Social Fund and the Regional Fund. This is not a new idea. A number of people have already said the same thing but I should like to avoid any misunderstanding on this count, especially as my protests concern ministers to whom I feel a certain political allegiance.

In so doing, they would be jeopardizing the new policy sectors in Europe, which would boil down in effect to an attempt to interfere with the powers which this House has used to initiate precisely that new policy. It is unacceptable — not only just before the elections, but also after the elections — for any attempt to be made to restrict the few powers that Parliament has. The ministers had better not make any moves in this direction, otherwise they will meet with stern opposition from me.

Most of the other points have already been made by Mr Langes, and to conclude, Mr President, I should just like to take this last opportunity — after all, the report under my name which is on the agenda for tomorrow will not be debated — to thank Mr Tugendhat for all he has done over the years. He said this morning that this would be his last budget, and this will in fact be my last speech because I shall not be a Member of the new Parliament. I should like to assure Mr Tugendhat of my heartfelt respect and friendship, which does not necessarily mean — as he well knows — that I have applauded each and every political action of his in the past. We have on occasion been of very differing opinions indeed, but that has never affected my respect for him, and I should like to thank him for all he has done over the years for the European budget.

**Mr Tugendhat, Vice-President of the Commission.** — Mr President, I shall go as quickly as I can because I know that you have a lot of business to get through and my colleague also needs to say a few words before the vote.

The document containing the Commission's proposal, COM(84) 250, sets out in detail the Commission's analysis of the potential additional expenditure needs of the Community. I myself explained the background to the figures to the Committee on Budgets on 18 April. I will not therefore take up the time of the House by going into the details or the background. I should, however, like to emphasize that the Commission will be presenting two initiatives in connection with this request. The first which is before the House today is the proposal for a legal base under an Article 235 regulation on which Parliament is asked in its legislative capacity to give an opinion. The second initiative which the Commission will present to the budget authority in time for consideration by Parliament in September will be a preliminary draft supplementary and rectifying budget in which the specific expenditure and revenue proposals will be incorporated. I make this point in part to emphasize that no

changes to the adopted budget for 1984, whether in relation to revenue or expenditure can, or will be made, without the approval of Parliament in its role as one of the two co-equal halves of the budget authority.

The proposal to which Mrs Scrivener's report is addressed is aimed at providing the legal authority for such budgetary changes to be introduced, should the two halves of the budget authority so decide. The Commission believes that given the circumstances in which the requirement for additional financing in 1984 has arisen, it is only right and proper that the Member States themselves should be asked to make extra resources available. Mrs Scrivener's report endorses this view. The amendments proposed to it, on which I should now like briefly to comment, relate to the legal means by which, and the terms under which, such resources should be made available. Amendments Nos 1 and 2 of her report concern specifically the legal base. It is suggested that reference should be made to Articles 5, 199 and 203(10), of the Treaty, for the establishment of a base.

The Commission sees no difficulty about including references to these articles as such, but we do not think that on their own they will suffice, and it was for this reason that we proposed recourse to Article 235 as well. None of the other three articles in question provides either on its own, or in combination with the other two, a sufficiently clear and binding legal obligation upon the Member States to take the action which we are now asking of them namely to make resources available to the Community other than the own resources which have been established under Article 201.

The Commission believes, however, that Article 235 of the Treaty provides the appropriate justification for such a request. It does not seem wise to the Commission, given the urgency of the problem, to base a proposal on an instrument whose own legal base is not solidly established.

I should add that the European Court has in a number of judgments taken a particularly restrictive view of the powers which have been transferred to the Community under the Treaty of Rome. The essence of the Court's doctrine is that an article of the Treaty only provides a basis of action if it specifically stipulates which Community institution should take the action concerned and under what procedure. None of the three articles mentioned in Mrs Scrivener's report would seem likely, on the basis of past rulings, to be regarded by the Court as justifying the imposition on the Member States of the specific obligation involved.

Amendments Nos 3 and 4 seek to introduce the notion of advances on the Community's own resources, to remove the reference to any amount for the supplementary revenues to be made available, and to remove the provision for interest to be paid on these supple-

**Tugendhat**

mentary revenues. As regards the use of the term 'advances', the Commission certainly sees no difficulty and is, in fact, quite prepared to use this term rather than the term 'loan'. The essential attributions of the two concepts are the same, namely that the resources concerned shall be entered in the budget as revenues, shall be provided by the Member States and shall be divided between them in accordance with their shares in the Community's VAT base and that the repayments shall be made in eight half-yearly tranches beginning on 30 June 1986. We do, however, think it would be unrealistic in providing for such advances not to specify any upper limit beyond which they could not legally be called up.

So far as the question of interest is concerned, the Commission proposed its payment for two reasons: firstly, in the belief that it might make it easier to obtain the resources concerned, and secondly, because it seemed coherent with our proposal that the Commission's own bank accounts in the Member States should bear interest. But we recognize that the arguments for and against the payment of interest are finely balanced and we should not object to a change in our proposal in this sense, particularly if such a change were to facilitate its early passage.

Amendment No 5 suppresses the provisions for an implementing regulation in respect of the proposed decision. It may be that in the event, particularly if there is no provision for interest to be paid, no such implementing regulation will be needed, but the possibility of using such a regulation in order to establish the technical details of the operation of an instrument of this kind, would be consistent with normal Community practice in this field.

The Commission therefore doubts the wisdom of precluding it at this stage.

These, Mr President, are the Commission's comments on the amendments proposed in Mrs Scrivener's report. On the resolution itself, I would only say that some of the reproaches directed, explicitly or implicitly, at the Commission seem to be based on a misunderstanding. It is not reasonable to blame the Commission for delay or hesitation in proposing new own-resources. The present Commission presented its first ideas on the subject in February 1983 and tabled a formal proposal on 6 May of that year, i.e. more than 12 months ago. Parliament itself took six months before delivering an opinion on our proposal and the Council is taking even longer.

Nor is it fair to imply that the Commission's proposals would be a check on Parliament's budgetary decisions. On the contrary, our proposal is aimed at ensuring the full and responsible execution of all existing Community policies, including those to which Parliament has attached a particular priority. The President of the Commission has stated, and I can only repeat today, that the Commission is not prepared to sacrifice the

Community's non-agricultural policies to cover an overrun on the EAGGF (Guarantee). The decisions we have taken concerning the execution of the 1984 budget, on which I spoke earlier today, are entirely consistent with that aim.

Mr President, just before I conclude I should like, if I may, to make one personal remark. I paid tribute this morning to the achievements of Mr Lange in the course of his long career in this House in the budgetary field. Mr Notenboom is, I think, the member of his party who has played the most prominent and leading role. He has always been a force for moderation and constructiveness in some of the very difficult issues with which we have had to deal. I regard myself as moderate and constructive, but as he said, this has not always led to agreement between us. Nevertheless, the disagreements have, I think, always been based on a respect for the other's position and on a willingness to appreciate that there is more than one way of solving a problem.

I wish him a very happy retirement. I shall miss him in the new Parliament, I am sure his party will as well.

*(Applause)*

**Lord Douro (ED).** — On a point of order, could I ask when you propose to set the deadline for amendments to the Scrivener report?

**President.** — That has already been done.

**Lord Douro (ED).** — Could I ask when it was done, because I have been here most of the afternoon and I did not hear it?

**President.** — It was fixed for 4 o'clock today.

**Lord Douro (ED).** — Mr President, could I ask *when* it was fixed, because certainly after we voted to take the Scrivener resolution, the Chair did not make any announcement about the time-limits for amendments.

**President.** — My information is that the Chair announced it.

**Lord Douro (ED).** — Well, maybe later you could supply me with the transcript.

**President.** — The debate is closed.

The vote will be taken tomorrow at 3.30 p.m.

### 11. *Economic situation (continuation)*

**President.** — The next item is the continuation of the debate on the report (Doc. 1-210/84) by Sir Brandon Rhys-Williams.

**Mr Ryan (PPE).** — Mr President, it is good that at this final part-session of the first directly elected European Parliament we can at long last welcome the resurgence of economic activity throughout Europe. A growth-rate of 2% as forecast is probably on the cautious side. Certainly it could be improved upon if EEC Member States were to get rid once and for all of the many practices and measures which restrict trade and distort competition in Europe.

When Europeans injure themselves by maintaining obstacles to free trade within the Community, it is small wonder that Europe's share of world trade is in constant decline. It is deplorable that 11% of European workers should be unemployed while the United States and Japan manufacture most of Europe's requirements of videos, cameras and home computers, to name but a few products. Europe has the technical skills and investment capital to supply all our own manufactured goods. All that is lacking is the will-power.

Much of Europe's economic woes are attributable to the size of national government deficits incurred for the purpose of sustaining living standards higher than earned in response to electoral demand. Now along with the burden of servicing enormous debts, governments also have to carry high social-welfare expenditure in support of the unemployed.

In the case of my own country, Ireland, I am sure it would be a matter of concern to you too, Mr President, that the annual interest bill on foreign loans taken over a five-year period equals the annual cash benefits to Ireland from the European Economic Community. Primary responsibility for this intolerable financial mess lies with the political party which formed Ireland's government from 1977 to 1981. However, the Commission and the Council of Ministers must share some of the blame for this bizarre situation. I am sorry to raise this once again in the presence of Mr Ortoli; he has heard me speak about this before, but I am still waiting for an answer from him and the Commission as to why this should have happened.

The Commission culpably failed to insist that Ireland observe that solemn condition attached to the Community's first oil-crisis balance-of-payments loan to Ireland in 1976 — namely, that the rate of government borrowing be progressively reduced. It is notable and deplorable that the Commission has totally failed to furnish any justification for this grave sin of omission despite calls in this Parliament, and particularly calls

from the Committee on Budgetary Control. Calls from the Commission for the convergence of Member States economic policies ring hollow in the light of the Commission's failure to use the legal power available to it to stop Ireland going on a reckless spending spree from 1977 to 1981. The hangover from this financial debauchery will lie heavily on Ireland for many years to come.

Europe's poor performance when compared with the United States, Japan and non-EEC Scandinavia should give us food for thought. Part of the cause is to be found in the non-functioning of Community policies, because nation-States are preferring isolationist, protectionist action to European-wide solutions. The timidity of the Commission in its role of economic overseer of the Community is most disappointing. Parliament has often identified this failure on the Commission's part as one of the reasons for the enormous divergence in the economic performance of Member States. It is to be hoped that the Commission will, in future, use its power of recommendation in the economic field and get parliamentary support for so doing.

The European Monetary System is one of Europe's success stories; but until such time as sterling joins the system its success will be limited. The dominance of the US dollar and the malign effect of high interest-rates in the USA will continue until a European currency establishes itself across the world. Early work should be done to bring sterling within the EMS so as to remove one of the unnecessary causes of instability within Europe and to develop an integrated European capital market.

I disagree with Sir Brandon's criticism of the optimism in the Commission's communication on the economic situation. I think we have had a surfeit of pessimism and hesitation, which has depressed investment and economic activity for too long. There is no reason why a wealthy, technologically advanced Europe should lag behind other industrially developed nations. All that is needed is for us to eradicate the artificial nationalist barriers to free trade within Europe and to implement an industrial policy for all Europe comparable to the common agricultural policy. There is no other way to remedy the tragic plight of Europe's unemployed. Europe does not need national policies which waste resources in attempting unsuccessfully to protect old jobs which inevitably will go. We need Community policies which will create new jobs. Above all, we do not need a return to the national selfishness expressed just a few minutes ago by Mrs Castle who is opposed to the successful common agricultural policy merely because of the insignificant cost to the UK taxpayer of supporting their small farming community, while she wants European aid for UK's large industrial sector.

Let us in these closing days of this Parliament try to recapture the idealism and generosity of the European movement which seeks a common improved standard of living for all!

## IN THE CHAIR: LADY ELLES

*Vice-President*

**Mr Ortoli, Vice-President of the Commission.** — (FR) Madam President, circumstances always require one to be brief when talking of the economy. I shall endeavour to be so.

First of all I should like to thank Sir Brandon Rhys Williams for all the work he has done and to tell him how much we regret the departure of an able, courteous and committed Member.

Secondly, I shall refrain from commenting on the economic situation except to endorse the opinion of Sir Brandon Rhys Williams. I do not think we can deny that the recovery has begun. And since we need confidence, let us at least acknowledge that this is the case. This does not mean that there are no problems. They stem from the international environment and changes in our own economies.

Thirdly, I shall make a few very short comments on the report itself.

Yes, we are currently examining in greater detail the conditions for taking action on convergence. Is it possible to introduce a convergence indicator? We are examining ways of adopting a new approach to medium-term problems.

I shall not go back over all the monetary and financial matters. The Commission has always taken the view both here and with the Council that the pound should come into the European Monetary System. Our view is that we must strengthen the Monetary System, and I am quite hopeful about achieving real financial integration: financial services, the free movement of capital and equity capital are the proposals on the table. The same is true of the new technologies — *Esprit* is already a reality — and telecommunications, our proposals for which have been favourably received in the Council of Ministers.

Finally I would mention all the action which we can take in relation to the internal market, since we all agree that making the best of the continental dimension is a major element in the success of the European undertaking.

Having said that, Mr President, allow me to add two final remarks. They concern the observations made on the problems facing the Commission and on the tactics or approach to be adopted in relation to the economy.

I heard Mr von Bismarck say that he regretted the action taken by the Commission. I was surprised to hear this because up to now he has always said in every debate that he approved of the action taken by the

Commission. But I will admit that the circumstances do call for some explanation. I should like to point out that it is inaccurate to say that we failed to underline clearly the crucial role of the fight against inflation, or that we have failed to use our powers to make recommendations or proposals. After all, when there was talk of indexation or the budget, the need to maintain and then to reduce its size, to reduce the deficit and to change the structure, we were among the first to lend our support.

My second remark concerns the observations made on the need for short-term economic recovery. I think that the real problem today lies in obtaining all the conditions necessary for lasting recovery, and not in attempting to stimulate demand artificially. We know what those conditions are. We must succeed with our adjustment policies; they are the way forward, we can do no other. The monetary system must be consolidated, and we the new Parliament and ourselves, must do our utmost to achieve it. We must make the most of the continental dimension, and finally, the undertaking intended to make the European economy more flexible must be pursued and must succeed.

In conclusion, Madam President, I would point out that in making this last speech I am not pessimistic. I am not one of these 'Euro-pessimists'.

There may be cause for concern when we see that we are still quarreling about a number of problems, but I believe that Europe realises that it must change its spots. I believe that Europe realises that it must be a continent. I believe that it realises that it needs to be flexible. And I believe that we are all eager for the new technologies. So let us not regard ourselves as having joined a battle that is already lost, but, on the contrary, as soldiers burdened with old armour but determined to win the next war.

*(Applause)*

**Sir Brandon Rhys Williams (ED), rapporteur.** — Madam President, I would like particularly to thank Mr Ortoli for his kind personal remarks. May I say that Mr Ortoli has won an admirable place in European financial history if only by giving his name to the important Ortoli facility. While he remains a member of the Commission, I trust he will continue with redoubled vigour to strive to extend still further the capital dimension of Community activity and, in particular, that he will work to achieve the full integration of the European market for capital.

**President.** — The debate is closed.

The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

If I may say so from the Chair, as a colleague of Sir Brandon, that he has been a Member of this Parlia-

**President**

ment since 1973, since the United Kingdom entered the European Community and I am sure it would be your wish from all sides of the House that we wish him every success in the United Kingdom, where he will be serving in his own Parliament.

*(Applause)*

12. Votes<sup>1</sup>

MAIJ-WEGGEN REPORT (Doc. 1-214/84  
"EQUALITY OF TREATMENT FOR MEN  
AND WOMEN")

*Proposal for a directive*

**Mr Patterson (ED).** — Madam President, could you please clarify the position of Amendments 14, 15, 16 and 17? These are clearly a set of amendments which belong together, and yet in the English version some of them are said to refer to the proposal for a directive and some of them to the motion for a resolution. They cannot do both. They must do one or the other.

**President.** — Thank you, Mr Patterson, for raising that issue. I understand there has been an error in the English translation, and they refer to the resolution and not to the directive.

That is my information.

**Mr Patterson (ED).** — Madam President, that is curious. I have checked with the Secretariat, and they think the reference is to the proposal for a directive, because there is not in fact a Recital D in the resolution but there is in the proposal for a directive. Perhaps, as Mrs Maij-Weggen has now arrived, she could clarify the situation.

**President.** — Mr Patterson, on page 16 of the English text of Doc. 1-214/84 which I have before me. I do find in the preamble a recital D. As I understand it, it is this paragraph the amendments refer to. Perhaps Mrs Maij-Weggen would like to clarify this problem.

**Mrs Maij-Weggen (PPE), rapporteur.** — *(NL)* Madam President, I have had a look at the different languages. From the English text it appears that these amendments have been tabled on the directive while the other languages say they are amendments to the resolution. According to the author, however, they should

refer to the resolution and not to the directive. The English version is therefore wrong.

**SQUARCIALUPI REPORT (Doc. 1-243/84  
'FOODSTUFFS')**

*After the rejection of the proposal for a directive*

**President.** — Rule 35(1) of the Rules of Procedure says:

If a Commission proposal fails to secure a majority of the votes cast, the President shall, before Parliament votes on the motion for a resolution, request the Commission to withdraw the proposal.

I must therefore ask the Commissioner what he wants to do.

**Mr Narjes, Member of the Commission.** — *(DE)* The Commission will consider the matter.

**Mrs Squarcialupi (COM), rapporteur.** — *(IT)* Madam President, this vote is quite surprising because apart from one or two points there was no clear position taken in committee, especially by the Conservatives. I think the groups should at least indicate what their ultimate intentions are and not spring surprises here in the House in this way. Perhaps they are proud of themselves now but it is democracy that is suffering, and I mean the European consumers for whom this was supposed to be a present from the Commission and from Parliament as well. This is a very bad way in which to face the European consumers. I trust they will be able to draw their own conclusions when it comes to voting.

*(Applause)*

**President.** — Mrs Squarcialupi, you saw the result of the vote of this House, which was made quite clear by the electronic check. Under Rule 35(3), if the Commission does not withdraw its proposal — which I understand is the situation at the moment, because it has merely agreed to look at it — Parliament may decide not to vote on the motion for a resolution and to refer the matter back to the committee responsible.

**Mrs Squarcialupi (COM), rapporteur.** — *(IT)* Madam President, I have not looked at the Rules of Procedure because I was not expecting this. However, I am going to withdraw the motion for a resolution.

**President.** — In that case Mrs Squarcialupi withdraws the motion for a resolution, because clearly we cannot

<sup>1</sup> See Annex I.

**President**

have a vote on the resolution as it stands. It will now go back to committee.

**LANGE REPORT (Doc. 1-247/84 'BUDGET DISCIPLINE AND THE FUTURE FINANCING OF THE COMMUNITY')**

**Mr Lange (S), rapporteur.** — (DE) Before we move on to the vote, Madam President, I must point out that there are two references in the footnote to the motion for a resolution and that both are about reports by Mr Arndt: the fourth indent of the footnote and the seventh, beginning *Growth in agricultural expenditure: Arndt report*. Mistakes have crept in, in the sense that the wrong official journals have been quoted. The fourth indent should read:

Arndt report on the future financing of the Community, OJ C 342 of 19 December 1983, p. 37

and the seventh indent should read:

Growth in agricultural expenditure: Arndt reports, OJ C 161 of 20 June 1983, p. 84, and OJ C 342 of 19 December 1983, p. 37.

The word *reports* should be in the plural. The references in the footnote would then be correct and this would render redundant — if I may mention it now — the amendment tabled by the European Democratic Group. I would ask for this amendment to be withdrawn because everything that is asked for is contained in the footnote and the references. If the amendment is not withdrawn, then I must ask the House to reject it. The point is that if we did this for one report which we have quoted we should do the same for the other reports. We have to be consistent. Please ask the European Democratic Group if they are going to withdraw their amendment, Madam President — otherwise my recommendation is that it be rejected.

**President.** — Thank you, Mr Lange, I will ask Lord Douro if he agrees.

**Lord Douro (ED).** — Madam President, even though Mr Lange, as always, is very persuasive, I feel we must retain our amendment.

**13. Articles 85 and 86 of the Treaty (maritime transport)**

**President.** — The next item is the interim report (Doc. 1-249/84), by Mr Nyborg, on behalf of the Committee on Monetary Affairs on

the proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-722/81 — COM(81) 423 finals) for a regulation laying down detailed rules for the

application of Articles 85 and 86 of the Treaty to maritime transport (competition provisions).

**Mr Nyborg (DEP), rapporteur.** — (DA) Madam President, the basis for the Council's consultation of the European Parliament is still the Commission's proposal of 16 October 1981 on the laying down of detailed rules for the application of Articles 85 and 86 of the Treaty to maritime transport. However, since then this text has been heavily amended by the Council, and the texts now being discussed by the Council's working parties and the Commission differ so much from the original proposal that the European Parliament cannot give a definitive opinion at this point because it would be based on entirely the wrong premises. It is essential for a regulation such as this to take into account experience gained in practice in the application of the UN Convention of 6 April 1984, the 'UNCTAD code' of conduct for liner conferences, which the Member States accepted in adopting the Council Regulation of 15 May 1979 which came into force on 1 January 1984.

Negotiations are now taking place between the European maritime nations and the USA, and these must be concluded before any final competition rules can be laid down for European maritime transport. This is why the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs has agreed to submit an interim report without making specific amendments to the proposal for a regulation. The Committee's reason for doing this is to ensure that Parliament retains the right to express an opinion on a truly up-to-date document. The Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs would therefore like Parliament to ask the Commission and Council to look into the general comments in the report, draw up a completely new proposal reflecting the present situation and refer that to Parliament for a definitive opinion.

The Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs adopted the draft interim report with a few editorial changes, because the Committee did not want at this point to go into a detailed investigation of the Commission's proposal. We wanted to wait for a definitive proposal from the Commission.

As there are, furthermore, no concrete suggestions for amendments to the text of the regulation in the report, I should now like to make some brief comments on one or two individual points in the various articles.

Item 6 of the motion for a resolution recommends an amendment to the definition of bulk transports, as the definition suggested by the Commission is not clear. Bulk transports should be excluded from the scope of the regulation, as free competition already obtains here. The Committee feels that the following situation should be included in the definition: cases where shipping lines transport bulk cargo outside the conference tariff, as an individual rate is negotiated for such cargo with the shipper concerned.



## Nyborg

The definition of a liner conference in Article 3 should, in the Committee's opinion, be brought into line with the definition in the UN code. The final report should therefore propose the use of this definition with a rider to the effect that the carrying of passengers is included.

Articles 4 and 5 should also be brought into line with the provisions in the UN Code, and the two articles should be combined under the heading obligations attaching to exemption'. For the final report there will of course have to be a detailed review of the latest amendments to the proposal.

With reference to sanctions in Article 7, it appears that the introduction of fines at a particular stage in the sanction procedure is now generally accepted, and this is as it should be. On no account should any provision be included for the withdrawal of a block exemption.

There are no real comments to make on the other articles, except that the procedural rules must in due course naturally be brought into line with the substantive rules.

Madam President, nine amendments to the report have been tabled, and I should of course like to comment on them when they come to be voted on. I would simply say now that I am glad that the people who have tabled the amendments are in agreement with the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs that an interim report is the right way to go about things at this stage. I do feel that most of the amendments really have more to do with general transport policy and maritime transport than with this special report which deals only with competition as such. But I shall discuss the individual amendments when we get to that point, and I recommend you to adopt the report.

**Mr Papantoniou (S).** — (GR) The interim report by Mr Nyborg on the application of Articles 85 and 86 of the Treaty of Rome to maritime transport contains many positive points, mainly as regards the approval of the Commission's proposal for a regulation, but it does not lay sufficient stress on the need for real changes in the way in which maritime transport is conducted, particularly as regards conferences, in order to ensure that there is genuine competition in this sector in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Treaty of Rome.

It will obviously have to be made clear that the Community is under an obligation to apply Article 85 and 86 of the Treaty of Rome to maritime transport, at the same time being sure to take account of the requirements of a common policy in this field, and that any further delay in the adoption of the relevant regulation amounts to a breach of the Treaty. In particular, as regards the admission of new members to the conferences, the restrictions which are unnecessarily imposed must be reduced in accordance with the Treaty of

Rome and, more generally, objective criteria must be laid down for dealing with applications for admission. Care must also be taken to protect independent shippers from the activities of third countries or even of the conferences themselves, which distort competition and hinder the operation of independent shippers and their access to the shipping trade.

Lastly, Mr President, as regards bulk transports, it is proving difficult to find a mutually acceptable definition. This is yet another reason why such bulk transports should be excluded — at least in the initial stage — from the regulation, which will have to be restricted to maritime transport by scheduled carriers.

These reservations are contained in the amendments I have tabled to the Nyborg report. The Greek Socialists consider that the adoption of the guidelines contained in these amendments is an essential precondition if genuine competition is to prevail in maritime transport.

For this reason, unless the amendments are adopted, we shall abstain from voting on the Nyborg report.

**Mr Blumenfeld (PPE).** — (DE) Madam President, we should, I think, be grateful to Mr Nyborg for presenting what he himself has called an interim report representing several years' work. I should like to stress this idea of an interim report, because neither the Commission nor this House have so far either devoted the necessary detailed attention to questions of European maritime and merchant shipping policy or taken any specific decisions at all on questions of shipping policy, despite the fact that this is undoubtedly essential in the light of the competition aspects described by the rapporteur on behalf of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs.

There are two things I should like to say. If the European Community fails, over the coming years and decades, to defend itself against distortions of competition from the state-trading countries and shipping flying flags of convenience or of the state-trading countries, great damage will be suffered by the productive sectors of the European economy. I think it absolutely essential — if I may say so on behalf of my Group — for us to try, over the coming months and years, to formulate a genuinely European shipping policy. Just for the record, I should like to state that bulk transport or bulk shipping must be excluded, and not brought into line with the liner conferences and guidelines which are in force today.

We believe that the House can support a number of the amendments tabled by our Group, with reference also to Article 6 of the report referred to by the rapporteur. I must say that Mr Nyborg's formulation does not seem to me to be particularly clear; in fact, it seems just as unclear as what we have had hitherto. I therefore feel that we should give our support to Mr Papantoniou's amendment.

### Blumenfeld

I should like to conclude by saying that this subject is so important that we should charge the Commission and ourselves with the job of defining the European shipping policy over the coming year with a view to putting up some opposition to the distorted competition from outside.

**Sir Brandon Rhys Williams (ED).** — Mr Welsh has recommended that I should make the following remarks on behalf of the European Democratic Group.

We are generally in favour of the Nyborg report in that we believe that the competition rules should be applied to shipping with suitable modifications to suit the special circumstances of shipping. We do not want to put Community ship owners at a disadvantage *vis-à-vis* their competition and we do not want to have unnecessary conflicts between the Community regulation and the UN code of practice.

This is an interim report which contains useful guidelines for the Commission in framing its revised proposals. We expect the Commission to introduce these as soon as possible and the Council to refer them to the next Parliament for a definitive opinion. Because we wish to strengthen the competitive aspects of the resolution we will vote for the majority of Mr Papantoniou's amendments.

**Mrs Théobald-Paoli (S).** — (FR) Ladies and gentlemen, it has to be admitted that despite our efforts in the field of maritime transport, a few rough drafts of common action do not add up to a coherent European policy in Europe. The Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc, Japan and the United States all have their fleets firmly in hand to ensure that they have complete control of shipping, with trade routes extending worldwide. In Korea and Taiwan, the State controls the regular routes.

Is the European Community to stand by and watch the traditional shipping companies of its Member States gradually decline and disappear? It would be the only major maritime economic power to have completely surrendered its shipping to other powers and to companies, often stateless, sailing under cover of so-called flags of convenience. This would be very dangerous and only action at Community level can prevent it. We can defend ourselves without encroaching on the traditional freedom of the seas which is dear to us all. By all means, let us apply Articles 85 and 86 of the Treaty of Rome, but let us also apply the UNCTAD 'Code of Conduct' and let us combat unfair competition.

The European Institutions need to move fast, concentrating on two main objectives. Firstly, North-South cooperation. In the spirit of the code of conduct of the maritime conferences, Europe has everything to gain by cooperating with its traditional allies in the estab-

lishment by UNCTAD of a clearly defined system. We should try to avoid penalizing firms which cooperate with our traditional allies, in particular the African states.

The second objective is the stabilization of maritime transport. The conferences afford a measure of stabilization. Let us not jeopardize a system which has proved itself, let us maintain competition, but insist that it is fair. Regulations to prevent destabilizing actions are called for.

In the maritime sector nothing just happens, and the decisions we are taking or not taking will determine the future for many years to come. Let us then adopt Mr Nyborg's report, even if it does not entirely meet all our wishes for the future, provided that it is not distorted by amendments, apart from Amendment No 1, which we accept.

**Miss Hooper (ED).** — Madam President, I also welcome the endorsement given by Mr Nyborg's report to the extension of competition policy to shipping, especially as my constituency of Liverpool would benefit greatly from a more active Community shipping policy.

In speaking to the two amendments tabled by Andrew Pearce and myself, I must explain that we realize that, if adopted, these amendments would extend the scope of the report, but since this is, as Mr Nyborg has explained, an interim report, we feel able to do so. Both amendments arise out of circumstances obtaining in the port of Liverpool where, firstly, shipping is penalized by having to pay higher port dues than in other Community ports where the charges are subsidized by either local or national governments. We seek to prevent this distortion by requesting the removal of subsidies in certain Community ports in accordance with Article 85 of the Treaty of Rome.

The other amendment refers to a disturbing trend amongst Community ship owners to move away from home ports to flags of convenience. We ask that the circumstances giving rise to this situation be fully investigated.

Incidentally, the English version of Amendment No 2 refers to the introduction of a new Article 8(a). This, of course, should read 'new Article 8(b)'.

I beg the House to support these amendments.

**Mr Andriessen, Member of the Commission.** — (NL) Madam President, there is insufficient time in this debate on what is in itself an extremely important matter for me to go into detail on a number of points made in Mr Nyborg's explanatory statement, and so I shall comment very briefly on a number of points which seem to me to be of most importance at this stage of the discussion.

**Andriessen**

First of all, I very much welcome the fact that, thanks to the activities of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs, and Mr Nyborg in particular, we have an opportunity at this last meeting of Parliament to discuss this question. The Commission has always taken the view that we needed a regulation of our own on competition conditions in maritime transport along with, and as an essential complement to, the UN code. We therefore regard the report produced by Mr Nyborg as support for our policy and as encouragement to try to get the Council to apply the competition policy rules to maritime transport. But that does not alter the fact, Madam President, that, although the report has been referred to here as an interim report, the Commission is inclined to give it somewhat more character. Although we do not at present have an amended proposal before us, to get things moving in the Council's working party, certain ideas and possible starting points have been assumed by the Commission as a working hypothesis for possible changes to our regulation. Obviously — and this is a point I would stress — should the Commission decide to make substantial changes to its proposal, Parliament will be informed of those changes and have every opportunity to give its opinion on them if it wishes to do so.

Clearly, things have not remained static in the subject we are discussing today since our proposal was made in 1981. Important changes have taken place. The UN code has now come into force. Discussions have been held with the United States, and clearly, any subject as important as this is bound to be affected by that kind of event. That is why I have promised that the Commission will keep Parliament fully informed on the matter.

Madam President, I must say that the Commission regards the motion for a resolution as support for its policy, although in paragraph 6, dealing with the definition of what is meant by bulk transport, I cannot say finally what the Commission's attitude is. We are at the moment engaged in discussion on what would be the best formulation and definition. So we do not yet have a final position on this question, and all I can say is that we shall take account of the ideas put forward in the texts in our future discussions, and will of course keep Parliament informed as to what is finally decided.

Madam President, I am fully aware that the current practices in international maritime transport — and especially ships sailing under flags of convenience — are bound to bring about serious distortions in competition conditions. I therefore quite appreciate that the European Parliament wishes to address itself to this matter. Perhaps I may point out that the options open to the Commission to combat this phenomenon are very restricted, and people should therefore not perhaps expect too much in the way of results from the Commission in the short term.

Having said that, Madam President, I should like to conclude by saying that the support forthcoming from

this House to the introduction of competition policy in such an important sector as that of maritime transport is seen by the Commission as a positive gesture.

I hope it will be possible — it will certainly not be easy — to get things moving in our consultations with the Council so that the same policy the Community applies to business enterprises can be applied fully to the maritime transport sector.

**President.** — The debate is closed.

The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

**14. Motor Vehicles**

**President.** — The next item is the report by Mr Welsh, (Doc. 1-192/84), on behalf of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs, on the proposal for a block exemption on motor vehicle distribution and servicing agreements.

**Sir Brandon Rhys Williams (ED), deputy rapporteur.** — Madam President, Mr Welsh has asked me to convey his apologies to the House that he is unable to present his report in person. He has asked me to make known his opinions.

The first directly-elected Parliament has taken a close interest in competition policy and particularly the way in which the Commission exercises the powers under Regulation 17/62 to implement the provisions of Article 85 of the Treaty by granting block exemptions for certain classes of agreement. This is an area where the Commission has untrammelled powers, the only recourse being an appeal to the Court of Justice. Moreover, the decisions it makes have considerable impact on commercial activities and thus on the livelihood of thousands, perhaps millions, of citizens. It is Parliament's clear duty to establish its competence in these matters. By its readiness to cooperate, the Commission has recognized the significance of Parliament's role.

These matters are highly contentious and involve a plethora of conflicting interests. Parliament is a microcosm of the range of these interests, and its procedures are calculated to provide the consensus which protects the fundamental concerns of the different groups and at the same time does not allow any one set of interests to overwhelm the others. It is our responsibility to find the essential common ground, having regard to the fact that we represent the totality of the Community, and to express that consensus in the form of political guidelines on which the Commission can base the detailed regulation.

It is Parliament alone that can give the Commission's proposals democratic legitimacy, and I hope that our

**Rhys Williams**

successors will lose no opportunity to build on the foundations that we have laid down; foundations which I am convinced will come to be recognized as one of our most significant achievements.

If Parliament is to assume its responsibilities, it must be prepared to act in a responsible way. Whatever our individual predilections may be, we must seek to arbitrate between the various interests and not become their prisoner. In adopting the resolution before the House, the committee has had to have regard to all the factors and has avoided making revolutionary proposals around which no majority could be built.

As it stands the resolution recommends the Commission to proceed with some genuine liberalization of motor vehicle distribution arrangements, while at the same time recognizing the inevitability and value of the exclusive distribution system. We have been criticized by the consumers for not extending the possibility of parallel imports. However, in the view of the committee, once one has accepted the necessity of the exclusive system, its integrity must be respected, and unrestricted parallel imports would involve its destruction. This represents a basic political judgement, but the possibility of parallel imports between authorized dealers is deliberately left open. On the other hand, we have sought to entrench the right of the consumer to buy a car suitable for use in his country of origins in any part of the Community without penalty in the form of excessive prices or delivery terms.

The way in which some manufacturers and dealers have sought to obstruct the purchase of right-hand drive cars by UK and Irish consumers is quite scandalous, and we note that Article 10 of the draft gives the Commission ample powers to withdraw the exemption from manufacturers who abuse their privileges in this way.

The committee reflected at length on the Commission's proposals to impose a 12% price differential between models sold in different markets and concluded that such an arbitrary limitation was impractical in view of the substantial differences in exchange rates and taxation systems. The Commission is urged to direct its attention to the harmonization of taxation systems between the Member States and thus to remove one of the major underlying distortions of motor vehicle markets.

I, therefore, move the resolution on behalf of the rapporteur, Mr Welsh, on the basis that it represents a balance and a consensus. It endorses the thrust of the Commission's proposal which will bring about a significant degree of liberalization in motor vehicle markets for the benefit of consumers, but not at the expense of the exclusive distribution system which offers real consumer benefits and also supports the viability of motorcar manufacturers and the jobs of their employees. By passing it unamended, Parliament will be showing yet again that it is prepared to shoulder its responsibilities in a responsible way.

I particularly ask for the rejection of Amendments Nos 4 and 5 by Mr Forth which, if passed, would represent a capitulation to the interests of motor manufacturers and would make it difficult for the Commission to proceed with its proposals involving the administration of competition policy in an even-handed way in the interests of all citizens and not in a way that is dictated by powerful, sectoral interests.

**Mr Mihr (S).** — (DE) Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, the Socialist Group welcomes this Commission proposal and the commentary thereon because we believe the time has come to get rid of the legal confusion in this field, which is after all one of the main purposes of this report.

I believe the disagreement with Ford has shown how important it is for us to have a regulation on the problem. There is another point I should like to make though, with regard to the concern expressed by the rapporteur that this Commission proposal might be a case of shutting the stable door after the horse had bolted. The fact is that, instead of seeking more effective tax harmonization, an attempt is being made to achieve a solution by juggling around with prices. In this sector, we are absolutely in favour of tax harmonization, because I am quite sure that that will greatly affect the competition position.

A third important point is reflected in the amendment we have tabled along with Mr Gautier, calling on the Commission to amend the draft regulation so that firms may apply for a specific exemption allowing them to have an exclusive arrangement for the supply of spare parts if they can prove that only such an arrangement can guarantee the required quality standards. In other words, we are very much afraid that total exemption might bring price advantages but might ultimately result in a major collapse as regards the quality of spare parts and especially as regards safety standards. It seems to me that the safety aspect is better under the current situation. Otherwise, we shall be supporting this proposal.

**Mr Christopher Jackson (ED).** — Some four years ago a car trader in Herne Bay in Kent complained to me that he was being prevented from importing Belgian-assembled Morris Minis, each of which, when converted to right-hand drive, could be sold for £ 400 less than the same car bought directly in Britain. The Commission agreed that this blockage to trade infringed the Treaty, and for me this was the start of a long trail leading to the regulation we are considering today. At one stage, having discovered that Britain's absurdly high car prices were costing consumers and Britain's balance of payments an unnecessary £ 800 million a year, I appealed to the Prime Minister with the result that the facility for personal car imports which was being attacked, was retained.

**Jackson**

But my constant ally in the fight to give consumers a fair deal in respect of cars has been the Commission and I want to pay tribute tonight to them and particularly to Commissioner Andriessen for fighting to create what this Parliament has demanded, namely the right for every Community citizen to be able to buy the car of his choice where he wishes within the European Community. Manufacturers have complained that national price controls on cars are unfair and distort the market, and I agree, but they should challenge this in the Court of Justice. Their complaint about differential tax rates is less well-founded and as for currency fluctuations, well, this is something that every manufacturer has to cope with, and I personally look forward to the day when we have a common currency.

Madam President, I think this is an excellent report which my group will support, but I personally cannot agree with paragraph 4 and so I ask the House to support my amendment to this, drawn up in conjunction with the European Consumers' Union. My amendment, in effect, supports the Commission's original text, which allows the continuation of parallel imports, though one must add, that if prices are reasonably in line, there will be no need for this, though they are a further defence of the consumer.

Madam President, this is a good example of Parliament and Commission working effectively together. If anyone asks for examples of benefiting from this, I think this is one of the best one could take. I expect that car purchasers in my country will benefit to the tune of some 10% off the prices of their car next year.

May I conclude with a question to the Commissioner, while congratulating the Commission on their draft regulation, and it is this: this is a major step forward and will the Commission undertake to introduce their regulation by the end of this year?

**Mrs Van Hemeldonck (S).** — (NL) Madam President, the right to import goods directly and privately is undoubtedly one of the mainstays of the Treaty, and it is a shame that only a minority of consumers can themselves go through the long rigmarole of buying a car abroad, with all the paperwork that entails. The result is that most consumers of course buy their cars through an independent importer, i.e. an importer who is not an official dealer.

It is precisely these independent importers who are being excluded in the Welsh report. Nonetheless, the Commission report of 21 December 1983 on the automobile industry stressed that only independent importers could bring indirect pressure to bear on the equalization of prices in the Community pursuant to Articles 30, 36 and 85 of the Treaty.

The Welsh report eliminates practically all forms of parallel import, which seems to me a pity. It is a dangerous precedent for the policy of free competition,

and it is damaging for the consumer. The automobile industry is distorted by the fact that national manufacturers tend to dominate their own respective national markets, and the official dealers comply with the prices laid down by the manufacturers. It therefore follows that only the independent dealers have a bit more room for manoeuvre. It is therefore of major importance for the consumer that Articles 3, 9(b) and 7 of the Commission regulation be retained in the form used in the Commission text.

A second point I should like to raise concerns after-sales service. The car manufacturers fix the prices of parts at an exorbitant level. We once worked out that, if you were to make a car out of spare parts only, the price would be four times that of a brand new car. In the interests of consumers, this House should conduct a thorough investigation of after-sales service and spare parts practices.

**Mr Andriessen, Member of the Commission.** — (NL) Madam President, the Commission is delighted at the positive response to its initiative from the European Parliament.

I am bound to say that I cannot really think of any other subject on which I have had so much correspondence with Members of this House and consumers throughout the Community as on this question of cars and type-approval in the Community. I appreciate the fact that our endeavours to clarify the situation on this point can be sure of being favourably received in this House and that it has been worthwhile to have a debate on the matter in the very last days of this Parliament.

Having said that, Madam President, I must point out that the subject is in itself an extremely difficult one. When we published our proposal for a regulation on motor vehicle distribution, we received reactions from all sides, including several thousands of pages' worth of reactions from the car industry, but also of course from consumers. Clearly, bringing order to this sector — and there are more than 200 distribution arrangements of this kind — is going to require a great deal of effort.

Madam President, I believe that the report as it stands now constitutes support for the Commission's activities, and the Commission would therefore advise the House against adopting the amendments which have been tabled to the report.

There is one point I should like to go into in more detail, and that concerns the way in which the Commission intends to tackle the principle of parallel imports, which is an essential principle in applying the Community's competition policy. The Commission's concrete proposal was that if, over a period of six months, the price difference exceeded a certain level — and it was 12% at the time — there must be the

**Andriessen**

means available for doing away with the rules of the distribution system. This point earned us a great deal of criticism from the producers, and criticism has also been forthcoming from the report before us now — and I should like incidentally to congratulate the rapporteur in his absence.

On this point, I would say that the Commission upholds the principle that parallel imports should remain possible in some form or another, and that the question of how this should best be done seems, on the basis of all the reactions we have received so far, to warrant further consideration, so that I cannot say at the moment in any specific terms how the Commission intends to deal with the problem. Should it prove possible to allow parallel imports without this controversial point, it might make sense to make the change. Should that not have the desired effect, then the Commission feels that this instrument should be used for the aim in mind.

What this boils down to is that I cannot, at the present time, tell you the Commission's definitive attitude. What I can tell the House, however, is that we shall be having more detailed talks with the business community.

The Commission greatly appreciates the fact that the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs has taken the trouble to hold a debate on this report. The Commission felt duty-bound to match the degree of effort involved, and I should like to say in reply to the question put to me by Mr Jackson that I shall do my utmost to ensure that this regulation gets onto the statute books in the course of 1984.

**President.** — Thank you very much, Commissioner Andriessen, and also for your inspiring words at the end, which I know have been accepted with grateful thanks by the House.

The debate is closed. The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

*(The sitting was suspended at 8 p.m. and resumed at 9 p.m.)*

IN THE CHAIR: MRS DE MARCH

*Vice-President*

**15. Strawberries**

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-217/84), drawn up by Mr de Courcy Ling on behalf of the Committee on Development and Cooperation, on the

proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-171/84 — COM(83) 719 final) for a regulation amending Regulation (EEC) No 435/80 to include strawberries falling within Common Customs Tariff sub-heading 08.08 A II and originating in the African, Caribbean and Pacific States or in the overseas countries and territories.

Since no one has asked to speak, the debate is closed. The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

**16. Foot-and-mouth disease**

**President.** — The next item is the proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-232/84 — COM(84) 217 final) for a

directive amending Directive 64/432/EEC as regards certain measures relating to foot-and-mouth disease and vesicular disease.

Since no one has asked to speak, the debate is closed. The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

**17. Agricultural products in Greece**

**President.** — The next item concerns the proposals from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-281/84 — COM(84) 192 final) on

I — a regulation introducing aid for the transhumance of sheep, goats and cattle in Greece;

II — a regulation on increasing the staff of the departments responsible for the quality control of agricultural products in Greece;

III — a regulation authorizing Greece to grant aid for the transport of means of production to certain islands.

Since no one has asked to speak, the debate is closed. The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

**18. Milk products**

**President.** — The next item is the proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-282/84 — COM(84) 285 final) for a

regulation amending Regulation (EEC) No 804/68 on the common organization of the market in milk and milk products and Regulation (EEC) No 857/84 adopting general rules for the appreciation of the levy referred to in Article 5c of Regulation (EEC) No 804/68 in the milk and milk products sector.

Since no one has asked to speak, the debate is closed. The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

**Mr Provan (ED).** — Madam President, I had hoped to be here for the previous debate, which I think Mr de Courcy Ling also wished to take part in, but it has already finished.

**President.** — I am sorry but the debate is closed.

### 19. Use of telematics

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-207/84), drawn up by Mr Moreau on behalf of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs, on the

proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-151/84 — COM(84) 119 final) for a decision concerning the coordination of the actions of the Member States and the Commission related to the implementation of a long-term programme for the use of telematics for Community information systems concerned with imports and exports and the management and financial control of agricultural market organizations.

**Mr Hermann, deputy rapporteur.** — (FR) Madam President, I am pleased to see so much interest for this report which it has fallen to me to present on the Commission proposal for a Council decision on the Caddia project. This project serves a dual purpose. Firstly, it should mean a simplification of customs formalities, in particular the collection of data, and secondly, it should lead to greater compatibility between the national telematics systems covered by the Caddia project, making European industry more competitive in this high technology sector. This is precisely what Parliament has been aiming to do in previous reports. When it was discussed by the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs, there were nonetheless those who stressed the need to get our priorities right, to ensure that the resources were deployed efficiently. Parliament cannot judge whether this is the case unless it is regularly informed about the progress of the Caddia project and for this reason an amendment to the proposal for a decision has been tabled.

A major part of the Caddia report is devoted to standards, in particular standards for information, messages and telematics systems. To prevent standards becoming incompatible, European standards, preferably compatible with international standards, must be formulated as soon as possible. Naturally, the benefits of drawing up these standards are not confined to the programme itself, but will make the European telematics industry as a whole more competitive. Initially, the Commission had proposed — and it was accepted by the Council — drawing up a long-term programme defining specifications for each aspect of the system. Now the Commission has come to the conclusion, on the basis of the work carried out by the Preliminary Task Force, that a long-term programme of this sort,

detailed and specific to each Member State, is technically unfeasible and, more to the point, unnecessary, since all that really matters is that the national systems can communicate with each other, and this depends on the standards used. While we accept the change in the Commission's policy, we must nonetheless stress that long-term development programmes need to be formulated as quickly as possible by the Member States so that the Commission can check that the national programmes are compatible and, if they are not, ensure that they are.

We must not lose sight of the aim which Parliament has been pursuing and which it reaffirmed in the recent debate on the internal market, that is, the total abolition of all checks and formalities at internal Community frontiers. The Caddia project must, therefore, be designed to enable data to be compiled within the Member States. The idea of computerization at internal frontiers has also given rise to criticism and fears within the Committee. And indeed, since computerization would mean that checks could be carried out more quickly, there is a risk that they would become more systematic, resulting in even longer delays. Parliament cannot allow this to happen.

**Mr Bernard (S).** — (FR) Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, although we have to thank Mr Herman for presenting this report, let me start, at the risk of embarrassing our eminent colleague, Mr Jacques Moreau, when he reads the minutes tomorrow, by saying that while sharing the high regard in which he is held by all the Community institutions, we in the Socialist Group are doubly proud to count among our members the active and competent Chairman of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs, who has once again put all his energy and all his talent into the preparation of this crucial report on the Caddia project. In our view, this report is of primary importance to the agricultural sector, since the increased competitiveness and productivity we can look forward to will be accompanied by a marked improvement in market management, with greater control of income and expenditure and simplified consultation at user level, particularly for importers and exporters, and with more reliable and more efficient forecasting. More important still, in our view, is the fact that the first six articles of the motion for a resolution give the Caddia project a strategic dimension, which will be invaluable to the development of informatics in Europe, stressing the urgent need to standardize procedures, such as methods and data presentation and equipment. The reaffirmation of this strategic aspect is an enduring and fundamental concern, after the adoption of the second three-year informatics plan by this House, and after the important decisions taken on the Esprit programme and telecommunications by the Council of Industry Ministers, under the French Presidency of Mr Fabius, at its recent meeting on 18 May.

In conclusion, Madam President, these are the two reasons agricultural and strategic, for the Socialist

**Bernard**

Group's approval of the very pertinent report drawn up for us by Mr Jacques Moreau and which Mr Herman has presented on his behalf.

**Mr Herman (PPE).** — (FR) Madam President, my group will support the Moreau report and the amendment tabled by the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs.

The Caddia project can do more than just simplify the administration of the Customs Union, it may also stimulate the European telematics industry by helping it to break into new markets.

What we are hoping, however, is that the benefits of this improvement will extend beyond the Commission and the Member States to the users, in particular the importers and exporters, and ultimately to the citizens of Europe.

But just because computers make it easier to manage complicated matters does not mean that they should be allowed to remain complicated on the grounds that they are easier to manage!

Frontier checks should be abolished and the adoption of the Caddia report must not serve as a pretext for maintaining them. The Caddia project will also show the urgent need to harmonize telematic standards, because this project will convince all those who believe in national solutions that they do not work. These standards must be international, otherwise we run the risk of provoking on a European scale the same protectionist tendencies as have done so much damage on a national scale. It remains for me to say that I hope this project will be supported by all the political groups so that the Commission and Council will realize that all the citizens of the Community are behind this project.

(Applause)

**Mr Dalsager, Member of the Commission.** — (DA) Madam President, I should like first and foremost to thank the Committee and Mr Herman, deputizing for the rapporteur, for this report which, by and large, supports the Commission's proposal in this field. I should like to add that the Commission is delighted at the support for the Caddia project, which has been expressed by those Members who have commented on the report. I should further like to add that the Commission is prepared to accept the amendment requiring an annual report to be produced on the development of the project. Moreover, I do not think there is any reason for the Commission to comment further on the proposal as it stands, since we have, of course, noted a broad consensus of opinion between the Commission and Parliament.

**President.** — The debate is closed. The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

**20. Shipbuilding**

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-231/84), drawn up by Mr Moreau on behalf of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs, on the

proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-165/84 — COM(84) 73 final) for a directive amending Directive 81/363/EEC on aid to shipbuilding.

**Mr Herman (PPE), deputy rapporteur.** — (FR) Madam President, the proposal we are considering here is based on the fifth Directive of 28 April 1981 on aid to shipbuilding, which laid down a number of common principles for granting public aid to this industry with a view to encouraging reorganization and restructuring.

In view of the crisis in this sector, the fifth Directive was extended for two years from 21 December 1982 to 31 December 1984. We have as yet seen no improvement, in fact, quite the reverse. The worsening situation in Community shipbuilding has prompted the Commission to propose extending the fifth Directive until December 1986, when the experts forecast an end to the recession and the start of a world economic recovery.

A proposal for a sixth Directive will probably be submitted, to come into effect on 1 January 1987. It has been proposed that, when the new aid projects are submitted, the Commission should refrain from applying the phased aid reduction principle two years on condition that the recipients institute restructuring operations involving further significant reductions in capacity.

The main elements in the report coincide entirely with the conclusions of Parliament's earlier opinions on the first extension of the fifth Directive and with the own-initiative report of last March on the Community shipbuilding industry, specific examples are the need for a Community policy to encourage Community shipowners to reserve a certain number of orders for the shipyards of Member States and the need to increase the transparency of the existing aid schemes in the Member States and to standardize the level of national aid.

The Economic and Monetary Committee is pressing for a long-term policy. Public aid should be brought down to a level compatible with Community rules of competition. The Commission feels therefore that the fifth Directive can be extended only on one condition: that the Commission must control the granting of aid in accordance with the existing and planned provisions. To do this, we need to introduce a compulsory procedure whereby the Member States must have authorization from the Commission to implement any measure. Only those measures designed to save a firm



**Herman**

or alleviate the social and regional consequences of restructuring will be authorized.

The Economic and Monetary Committee is, furthermore, concerned about the social and regional consequences of reductions in capacity and is therefore requesting only one amendment to the Directive, introducing one new recital on this point and on the need to implement general policy involving, essentially, the respect of limitation undertakings and the reorganization of maritime transport by abolishing flags of convenience and respecting international standards.

The Economic and Monetary Committee therefore recommends that Parliament adopt this report.

**Mrs Theobald-Paoli (S).** — (FR) When it adopted my report on the Community's shipbuilding industry, on 29 March, this House declared itself in favour of a reform of European policy in this sector. In the face of what was often unfair competition from the Far East and Eastern Europe it called for strong diplomatic action by the Commission and real support for our struggling shipyards, to enable them to modernize and become more competitive, to keep employment at a reasonable level and to provide them with the funds to carry out vital conversions. With our economic rivals giving massive subsidies to their shipbuilding industries, a two-year moratorium on degressive aid in the Community is really vital.

How can we pursue a policy of quotas in an industry in which production is not divisible and the production cycle is long? After all, the crisis in this sector was caused by overcapacity not in Europe but in Asia, and swingeing cutbacks in Europe are not going to put the market back on its feet. This is why it would be unrealistic to concentrate on a policy of degressive aid while the crisis is still worsening. Let the Member States stand on their own two feet as they are doing now and as they always have done. We should be concentrating on defending ourselves against unfair competition, preventing shipbuilding quitting our shores for good for the Pacific. I therefore propose that Mr Moreau's report should be adopted with the amendments to paragraphs 4 and 5 tabled by a member of the Socialist Group. If these amendments are accepted, we will vote for Mr Moreau's entire report, which is otherwise satisfactory.

**President.** — As President I cannot take part in the debate at the present time, and I shall therefore be giving a written explanation of vote tomorrow.

**Mr Andriessen, Member of the Commission.** — (NL) In this case, Madam President, I am speaking on behalf of the Commission. Clearly, the Commission's proposal for an extension of the fifth directive with

certain specific elements comes within what the European Parliament regards as acceptable.

Obviously the situation in the shipbuilding industry has not developed over the recent past — and particularly in 1983 — according to our expectations at the time the fifth directive was debated in this House. That is why the Commission thought this proposal appropriate. The Commission is delighted that the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs and the spokesmen of the political groups support the Commission's initiative. It is not in itself a positive thing that we should have to extend the support measures for the shipbuilding industry in the way proposed. On the other hand, the Commission feels that, in the light of the international situation, no other policy is feasible. That is why we decided to continue with the approach we adopted some time ago. Whether that means that we should pass judgement, as a number of amendments call for, is another matter. The Commission would like to stay as close as possible to what is set down in Mr Moreau's report. The Commission believes — without wishing to make any definite predictions — that a period of two years is in any case long enough to take a closer look at the position of the European shipbuilding industry. Clearly, the policy adopted by the Commission will set out as far as possible to retain and — wherever necessary — establish competitive relations between the Member States of the Community. Against this background, the Commission regards Mr Moreau's report as providing backing for the policy the Commission wishes to pursue. We appreciate this support, and we shall endeavour over the next two years — should these proposals be adopted by the Council — to approach the problems facing the European shipbuilding industry from the same angle as we have in the past.

**President.** — The debate is closed. The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

#### 21. *Small and medium-sized undertakings and craft industries*

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-69/84), drawn up by Mr Deleau on behalf of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs, on Community policy on small and medium-sized undertakings and craft industries.

**Mr Deleau (DEP), rapporteur.** — (FR) The examination of this report on a Community policy for small and medium-sized undertakings and craft industries, coming at the end of this Parliament's term of office, is a mark of the European Parliament's continuing interest in these categories of firms.

I presented one report on the situation of small and medium-sized undertakings in the Community back in

**Deleau**

February 1982. The report before you today is special in that it has come at the end of the European Year of SMUs and craft industries, for which we have to thank an initiative of the European Parliament.

The most valuable achievement of the European Year of SMUs and craft industries has been to awaken Europe to the very existence of these businesses, and this was vital. In some parts of the European Community, in fact, SMUs and craft industries represent as much as 90% of all undertakings, employing approximately 60% of the working population and present in all sectors of our economy. The European Year has done more than just make us aware of the special needs of these undertakings. We have come to recognize their outstanding potential for innovation and employment, with a flexibility and sense of responsibility which make them better able to cope with the current grave recession.

So, on 9 November, towards the end of what was an exemplary year in all respects, a Community programme for SMUs and craft industries was adopted unanimously by this House, in the presence of all the representative professional European organizations, representatives from all the European institutions and a number of ministers from the Member States. It was only right, then, that Parliament should reaffirm its commitment to support the implementation of a programme crucial to the future of SMUs and craft industries and, by the same token, to the revival of the Community. This is what this report is aiming to do.

I would like to touch briefly on the content of the report, and, for the benefit of the new Parliament which will meet here after the coming elections, stress how important it is that a programme which, as you can well imagine, is eagerly awaited by those whom it will affect is properly implemented.

The first part of this report deals with a Community policy for SMUs and craft industries. Like the Community programme of 9 November, it hinges on three main points: firstly, SMUs and craft industries must have access to the funds they need for their creation and development; secondly, we must clear the way for their development in the community; and finally, they have an economic role to play which extends far beyond the borders of the Community to the whole of Europe and to the developing countries where they can make a valuable contribution to growth. If they are to realise their full potential for innovation and employment, we must ensure that they have access to the funds they need for their creation and growth.

Firstly, we need to make it easier for these undertakings to obtain financing. By this I mean increased Community financing, simplified procedures, exchange-rate risk cover, financing for innovation, and so on. Occupational training facilities need to be improved particularly for women working or wanting to work in SMUs. Finally, SMUs and craft industries

are all too often ill-informed on matters such as financing facilities, opportunities for subcontracting or the experiences of other undertakings. Opening up the Community to SMUs and craft industries is a must. They need more than funds, and they must be able to find in the Community the right legal, social, fiscal and economic environment. It is time they came into the limelight, time we gave them the credit they deserve. In this report, which I am pleased and privileged to present, you will find a long and detailed list of all the measures which have been taken at European level to aid SMUs and craft industries: measures to help them win their fair share of supply contracts, moves to adapt taxations to their situation, efforts to ensure that the specific problems of SMUs are taken into account in the Community's general social and economic policies. I want to emphasize the role which SMUs can play in less-favoured regions, bearing in mind of course that the SMUs are in some respects handicapped, especially in peripheral regions. SMUs and craft industries have an important role to play in the world.

The Community must seek to improve the access of SMUs and craft industries to external markets, particularly the EFTA countries. Finally, the Community must promote co-operation between European SMUs and similar undertakings in the third world, particularly within the framework of the Lomé convention. SMUs are in fact in a better position than larger businesses to integrate into the type of economic development required by the developing countries, provided that a climate of mutual trust can be created.

I will conclude my very sketchy outline of a report which you have been able to judge for yourselves and which has benefited from the very valuable opinions of four of our committees by turning to the second part of the report, which deals with the implementation of the Community programme for SMUs and craft industries — in other words, to the post-1983 situation.

The response I have had from entrepreneurs and craftsmen from all corners of the Community, throughout last year and this, is an indication of the tremendous enthusiasm our initiative has aroused.

At the Council of Europe, too, which I visited recently, I found that the European Year for SMUs and craft industries has aroused considerable interest among our Lomé convention partners. I am sure you will agree that we cannot afford to disappoint them.

On 9 December last year, speaking on behalf of this Parliament, Mr Dankert, our President, whom I should like to thank for his constant support — and my thanks go also to the Commission, the Economic and Social Committee and the Ministers who were present — assured the SMUs and craft industries of our commitment to strive for the establishment of a Community policy for this category of undertakings.

## Deleau

So far, however, we have seen no follow-up to these proposals. Apart from the BEI's loan policy favouring the SMUs, and I must say that it has been very successful, there has not been a single move to follow up the Community programme since 1 January. We are nearly half way through 1984 and the Council of Ministers has postponed indefinitely its examination of the proposal for a decision on Community innovation loans. And the Council has still not adopted the proposal to set up an economic co-operation grouping, which could do so much to improve co-operation between SMUs throughout the Community.

Finally, and contrary to intention, there has so far been no meeting of the Council of Ministers responsible for SMUs and craft industries. This is yet another reflection of the apathy which is a sad and all too common feature of our Community. Parliament's watchful role is therefore all the more important. Over the last six months, there has not been a single economic report, either sectoral or general, which has not, like Mr Herman's excellent report on the economic revival of the Community, stressed the important role of SMUs. SMUs and craft industries, which account for more than 10 million undertakings in the Community and more than 30 million workers, must be given the means they need to develop.

Therefore, and I will end on this point, my message to the future Parliament is this: resolve to promote a Community policy for SMUs and craft industries, continue to pressurize the Commission. I hope very much that an instrument — it does not matter whether we call it a committee or a liaison office or whatever — can be set up as soon as possible to work alongside the European organizations for SMUs and craft industries and the Community institutions, to monitor the implementation of the policy we are recommending. The time is ripe to build a Europe of SMUs and craft industries. If one thing which unites us in the Community is democracy, another is the existence of these millions of small and medium-sized undertakings and of their workers and craftsmen.

*(Applause)*

**Mrs Phlix (PPE).** — *(NL)* Madam President, Mr Andriessen, ladies and gentlemen, it goes without saying that my Group welcomes any proposal which will improve the prospects of small and medium-sized undertakings and craft industries, a sector to which we have devoted special attention for years now, as evidenced by Mr Notenboom's report of 1978.

Mr Deleau's report goes over the main policy aspects, including realization of the internal market, new financial facilities, a taxation systems taking account of the actual risks involved, simplification of administrative formalities, problems with exchange rates, monetary union and training for managers and workers.

As far as training is concerned, perhaps I may be permitted to make a somewhat chauvinistic remark, and draw attention to the report produced by CEDEFOP on training opportunities for spouses working in the business, with special reference to the training centre for self-employed persons in Hasselt in Belgium. I would urge anyone interested to pay a visit to that establishment.

Despite all these important points, I would like to stress that a solution must be found in the form of a general, healthy, balanced and integrated economic policy in which SMUs and craft industries can find their rightful place. It is a fact that, in the past, most of the attention was focused on big companies, and we have a lot of ground to make up with regard to SMUs. However, if we were to take a specific policy on SMUs too far, there might be a risk of isolation or protectionism, which would tend to hamper the creativity and initiative and general development of SMUs, which is certainly not what we want. We are absolutely convinced that SMUs and craft industries constitute a legitimate and highly important aspect of our economic and social system.

I should like to take this opportunity of thanking Mr Deleau, not only for this report, but also for all the work he has put in throughout 1983, and which we have witnessed at close quarters. Mr Deleau's report will act as a guideline for the new Parliament, which we hope will be — along with the Commission — ever alert to the interests of SMUs and craft industries to maintain a balance in our social and economic policy.

Finally, Madam President, I would draw your attention to a terminological mix-up which has crept into the Dutch translation of the French version of paragraph 3 (1) (2). The French and German version of the motion for a resolution would seem to be authentic in this case.

**Mr Newton Dunn (ED).** — Madam President, first of all I want to congratulate the rapporteur, Mr Deleau, on the speed and efficiency with which he has produced this report. He has contributed a great deal to this subject in the last few years, and I want to pay him a tribute on behalf of my colleagues in this group and to assure him of our gratitude.

Secondly, I want to say that my group will be supporting this report. We support all kinds of help to encourage smaller businesses to grow but, of course, not those which would involve extra controls, bureaucracy, red tape or form-filling for smaller businesses. I am afraid we do not support — and the rapporteur knows this — the idea of a publicly financed centre for small businesses. That, we think, is a step in the wrong direction.

Specifically, I want to recommend to the House my Amendment No 18 and to ask the House to adopt it.

**Newton Dunn**

This asks the Commission to initiate a new annual award scheme for small businesses in the European Community. The award- or awards, because there could be more than one — should go each year to the smaller businesses which are judged to have contributed most in the previous year to the well-being and the prosperity of the peoples of our Community. Perhaps one criterion could be which businesses have created the most new jobs.

Such an award scheme, however, should not involve taxpayers' money. It should be financed — with gifts or advertising or any form of donation — privately from industry and banks. Now if the Community would like an example to study or possibly to imitate in some form, such a scheme already works successfully in my own Member State, the United Kingdom. There is an Annual Business Enterprise Award Scheme which has been running successfully for several years. It is indeed financed 100% privately by donations from large companies which want to support the growth of smaller industries. If there is a surplus of funds each year after the awards are made, those funds are handed over to a well-known charity.

I hope that the House will support this novel idea.

**Mr Bonaccini (COM).** — *(IT)* Madam President, the report presented by Mr Deleau is commensurate with the needs of the subject we are discussing and has our full support. Actually, the report brings to a close a project initiated by the Parliament and organized personally by Mr Deleau, involving a large number of meetings all over Europe. It closes a chapter in which the Parliament has discharged its obligations.

The submission of this report makes us wonder whether that is the end of it all. Have the other Community institutions also done, and are they doing, their duty? Allow me to voice my doubts. We will continue to claim our right to express our reservations until we see our decisions implemented, so long as doubts and second thoughts about joint decisions still remain, until for example, there is implementation of the loans for innovation, which were made such a thing of that they were legitimately thought to be so significant, until account is taken of the fact that we look on these small undertakings as businesses and not as vague allusions to largely undefined ideological concepts, and until such time as there is a link-up between these undertakings' national and European organizations in order to carry out a whole series of actions to solve the problems raised by Mr Deleau.

Our vote in favour of the Delau report is consequently a further expression of the uneasiness we feel about the way these problems have been and risk being tackled in the future.

**Mrs Tove Nielsen.** — *(DA)* Madam President, I should like to start by saying that the Liberal Group

has always been very involved in the problem of providing more jobs and creating a better life and a better future for us all.

The decision to make 1983 the year of small and medium-sized undertakings and craft industries was taken at the initiative of one of my former colleagues, Mr Combe, and we in the Liberal Group are naturally very anxious to make something of this initiative. It may be that people in the Member States think that now 1983 is over we have finished the job, but that is far from the truth. The idea was that we should use 1983 to draw attention to what could be done to make things easier for small and medium-sized undertakings and therefore for us all. Now, in 1984, the work has to be done, and this requires a lot from us all, but we have a very positive attitude in the Liberal Group; we can see that it is precisely the small and medium-sized undertakings which provide the best opportunities for the restructuring which is so necessary.

We live in an age of advanced technology and must recognize that we have fallen well behind the USA and Japan. We are not at the moment equipped to compete with these two giants, but we have one advantage within the Community which we must safeguard, expand and improve; where pure knowledge is concerned we are very well equipped. We can do it in Europe if we put our minds to it. We have the will, imagination and creative spirit that we need. We in the Liberal Group feel that, with these qualities in our Member States, we must now take up the challenge of technology and exploit the flexibility of precisely the category of undertakings we are dealing with here. It is easier for them to make structural changes, cultivate new areas and manufacture new products, and with these new products we must go out into the world market, become competitive and strengthen the economy of our Member States. The economic recovery we have been discussing here in Parliament so earnestly has everything to do with the dynamic growth of the small and medium-sized undertakings.

It is therefore important for us to relieve them of the many problems with which they are faced every day and we are making every effort together with the Commission to ensure that the internal market functions correctly. We hope that the Council of Ministers will eliminate many of the technical barriers to trade and formalities, including the many different kinds of approval procedures, standards and norms for one and the same product that exist in the various Member States. We know that the Commission is in favour and hope that the Council of Ministers will also take this view. It is important for all the Member States for trade to function in such a way that we can compete on the world market. Europe can do it, as I have said, if the will is there.

Madam President, since we are discussing small and medium-sized undertakings I should like to bring up another point. We often forget the enormous amount

## Nielsen

of work done by spouses working in family businesses which, in most cases, means the wife. It appears from a number of surveys that, in addition to the housework, many women work over 40 hours a week in undertakings, and a large number work between 30 and 40 hours a week. It is clear from this that in many cases the economic position of the undertaking is totally dependent on the enormous effort put in by these wives. We must help them to obtain better training. There is therefore a lot to do in this field, and to achieve it we must look at vocational training.

I should like to close by saying that the well-informed reader will have noticed that there is no mention of the setting up of a centre for small and medium-sized undertakings in the report we are discussing here this evening, although it is something else we have discussed at great length. I would just remind you that in 1983 I tabled a proposal for the setting up of a centre for small and medium-sized undertakings. I have noted yet again this evening that the Conservatives do not wish to be associated with the setting up of a centre of this kind. That does not surprise me — I already knew — but it will not stop me from going ahead with the proposal as soon as the new Parliament has started work. There is a tremendous need for a central point where people can find the necessary information and where we too can find out what else we need. The structure in Denmark is such that we can make something of the kind available. I am sure that this proposal will be considered seriously by the newly-elected Parliament, because we cannot allow so many of the small and medium-sized undertakings from which we all benefit to rush from pillar to post to find the information they need. We must help them and we can do so if we make an effort.

**Mr Ingo Friedrich (PPE).** — (*DE*) Madam president, ladies and gentlemen — those of you who are still here at this time of night — Mr Deleau's report on Community policy on small and medium-sized undertakings and craft industries is highly valuable and deserves a wide measure of support in this House.

Listening to what the representatives of the political parties have had to say, one is tempted to think that the SMUs are doing very nicely thank you. Everybody is in favour of SMUs — the Liberals, the Conservatives and of course the Social Democrats and the Socialists, and we Christian Democrats too. Unfortunately, there is all too often a discrepancy between words and deeds. You have only to take a look at the Socialists in Germany, who are vociferous in their support for the SMUs and are at the same time in favour of the 35-hour week, to see what a gulf there actually is between hope and reality.

Mr Deleau has rightly drawn our attention to the high-powered innovative potential of SMUs, and this is borne out by statistics from the USA. Between 1968 and 1976, two-thirds of all new jobs in the USA came

from SMUs, which only goes to show that their innovativeness can strengthen the element of competition we so desperately need and create new jobs. We must channel and encourage this spirit of innovation, new ideas, new products, new services and new jobs on the part of the SMUs, and I would remind you here that we should be using our risk capital financing programme as a means of assistance in this respect.

Like Mr Deleau and Mrs Nielsen, we Christian Democrats want to see SMUs better represented at European level, especially *vis-à-vis* the Commission. Industry is represented at European level by UNICE, the trade unions are represented at European level, but there is no equivalent representation for the SMUs.

Certain proposals have been put forward. Mrs Nielsen, for instance, dreams of a centre in Denmark, while Mr Deleau would prefer to set up a separate institute, and others take the view that the Commission should have a separate SMU Directorate, or a Member responsible for SMU. To be quite honest, I am very sceptical about these three proposals, because I am afraid that all we should get would be new posts for officials and a new bureaucracy, but no effective assistance for SMUs.

There are three other proposals which I am much keener on, and perhaps I can run through them very briefly. Firstly, we could have a permanent group of advisers within the Commission accessible to all SMUs, along the same lines as proposed in Mr Welsh's Amendment No 5. We would recommend that his amendment be adopted. The second proposal concerns the creation of a separate secretariat to improve coordination and assistance for SMUs. I have been told that this model met with a favourable reaction from various representatives of SMUs at their last meeting on 9 May, and that there is a real chance that something might come of this idea. I myself would prefer a third model; in my view, the best thing would be for European SMUs to organize themselves, and for the Community authorities — the Commission — to provide the resultant organization with financial and secretarial assistance to help meet the running costs. Helping SMUs to help themselves seems to me the best option going, and I propose on behalf of my Group that we move gradually towards realization of this model.

The only point on which we must disagree with Mr Deleau concerns paragraph 12(4) of the motion for a resolution, in which Mr Deleau proposes the adoption of a good-conduct code for the big firms — the ogres — *vis-à-vis* the SMUs. I get the message loud and clear — I just cannot summon up the faith. I believe that a code of good conduct along these lines would have very little chance of success on the real world. And so, to avoid calling for something unrealistic, we shall be voting against this paragraph, and we — as Christian Democrats — beg Mr Deleau's pardon.

### Friedrich

We are aware of the value of SMUs. What they need is a more secure and broader base, and we must not jeopardize their existence by espousing such pie-in-the-sky ideas as a 35-hour week with no loss of pay.

I realise that SMUs are one of the pillars of our society; without them there would be no stability and we would be much poorer. For that reason we, Christian Democrats will fight shoulder to shoulder with the Liberals and the Gaullists to ensure that they can retain — and indeed, improve — their position.

*(Applause)*

Mr Narjes, *Member of the Commission.* — (DE) Madam President, I should like to begin by thanking Mr Deleau most sincerely for his detailed investigation of the problems facing small and medium-sized undertakings and the craft industries. The definition of this particular category varies from country to country, but the fact is that it accounts for some 90% of all enterprises in the Community, providing the livelihoods of 60% of all employed persons.

The year of the SMU and the craft industries, announced by the European Parliament and the Economic and Social Committee, gave the people of Europe sufficient opportunity to realise the important and indeed central role played by SMUs in terms of growth and employment, investment and innovation. I am particularly indebted to Mr Deleau for the active and dynamic part he took in bringing about and ensuring the success of the year of the SMU.

*(Applause)*

The report before us now gives us not only an excellent general review of the situation and the problems facing SMUs, but also spells out those areas in which priority action is needed. It bears in mind the results of the national and Community activities undertaken as part of the year of the SMU, as well as the programme of action adopted at the final conference here in this Chamber on 8 and 9 December 1983.

There is a history of cooperation between the European Parliament and the Commission in endeavouring to find solutions for the problems facing SMUs and the craft industries, the initial impetus coming from Mr Notenboom's report in 1978. That was followed in 1981 by a Commission communication on progress made in the areas of relevance to the SMUs and the craft industries, setting out at the same time the Commission's proposals on the role to be played by these undertakings in the economic life of the Community. Subsequently, this House has discussed the situation of SMUs in great detail in connection with the first Deleau report, the resultant resolution calling for the European Year I mentioned just now. 1983 has seen still closer cooperation between Parliament and the Commission.

As the culmination of the many and varied activities undertaken during the European Year, and in response to the Strasbourg action programme, the Commission has now formulated a communication to the Council, setting out guidelines and priority activities for a Community policy on SMUs and the craft industries. It is now up to the Council to take action swiftly to flesh out the Commission's outline proposals. We shall in turn take steps to ensure that Community activities in all sectors give greater consideration than hitherto to the interests of the SMUs and the craft industries.

On a general level, I would point out that the economic climate in the Community has happily taken a definite turn for the better over the last few months, and there are now encouraging signs of a structural and short-term economic recovery. But the upswing will only be consolidated if we invest the money that is so urgently needed, and in this respect, the SMUs have a vital part to play. But this will only be possible if there is a general improvement in the outline conditions for SMUs and the craft industries. It is, after all, evident from a critical appraisal that we have yet to make the necessary structural adjustments to the existing outline data on the SMUs. I am very much afraid that this essential step is not always being given due priority, and insufficient account is being taken of the acknowledged importance of SMUs at national and Community level.

What is the point of all the theory regarding the potential function of SMUs for innovation, competition and for the economy as a whole if the necessary political consequences are not drawn? What we need is to take a critical look at the existing economic structures and particularly at our determination to bring about a fundamental shift in our economic policy. Nothing less will do.

Any such improvement in the outline conditions must be of a long-term nature, i.e. more than just short-term aid. The kind of confidence we need to encourage investment will only crystallize if it is based on the irreversibility of this structural change process.

The economic policy *leitmotif* of the Community must be — as set out in the Treaty — a market economy system, featuring the creation of room for manoeuvre for entrepreneurs to act on their own initiative, along with a climate of entrepreneurial freedom which not only theoretically allows private initiative but actually rewards it. What this boils down to in particular is freedom from unnecessary shackles, obstacles, bureaucratic narrow-mindedness and unnecessary burdens, the aim being to improve undertakings' earning capacity.

We should take a look — as Mr Friedrich has already done — at the United States, where more than 15 million new jobs were created between 1973 and 1983 compared with — according to the least favourable

## Narjes

calculations — the loss of as many as 3 million jobs in the Community over the same period. Of these 15 million new jobs in the United States, up to 80% were created in SMUs, a major contribution being made by the fast-expanding services sector, with a high proportion of SMUs.

We in the Community must ask ourselves in all seriousness why this jobs miracle has not happened here. The main reason may be that it was no longer viable to invest in the Community. Haphazard turns of the tax and pay screw as stagnation began to set in resulted in lower and lower profits. Net interest return on capital assets fell in the Community from more than 10% in 1960 to only 4% in 1981, and in the second half of the 1970s, net yield in the processing industries in the Community was only half the equivalent figure in the United States.

The Community must give top priority to correcting these past errors without further delay. And there are plenty of other reasons for what we might term 'Euro-sclerosis', and plenty of reasons why we should be analysing and correcting each and every such error.

Mindful of the central role played by SMUs in our economy, the Commission has already planned or initiated a large number of activities in the areas mentioned in Parliament's motion for a resolution.

Among the activities affecting the legal, economic and administrative situation of SMUs, we might perhaps mention the strengthening of the internal market, a process which was given fresh impetus in 1983 as a result of the Copenhagen Council and again in 1984. And SMUs and the craft industries will be especially helped by the Council's directives on information procedure in the field of standards and technical regulations, the simplification of formalities and checks in intra-Community movement of goods, tax exemption in respect of the final import of certain goods, and progress made on the question of a standard accompanying document — which we hope will soon reach the decision stage.

The special interests of SMUs were likewise to the forefront in the regulations adopted in 1983 and 1984 on competition policy. Both Parliament and the Commission can derive satisfaction from the progress made on the regulation on the European cooperation agreement. In terms of financial assistance, the Community's loan instruments have made a significant contribution towards financing SMUs, which were given increased priority in this respect. In terms of innovation aid, the Commission masterminded the creation of the European Venture Capital Association, proposed the creation of a European Innovation Loan and encouraged the involvement of SMUs in research programmes in information technologies, telecommunications and biotechnology.

Finally, as regards training, the Commission's priority guidelines laid down in 1983 include vocational train-

ing measures in respect of the introduction of new technologies, and projects geared specifically to the manpower requirements of SMUs in certain sectors of the economy. With a view to improving coordination of certain national measures, the Commission has improved — and will continue to improve — its exchanges of views and information with the national authorities to ensure that Community activities in all fields take greater account than hitherto of the interests of SMUs, and to ensure that the hopes raised in 1983 will not be disappointed. Substantial help will be forthcoming in this respect from a rational reorganization and regrouping of the various organizations representing the interests of SMUs. I would go along with the idea that, as far as the Commission is concerned, the main thing must be to help people to help themselves. That is the whole point of committing these funds from the budget, which I assume will not be available in an unlimited supply.

(Applause)

IN THE CHAIR: MR KLEPSCH

*Vice-President*

**President.** — The debate is closed. The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

## 22. Middle East oil supplies

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-244/84), drawn up by Mr Pintat on behalf of the Committee on Energy, Research and Technology, on the future of Middle East supplies for the world outside the Communist area and on oil prices.

**Mr Pintat (L), rapporteur.** — (FR) Mr President, the present military situation in the Gulf adds authority, were it needed, to the motion for resolution attached to our report on the future of oil supplies from the Middle East to areas outside the Communist block. I might go so far as to say that this resolution is the conclusion of our topical and urgent debate of this morning.

The military conflict between Iraq and Iran has now spread to the waters of the Gulf, and seven merchant ships have been attacked during the course of the past week or so, resulting in a rise in oil share prices, a rise of about 75 cents in the spot market price of a barrel of oil, and a rise in the cost of insuring tankers. At present a large number of supertankers are awaiting some improvement in the situation before going to take on oil in the Gulf.

### Pintat

The crisis is the result of deliberate policy by the two warring nations. The Iraqis have declared their intention of reinforcing the blockade of Iranian ports, as an attempt, one assumes, to precipitate Iran's financial collapse. The Iranians, sensing the danger, have stated their own intention of preventing any oil exports from the area if their own are blocked, hence the warning attack on a ship in the Straits of Hormuz, and the threats of a holy war against opposition Islamic minorities throughout the world.

Although it may appear difficult to sustain any effective long-term physical blockade of the Straits of Hormuz, if the Gulf states envisage establishing a navigation channel along their coastlines under the protection of their armed forces, it may not be possible to prevent the tanker fleets themselves interrupting navigation for obvious reasons of their own safety.

The gross shortfall resulting from the total shutdown of traffic through the Straits of Hormuz would be of the order of 8 million barrels per day, or about 18% of the consumption and supplies of the non-communist world.

Europe's share of that total represents only 1.6 million barrels per day. It takes more than a month before the last tanker to load in the Gulf arrives at its destination, and that is an indication of the time we have to react before we start to feel the effects.

First of all, almost two million barrels per day can be exported from the Gulf without passing via the Straits. Secondly, countries such as Nigeria, Venezuela, Libya and Mexico have spare oil production capacity, and International Energy Agency figures show that a further 3 million barrels per day could quickly become available.

Yet further, the Yambu pipeline is not used to full capacity, and could provide a further 1.2 million barrels per day. The effects of the blockade of the Straits of Hormuz could therefore be virtually cancelled out if we drew on reserves at a rate of about 3.5 million barrels per day. There are 99 days' reserves landed in the Community, and the USA have announced their intention, if necessary, of using their strategic reserves, i.e. 2.1 million barrels per day for three months before rationing.

To these figures we can add Saudi Arabia's floating reserve, estimated at 50 to 70 million barrels. As can be seen, the situation gives far less cause for concern than that of 1973 or 1979, since, in world terms, the true deficit possible before any drawing on reserves represents 7 or 8 per cent of world demand.

It is in fact the psychological questions which are likely to weigh heaviest if there is a prolonged interruption in supplies by sea from the Gulf. Certain interests could use the opportunity to create a rise in the price of oil.

The various proposals put forward in the motion for resolution approved by the Committee on Energy, Research and Technology become critical under these circumstances, if we wish to embark along the road to European energy self-sufficiency. Our aim is to provide our ten nations with energy supplies which are reliable, plentiful, and as cheap as possible.

Our proposals can be summarized briefly in five main technical points:

- 1 — encouraging the prospection and exploitation of hydrocarbon reserves in Europe and even in third countries;
- 2 — encouraging the prospection and exploitation of non-conventional and deep strata hydrocarbon reserves;
- 3 — further diversification of the geographical origin of oil supplies;
- 4 — continued efforts to replace oil with alternative sources of energy, and to develop in particular the production and use of nuclear energy;
- 5 — encouraging the European development of fast neutron reactors to maximize use of the Community's major uranium reserves, ground reserves and waste from Europe's various uranium enrichment plants.

To these five purely technical proposals, which derive from energy, we have to add a number of other measures of a more political nature:

the quest for a common front in the oil policies of Member States, as a first step towards the Common Oil Policy which is so badly needed;

implementation of measures adopted by the Community to deal as soon as the need arises with any difficulties in oil supplies;

meetings and talks with all oil-producing countries, and the various international organizations, so as to understand better the problems of oil supply and demand;

finally, we must try to bring together all the sides involved in the oil trade, to try to reach a consensus, try to stabilize the market price of oil or, at the very least, limit the variations in prices so as to make them gradual and allow the world economy to adapt to them without serious dangers. Nothing is more damaging to world trade than violent price fluctuations. And in the light of current events in the Gulf, you will understand the necessity and the urgency with which we must implement this resolution which was, it must be said, almost premonitory.

I ask you to accept the motion for a resolution in full, and to reject all those amendments which, by opposing



**Pintat**

the development of nuclear energy, limit Europe's energy independence. We must continue to substitute European energy for oil, to reduce even further our dependence on third countries and, at the same time, improve our own European economy and contribute to reducing unemployment, the bane which leaves not a single European country unaffected.

*(Applause)*

**Mr Bernard (S).** — *(FR)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, during the current conflict in the Gulf of which the rapporteur has just reminded us, our group shares the concerns which underly the report by the Committee on Energy, Research and Technology on Middle-East oil supplies for the non-Communist world and on oil prices.

Those concerns are, first, the effects on the economy of any violent changes in the price of oil; secondly, the risk of a third oil crisis; thirdly, the problem of long-term renewal of oil reserves, for both financial and strategic reasons; fourthly, the fragility of the industrialized developing nations, who depend on oil supplies from the Middle-East and are imperilled by accidental or deliberate interruptions in those supplies; fifthly, the risks of a future shortage of crude oil production capacity, even though there is surplus capacity at present; and, sixthly, our concern to diversify the sources of energy used in Europe, both by making better use of conventional energy sources such as gas, water power, and wind power, and by developing our own oil resources and new sources of energy such as solar power.

However, we cannot follow the rapporteur along the two ecologically and politically dangerous paths which constitute his invitation to a forced march across the nuclear Rubicon, even for those countries which have been more reticent, and his proposal in Article 23 for hasty and powerful intervention without even a thought for Community diplomacy as part of political cooperation.

In conclusion, Mr President, our group's vote will depend directly on the acceptance or rejection of the amendments tabled by Mr Linkohr and Mrs Viehoff, particularly those whose purpose is to delete Articles 7, 8, 9 and 23 of the motion for resolution now before us.

**Mr Herman (PPE).** — *(FR)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, there is a threat of war over the Gulf, and Europe still appears unconcerned. That is lack of thoughtfulness. The excess oil production which has made our lives easy these last three years is unlikely to last, for three reasons: there has been a healthy rise in oil consumption as a result of the international economic turnaround, we have now made most of the energy savings which could be made with the current

balance of energy costs and other costs and without a considerable increase in investments, and investment in replacement energy sectors are falling, in Europe at least.

Of course, many other factors come into the equation, but the likelihood is that current excess production will not continue. It has in any event become very quickly clear recently that the fall in oil consumption which has been a feature of the last three years was far more the result of the recession than of energy saving.

That is why my group supports the Pintat report, the broad lines of which are aimed at reducing our dependence on others for oil. We are in agreement with most of the paragraphs; we have tabled no amendments though we do not share the rapporteur's optimism on the possibility of sheltering the oil market from the fluctuations to which it is regularly subjected. We have tried to obtain long-term contracts in other sectors — gas, as a prime example — and we now have to admit that experience shows us that after a few years such contracts turn out to be catastrophic for those who sign them: they cannot in fact be respected.

With that in mind, we can try to reach agreements which limit price movements, but past attempts have rarely been resounding successes, and we are therefore sceptical, although it is never a bad thing to try and broaden the virtually non-existent agreements we have with oil producing nations, particularly the OPEC countries. We shall, at the same time, be voting against the amendments whose aim is to halt the construction of nuclear power stations, and against those aimed at annulling what has already been approved by Parliament, namely that we should take steps to increase protection of our sea trade routes.

**Mr Seligman (ED).** — Mr President, the excellent Pintat report originates in the Purvis-Seligman-Vanneck report of 1982. At that time the EEC got 60% of its oil from the Gulf, and we gave a serious warning in that resolution. It is a measure of the Community's success that now Europe only takes 27%, I believe, from the Gulf. In other words, the common energy policy has been quite a success in this respect.

Nevertheless, there are serious problems not only in the short term, but also in the long term. Some problems are political and military, some are economic.

Problem No 1 is, if this war continues to escalate, the political stability of the Gulf nations will be put in jeopardy. Why are these Muslims doing this to each other? I would like to quote from the Koran, if I may. It is not often done in this House. Anyhow, verse 29 of the 48th Sura says 'Mohammed is Allah's apostle. Those who follow him are ruthless to the unbelievers but merciful to one another'. Now, are these two countries being merciful to one another? I doubt it.

### Seligman

Problem No 2 is that the USA is not trusted in the Gulf because of its pro-Israel attitude. I believe even the American people are not all that enthusiastic about fighting for the Persian Gulf because America takes very little oil from there now. So, I do not think we can rely on America to solve this crisis. What is the EEC going to do? Acting as one, the Ten must persuade, cajole and threaten Iraq and Iran to stop this ridiculous fighting. We could, if necessary, apply economic sanctions to both sides. This is Europe's chance to come of age in foreign policy. We can do something really important. Above all, the EEC must refuse to supply arms. It was a terrible mistake for France to deliver Super Etandards and Exocets to Iraq.

Secondly, as another short-term action, we must support paragraph 25 of the Pintat report and avoid cut-throat competition between Member States that will force up the price of oil, as it did, in fact, in 1973. We all competed with each other for oil then and up went the price. We must avoid this this time. I rely on the Commission to coordinate joint action to avoid this sort of cut-throat competition for scarce supplies.

I also support Mr Pintat's recommendation for dealing with oil supplies in ECU, instead of the high-valued dollars. This would also moderate oil prices.

The other problem is that Britain is in the middle of a coal strike. It has been going for 11 weeks now, and we are the biggest coal producers in the EEC. If our coal supplies as well as our oil supplies are in jeopardy the whole energy problem becomes much more serious. So we have to make sure that alternative energies are available and increased. This means increasing our gas and nuclear power supplies.

It means we must press ahead to get the Sleipner gas available to the Community. We must stop wasting time with the Sizewell enquiry and we must press ahead with fast neutron reactors, wrongly named, incidentally, fast breeders. That is more appropriate for rabbits. We must launch the trans-Channel gas pipeline to improve the connection of Europe to Norwegian gas.

These are all long term measures, Mr President, but if we ignore this third warning from the Persian Gulf — 1973, 1979, 1984 — we shall be in a disastrous position when all the oil reserves, except the Persian Gulf, have been exhausted.

*(Applause)*

**Mr Veronesi (COM).** — *(IT)* Mr President, we in the Communist and Allies Group greatly appreciate Mr Pintat's report. We consider it clear, concise but comprehensive and, may I add, balanced as well, given the present highly complex and critical international situation.

We would also have supported the motion for a resolution if it had not been altered, in other words as it stood in the rapporteur's first drafting. We had a slight, rather unimportant difference of opinion regarding Article 9, as we felt that the rapporteur's argument was not backed by a valid economic analysis. But basically we were in agreement with all the other points, and consequently felt we could give our full, unconditional approval to the report.

However, as often occurs in parliamentary committees, certain amendments have distorted, if I may say, the project's purpose and diverted it from what we considered to be the right objectives. That is why when it came to a vote in committee, we abstained after the introduction of certain amendments which are not in line with the report as a whole. That is the position we will continue to observe, unless the amendments submitted are approved.

We have not discussed our position with the Socialist Members, so I would say our standpoints stem from a convergence of principles. We do not agree with Amendment No 7, which opposes the development of nuclear energy with all the necessary reservations and precautions, but we are in favour of all the others.

Whether we support this motion for a resolution or oppose it will thus depend on the outcome of the Parliament's appreciation of the various amendments.

**Mr Davignon, Vice-President of the Commission.** — *(FR)* Mr President, the Commission would like to join the various groups of the House in the congratulations they have offered Mr Pintat for his report. It is clear, it is comprehensive, it sets the problem out plainly, and it puts our own responsibilities into context. And it should, therefore, influence our action.

Generally speaking the Commission considers that the contents of the report — both the analysis and the priorities it proposes — match the policy which the Commission has been developing with Parliament's aid, particularly that of the Committee on Energy, Research and Technology.

It has to be said that had we had the same problems in the Gulf two or three years ago — the escalation we have had these last few weeks — there can be no doubt that the market reaction in our Member States and amongst consumers would have been far greater than it now is.

I found Mr Herman's view that Europe is doing nothing rather overcritical. The fact is that we spent all day yesterday with the Ministers of Energy, and one of the points we discussed was of course this one. Moreover, Council took a number of decisions meeting the wishes of Parliament in other areas, and we considered it essential to adopt a vigilant and careful stance.

**Davignon**

The fact is that if we prematurely take precautionary measures, we ourselves risk triggering a certain amount of tension. On the other hand — and in this respect Mr Herman is right — if we prepare nothing, and do not indicate our intention to take any necessary steps when the time is right, we shall by our own inaction create a climate of unease.

It seems to me that whilst the interests of the consumers and the suppliers remain unchanged, our dialogue with the Gulf States, that is, with the oil-supplying nations, has shown one difference from the dialogue of the first two oil crises: despite the supply difficulties there has been no attempt to force prices up artificially, which, for our still fragile economic turnaround, would be a very serious blow.

I should like, Mr President, to sum up in three paragraphs the views of the Commission on the problems which concern the Community more particularly.

First, we must ensure that there is no escalation towards disaster such as Mr Pintat described in his speech. It is therefore essential not only that Europe avoids such policies, but also that the other major oil-consuming nations do the same — the USA and Japan, in fact, since 21% of all Japan's supplies come from the Gulf.

Secondly, we must watch very closely for any slowdown in the arrival of supplies, and plan for measures to maintain the present calm.

Thirdly, we are sharply reminded by this affair that we must continue the policy of changing consumer habits and diversifying our supplies of energy which has already produced one important result in that, as far as energy is concerned in general, and oil in particular, there is no longer a parallel between economic growth and increased consumption.

We therefore have a clear programme, and I can assure Parliament that the Commission, strengthened by yesterday's Council meeting, will take all necessary steps to ensure that the conditions for a third oil crisis do not come about. That implies short-term measures, and, even more, maintaining our Community strategy of reducing our dependence on resources from outside the Community.

**Mr Linkohr (S).** — (DE) Mr Davignon, you said that you agreed with Mr Pintat's report, and I assume this also applies to paragraph 16, which states that the supply contracts should be drawn up in ECU and that the measures needed to this end should gradually be introduced. May I ask which of these measures you intend to introduce in the next weeks or months?

(Laughter)

**Mr Davignon, Vice-President of the Commission.** — (FR) I am delighted to see that Mr Linkohr is his

usual alert self even at twenty-three minutes to eleven. If his attention did not wander — and I am sure it did not — he will have heard me say that I was in agreement with the main lines of the report. I did not express any view on paragraph 16, that is, on changes in the denomination of contracts, because it is a highly complex question which depends on the extension of the use of the ECU and will involve discussions with supplier countries: it is not enough for the purchaser to want to use a particular currency; the supplier has to give his agreement too. So although I was in agreement with the specifically economic guidelines, I was neither for nor against this particular paragraph.

**President.** — The debate is closed. The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

**23. Sheepmeat**

**President.** — The next item is the second report (Doc. 1-236/84), drawn up by Mr Eyraud on behalf of the Committees on Agriculture, on the organization of the market in sheepmeat.

**Mr Eyraud (S), rapporteur.** — (FR) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, it may be true that the bulk of the Community's mutton and lamb production comes from Britain and France, which in 1983 produced 289 000 t and 181 000 t respectively, but we should not be misled into thinking that the difficulties of organizing the lamb market are an exclusively Franco-British problem. First, because it also concerns other Member States: 121 000 t from Greece, 59 000 t from Italy, 42 000 t from Ireland, and even 22 000 t each from Germany and the Netherlands. Secondly, because the common organization of the market which was established in 1980 and expired on 31 March last was not able to ensure either the Community's self-sufficiency or an equitable income for farmers. Thirdly and finally, because there is a large amount of trade in lamb, with significant imports from third countries, and far from negligible trade between Member States. Community authorities, producers, and consumers recognize the difficulty of reorganizing the sector in a way which is just and fair to all sides. I would remind the House that such a reorganization must in accordance with the Treaties be based on three basic principles: free circulation of goods within the Community. Community preference over third countries, and financial solidarity.

A first difficulty lies in the widely-differing importance which sheep and goat farming has for different Member States, and the widely differing methods of farming. Sometimes we have extensive farming on farms of eight, ten thousand hectares or more, with flocks of three or four hundred sheep, as is the case in the UK, where the total sheep population exceeds 23 million.

**Eyraud**

Sometimes it is intensive, as in France and the other Mediterranean countries, where flocks are smaller — 40 or 50 head, with total numbers around 13 million. The quality varies widely from country to country, and also from season to season, depending whether we are talking about spring lamb or a yearling lamb, sold in late winter or early spring, or in the autumn. The seasonal nature of production leads to wide variations in prices. It is therefore possible to imagine that a well organized market would provide for seasonal complementarity in the production of the various Member States, which would allow us to respect Community preference. For that, however, political will to plan will be needed.

Figures show that Community production is growing at a rate of 1.5 to 2% on average per year, but somewhat unequally, since production is rather tending to fall in the less-favoured south of Europe, where rainfall is sometimes inadequate for the equitable development of lamb and goat production.

Production of meat throughout the Ten in 1983 totalled 740 000 tonnes: consumption totalled 979 000 tonnes. We are a long way from self-sufficiency, and this means that we must first support Community production by appropriate measures, and secondly draw on imports from third countries. We have three options for Community production support measures: producer premiums, intervention buying, and variable slaughter premiums.

The first applies to all Community beef and veal production. In Document 184/84 the Commission is submitting to Parliament a proposal to the Council to extend this premium to cover goat production, but only in Region I. This strikes us as inequitable. In view of its low cost, therefore, we are asking the House to accept an amendment to the report, tabled by Mr Sutra and Mr Thareau, which calls for the proposal to be extended to goat farming in other regions.

Without going into great detail — which you may read in the explanatory statement of the report — I would like to point out simply that the intervention purchase system which applies to France has scarcely been applied since the establishment of the common organization of the market.

The variable premium — the deficiency payment system applied in the United Kingdom — corresponds to the difference between the market price recorded weekly and a guide price equal to 85% of the base price. The premiums are returned to the Community budget when the carcasses are exported to another Member State, which is the 'claw-back'.

Finally, it should be noted that sheep farmers in hill regions and some least favoured regions receive a compensatory payment with a maximum of 266 sheep per flock in France. Clearly, the dual system of aids resulting from the different types of production systems is a source of discord within the Community.

The conclusions of my report take account of the advantages and disadvantages of the way the market is at present organized.

The Committee on Agriculture regrets the continued existence of a dual system, but in the circumstances finds justified the clawback mechanism and the maintenance of 'sensitive areas'. Consequently the new regulation proposed by the Commission in Document 84/190 final relating to measures in connection with prices fixed for the 1984/85 season must not be applied for five years, but reviewed as soon as possible, if possible before the end of the year.

Ladies and gentlemen, I do not propose to go into further detail but, on behalf of the Committee on Agriculture in unanimity, simply call on you to support in tomorrow's vote the conclusions of this second report.

**Mr Provan (ED).** — Mr President, as the one who was responsible for sending it back to committee during the last session I am very grateful to you for being allowed to take part in this debate tonight. My colleague, Mr Eyraud, has come forward with a revised report which I hope my group will be able to support. Due to cooperation in committee, Mr Eyraud has made his report, what I believe is a much more Community spirited report. Something which we can appreciate is the understanding he has shown for producers in the United Kingdom. I must say so, and I have spoken to a member of his secretariat, that I think we have a slight linguistic problem in paragraph 12, because we had an agreement in committee that does not seem to have appeared quite correctly in that paragraph.

Now sheepmeat, Mr President, is one of the most important products as far as we in the agricultural sector in the United Kingdom are concerned. It comes from the less-favoured areas where very few alternative types of production can take place and the consumers in the United Kingdom have always depended on sheepmeat, or lamb as we call it in Britain, as one of the cheaper meats in the market. That is why we have always had the type of system and why we still require the type of premium system in Britain. I hope that the House will be able to support the report.

**Mr Franchère (COM).** — (FR) Mr President, the agreement reached by the Council on 31 March is particularly damaging to milk producers, who are now subject to quotas. It is no better for sheep farmers. There was no real renegotiation of the Community sheep farming regulations: the Ministers were happy to cut and stick a few details which do not even take on board the few improvements proposed by the Commission.

If this agreement is maintained, the distorted competition, particularly that between Britain and France, will

## Franchère

persist until 1988. That is why we are delighted that the Committee on Agriculture has adopted our amendment calling for the Community wine rules to be re-examined before the end of 1984.

The Commission and the Council must do this, to deal with the shortcomings in the regulations.

In 1980 Giscard d'Estaing and the French right wing gave in to British blackmail and agreed both to reduce the British contribution and to sign a knockdown deal at the expense of French sheep farming. Our worst fears have, alas, come true. After three years application of the rules has benefited only Britain and the exporters. A few figures reveal the story: in 1978, Britain exported only 9 000 tonnes of sheepmeat to France; in 1983 it was 32 000 tonnes. In 1983, French production fell by 5.7%; British production increased by 8%. It is true that the sheep farming sector had grown steadily, but that growth has been almost exclusively to the benefit of the British: in 1982/83 Britain received 25 000 million French francs' worth of aid; France received 25 million — one rule for the rich, another for the poor.

It is in order to do away with such distortions and unequal treatment that we are proposing to improve the Community regulations, by returning to Community principles and abolishing the advantages from which Britain is unfairly benefiting, particularly the big Scottish landowners: ten farms have more than 40 000 hectares, and the biggest has 112 000. At the same time, we want to protect frontiers better, by revising the self-limiting agreements so as to limit imports, and breaking away from the GATT customs rules. That is the purpose of our amendments, which are a complement to the Eyraud report, the broad outlines of which we approve.

France, like the Community, is a net importer in sheepmeat, and our deficit increased by a further 30% in 1983 to reach 58 000 t. Sheep farming also plays an essential role in the development of the least favoured regions, and must therefore be encouraged: is the best way of doing so not to offer a decent income to sheep farmers? That is what we are trying to do.

I cannot finish without mentioning our approval for the Commission's proposal for a 'sheep' premium for goat farmers. Why, though, should it be restricted to Greece and Italy, when France has 1.2 million goats in the least favoured regions alone? I therefore call for this payment also to be made available to French goat farmers, and I shall be voting to that effect.

**Mr Dalsager, Member of the Commission.** — (DA) Mr President, I should first like to thank Mr Eyraud for his report. We can all appreciate how much work it involved.

On 31 March 1984 the Council approved some of the amendments the Commission had proposed in the

sheepmeat sector which, to a large extent, were based on the conclusions in the Commission's report on the functioning of the common organization of the market in sheepmeat and goatmeat (Document No 585 of 31 October 1983). With reference to a reduction in EAGGF expenditure in this sector and ways of improving the common organization of the market by, for example, making prices more uniform, the Commission's report concludes that three changes should be made to this internal organization.

Firstly the restriction of payments of variable premiums to a specific percentage of the guide level, i.e. 25%; secondly, the regrouping of the seven areas into five, making Italy and Greece one area and France, Germany, Benelux and Denmark another; thirdly, the restriction of income safeguards in order to give lamb production preference over all sheepmeat production by changing the basis and method of calculation for premiums for ewes.

The Council's view was that the first two proposals would create serious difficulties for many Member States, and more time was required to look at all aspects of the question. Apart from the suggestion that Italy and Greece should be grouped as one area, the proposals were withdrawn from the price package, and the Council accepted the third proposal. The Commission does not intend to restrict the payment of premiums to a maximum number of ewes. As there are considerable differences between the numbers in the individual Member States, the effects of that arrangement could easily vary considerably and may even cause injustice in some of the Member States. It could also create a precedent for regulations in other sectors under the Common Agricultural Policy. The Commission has no intention of introducing export refunds at this point. The claw back exemption for British exports out of the Community should help the Community to maintain its traditional export markets and to a large extent help to strengthen British market prices — and this is of course in the interest of all the Member States.

The Commission has had contacts with the third countries which have signed voluntary export restrictions, particularly New Zealand, and has sounded out opinion on the question of reducing imports and introducing a minimum import price. The Commission's conclusion from these contacts is that changes of this kind will not be possible until the Council has adopted the 1984-1985 price package. However, agreement has already been reached with most of these third countries on the extension of the present arrangements for sensitive areas — this concerns France and Ireland — and the Council must now make a decision. The Commission must decide to what extent the talks with third countries should be continued in an attempt to improve the arrangements even further.

**Mr Eyraud (S), rapporteur.** — (FR) I just want to answer Mr Provan. I have in fact been told that there

**Eyraud**

is a mistake in paragraph 12 of the English version. The French has *en dehors* — out of — whereas the English text has the word *in*. I think the original text is authentic. But there is one other problem. The document indicates that the original language was Dutch, whereas it was drafted in French.

**President.** — We shall see to it that the mistake is corrected for the voting tomorrow.

The debate is closed. The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

**24. Malt**

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-60/84), drawn up by Mr Howell on behalf of the Committee on Agriculture, on the calculation of refunds for malt in line with real market conditions.

**Mr Howell (ED), rapporteur.** — Mr President, the subject of malt refunds is a complex one and one that is well known to this Parliament. Indeed, I believe the subject gave grounds for one of the few censure motions which this Parliament brought against the Commission in 1976, although, of course, the censure motion was not carried. But that is my point, Mr President: the problem is an old one, and it belongs to the past era. Commissioner Dalsager, at the last part-session of this Parliament, stressed that a new era of commonsense had been opened with the new farm price proposals and the CAP reform measures. Also at the last meeting of the Committee on Agriculture, Mr Villain, Director-General of Agriculture at the Commission, gave us a very illuminating talk about the way he saw the CAP developing and a key note of this is that agriculture must be more competitive.

The Community is competing in world markets against major exporters. Australia and Canada also provide refunds for malt and in many ways go further than we do in helping exports. Prices are fixed by the Canadian or Australian wheat or barley boards and if they knew exactly how the Community was pricing its products, they would act accordingly. There is no simple answer to how to compete effectively. The Commission has to take into consideration industry's needs, crop levels, and the policies of other countries.

Malt is an international product. We cannot determine unilaterally what its price should be when fixing prices for Community products and Community-consumed products. Thus the adoption of an automatic formula would mean that we might be unable to sell malt as competitively as before which might have temporary advantages for certain Member States, but be detrimental to the Community as a whole.

There is, however, a conflict of interests in the matter before the House at the moment. Some Community States such as the United Kingdom, France, Belgium and Denmark export malt. Other countries, such as Germany, import malt. Refunds are fixed to enable the exporting countries to compete in world markets. The way these refunds are calculated is quite complex, and it is true that in the past there have been overlarge refunds creating a veritable avalanche of bookings for the restitution payments. This is the origin of Mr Bocklet's motion which he put before this House in 1982. However, since that time, Mr President, the situation has changed. The situation has been got under control, and so I believe that Mr Bocklet's proposal and his original resolution are no longer relevant: Indeed, the position of the Commission and that of the European maltsters, represented by the organization, Euromalt, is quite close, although, of course, Euromalt naturally wants certain changes. Mr Bocklet's proposals are, I believe, both dangerous and costly.

Of course, it makes a good deal of common sense to have a so-called transparent system for fixing refunds, so that we have a clear idea of what refunds will cost the Community budget. But our competitors would also have advance warning of our own prices. Hence any transparent formula would be dangerous and undermine our ability to compete. Would Mr Bocklet favour a system whereby, for example, Volkswagen of Germany tells its major international competitors what its prices will be for the foreseeable future? Would not the Ford Motor Company jump up and down with glee at knowing at how to price its own models. That is the system Mr Bocklet favours in his original resolution.

Secondly, Mr Bocklet's proposals would be costly. The Commission refunds for 1983 cost less than a transparent formula proposed by Mr Bocklet.

At the last meeting of the Committee on Agriculture the Commission representatives stated that something like 15 m ECU had been saved by the Commission system as compared to the one proposed by Mr Bocklet.

A further point I wish to stress in this. The Community is now importing considerable quantities of malting barley into Europe as a whole. That is estimated at between  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a million tonnes and 1 million tonnes in 1984. It is important to note that while the Community has an overall surplus of barley, there are different quantities of barley available in the market today.

Mr President, in view of his, and in view of the fact that the report now before the House — that which was originally presented by myself to the Committee on Agriculture — has been considerably changed I feel deeply that a great deal more thought has to go into this report. Therefore, I ask this House now if it will

**Howell**

allow me, as rapporteur, to refer this report back to committee under Rule 85. I seriously consider that further consideration must be given and, therefore, Mr President, under Rule 85 of the Rules, I would ask you if I can now refer that report back for that further consideration.

*(Applause)*

**Mr Bocklet (PPE).** — *(DE)* Mr President, this is a blatant misuse of the Rules of Procedure. I should like to remind the House that Mr Howell had his report at the committee stage for two years without working on it. I should like to point out that this report was thoroughly examined by the Committee on Agriculture and then came to the Chamber as a report without debate. The Conservative Group, or ten Members at any rate, had asked for the report to be referred back to committee, and they gave the same reasons which Mr Howell has now given. The committee has considered the matter again, as Mr Howell has just told us. Now he is putting forward the same arguments again to get the report referred back to committee.

I should like you to check, Mr President, whether such a request is admissible at the end of the present Parliament, since the report can no longer be considered in committee. What is more, there is no substantial basis for this request and I ask the House to reject it.

**President.** — Mr Bocklet, according, to the Rules of Procedure this request can be made at any time, so that there has to be a vote on it. We can ask the Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions to look into the matter for similar cases in the future at the end of Parliament's mandate.

Requests for the quorum to be ascertained are not permissible where points of order are concerned.

*(Parliament agreed to referral to committee)*

Mr Bocklet, Rule 85(2) states that the matter shall be referred back to committee where pursuant to Rule 71(3) two votes have been taken with a request that the number of those present be ascertained, without the required number being reached.

**Mr Bocklet (PPE).** — *(DE)* Mr President, I just want to say that I am disgusted at the behaviour of some of the Members here. This is blatant misuse of the Rules of Procedure.

### 25. Viticultural land register

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-61/84), drawn up by Mr Stella on behalf of the Com-

mittee on Agriculture, on the Community viticultural land register (Doc. 1-1189/82).

**Mr Stella (PPE), rapporteur.** — *(IT)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the aim of the report on the viticultural land register, which I have the honour of submitting to the House for a vote, is to urge the Community institutions, and in particular the Commission, to examine the possibility of drawing up proposals for the establishment of a new, modern instrument suited to the management of the wine sector.

The idea of a viticultural land register called for in the report is not new, since the Community adopted provisions back in 1962, once again in 1964 and then in 1978 for the establishment of a service of this sort in wine-producing Member States. Unfortunately, not all the statistical surveys laid down for the purpose have yet been completed, so in 1982 the Council of Ministers decided to set up a viticultural land register and expressed this intention formally when adopting the recent reform of the common organization of the market in wine.

What exactly is the viticultural land register? As I have stated on several occasions, this register is not the traditional type of land register comprising a list of holdings such as exists in almost all countries in the world. It is a dynamic instrument for collecting the statistical data most suitable for monitoring this sector, which is often unjustly blamed for creating surpluses.

The idea is to employ the method already used in the olive sector, consisting of a survey of the area concerned, mainly using aerial photography, and noting the characteristics of existing vineyards in order to obtain aggregated data according to territorial areas, communities, holdings, varieties and production potential. It also involves bringing together data gathered for the purposes of planning replanting, wine-making, distillation and storage operations, etc. Whence the potential usefulness of the information which such a register could provide, unlike the traditional type of registers, which must be updated on the basis of censuses and are difficult to manage continuously and in real time throughout a country.

A viticultural land register of the type proposed would also be capable of providing reliable advance information on which basis clear regulations could be drafted to protect the wine sector from market crisis and consequently from costly compulsory distillation measures.

Lastly, we are of the opinion that the viticultural land register could enable us to carry out a whole series of operations, such as controlling the system of premiums for the grubbing-up of vines, assessing the volume of production compared to the surface area cultivated, effectively managing the distillation mechanism and thus managing market regulation measures in general.

**Stella**

I am sorry to say that I cannot support the amendment tabled by Mr Provan, since that would imply losing sight of the aim of setting up a Community viticultural land register, which, as I have already said, has on several occasions been supported by the Council of Ministers and the European Parliament. It would not be a good thing for Community wine-growers if the amendment were adopted, as they need clear agricultural policy guidelines, backed up by streamlined, functional Community services such as the viticultural land register put forward in my report.

*(Applause)*

**Mr Dalsager, Member of the Commission.** — (DA) Mr President, I should first like to explain that the Commission has not submitted a proposal for the introduction of a viticultural land register since the introduction of Regulation No 357 of 1979 on a system including statistical investigations of wine cultivation areas where modern cultivation methods are used — as the information is not yet all available.

The Council accepted the idea of establishing the viticultural land register in connection with the reform of the basic provisions in July 1982. The Italian authorities, from whom the request came, have also agreed to send us a memorandum on the establishment of a viticultural land register, with more details about methods and ways of implementing it, together with the aims in view, the system of financing, etc.

Since Regulation No 357 came into force, the Commission has had a statistical system which works satisfactorily where it has already been introduced and used, i.e. in France, Germany and Luxembourg. According to the Commission, it would be singularly inappropriate to consider introducing another system before the results of the statistical surveys which have just been conducted in Italy and Greece have been used. A system of this kind would, in any case, simply be an addition to the one already existing. Experience gained from records of olive cultivation areas shows the cost of the work to be out of proportion to the results expected.

On the basis of this experience, and while we wait for the Italian memorandum the Commission feels that the very notion of introducing a viticultural land register of this kind must first be looked into very carefully because of the difficulties associated with its implementation and updating.

**President.** — The debate is closed. The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

## 26. Drought in Southern Africa

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-212/84), drawn up by Mr Pearce on behalf of the

Committee on Development and Cooperation, on the consequences of the drought in Southern Africa.

**Mr Pearce (ED), rapporteur.** — Mr President, my report seeks further action by the Community to deal with the consequences of drought in Southern Africa. We are seeking further aid to the countries concerned in what has been the worst drought for a great many years — a drought which in some countries has been made worse by war and by civil disturbance of one kind or another. The report stresses the valuable part that non-governmental organizations can play in the administration of aid schemes. We value what these bodies do. They often distribute aid and administer aid programmes more efficiently than public bodies do. We also support the Southern African Development Cooperation Council which has a rôle to play where issues affect more than one country.

We would like to see the Commission increasing the speed of its appraisal of drought situations and reporting perhaps more fully to Parliament on what it does in such circumstances. We have a number of technical proposals to make about storage and transport of food aid in Africa and similar regions, about the need to study water supplies and water sources, the need to develop drought-resistant crops, the need to study the number of livestock that a given portion of land can viably support and the whole question of afforestation.

Mr President, this report gives me an opportunity to draw to the attention of the House and of our people in this Community some of the things that the Community has done in respect of foreign aid. It is often said that the Community is more concerned with giving our food surpluses to the Soviet Union, and we are often charged with doing nothing with our food surpluses to help afflicted people in regions affected by drought and starvation.

Since the month of December 1983, — taking Mozambique, which I visited recently, as one example — nearly 6.5 million ECU including medical supplies, cereals, beans, vehicles, pumps and so on, have been given to that country. On 25 April 1984 the Commission took a decision to give 59 000 tonnes of cereals to a number of drought-affected countries in Africa, notably Mozambique and Zimbabwe. A further 15 million ECU have been given to 12 African countries for local purchases of food, the purchase of seeds and the transport costs associated with this.

In total, the Community is giving 1 million tonnes of cereals a year to Third World countries which, with other types of food, is worth well over 1 million ECU per day.

Mr President, at this late hour, in this last part-session of this Parliament, I would like to compliment the Commission and its staff on what they do. Their rôle in aiding oppressed, drought-affected, starving people



**Pearce**

deserves much more in the way of complimentary comment than it ever receives.

We found in Mozambique, when some of us went there in February, an urgent need for seed maize and for water pumps. We telexed back to Brussels to Commissioner Pisani, and in a remarkably short space of time the means to satisfy those demands were provided by the Commission. Very often in this Chamber we criticize the Commission for what it has done and for what it has failed to do. Indeed, that is our job as Members of this Parliament. However, there are occasions when one should compliment the Commission on what it has done, and I take his opportunity to do so.

The Commission has a fine record. The Community has a fine record — a better record than almost anybody in the world — in assisting people affected by drought and starvation. All we can say is that it is a good record but there is still more that has to be done. I hope and believe that the Community and the Commission will do that.

**Mr Dalsager, Member of the Commission.** — (DA) Mr President, as indicated in the motion for a resolution, the Community provided considerable food and other emergency aid in 1983 and 1984 to many African countries seriously affected by drought, particularly in southern Africa. In this region Zimbabwe and Mozambique benefited most — approximately 7.5 million ECU — because of the extent of the disaster. It must be stressed that this aid, as requested by the Parliament, includes seed. It should also be pointed out that the aid teams sent by the Community to Mozambique saved many lives in the most seriously hit areas. The Community sent considerably more food than usual, particularly towards the end of 1983.

Where the reference to Namibia and South Africa in the report and motion is concerned, I would make two comments:

firstly, any help of a humanitarian nature given to Namibia (paragraph 2 in the motion) from the Community must, under present conditions be given through the European non-governmental organizations working together with local bodies belonging to, for example, the World Council of Churches in Namibia, and with the relevant UN agencies. The reason for this procedure was recently explained by my colleague Mr Pisani in connection with the report and resolution on the European Community's relations with Namibia.

The Commission's second comment concerns the proposal in paragraph 3 that the Commission should provide humanitarian aid for certain regions of South Africa, i.e. so-called homelands. It is also pointed out in this connection that the Republic of South Africa, with an annual per capita income of about \$ 25 000 and considerable exchange capital, can hardly be considered a developing country in need of help from outside — even if we take the present drought into consideration. I may add that the South African agencies

concerned are taking steps to buy a good 4 million tonnes of corn from the United States and other supplier countries in 1984 on commercial terms to cover the present shortfall in South Africa's corn balance resulting from the drought.

With reference to paragraph 7 I should like to say that the recommendations are based on the proposals made by Zimbabwe's agricultural minister on behalf of the regional council at the international SADCC Conference — this is the conference dealing with the coordination of development in southern Africa — in February 1984. At this conference Mr Pisani pointed out that the Community, through the Lomé Convention and other programmes, was providing aid for many areas in these countries and welcomed the opportunity to work with the SADCC group on more detailed investigations and projects to look into the social, physical and economic damage which could arise as a result of the drought in southern Africa.

**President.** — The debate is closed. The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

**Mr Howell (ED).** — Mr President, I wish to make a very short personal statement in view of the comments that Mr Bocklet made at the end of the debate on the so-called Howell report.

I am deeply aware that this is the last session of this Parliament and that therefore, by using Rule 85 of the Rules of Procedure, I have effectively stopped the report in its tracks. However, Mr Bocklet did accuse me of using the regulations to my advantage. I would only say to him that there is absolutely nothing personal in the action that I have taken, or that which has been taken by my group. We have worked closely with Mr Bocklet over the last five years and we hope to do the same over the next five years. We are hoping very much to improve relations between his group and ours. I put it on record therefore, Mr President, that this is absolutely nothing personal against Mr Bocklet or anyone else. This is simply an issue about which we feel very deeply in this group. It is a controversial issue, and I really did feel it was right to refer the report back to committee.

**Mr de Courcy Ling (ED).** — Mr President, I wanted to say that I am not prepared to vote again for referring the Howell report back to committee. I did so this evening out of solidarity with my group, but I really dislike and disapprove of the use of procedural devices for substantial political purposes. I would like Mr Bocklet to rest assured that next time this report comes to the plenary sitting, I shall not be prepared to vote for its referral back to committee.

(The sitting was closed at 11.30 p.m.)<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Agenda for next sitting: see Minutes.

## ANNEX I

*Votes*

(The Annex to the Report of Proceedings contains the rapporteur's opinion on the various amendments and the explanations of vote. For a detailed account of the voting see Minutes.)

**MAIJ-WEGGEN REPORT (DOC. 1-214/84 'EQUALITY OF TREATMENT FOR MEN AND WOMEN'): ADOPTED**

The rapporteur was:

- IN FAVOUR of Amendments Nos 1 to 4, 6 to 11, 14 to 19, 21 24 to 27 and 30;
- AGAINST Amendments Nos 5, 20, 22, 23, 28 and 29.

*Explanations of vote*

**Mrs Lizin (S).** — (FR) Very quickly, since no one from my group spoke last night, I should like in my capacity as coordinator of the Committee on Inquiry into the Situation of Women to indicate our approval of the work that has been done to benefit women in the retail trade, and also in particular those in farming.

For once Parliament has been especially active and speedy and we trust, for the sake of these women, that the Council will follow our example and very quickly ratify the proposed directive.

**Mr Patterson (ED).** — I can be just as brief in explaining why my group unfortunately cannot support Mrs Maij-Weggen's report. The reasons are contained in my Amendment No 29, which the House rejected. We believe that legislation in the field of self-employment can be appropriate. We accept that entirely. However, my amendment goes on to say 'provided that it does interfere with purely private arrangements'. It is the failure of the House to adopt that amendment that is critical as far as we are concerned. It means, unfortunately, that we have to vote against.

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**BATTERSBY REPORT (DOC. 1-221/84 'FISHERIES'): ADOPTED**

The rapporteur was:

- IN FAVOUR of Amendments Nos 1 and 2.

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**GHERGO REPORT (DOC. 1-248/84 'PROTECTION OF FORESTS'): ADOPTED**

Mr Mertens, deputy rapporteur, was:

- IN FAVOUR of Amendments Nos 7 to 9, 11, 13, 14 (paragraph 1), 16 and 17;

— AGAINST Amendments Nos 10, 12, 14 (paragraph 2) and 15.

*Explanations of vote*

**Mrs De March (COM).** — (*FR*) Every year in my region thousands of hectares of forest go up in flames, which explains the number of amendments I have tabled during this debate today. There are tremendous economic and ecological losses but human life is also lost, among both the population and rescue workers. Thanks to what has been done to improve fire prevention and protection, some positive results have been achieved but they are often jeopardized by the lack of resources in fighting fires. That is why our group has on several occasions proposed and pushed through Parliament urgent motions to help combat forest fires. The Commission has to a large extent incorporated these in its proposal for a regulation, of which we approve. We now have to act quickly, because the fires have already started.

The European Parliament has given its opinion; the Council must now adopt this regulation quickly so that the five million ECU entered in the 1984 budget can be used.

I am in fact sorry that a number of amendments by the Committee on Agriculture were not adopted, even though it was a very small number that was rejected. We support the Commission's proposal for a regulation and the Ghergo motion for a resolution, which has been improved by the adoption of our amendments and those of the Committee on Agriculture.

**Mr Kellett-Bowman (ED), in writing.** — The problem of acidity in our lakes and reservoirs and acid rain in our forests demands Community action. First, we must conduct research in order to identify the causes which are not yet certain. The control and elimination of the causes will be a matter for the Community in concert with neighbouring countries. I shall vote for the Ghergo report because it stresses the urgency with which these problems must be faced.

**Mr Pranchère (COM), in writing.** — (*FR*) The southern regions are those most affected by forest fires although those farther north are not of course spared. This year we have not had to wait until the summer for the fires and in my region thousands of hectares were destroyed in April, with considerable material and economic loss.

Efforts have been made to increase the profitability of forestry and to provide better protection against fires but until now our region has not been able to take advantage of funds in this area under the EAGGF Guidance Section.

The regulation proposed by the Commission will apply throughout the Community and it should make Community funds available to supplement the efforts at the national and regional levels. More specifically, in our region it should help to develop access routes in the forests, to increase the number of marketing premiums and to intensify methods of prevention.

In view of all these possibilities which could become a reality this year thanks to the funds which are already entered in the budget, I give my approval to the Commission's proposal for a regulation and to Mr Ghergo's motion for a resolution.

**Mr Simmonds (ED), in writing.** — No one country on its own can solve the problems of acid rain.

Throughout Europe, disturbing evidence of pollution from coal-burning power stations and other outlets is seen in our woods and forests.

Britain cannot afford a repeat of the decimation of our woodland 10 years ago by Dutch elm disease, and more recently by oak and beech wilt.

Urgent action is called for by all European Community countries. Whilst it will be very expensive to reduce sulphur emissions, the cost of not doing so in environmental terms is virtually incalculable.

Britain alone plans to spend nearly 2 million pounds on research in the next year on the problem, but it would be much more sensible for Member States to pool research costs and benefits.

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**CERAVOLO REPORT (DOC. 1-195/84 'PROTECTION OF DIALYSIS PATIENTS'): ADOPTED**

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**EISMA REPORT (DOC. 1-193/84 'OIL SPILLS AT SEA'): ADOPTED**

The rapporteur was:

— IN FAVOUR of Amendments Nos 5 to 9.

*Explanations of vote*

**Mrs Le Roux (COM).** — (FR) The French Members of the Communist and Allies Group approve the Commission's proposal for a directive on contingency plans to combat accidental oil spills at sea. Having said that, we think with the rapporteur that the proposal has one big shortcoming. I am referring to prevention. It is not enough to do something about the effects without doing something about the causes. The *Amoco Cadiz* is a case in point, since it shows how the big oil companies use flags of convenience as a cover for gross errors of navigation and to wriggle out of their responsibilities. It is inconceivable that the Commission does not want to put an end to this practice, which is the cause of the worst oil slicks.

The amendments we tabled sought to rectify this shortcoming. Unhappily, the rightwing majority in this Assembly did not see fit to adopt them, especially just now when it is likely that the Brussels Convention, which is currently being reviewed in London, will ignore the liability of parent companies or the agents of vessels sailing under a flag of convenience. We shall vote for the Eisma report, although we deplore the complicity of silence in this Assembly over a practice which we at least shall continue to criticize.

**Mr Protopapadakis (PPE), in writing.** — (GR) The protection of coastal waters from pollution is, in my view, not only a European issue, with particular importance for my country, Greece, but also a personal issue, since it also concerns my own birthplace, which is one of the islands of the Cyclades. Since this is perhaps the last text which I shall be tabling in the European Parliament — since for reasons beyond my control I expect to have to cut short my political career in its tenth year — I state that I shall vote for the proposal on the protection of the sea and coasts and shall consider my vote as a token of esteem for the inhabitants of the islands who elected me to my country's national parliament and subsequently to the European Parliament.

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**SQUARCIALUPI REPORT (DOC. 1-243/84 'FOODSTUFFS'): REFERRED BACK  
TO COMMITTEE**

The rapporteur was:

- IN FAVOUR of Amendments Nos 1 to 10 and 15;
- AGAINST Amendments Nos 12 to 14.

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**LANGE REPORT (DOC. 1-247/84 'BUDGET DISCIPLINE AND FUTURE  
FINANCING OF THE COMMUNITY'): ADOPTED**

The rapporteur was:

- AGAINST Amendment No 1.

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**RHYS WILLIAMS REPORT (DOC. 1-210/84 'ECONOMIC SITUATION'):  
ADOPTED**

## ANNEX II

Answer to the questions raised in the sitting of 10 April 1984 by Mr Cousté in connection with his question (H-549/83) on the preparations for an ECU clearing system between European and American banks.

*Question No 14, by Mr Cousté (H-549/83)*

Subject: Preparations for an ECU clearing system between European and American banks

What is the Commission doing to assist the development of the ECU clearing system between European and American banks? As this system is now being worked out, can the Commission ensure that banks of all the European countries will be able to join the system and that the ECU will thereby be able to acquire the status of a currency?

*Supplementary answer<sup>1</sup>*

1. The following commercial banks are participating in the preparations for an ECU clearing system:
  - Caisse d'Épargne de l'Etat — Luxembourg
  - Société Générale de Banque — Brussels
  - Société Générale — Paris
  - Lloyds Bank Limited — London
  - Istituto Bancario San Paolo di Torino — Turin
  - Banque Internationale — Luxembourg
  - Banque Bruxelles-Lambert — Brussels
  - Banque Nationale de Paris — Paris
  - Banca Nazionale di Lavoro — Rome
  - Deutsche Bank AG — Frankfurt
  - Crédit Lyonnais — Paris
  - Kredietbank — Brussels
  - Banca Commerciale Italiana — Milan
  - Allied Irish Bank — Dublin
  - Caisse Nationale de Crédit Agricole — Paris
  - Morgan Guaranty Trust Company of New York — Brussels
  - Kredietbank — Luxembourg
  - Algemene Bank-Nederland
2. As the Commission has already indicated in its reply to Mr Cousté's question (H-549/83), it is desirable for the clearing system to cover the whole Community and there is every reason to believe that at least one bank from each Member State will participate in the system. Participation is not linked to the banks' particular status under national legislation (e.g., commercial bank, investment bank, etc.) but to the normal operation of a considerable number of ECU transactions on the monetary and currency markets.

<sup>1</sup> See debates of April 1984 (Question Time).

3. The participation of any country's bank in the clearing system does not necessarily imply that the ECU is regarded as a currency by the monetary authorities of the country in question. It is for this reason that the Commission urges that the ECU be treated in a like manner in all the Member States of the Community.
4. It is unlikely that there will be any participation in the scheme by the European Investment Bank, which is a medium-term financial institution which does not conduct interbank transactions involving large sums in ECU. However, since the bank is a major customer in the ECU market, it has a direct interest in the successful outcome of the present negotiations and it is also making an active contribution to the preparations.

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### I. Questions to the Council

#### *Question No 3, by Mr Papaefstratiou (H-756/83)*

Subject: Measures and guarantees to ensure equality and impartiality during the forthcoming elections to the European Parliament

In view of the forthcoming elections to the European Parliament in June 1984, what steps does the Council propose to take to ensure that in the various Member States there is equality and impartiality in the handling of government and opposition political parties by the State information media (television and radio) with regard to unrestricted communication with the people, and to give full guarantees as regards the conduct of the voting to citizens of EEC Member States who live or happen to be in another EEC Member State on the day of the elections?

#### *Answer*

In a number of Member States the allocation of radio and television time to political parties during election campaigns is laid down by law or regulation. In other Member States this matter is dealt with by the radio and television stations themselves.

Until the entry into force of a uniform electoral procedure and subject to the provisions of the Act of 20 September 1976, the electoral procedure in each Member State is governed by national provisions. It is therefore these national provisions which determine any voting arrangements for citizens living abroad.

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#### *Question No 5, by Mr Bonde (H-39/84)*

Subject: Food aid

Would the Council provide details of requests for food aid not granted between 1980 and the present time, stating the quantities and values for each request, stocks of the goods requested held in the various Community-financed stores and, finally, the reason for refusal in each case, mentioning which decisions were taken under the voting rules?

#### *Answer*

Countries send their requests for food aid direct to the Commission. Until 1982, the Council took decisions not on these requests, of which it had no direct knowledge, but on proposals from the Commission. Since the framework regulation on food aid policy and

management came into force in 1982, decisions on aid allocations have been taken by the Commission in compliance with the implementing regulations adopted by the Council, after receiving the opinion of the Food Aid Committee and in accordance with the procedure laid down in Article 8 of the framework regulation.

A vote has been taken in the Council only in exceptional cases, notably on the occasion of the adoption of the regulation implementing the abovementioned framework regulation for 1983.

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*Question No 6, by Mr Rogalla (H-563/83)<sup>1</sup>*

Subject: Customs frontier

Where does the customs frontier of the European Communities customs union run, and on what legal basis?

*Answer*

The customs frontier of the customs union on which the European Economic Community is based is that deriving from Regulation (EEC) No 1496/68 on the definition of the customs territory of the Community. The Council is at present examining a Commission proposal designed to amend this definition with a view to including in the customs territory the territorial sea and the air space of the Member States. The European Parliament gave an opinion on this proposal at its sitting on 18 September 1981.

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*Question No 12, by Mr Maffre-Baugé (H-48/84)*

Subject: Implementation of the new regulation of 14 November 1983 on fruit and vegetables

Article 8 of the regulation of 14 November 1983 on fruit and vegetables stipulates that the regulation shall enter into force immediately after the Community has submitted a declaration on the accession negotiations to the applicant countries.

Although this declaration was made public several weeks ago, the new regulation is still not being applied.

Is it the intention of the Council to implement this regulation as soon as possible?

*Answer*

At its meeting on 14 and 15 May 1984 the Council decided to apply Regulations (EEC) No 3284/83 and (EEC) No 3285/83, to which the honourable Member refers, with effect from 1 June 1984.

The Council considered that the condition for application of this regulation had been met. This condition was the submission by the Community to the applicant countries of the

<sup>1</sup> Former written question (No 1644/83) converted into a question for Question Time.



declaration on the accession negotiations on fruit and vegetables. This declaration was submitted to Spain on 21 February 1984 and to Portugal on 31 March 1984.

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*Question No 13, by Mr Deschamps (H-50/84)*

Subject: Setting up of a Special Survival Fund in Belgium and the possibility of stepping up cooperation between the EEC and the Member States as regards the implementation of food strategies.

Given that, in 1983, Belgium passed a bill sponsored by Mr Thys and others, which set up a Special Survival Fund for the Third World with a view to protecting populations threatened by hunger, malnutrition and underdevelopment by means of emergency programmes involving food strategies and integrated rural development, and that the coordination of bilateral and Community activities is considered one of the key elements in the food strategy approach adopted by the Council of Ministers of Development,<sup>1</sup> can the Council report on the results of cooperation between the EEC and the Member States as regards the implementation of food strategies, improving and stepping up this type of aid activity in the ACP and less-developed countries, and increased coordination in the field between the Commission and the Member States?

*Answer*

In the context of the measures taken to combat hunger in the world, the Council has agreed to provide Community support for the implementation of the food strategies of Mali, Rwanda, Kenya and Zambia.

This support is provided by means of all the cooperation instruments available to the Community. Of these I would cite food aid, now better integrated into the agricultural and rural development prospects of the recipient countries. I would also refer to the budget appropriations to cover the expenditure involved in support measures for countries which have undertaken to increase their self-sufficiency in food, to safeguard their natural heritage and to improve the conditions under which it is exploited.

The Member States concerned play an active part together with the Commission within the coordination structures set up with the recipient countries, which are generally open to other donors as well, in the effective implementation of this type of action. The support of the Community and of the Member States is particularly important in countries which are often classified as the least developed and the food situation of which, however critical it is now, could improve significantly as a result of the adoption of appropriate measures to increase food self-sufficiency and security.

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*Question No 14, by Mr Seligmann (H-65/84)*

Subject: Next meeting of the European Council

What principal subjects will be on the agenda for the forthcoming meeting of the Heads of Government in European Council?

*Answer*

Under the procedures governing European Council meetings, no formal agenda is provided for. The subjects which the Presidency considers as lending themselves to discussion

<sup>1</sup> See Commission's answer to oral question (H-642/83) by Mrs Dury.

are communicated to the Heads of Government directly by the Presidency, usually a few days before the meeting is due to take place.

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*Question No 15 by Mrs Lizin (H-73/84)*

Subject: Areas affected by brucellosis

Having regard to the brucellosis epidemic that has affected certain areas of Wallonia, in particular Dinant-Philippeville and other milk producing grassland areas, during the period 1980/81, does the Council intend to authorize the adjustment of quotas to take account of this distressing fact that has led many small farmers to slaughter their livestock?

*Answer*

Council Regulation 857/84 sets out the general rules for the application of the supplementary levy on producers or purchasers of cow's milk. These rules enable account to be taken of special situations such as those described in the question raised by the honourable Member when determining the reference quantities above which the levy is applied.

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*Question No 16, by Mr Marck (H-75/84)*

Subject: Arrears in the payment of monetary compensatory amounts

We understand from various sources that the Member States are seriously in arrears in the payment of monetary compensatory amounts. France is apparently still in arrears with its payments of monetary compensatory amounts to Belgian firms in the pigmeat sector in respect of imports for the period July to October 1983.

Can the Council suggest what steps should be taken by the Member States to remove this backlog of payments, which undermines the profitability of healthy undertakings, and to prevent it recurring?

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*Answer*

The Council would remind the honourable Member that it is for the Commission to ensure that the Treaty and the provisions adopted pursuant thereto are applied. In any case, the Council has received no proposals in the field to which the honourable Member refers.

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*Question No 17, by Mr Martin (H-77/84)*

Subject: American wine imports into the Community

During the April part-session, I tabled a question to the Council (H-760/83) concerning a proposal for a regulation drawn up by the Commission on American wine imports into the Community.

On 11 April, the Council replied that it had not received the Commission proposal.

This reply was, to say the least, surprising since the Commission had submitted this proposal for a regulation (COM(84) 149 final) to the Council on 15 March.

I therefore repeat my original question: does the Council intend to consult the European Parliament on this proposal for a regulation?

*Answer*

A proposal for a regulation on the matter referred to by the honourable Member was indeed put before the Council on 19 March 1984.

The aim of this proposal is to implement a provision of Council Regulation (EEC) 337/79 on the common organization of the wine market in order to enable the wine trade between the Community and the United States to develop harmoniously.

The proposal is based on Article 51(1) of Regulation (EEC) No 337/79 which, since this is an essentially technical area, does not provide for consultation of the European Parliament.

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*Question No 18, by Mr Pearce (H-82/84)*

Subject: Drugs

Will the Council set up an EEC study to see whether Europe's diplomatic muscle can be used to cut off the supply of drugs (which are causing increasing problems amongst our young people) at source?

*Answer*

The question of the means which could be used to combat the use of drugs, and particularly the possibility mentioned by the honourable Member, was raised at the initiative of the Italian delegation at a recent Council meeting in March 1984. This issue is of particular concern but is very complex. The Council would point out that it is more a matter for the Member States and should be dealt with in the context of cooperation between them. However, on those terms the Council would be willing to give its closest attention to any appropriate initiative submitted to it.

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*Question No 19, by Mr van Aerssen (H-83/84)*

Subject: Negotiations on the new ACP-EEC Convention

In the light of the progress in the negotiations on the new ACP-EEC Convention, does the Council feel that it should elaborate upon its mandate to the Commission, in particular with regard to the inclusion of a clause on the respect of fundamental human rights in the process of development?

*Answer*

I would first of all say that considerable progress was made at the Conference in Fiji. Common policies emerged on many questions on the basis of which work on the drafting

of the new Convention will now begin. There will have to be further negotiations on other items and the Council will have to elaborate on the mandate with regard to some of them.

As regards human rights, no further addition to the mandate seems necessary at this stage. It was envisaged that an appropriate reference should be inserted in the future Convention on this matter and after Fiji the prospects of reaching a solution with our ACP friends appear to be good. After reiterating their point of view that the question of human rights should be dealt with as it was for Lomé II in the speeches delivered at the signing ceremony, they said they were prepared nevertheless to look at any proposal the EEC might make. The Presidency therefore undertook to submit a proposal in writing for examination at the fourth ministerial meeting in June.

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*Question No 20, by Sir Jack Stewart-Clark (H-84/84)*

Subject: Agreement with the United Kingdom allowing British tourists into France

Recently, the French Government announced its decision to end an agreement with the United Kingdom allowing British tourists into the country for up to 60 hours without a passport. In future, no British national will be able to enter France without possessing a standard British passport or a one year visitor's passport.

In an official communiqué, the French Government has stated that it is seeking to improve border controls in an attempt to curb illegal immigration.

What significance does the Council attach to the decision of the French Government to restrict entry of excursion tourists coming from other Member States, in direct contradiction with the objective of free movement of all Community nationals throughout the EEC as laid down in the Treaty of Rome?

*Answer*

Subject to the provisions adopted under the Treaties, which the Commission is responsible for ensuring are implemented, it is for the Member States to decide what documents are required for crossing their frontiers.

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## II. Questions to the Foreign Ministers

*Question No 22, by Mr Pöttering (H-726/83)<sup>1</sup>*

Subject: Sentences imposed on two Catholic priests in China

According to reports in the press, the 76-year-old Catholic bishop of the north Chinese diocese of Baoding, Peter Joseph Fan Xueyan, has been sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. He was accused of ordaining priests and bishops in secret, maintaining relations with the Vatican and receiving money from abroad. The Vicar-General of the diocese, Peter Huo Binzhang, who is over 70, has also been sentenced to ten years' imprisonment.

Are the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation aware of these cases and are they prepared to intercede with the Chinese authorities on behalf of these two Catholic priests?

<sup>1</sup> Former oral question without debate (0-138/83) converted into a question for Question Time.

*Answer*

The Ten learned in January 1984 of the sentences imposed in China on two Catholic priests who had been under house arrest for more than a year before their arrest and trial. They will look for the most favourable opportunity to inform the Chinese authorities of the public feelings aroused by the imprisonment of these two priests.

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*Question No 25, by Mrs van Hemeldonck (H-85/84)<sup>1</sup>*

Subject: Repression in Zaire

There have again been reports of maltreatment and executions in prisons in Zaire. Twenty-seven prisoners are reported to have been executed in the prison of Lunguala, a district of Kinshasha, between 29 December 1983 and 2 January 1984.

Can the Foreign Ministers confirm or deny that executions have taken place in the Lunguala prison? Do the Foreign Ministers support the call for an international committee of inquiry into conditions in prisons in Zaire?

*Answer*

The Ten are aware of the information, referred to by the honourable Member, according to which 27 prisoners were executed in the prison of Lunguala at the end of 1983. The information came from the Zaire Committee in Brussels and was formally denied by the Kinshasha authorities. A number of Western ambassadors nevertheless looked into the matter but could find no information or evidence to support the allegations. In view of the fact that the accusations are purely hypothetical, the Ten have no plans at the moment to call for the setting up of an international committee of inquiry into conditions in prisons in Zaire.

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*Question No 26, by Mr Israël (H-2/84)*

Subject: Withdrawal of Libyan troops from Chad

Have the Ministers been informed of the terms of the resolution voted on by the ACP-EEC Joint Committee (Brazzaville, 20-24 February 1984) demanding the withdrawal of Libyan troops from Chad? Do the Ministers have any comments to make on the fact that many African representatives backed this resolution and that French Members of Parliament felt they had to abstain?

*Answer*

The Members of Parliament who expressed opinions at the meeting of the ACP-EEC Joint Committee in Brazzaville on 20-24 February 1984 were speaking solely for themselves and the Ministers have no comment to make on the way they voted.

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<sup>1</sup> Former oral question without debate (0-172/83) converted into a question for Question Time.

*Question No 27, by Mr Wurtz (H-10/84)*

Subject: Neo-Nazi activities

What action do the Ministers intend to take as a concrete response to the resolution adopted during the February part-session which requested their help in the campaign to have Walter Rauff extradited from Chile and also that they take steps to combat neo-Nazi activities on the territory of the EEC?

*Answer*

In accordance with Parliament's wishes, representations were made to the Chilean authorities on the subject of Walter Rauff. His death on 14 May obviously renders the honourable Member's question superfluous. As for combating neo-Nazi activities within the EEC, this matter does not fall within the scope of political cooperation.

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*Question No 28, by Mrs Hammerich (H-67/84)*

Subject: Cooperation between the EPC, the Commission and NATO

Is the following section of the explanatory statement to Mr Klepsch's report on security, adopted by Parliament at its April part-session, correct?

Paragraph 61: Foreign Ministry officials working within the EPC framework developed close links with NATO when preparing the CSCE and its sequels. The Commission itself was also partly involved in this process.

Could the President state whether this close cooperation between the EPC, the Commission and NATO took place with the approval of the Danish Government?

*Answer*

In the context of political cooperation the Ten work closely together on all aspects of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, including the Stockholm Conference. These consultations among the Ten are different from those which take place in other contexts.

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*Question No 29, by Mrs Lizin (H-69/84)*

Subject: Situation in Turkey

Have the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation discussed the situation in Turkey recently, having regard to the fact that torture continues to be practised, particularly in the Mamak military prison, and to the hunger strike embarked on by political prisoners?

*Answer*

Although the Ministers have not given their recent attention to the internal situation in Turkey in the framework of political cooperation, the honourable Member may rest assured that developments in that country, particularly with regard to human rights, will

continue to be watched closely by the Ten. At the bilateral level the Ten take every opportunity to voice their concern to the Turkish authorities.

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*Question No 30, by Mr Lomas (H-72/84)*

Subject: Sentencing of Chilean nationals

The European Parliament recently showed its concern at the lack of human rights in Chile, in a report carried by the Parliament at the April plenary session. The Chilean military dictatorship is about to pass sentence on three young Chileans, Jorge Palma Donoso, Hugo Marchant Moya, and Carlos Alberto Araneda Miranda. It is expected that the death sentence will be passed. The military tribunal involved in this trial has been strongly condemned by the bishops of the Chilean Catholic Church and even by the President of the Supreme Court of Justice, don Rafael Retamal, who has declared the measure unconstitutional.

Will the Foreign Ministers intercede with the Chilean Government in an effort to save the lives of these young Chilean people?

*Answer*

On 18 April the Ten sent a message to the Chilean authorities expressing the hope that the persons accused of involvement in the attempt on the life of General Urzua, the military administrator of Santiago, would be protected by all the judicial guarantees provided under Chilean law.

The Ten subsequently learned that the counsels for the defence of Mr Jorge Palma Donoso, Mr Hugo Marchant Moya and Mr Carlos Araneda Miranda, failing in their attempt to have the case heard by a court other than the Military Tribunal, lodged a fresh appeal founded on the arbitrary character of the behaviour of the security forces towards their clients. The Court of Appeal threw out this application and the Supreme Court of Justice, to which the matter has been referred, is shortly due to deliver an opinion.

The Presidency of the Council has also been informed that the Chilean Supreme Court of Justice, most likely in response to the appeal from the Ten, has just issued an order to the effect that the Military Tribunal may not be convened until the Supreme Court has delivered a fresh opinion on the basic circumstances of the case.

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*Question No 31, by Mr Kyrkos (H-74/84)*

Subject: Looting of churches and monuments in Cyprus

In a recent speech Mr Patroklos Stavrou, Under-Secretary on the staff of the President of the Republic of Cyprus, accused the Turks occupying the northern section of the island of looting churches and monuments and selling the various objects associated with Greek culture in countries in Western Europe and America, where they are then bought at various auctions by the Government of Cyprus.

Will the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation say what steps the Community could take to prevent the looting of occupied northern Cyprus, the object of which is to de-hellenize the area?

*Answer*

The Foreign Ministers of the Community have not considered the specific question of safeguarding the cultural heritage in the northern area of the Republic of Cyprus.

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*Question No 32, by Mr Haagerup (H-76/84)*

Subject: Lebanon

I should like to ask the Ministers meeting in political cooperation what steps have been taken to coordinate the policies of the Ten towards the Middle East, taking account of the deterioration of the situation in Lebanon and the pressures exerted on Lebanon by the neighbouring States.

*Answer*

The events of the recent months in the Middle East in general and in Lebanon in particular prompted the Ten to issue a statement (27 March 1984) which:

- reiterated the principles which, in the eyes of the Ten, should serve as a basis for the settlement of the Israeli-Arab conflict;
- called on all parties to start the negotiations which are necessary for the implementation of these principles, a process which presupposes the mutual recognition of the right to existence;
- stressed the Ten's wish to develop the activity of the European Community on behalf of the populations of the occupied territories;
- underlined the need to initiate processes which would lead to the withdrawal of foreign forces from Lebanese territory and the re-establishment of national unity.

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*Question No 33, by Mr Purvis (H-80/84)*

Subject: Nicaragua

What is the current assessment of the political, economic and social position in Nicaragua and what role do the Foreign Ministers consider the Community could play in fostering progress in these aspects of Nicaraguan life?

*Answer*

Nicaragua is currently facing severe economic problems, most of which are due to the heritage of past regimes and the low level of development in the country. The present government is finding it extremely difficult to remedy the hardship affecting the population. Preparations for the planned general election on 4 November 1984 are now under way.

The Ten believe that peaceful and negotiated settlements should be found for all the conflicts existing in Central America. They have accordingly declared their unreserved support for the Contadora Group. EEC economic aid to Nicaragua is concentrated in the



agricultural sector and aimed at increasing the production of foodstuffs. The decisions relating to it are placed in the broader context of aid to Central America.

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### III. Questions to the Commission

#### *Question No 35, by Mrs Nebout (H-743/83)*

Subject: Fuel oil substitutes

Can the Commission give any details of the development of a new fuel consisting of 80% water, 0.5 to 1% coal and 20% a chemical additive, which could be used as a substitute for heavy and light fuel oil in industry?

#### *Answer*

Coal-water mixtures containing up to about 80% coal, 20% water and small amounts of chemical additives (to maintain the coal in suspension or to improve the flow properties of the mixture) have aroused much interest as a possible substitute for oil in existing boilers. However, the production and use of such mixtures is still regarded as being at the development stage.

A small amount of R&D on the combustion of such mixtures has been supported within the ECSC coal research programme.

The topic is included in the subprogramme on solid fuels of the proposed R&D programme in the field of non-nuclear energy (1984-87).

The topic is also included in the Community's programme of demonstration projects in the energy sector. An Italian project on COM and a British project (with French and German collaboration) on CWM were granted support under this programme in 1983.

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#### *Question No 36, by Miss De Valera (H-766/83)*

Subject: Medical cards and Irish students

Is the Commission aware that the coalition government in Ireland has now deprived Irish third level students of their rights to free medical cards and that students studying in all other EEC Member States are entitled to such cards and does it therefore agree that this action seriously discriminates against Irish students?

#### *Answer*

'Medical cards' as such for third level students do not exist in many Member States, cover being provided via rights derived from parental insurance. It is up to each Member State to define which groups of people are entitled to public provision for health care and social security and no norms are laid down by Community law. One group may be covered in one Member State but not in another. There would therefore seem to be no possibility of discrimination in this case, if the question has been interpreted correctly.

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*Question No 45, by Mr Rogalla (H-742/83)<sup>1</sup>*

Subject: Transfrontier rail transport within the European Community

Is the Commission aware that long-distance trains in Europe have to switch locomotives at every national border and that as a result the time required for transfrontier train travel between Member States is made considerably longer?

Does the Commission know for example that trains from Brussels to Zurich require four different locomotives (from Belgium, Luxembourg, France and Switzerland) to cover a distance of a mere 700 kilometres?

Does the Commission know that one of the reasons why locomotives have to be changed at the border is because national railways operate with different voltages?

Does the Commission know that German locomotives cannot be sold in France, or vice versa, because the Community has been unable despite 25 years of the EEC Treaty, to arrive at transfrontier public tenders in this important field?

Does the Commission regard these inadequacies and delays at the border as compatible with the objectives of the common transport policy in the common market?

What concrete action has the Commission taken to tackle these anomalies? What does the Commission intend to do in future to streamline train travel within Europe?

*Answer*

1. The problems to which the honourable Member refers stem mainly from the fact that different power supply systems for railways co-exist within the Community.
2. This is the result of the various power supply options which were available to the railway companies when they started electrification at the beginning of the century. Technical advances have not yet made it feasible to contemplate harmonizing the various systems since tremendously high investment costs would be involved.
3. The solution chosen by the railway companies was to introduce multi-system locomotives which can operate with different voltages or frequencies. Locomotives of this type currently operate a considerable number of routes within the Community. They are expensive, however, and their use is limited to routes which are sufficiently profitable.
4. It should be pointed out that a change of locomotives may also be necessary for other reasons. This is the case with regard to terminus stations such as Luxembourg where trains depart in the same direction from which they came. There is in any case a change of locomotives for technical reasons which have nothing to do with the fact that a frontier has been crossed.
5. The Commission attaches great importance to the improvement of services offered to rail users. In this connection the honourable Member is referred to the communication of 9 February 1983 from the Commission to the Council on inland transport.<sup>2</sup> A basic objective is a higher average speed of trains, especially on long-distance routes. In order to achieve this aim, special attention should be given to promoting cooperation among individual railway companies and to improving railway lines. The Commission has made a number of proposals in this regard.
6. There are no legal barriers to prevent any individual country's railway authorities from purchasing locomotives from other Member States. It is nevertheless true that in practice the variety of technical requirements means that most locomotives are purchased in the country where they are to be used. In the circumstances it has not yet been possible to bring about the application of the Community directive on the award of public contracts where transport authorities are concerned. The Commission consi-

<sup>1</sup> Former oral question without debate (0-155/83) converted into a question for Question Time.

<sup>2</sup> OJ C 154 of 13 June 1983, p. 1.

ders it desirable for progress to be made in the area of standardization and uniform specification so that the transport sector and especially the railways can enjoy the advantages which come with the liberalization of markets.

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*Question No 46, by Ms Quin (H-730/83)*

Subject: Socialist Group's telegram (sent in December 1983) to Mr Gaston Thorn on the crisis in the shipbuilding industry in the EEC

What action has the Commission taken in response to the telegram by Mrs Théobald-Paoli, Ms Quin and Mr Glinne on behalf of the Socialist Group which called for immediate crisis measures to help the European shipbuilding industry and, in particular, called for the creation of a task force from the relevant sections of the European Commission to be responsible for drawing up specific measures of assistance?

*Answer*

As it has already stated in its answer to the honourable Member's written question (No 1958/83), the Commission has nothing to add at present to the answer which it gave to the telegram referred to.

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*Question No 49, by Mr Israël (H-3/84)*

Subject: Creation of a savings account denominated in ECUs

Further to his statement to the European Parliament to the effect that the creation of a savings account denominated in ECUs was a matter worthy of study, could Vice-President Ortoli indicate a timetable for the study phase and the implementation of the European Parliament's proposal (see oral question No 0-96/83, tabled on behalf of the Group of European Progressive Democrats, Doc. 1-1312/83<sup>1</sup>)?

*Answer*

In its efforts to encourage greater use of the ECU the Commission feels that the idea of a savings account denominated in ECUs in all the countries of the Community would indeed boost the role of the ECU among the general public.

Consideration of the idea indicates however that for it to be feasible the initiative would have to come from the banking sector and also that it would have to be permissible under the existing regulations of each Member State. With regard to the latter requirement, it must be pointed out that pursuant to the directives on the freedom of movement of capital<sup>2</sup> deposit transactions fall into a category of financial transactions (List D) which are not subject to any requirement as regards de-restriction. On the other hand, the Commission proposal<sup>3</sup> seeking preferential treatment for financial transactions denominated in

<sup>1</sup> Minutes of sitting of 16 February 1984.

<sup>2</sup> Council Directives of 11 May 1960 (OJ 43 of 12 July 1960) and 18 December 1962 (OJ 9 of 22 January 1963).

<sup>3</sup> Communication on Financial Integration (COM(83) 207 of 18 April 1983): §III3b, on promoting the international role of the ECU (COM(83) 274 of 24 May 1983): §4, b.

ECUs refers to the financial transactions on List B which, pursuant to the directives in question, are free of control.

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*Question No 51, by Mrs Le Roux (H-23/84)*

Subject: American offensive on the agricultural market

In answer to my oral question on the sale of American dairy products to Egypt (H-358/83),<sup>1</sup> I was told by the Commission on 12 October 1983 that 'as far as counter-measures are concerned, the Commission will make use of the relevant procedures within the framework of GATT'. Can the Commission state what procedures it has already used in accordance with this undertaking and what results it has obtained?

*Answer*

With regard to American sales of flour to Egypt, the Commission has followed GATT rules in seeking to settle the differences. Since it was not possible to reach mutual agreement, the Community asked for a GATT panel to be set up and this is now being done.

As for the sale of US dairy products to Egypt, the Commission has also had recourse to the rights it enjoys under the international agreement on dairy products. The discussions which took place within the international council at the request of the Commission have clearly shown that most of the dairy council's members are against the American measures.

The United States has so far not repeated such sales of dairy products and flour to Egypt.

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*Question No 52, by Sir Peter Vanneck (H-33/84)*

Subject: Dumping of waste at sea

What changes, if any, to the Community's policy for radioactive waste management are required as a result of the study undertaken recently by members of the London Treaty on Protection of the Sea of the dumping at sea of low-level radioactive waste?

*Answer*

Work on the study by the International Atomic Energy Agency on the radiological effects of the dumping of low-level radioactive waste at sea, mentioned by the honourable Member, is not yet complete. We cannot expect these studies to be made available until September 1985.

The Commission has no influence on the progress of the work and can thus at present reach no conclusions about its position regarding the dumping of radioactive waste.

The Commission is, however, definitely of the opinion that the Community must aim at a common position on the dumping of waste at sea. It expects that after the current investigations and studies have been completed, sufficient information will be available to reconcile the views of the various Member States and adopt a common position.

<sup>1</sup> Debates No 1-304 of 12 October 1983.

The Commission will therefore follow with interest the development of the situation at international level, especially in the context of the London Treaty and will try to ensure that the international provisions adopted will, if necessary, be adapted in the light of new scientific discoveries. There is a moratorium until 1985, so the Commission assumes that no dumping measures are or will be planned until then.

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*Question No 53, by Miss Hooper (H-36/84)*

Subject: New technology in retailing of benefit to the elderly and housebound

Is the Commission aware of any projects being undertaken on a national or Community-wide basis to introduce to the elderly and housebound the advantages of new technology, especially in the area of tele-shopping?

*Answer*

The Commission is aware of the discussion taking place in the professional groups concerned about the possibility of introducing telecommunication-based technology in retailing on a commercial basis. It appears from such discussion that the widespread introduction of tele-shopping cannot be expected in the near future. This applies more forcibly to the introduction of tele-shopping among groups of the population which have a lower than average disposable income, as are usually the elderly and housebound.

Some experiments are only just beginning: two cases were recently reported from the UK, one on a commercial basis, involving about a thousand families in the West-Midlands, and one in Gateshead on Tyneside, serving about 400 pensioners. The latter is jointly organized by the local social services and a large supermarket chain; it cannot, however, be strictly defined as tele-shopping, since many of its customers do not have the necessary equipment at home. (They have to go to the local library in order to use the Prestel network.)

There are no projects on a Community-wide basis.

The Commission intends to collect more information on existing and possible utilizations of telematics for social purposes, including the ones suggested by the present question. National reports on the social implications of telecommunications are being prepared in all member countries by the correspondents of the 'European Pool of Studies'; they will be ready in June 1984 and will be given wide circulation. Studies are also planned on the utilization of telecommunication systems for distance work and distance learning and on home-banking, as part of a larger study on social consequences of technological change in the banking sector.

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*Question No 54, Mr Purvis (H-44/84)*

Subject: Fair competition

Would the Commission estimate the extra cost to consumers over and above the lowest Community prices, of differential pricing in products of all types which result from the fracturing of the Community into national markets through exclusive agency systems, national type approval standards and other devices which act against fair competition in a unified Community market, and give a few outstanding examples?

*Answer*

Exclusive distribution systems, national type approval standards and other non-tariff barriers to trade are not necessarily the underlying reasons why price differences exist between Member States. Such price differences can be attributed to a number of factors, including, :

- differing market structures;
- differences in consumer preferences and the reputation of certain makes;
- differing rates of VAT;
- differing profit margins for the retail trade, depending on quantities sold;
- differences in the role of wholesalers;
- additional taxes and other duties;
- differing freight, transport and insurance costs.

Furthermore, price differences can in certain cases simply be an indication of lively competition. It is the combination of significant price differences between Member States and the rigidity of these differences which might be an indication of fracturing of the market; clearly, in a genuinely united market, price differences might ultimately be reduced or disappear entirely as a result of parallel imports.

It is a fact that significant price disparities exist in respect of certain products, for example in the consumer electronics sector:

- in the United Kingdom the average retail price (excluding VAT) of colour TV sets is 33% lower than in Italy;
- video and hi-fi components are 42% and 40% dearer respectively in France than in Germany.

As far as the motor car market is concerned, the Commission estimates that the existing differences between the price of cars in the UK and the average price on the continent involves an average annual extra cost of over £ 1 000 million for British consumers.

In any case, even if the factors referred to by the honourable Member were responsible for the emergence or maintenance of differing price levels in the Member States, it would not be possible to isolate their influence on costs for the consumer from all the other relevant factors, nor would such a calculation be possible in general terms in relation to all products.

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*Question No 55, by Mr Eisma (H-47/84)*

Subject: Study of the position of single people in the Netherlands

Does the Commission share my view that the recent social security measures in the Netherlands concerning single people — such as the abolition of the minimum daily wage provisions for childless single people aged 35 and above, and the raising of sickness fund contributions for old people who are single — are incompatible with the second and third EEC directives and will the Commission carry out a study of the position of single people in the social security systems in Europe, with particular reference to the situation in the Netherlands?

*Answer*

After close examination the Commission has concluded that the recent measures taken in the Netherlands in the field of social security, and dealing with the situation of unmarried

persons, are not at variance with the second and third directives, which are concerned with equal treatment between men and women.

The Commission does not intend at this stage to make a study of the position of unmarried persons in the framework of social security systems in general, nor with regard to the specific situation in the Netherlands.

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*Question No 56, by Mr Deschamps (H-49/84)*

Subject: Continued implementation of the food strategy in Rwanda and stepping-up of cooperation between the EEC and Belgium in the field of food aid

Given that the coordination of bilateral and Community activities is considered one of the key elements in the food strategy approach<sup>1</sup> and that, in 1983, the Belgian Parliament passed a bill sponsored by Mr Thys and others, which set up a Special Survival Fund for the Third World with a view to protecting populations threatened by hunger, malnutrition and under-development by means of emergency programmes involving food strategies and integrated rural development, can the Commission report on the progress made in closer forms of cooperation between the EEC and Belgium, in particular as regards the use of the Special Survival Fund, with a view to stepping up support for the implementation of the food strategy in Rwanda, a country which will inevitably have to face an alarming situation?

*Answer*

As well as the general coordination through the Council of Ministers and the Commission/Member State Committees there is coordination in Rwanda, in particular (since 1982) through the Euro-Rwanda Working Party consisting, along with government representatives, of the Commission Delegation and the Member States' representatives in Kigali. More recently, in November 1983, the coordination arrangements were extended to include experts from the Community capitals with the first meeting of Commission and Member State experts in Brussels: as urged on that occasion, contact has since been maintained between Commission officials and the aid departments of the Member States which have declared their support for the Rwandan food strategy.

As regards Belgian cooperation, contact to date between the competent Belgian authorities and the Commission has not only confirmed that both sides are keen to ensure fuller coordination, but afforded definite indications as to what actually can be done in this direction, in due compliance with the respective institutional set-ups. It may be noted that the kind of teamwork envisaged need not necessarily be by way of co-financing operations: it can also involve individual projects designed to complement and reinforce one another.

As things now stand it is not possible to be more specific as to the practical scope for mounting such operations in the near future, as this depends on the outcome of the discussions now going on within the Rwandan Government, the Commission and the Belgian cooperation authorities concerning the allocation of such funds as the latter two can make available through the various facilities at their disposal for carrying out the food strategy.

The funds the Commission has for assisting the Rwandan food strategy will enable it to play its part in operations planned in close consultation not only with the Belgian aid

<sup>1</sup> Commission answer to oral question (H-642/83) by Mrs Dury.

authorities but also with other Member States wishing to help, in order to make a more coherent, and hence more effective, contribution towards meeting Rwanda's needs.

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*Question No 57, by Mrs Castle (H-51/84)*

Subject: Textile aid — ERDF non-quota schemes

Would the Commission confirm whether formal approval has yet been given to the schemes discussed with the UK Government in February, to aid the declining textile areas in the north-west of England (as permitted under Article 4 of the Council Regulation (EEC) No 219/84), and to outline the timetable as to when the financial aid will actually be forthcoming and the schemes can be commenced.

*Answer*

The UK authorities have not yet presented the Commission with the special programme required under Article 3, Regulation (EEC) 219/84 instituting a specific Community regional development measure contributing to overcoming constraints on the development of new economic activities in certain zones adversely affected by the restructuring of the textile and clothing industry,<sup>1</sup> and consequently the programme has not yet been approved.

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*Question No 58, by Mr Croux (H-52/84)*

Subject: Installation and calibration of tachographs in vehicles bound for France

Is the Commission aware that since October 1983, whenever vehicles containing an approved, lead-sealed tachograph installed in an approved manner in accordance with the regulations of a foreign country are imported into France and whenever a seal is broken in France and thus has to be replaced by a French seal, not only the manner of installation but also the tachograph itself is inspected by the French SIM to ensure compliance with French regulations? Would the Commission not agree that this French procedure for reapproving a tachograph already approved elsewhere contravenes the provisions of Directive 1463/70/EEC<sup>2</sup>?

For the undertakings involved, importers and hauliers alike, this means extra costs and wastes time, which is difficult to justify.

Can the Commission conduct an investigation into this and, if necessary, draw up proposals to rectify the matter?

*Answer*

The Commission is investigating the situation reported by the honourable Member and has written to the French authorities asking for their comments. As their reply has not yet been received it is not possible to state whether or not the requirements of Regulation 1463/70 in respect of rechecking and resealing tachographs are being respected.

<sup>1</sup> OJ L 27 of 31 January 1984, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> OJ L 164 of 27 July 1970, p. 1.



As soon as the information to be provided by the French authorities has been analysed, the Commission will inform the honourable Member of its conclusions.

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*Question No 59, by Mr von Wogau (H-53/84)*

Subject: Additional duties for border officials at the Community's internal frontiers

The Dutch authorities are reported to have started using computers at frontier crossings to check whether Dutch nationals entering or leaving the country have paid fines that may have been imposed on them. This means that new barriers are being erected at the Community's internal frontiers.

Would the Commission not agree that it is imperative to prevent individual Member States from conferring new duties on officials at the Community's internal frontiers?

*Answer*

It was with regret that the Commission learned of the situation at the Dutch border to which the honourable Member has referred, since the time taken to check people at an internal Community frontier is thus lengthened. While recognizing the need for certain security measures, the Commission must emphasize that it fails to understand these checks which the Dutch authorities have introduced at a time when there is pressure from all sides for the abolition or at least the reduction of checks on persons.

The Commission agrees with the honourable Member that conferring new duties of this kind on officials at the Community's internal frontiers is not compatible with Community law. Article 2, paragraph 1, of Council Directive 73/148/EEC of 21 May 1973 on the abolition of restrictions on movement and residence within the Community for nationals of Member States with regard to establishment and the provision of services<sup>1</sup> requires Member States to grant persons the right to leave their territory simply on production of a valid identity card or passport. The same requirement is stated in Article 3, paragraph 1, with regard to the right to enter the territory of a Member State. It is also specifically stated in Article 1, paragraph 1(b), that the directive applies to nationals of a Member State who wish to go to another Member State as recipients of services. This also includes tourists, as the Court of Justice made clear in its decision of 31 January 1984 in the Luisi case.

According to Community law there should be no formalities at an internal frontier apart from the production of a person's identity documents. The Commission recognizes the need to collect fines which have been imposed for violations. However, it is neither necessary nor justifiable to use frontiers within the Community for such purposes.

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*Question No 60, by Mr Van Aerssen (H-55/84)*

Subject: Creation of a multilingual traffic information broadcasting service

Is the Commission willing to take steps, in conjunction with the European Community countries' radio and television broadcasting authorities, to inaugurate a multilingual traffic information service to be broadcast during the holiday period in the EC countries and which reaches the candidate States of Spain and Portugal to ensure that the necessary

<sup>1</sup> OJ L 172 of 28 June 1973.

information also reaches those EC tourists who are not acquainted with the local language?

*Answer*

Since the Commission does not regard the production of radio or television programmes as one of its tasks, it will make greater efforts than in the past to encourage cooperation among the radio and television authorities of the Member States and the candidate countries. The Commission has already expressed a view on this matter on a number of occasions in the past. Let me mention the answers to the written questions No 24/75, by Mr Seefeld, and No 960/78, by Mr Bangemann.

The Directorate-General for Information and the press and information offices will provide radio and television stations with material in the different Community languages with the particular aim of helping tourists who are travelling within the Community.

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*Question No 61, by Mrs Squarzialupi (H-56/84)*

Subject: Desulphurization of coal at the Brindisi South power station

The Brindisi South thermo-electric power station, which will be completed in about ten years, will produce more than 100 000 tons of sulphur dioxide a year unless action is taken to desulphurize the coal burned.

The Commission, meanwhile, has already authorized funds for the power station, including facilities for desulphurization, but the operator of the power station — ENEL (the Italian National Electricity Board) — is not committed to carrying out this process until Italy complies with the Community directives concerning such matters, including the most recent directive on combating air pollution from large industrial plants.

Can the Commission state whether it is prepared to make the necessary funds available even if it does not obtain a guarantee that desulphurization will be carried out to prevent the expected heavy emissions of sulphur dioxide and the resulting incidence of acid rain?

*Answer*

Further reduction requires considerable expenditure on desulphurization equipment, although the cost of this is very likely to drop during the construction period on account of the technological advances which can be expected in this sector.

As part of the Community's policy on environmental protection the Commission continues to strive for a reduction of sulphurous emissions. In December 1983 it submitted to the Council a proposal for a directive (OJ C 49 of 21 February 1984) on the limitation of emissions of pollutants into the air from large combustion plants, especially power stations. The Council working party's discussions have just begun and no opinion has as yet been given by the European Parliament. It is therefore difficult to indicate at this stage a probable timetable for the application of the proposed measures.

Pending provisions for the compulsory installation of desulphurization equipment, the granting of a Community loan is dependent on designs which allow for the installation of such equipment at the right time without problems of location occurring. It is for this reason that the location of these facilities is incorporated in the present plan.

It goes without saying that Community financing is always subject to national, international and Community regulations on environmental protection. The Italian authorities must therefore ensure that during the construction of the power station the contractors

comply with any national provisions which will be introduced in order to implement the Council's decisions.

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*Question No 62, by Mr Keating (H-57/84)*

Subject: Problems caused by variable premium on cattle exports

Is the Commission aware, with regard to its proposal for a reduction on the variable premium on cattle exports (COM(84) 211), that the variable premium has, in the absence of a clawback, caused a large movement of beef cattle from the Republic of Ireland into Northern Ireland, to the great detriment of the former's beef industry in recent years, and that in the interests of equity the clawback which provides a fair solution to the problem should be applied to all UK (including Northern Ireland) exports, both to other EEC destinations and in third country trade, and will the Commission use every means to expedite the implementation of the new proposals which constitute an essential part of the farm price package settlement?

*Answer*

The Commission is aware of the problems linked to granting the variable premium to the United Kingdom and the repercussions of this on trade between the Republic of Ireland and the United Kingdom (including Northern Ireland).

The application of clawback to exports of beef and veal from the United Kingdom (to any destination, including non-Community countries) will come into force on 21 May 1984, to allow current short-term contracts to be honoured. As far as exports to non-Community countries are concerned, these will not be subject to clawback until 1 July 1984 provided the operator has, by 31 March 1984, submitted an application for an export certificate together with a request for advance fixing of refunds.

The problems raised by the honourable Member should therefore no longer arise after that date.

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*Question No 63, by Mr Früh (H-58/84)*

Subject: The Commission's financial policy

According to statements made by the Commission, in the course of the last six months the European Community:

- has already become insolvent;
- needed first 1.4% and then 2% of the proceeds of value-added tax;
- called for, and then declined, advance payments from the Member States.

Does the Commission agree with me that a financial policy of this kind damages the standing of the European Community and is an extremely poor preparation for the forthcoming European elections?

*Answer*

The Commission's financial policy covers both the implementation of the budget and the management of its liquid assets.

1. The management of the assets depends on the daily collection and paying-out transactions and it is therefore very sensitive to any financial transaction of some size which may be implemented in a very short time.
2. Although the management of the Community budget is less dependent on daily events than the control of assets, it is nevertheless linked to the financial consequences of the decisions taken by the other institutions and also of economic trends. The Commission naturally pays heed to the budgetary procedures required for any possible modification of the budget.

As for 1984, the Commission is faced with a lack of funds as a result of increased agricultural spending and a reduction in the level of own resources which were expected. Details of these fluctuations and the solution put forward by the Commission (in particular, borrowing from the Member States and a strict and controlled management of resources) are outlined in Doc. COM(84) 250 final.

It should also be pointed that EAGGF expenditure was much higher than expected, as the rate of spending exceeded the rate of income. This poses a problem for the management of assets.

With regard to the longer term, in its proposal for a decision of 6 May 1983 the Commission proposed a new Community decision-making procedure for fixing the ceiling on the resources accruing from VAT. The raising of the ceiling to 1.4% was in fact of secondary importance, since the main thrust of the proposal was to introduce a procedure whereby in certain circumstances any further decisions to increase the ceiling — in implementation of the budgetary procedure and with the authorization of the Council and Parliament — could be taken without the need for ratification by the national parliaments.

It must be admitted that it is impossible to introduce such a procedure at the present time. The European Parliament considered the Commission proposal of May 1983 and decided that the matter should be dealt with as part of the responsibilities which come under national ratification procedures. Discussions by the Council also revealed that the Member States were unwilling to abandon the idea of a ceiling which is contained in the Decision of 21 April 1970 and to relinquish the requirement that any increase in the VAT ceiling be ratified by the national parliaments.

In the circumstances the Commission could do nothing but take note of this political and legal situation. It had never harboured any doubt about the need for further increases in the VAT ceiling in order to maintain the steady development of Community policies, including of course the common agricultural policy. In order to avoid recurrent appeals to the Community's legal apparatus with new proposals on own resources which each time would set in motion the process of ratification by the national parliaments, and at the same time adopting a realistic and forward-looking approach to the development of the Community, the Commission in a communication of 1 March 1984 (Doc. COM(84) 140 final) explained to Parliament and the Council the political reasons which prompted it to propose a decision of similar scope to the Decision of 21 April 1970, which had allowed the Community to meet its obligations for 13 years. The Commission suggested an immediate increase in the VAT ceiling from 1% to 2%, which would thus provide the Community with secure financing in the years to come, including the entire transition period after the accession of Spain and Portugal. At the same time the Commission pointed out that the actual use of the new finances would be phased over a period of time and implemented, in any case, in accordance with annual budgetary procedures.

It must be stressed that the Commission has at no time changed its policy on own resources. It had not proposed a simple increase in the VAT ceiling to 1.4% but a whole decision-making procedure which would allow this threshold to be increased further. This approach would be simplified in the future and would allow the European Parliament to exercise fully its rights with regard to the annual budgetary procedures.

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*Question No 64, by Mr Hutton (H-61/84)*

Subject: Open interfacing of computer systems

What is the current position in the Commission's preparation (under Article 86 of the Treaty of Rome) of the case against IBM regarding open interfacing of computer systems, and when does the Commission expect to finalize its position?

*Answer*

The Commission will finalize its position not later than the beginning of the second semester of this year.

At present the Commission still considers the two different options: either adopting a decision under Article 86 of the EC Treaty or settling the present case in a way which satisfies the interested parties and meets the requirements of the Commission itself.

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*Question No 65, by Mr Pranchère (H-62/84)*

Subject: Intra-Community agricultural trade

Could the Commission state its opinion on the possibilities and possible consequences of using the ECU in intra-Community agricultural trade?

*Answer*

1. As far as the denomination and settling of commercial and financial transactions in the private sector is concerned, there is nothing to prevent the ECU from being used. The Commission has indicated in several documents that it would like see more widespread use of the ECU.
2. With regard to payments in connection with intra-Community trade in agricultural products, there are no specific provisions in Community regulations concerning which currencies to use. As a result, payment in ECUs is theoretically possible.
3. In the case of transactions between private operators, there are no specific immediate consequences of using the ECU for intra-Community agricultural trade.
4. It must be remembered that the ECU as it is used in connection with the common agricultural policy does not at the moment have the same value as the ECU which is quoted on the exchange markets. In the case of CAP transactions between a private operator and a public body, this means that the introduction of the market ECU as a means of pricing and direct payment would require adjustments to regulations in the Community's agri-monetary sector, as these are based on payments in national currencies. The immediate and most significant consequence of the introduction of the ECU as a means of payment, in the case of the common agricultural policy, would be the reintroduction of a single Community level of all prices and other amounts denominated in ECUs. Furthermore, the system would lead to a changing level of the amounts in question as a result on the one hand of currency fluctuation within the maximum range of 2.5% and on the other hand the movement of the Italian lira and the pound sterling. The value of the ECU does in fact change daily and this can be seen specifically with regard to the conversion into national currencies of amounts paid in ECUs.

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*Question No 66, by Mr Normanton (H-63/84)*

Subject: Patent protection of computer software

To what extent does computer software enjoy patent protection in the European Community?

*Answer*

Under Article 52 of the Munich agreement on patents, the protection afforded by patents may not extend to computer software as such. The legal conceptions of the Member States are broadly similar on this point, although in contrast to the Munich agreement, their laws on patents do not explicitly stipulate in every case that software as such may not be covered by patents.

On the other hand, the protection afforded by patents on industrial inventions is, in an increasing number of instances, being extended to their component software, even though software as such may not be patented.

Moreover, the copying of computer software is normally forbidden under the copyright laws.

The Commission, in collaboration with the European Patents Office, is currently examining the practices followed to date in the patenting of inventions with component software. It also intends to publish a green paper on the law of copyright and the related problems in the autumn of this year, in which it will examine all the questions posed by the legal protection of computer software. The form of any future action by the Commission in this field will depend on the reaction to the ideas set out in the green paper.

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*Question No 67, by Mr Seligman (H-66/84)*

Subject: Aid to growers of cut roses and carnations

Will the action proposed in COM(83) 798 be put into operation in time for the 1983 season?

*Answer*

In accordance with its undertaking of 17 and 18 October 1983, the Commission forwarded to the Council on 13 February 1984 a proposal for a regulation laying down further provisions in relation to Regulation (EEC) No 234/68 in respect of certain floricultural products (COM(83) 798 final).

The date put forward by the Commission for these provisions to enter into force is 1 November 1984.

While hoping that this date will be selected, the Commission is nonetheless not in a position to prejudge the final decision, which has to be taken by the Council of Ministers.

*Question No 68, by Mrs Hammerich (H-68/84)*

Subject: Cooperation between EPC, the Commission and NATO

Is the following section of the explanatory statement of Mr Egon Klepsch's report on security adopted by the April part-session correct?

Paragraph 61: Foreign ministry officials working within the EPC framework developed close links with NATO when preparing the CSCE and its sequels. The Commission itself was also partly involved in that process.

Could the Commission state what its involvement consisted in?

*Answer*

The Commission understands the last sentence in paragraph 61 of Mr Klepsch's report as meaning that it is partly involved in the process of preparing the CSCE and its subsequent meetings. This corresponds entirely with the real situation. Commission officials, in the President's delegation, are involved in preparatory work for the CSCE talks on issues for which the Community is competent, in particular Basket II (economic questions).

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*Question No 69, by Mr Simmonds (H-70/84)*

Subject: Applications for Community grants

Why do applications for Community grants have to be submitted in more than one official European language?

*Answer*

Applications for the aids provided for by the various Community financial instruments of a structural character, plus the required documentation, need only be submitted to the Commission in a single language, and this principle is only departed from in certain cases where Community aids are subject to invitations to tender.

Thus, for example, project proposals to be submitted to the Commission for a grant of financial support for demonstration projects in the field of energy have to be drawn up in two official Community languages. One of the two languages should be French or English if possible.<sup>1</sup> In addition, as regards tenders for shared-cost contracts for pilot projects to control and reduce pollution caused by hydrocarbons discharged at sea, a French or English translation of the proposal, or of a summary at least, is greatly appreciated.<sup>2</sup>

These special procedures are justified on grounds of efficiency. Submitting applications and the required documentation in more than one language makes it faster and easier to examine the dossiers concerned, which are usually fairly bulky and highly technical.

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*Question No 70, by Mr Pearce (H-71/84)*

Subject: Additional motoring costs arising from use of exhaust gas catalysts

Is the Commission aware of a statement by the British Government in the House of Commons on 6 March 1984 that the use of catalysts to convert vehicle emissions into innocuous substances (with which the Commission's forthcoming proposals on lead-free petrol

<sup>1</sup> Paragraph 9, Commission communication on the granting of financial support for demonstration projects in the field of energy (OJ C 42 of 12 February 1984).

<sup>2</sup> Paragraph 8, Commission communication on the granting of financial support for pilot projects on the control and reduction of pollution caused by hydrocarbons discharged at sea (OJ C 75 of 16 March 1984).

are concerned) would add about UK£ 2 000 million (nearly 4 000 million ECU) per year to UK motoring expenditure; does he agree that an equivalent figure for the Community as a whole would be comparable with the total expenditure on the common agricultural policy (around 16 000 million ECU)?

*Answer*

The Commission is aware of the statement by the British Government mentioned by the honourable Member, about the overall costs to the economy of equipping European vehicles with catalysts. In consultations with the parties concerned in the preparatory work on tightening up Community provisions on exhaust fumes, other, lower costs were quoted.

The Commission does not know what bases were used in calculating these overall costs. It therefore cannot check whether they are correct, but can only take note of them.

It is a fact that all technical measures aimed at substantially improving motor vehicle emissions have certain effects on their production and running costs. These effects must be weighed up against the environmental benefits of such measures.

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*Question No 71, by Mr Alavanos (H-79/84)*

Subject: Measures which effectively nullify Community intervention in cereals, oil and raisins

Under Regulation 42/84<sup>1</sup> the Community has decided that cereal producers who sell their produce into intervention shall be paid between 120 and 140 days after the date of delivery. In addition, Regulation 259/84<sup>2</sup> stipulates that oil producers shall be paid after 120 days for oil they sell into intervention. Finally, for raisins the intervention period laid down is the final two months of the marketing year, which will create a serious storage problem.

What measures does the Commission propose to take to prevent the implementation of the abovementioned decisions which directly affect cereal, oil and raisin producers and leave them open to coercion by wholesalers and manufacturers because of their need to collect payment early enough to meet their financial commitments?

*Answer*

1. It should be remembered that intervention operations in the common organization of markets represent a last resort when conditions of supply and demand are such that normal marketing is not possible. Intervention is not intended to be a regular solution for a large part of production.
2. It should also be remembered that the cooperative system gives producers some protection against the risks to which the honourable Member referred. Furthermore, the creation of producer groups with financial support from the Community safeguards to a considerable extent the interests of farmers. The EAGGF encourages better marketing of products by financing investment projects (Regulation 355/77).
3. With regard to the payment schedules of 120-140 days for products sold into intervention, the Commission took the decision for the following reasons:
  - the existence of different payment schedules among the Member States which could distort competition;

<sup>1</sup> OJ L 5 of 7 January 1984.

<sup>2</sup> OJ L 30 of 1 February 1984.



- the tendency to use intervention too readily (since it had also become more attractive because of high interest rates) leading to a drain on EAGGF resources.
4. The changes to the arrangements for raisins to which the honourable Member refers are of quite a different nature. Regular deliveries of raisins to stock agencies hindered the proper marketing of the product and led to an accumulation of almost unsaleable stocks, which meant considerable financial losses for the EAGGF.

The Commission referred to the matter in its report COM(83) 92 of 21 March 1983 on the processed fruit and vegetable sector. The situation prompted the Council, acting on a Commission proposal, to reach the decisions of 31 March on farm prices and the rationalization of the common agricultural policy and to modify the arrangements for raisins with the aim of encouraging growers to look for other market outlets. From the 1984/85 marketing year deliveries into intervention will be restricted to the last two months of the year. The minimum price for raisins will be increased monthly to offset storage costs. Parliament was consulted on the Commission proposals.

5. The Commission regrets to have to tell the honourable Member that it has no plans at the moment for any changes to these provisions.

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*Question No 72, by Mr Marck (H-81/84)*

Subject: Promoting dairy products

According to reports, plans for promoting dairy products within the Community, financed by the co-responsibility fund, are still being held up by the Commission. Is the Commission aware that this type of decision is detrimental to the efforts that dairy producers have been making for some years to promote their products and goes against all the rules of advertising? Is the Commission planning to maintain this boycott of sales of dairy products?

*Answer*

Due to the present financial situation in the Community and due to the uncertain financial resources, the Commission has not yet taken a decision on the allocation of the 37.5 million ECU earlier foreseen for expenditure on promotion and publicity. The Commission is continuing its examination on the utilization of the financial resources available in the dairy sector.

## ANNEX III

**Commission action on European Parliament opinions on Commission proposals delivered at the March I, March II and April 1984 part-sessions**

This is an account, as arranged with the Bureau of Parliament, of the action taken by the Commission in respect of amendments proposed at the March I, March II and April 1984 part-sessions in the framework of parliamentary consultation, and of disaster aid granted.

**A.I. Commission proposals to which Parliament proposed amendments that have been accepted by the Commission in full**

1. Report by Mr d'Angelosante on the Commission proposal to the Council (COM(82) 792 final) for a regulation determining the persons liable for payment of a customs debt:

A proposal amended along the lines requested by Parliament is to be sent to the Council in May.

Commission's position at debate: Verbatim report of proceedings, 12/13 April 1984, p. 351.

Text of proposal adopted by EP: Minutes of 13 April 1984, p. 238.

2. Report by Mr Ghergo on the Commission proposal to the Council (COM(83) 189 final) for a directive on procedures for harmonizing the programmes for the reduction and eventual elimination of pollution caused by waste from the titanium dioxide industry:

The procedure for amending the proposal is under way.

Commission's position at debate: Verbatim report of proceedings, 10 April 1984, p. 45.

Text of proposal adopted by EP: Minutes of 10 April 1984, pp. 30-35

3. Report by Mrs Scrivener on the Commission proposals to the Council (COM(83) 696, 697 and 698 final) for:
  - (i) a regulation introducing special measures of Community interest in respect of employment,
  - (ii) a regulation laying down specific measures of Community interest in respect of transport infrastructure,
  - (iii) a regulation introducing special measures of Community interest in respect of energy strategy:

As the Commission stated at the plenary sitting on 12 March, it has accepted all the amendments proposed by Parliament and has amended the three proposals for regulations accordingly under the second paragraph of Article 149 of the EEC Treaty.

The amendments are incorporated in COM(84) 150 final, which has been sent to Parliament and the Council.

Commission's position at debate: Verbatim report of proceedings, 12 March 1984, pp. 12-13

Text of proposal adopted by EP: Minutes of 12 March 1984, pp. 21-34

4. Report (without debate) by Mr Ingo Friedrich on the Commission proposal to the Council (COM(83) 786 final) for a directive extending the derogation granted to Ireland in respect of turnover tax and excise duty in the international movement of travellers:

Since the resolution in question was adopted by the European Parliament at its April part-session, the Council has adopted a directive authorizing Ireland to

exclude from the exemption goods whose unit value is higher than 77 ECU for as long a time as the level of the exemption is set at 280 ECU (Directive of 30 April 1984 raising the present 210 ECU exemption to 280 ECU with effect from 1 July 1984).

In spite of this decision of the Council's the Commission maintains its proposal for a directive.

The Commission is prepared to accept the amendment proposed by Parliament which provides for the same progressive rise as in the Commission proposal and the complete abolition of the derogation as of 1 January 1989, but with higher percentages in relation to the normal exemption for each stage.

The Commission will be presenting an amended proposal.

Commission's position at debate: Verbatim report of proceedings

Text of proposal adopted by EP: Minutes of 10 April, p. 25.

A.II. *Commission proposal to which Parliament proposed amendments that have been accepted by the Commission in part*

1. Report by Mr Kazazis on the Commission proposal to the Council (COM(83) 495 final) for a regulation establishing the Mediterranean integrated programmes:

The Commission is in the process of preparing a proposal for a regulation amended to take account of some of the 76 amendments proposed by the European Parliament. The amended proposal will also take account of the changes made by the Council in January 1984 to the ERDF non-quota section regulations of 1980 and the Commission proposals of 10 October 1983 to improve the effectiveness of agricultural structures and the 18 November 1983 proposals concerning the ERDF.

In view of all the work involved here, it is not possible at this time to say when the Commission will be able to consider the amended proposals for the MIP and send them to the Council.

Commission's position at debate: Verbatim report of proceedings, 29 March 1984, pp. 230-233

Text of proposal adopted by EP: Minutes of 29 March 1984, pp. 124-157

2. Report by Mr Dalsass on the Commission proposal to the Council (COM(82) 328 final) for a regulation laying down general rules on the definition, description and presentation of spirituous beverages and of vermouths and other wines of fresh grapes flavoured with plants or other aromatic substances:

The Commission accepted some of the amendments at the plenary sitting on 12 April and is intending to send the Council its amended proposal in the next few weeks.

Commission's position at debate: Verbatim report of proceedings, 12 April 1984, p. 283

Text of proposal adopted by EP: Minutes of 13 April 1984, pp. 108-121

3. Report by Mrs Herman on the Commission proposal to the Council (COM(83) 661 final) for a decision adopting a Community programme to develop the specialized information market in Europe:

The proposal for the directive, amended under the second paragraph of Article 149 of the Treaty, is to be sent to the Council in the course of the month.

Commission's position at debate: Verbatim report of proceedings, 26 March 1984, pp. 20-22

Text of proposal adopted by EP: Minutes of 26 March 1984, p. 17.

4. Report (without debate) by Mr Rogalla on the Commission proposal to the Council (COM(83) 455 final) for a regulation (EEC, Euratom, ECSC) amending the conditions of employment of other servants of the EC:

The Commission endorses amendments 1, 2 and 4, and will be altering its proposal in the next few weeks.

Commission's position at debate: Verbatim report of proceedings, 12/13 April 1984, p. 342

Text of proposal adopted by EP: Minutes of 13 April 1984, pp. 29-30

5. Report by Mr Blocklet closing the parliamentary consultation procedure on the Commission proposal to the Council (COM(83) 559) for a regulation on improving the effectiveness of agricultural structures — Part I (Directives 72/159/EEC, 72/160/EEC and 72/161/EEC).

The Commission accepted some of the proposed amendments at the plenary sitting and is intending to send the Council its amended proposal in the next few weeks.

Commission's position at debate: Verbatim report of proceedings, 12 April 1984, pp. 278-80

Text of proposal adopted by EP: Minutes of 13 April 1984, pp. 76-81

6. Report by Mr Sherlock on the Commission proposal to the Council (COM(82) 646 final) for a directive on the protection of workers against risks arising out of exposure to chemical, physical or biological agents at their workplace: noise:

In response to Parliament's votes on 20 January and 26 March 1984, the Commission is amending (under the second paragraph of Article 149 of the Treaty) its proposal for a directive on protection against noise at the workplace. As stated by Mr Narjes at the plenary sitting on 26 March it will incorporate a large number of the amendments proposed by Parliament.

The new text will stress the importance of cooperation between management and labour and of reducing noise at its source and the additional role of individual protective equipment. It will define the stage at which action was to be taken to give effect to preventive measures, before the exposure limit was reached. However, the Commission maintains its proposal that an 85 decibel noise level should be required for all preventive action (including audiometric checks), with a 90 decibel exposure limit. These figures are to be reviewed five years after the directive has come into operation, when maximum exposure should be reduced to 85 decibels by a Council decision.

The Commission would, however, point out that Member States are entitled to give their workers greater protection, a provision which appears in Directive 80/1107/EEC, which applies in respect of this proposal.

The amended text will incorporate the clarifications proposed by Parliament and will reflect the general agreement reached in our discussions.

In the resolution the Commission is also asked to add to the annexes the Member States' statistics on occupational diseases caused by noise.

Such data is to be used with caution and its limitations borne in mind, as they reflect a variety of criteria for compensation and have changed over the years. The Commission fears that the raw data may be difficult to interpret correctly and proper analysis would be a lengthy and delicate operation if one is to go beyond the semi-quantitative conclusions given in the Explanatory Memorandum.

Commission's position at debate: Verbatim report of proceedings, 26 March 1984, pp. 7-8

Text of proposal adopted by EP: Minutes of 20 January 1984, pp. 32-34

7. Report by Dame Shelagh Roberts on the Commission proposal to the Council (COM(83) 686 final) for a directive on parental leave and leave on family grounds:

The Commission is currently establishing the text for an amended proposal which will take account of the parliamentary opinion.

Commission's position at debate: Verbatim report of proceedings, 29 March 1984, pp. 243-4

8. Report (without debate) by Mr Rogalla on the Commission proposal to the Council (COM(83) 730 final) for a 4th directive amending Directive 74/651/EEC on the tax reliefs to be allowed on the importation of goods in small consignments of a non-commercial character within the Community:

An amended version of the proposal, incorporating the amendment that was accepted, is under preparation.

Commission's position at debate:

Text of proposal adopted by EP: Minutes of 10 April 1984, pp. 19-20

9. Report by Mr de Pasquale on the Commission proposal to the Council (COM(83) 649 final) for a regulation amending Regulation (EEC) No 724/75 establishing a European Regional Development Fund:

Work at the Council on the revision of the ERDF regulation is moving rapidly towards a positive conclusion.

In particular, the Council General Affairs session on 14 May reached agreement on the main points in the Commission's proposal. It asked the Committee of Permanent Representatives to settle the relatively minor questions still outstanding and to finalize the text.

During the negotiation the Commission reminded the Council and, as far as possible, upheld the positions expressed by the European Parliament.

The Commission considers that the conditions will be satisfied very soon for beginning the conciliation procedure sanctioned by the three institutions' agreement of 4 March 1975 and requested by Parliament. In its view it would be highly desirable for conciliation to take place as soon as possible.

Commission's position at debate: Verbatim report of proceedings, 12/13 April 1984, pp. 336-338

Text of proposal adopted by EP: Minutes of 13 April 1984, pp. 194-213

B. *Commission proposals to which Parliament proposed amendments that the Commission has not felt able to accept*

1. Report by Mr Lezzi on the Commission proposal to the Council (COM(84)26 final) for a regulation laying down rules for the implementation of Regulation (EEC) No 3331/82 on food-aid policy and food aid management:

Parliament found the content of the Commission proposal acceptable. However, it has always disputed the legality of Regulation 3331/82, the legal basis for the proposal, for a number of reasons, the most important being that it infringes its budgetary powers. In order not to hold up food aid, Parliament approved the Commission proposal, subject to deletion of the references to that regulation.

The Commission appreciates the attitude Parliament took in approving the regulation in spite of its substantive objections. On the other hand, it does not agree that Regulation 3331/82 infringes Parliament's budgetary powers. Its reasons are given in the Commission's reply during the plenary sitting. Those reasons still hold good.

Commission's position at debate: Verbatim report of proceedings, 12/23 April 1984, pp. 352-3

Text of proposal adopted by EP: Minutes of 13 April 1984, pp. 48-49

2. Report by Mrs Focke on the Commission proposal to the Council (COM(83)695 final) for a regulation establishing alternative forms of food assistance to the supply of food aid:

While it did not accept the amendments proposed by Parliament, the Commission stated that, legally, its proposal stood apart from Regulation 3331/82. It is prepared to consider to what extent it could take account of the parliamentary opinion, bearing in mind at the same time that it would not be able to make use of this procedure within a reasonable lapse of time for alternative forms of action.

The question is still under consideration and, as far as possible, the Commission will take Parliament's opinion into account during the discussions at the Council.

Commission's position at debate:

Text of proposal adopted by EP: Minutes of 13 April 1984, p. 241

3. Report by Mr Moreau on the Commission proposal to the Council for a decision implementing Decision 83/200/EEC empowering the Commission to contract loans under the New Community Instrument for the purpose of promoting investment within the Community:

The amendment proposed to Article 3 of the Commission proposal would extend the list of priorities for use of the NCI to include investment projects, mainly in small and medium-sized undertakings, not only in 'the directly-linked industry and services', but also in 'the other sectors of production'. Two considerations make this amendment unacceptable to the Commission:

- (i) The NCI's field of application is not limited to directly-linked industry and services. The 'other sectors of production' are explicitly included, as stated in Article 2 of the proposal.
- (ii) Extending the list of priorities to so wide a field would have the effect of watering down priorities. And in discussing the present situation it is the decline in industrial investment, in development investment, that we have in mind. It is this decline that must be arrested if the necessary reactivation of the economy is to be achieved. This is why the Commission wishes to indicate clearly that it intends to concentrate its efforts on restoring industrial investment.

Commission's position at debate: Verbatim report of proceedings, 27 March 1984, pp. 93-4.

Text of adopted by EP: Minutes of 29 March 1984, p. 34.

4. Report by Mr Paters on the Commission proposal to the Council (COM(83)217 final) for a directive on implementation of the principle of equal treatment for men and women in occupational social security schemes:

The Commission is not intending to amend its proposal.

While it is far from being opposed to most of Parliament's proposals, it considers that there are, nevertheless, major reasons why they should not be accepted for the moment, as was explained both in Mr Richard's statement at the plenary sitting and in the reply to Written Question No 2199/83 from Mr Peters.

Commission's position at debate: Verbatim report of proceedings, 29 March 1984, pp. 240-2

Text of proposal adopted by EP: Minutes of 30 March 1984, pp. 25-26

5. Report by Mr Gabert on the Commission proposals to the Council for:
- (i) a recommendation to the Member States' national railway undertakings on greater cooperation in the commercial management of international transport of travellers and goods by rail (COM(83)404 final),
  - (ii) a recommendation concerning the International Union for Rail-Road Transport (COM(83)331 final),
  - (iii) a draft recommendation on the railway rates to be charged in international transport involving containers and combined rail-road services (COM(83)357 final),
  - (iv) a recommendation to the Member States' railway undertakings concerning technical operating conditions and internal obstacles to frontier-crossing in international goods transport (COM(83)490 final):

The Working Party on Transport Questions has already combined three proposals in a singled recommendation; the fourth (Interunit) is still under consideration.

The Commission has twice rejected the amendments proposed by Mr Gabert (at the Committee on Transport and at the plenary sitting). It argued that the proposals hardly seemed realistic, even in five years' time, as they presupposed the creation of a 10-member European Railway Union. It said it favoured a gradual approach initially, on a bilateral basis and in given sectors.

The single document incorporating three proposals for recommendations (excluding the Interunit one) was adopted at the Council session on transport on 10 May 1984.

Commission's position at debate: Verbatim report of proceedings, 29/30 March 1984, pp. 326-7

Text of proposal adopted by EP: Minutes of 30 March 1984, pp. 103-106

C. *Commission proposals in respect of which Parliament delivered favourable opinions or did not request formal amendment*

1. Report by Mr Eyraud on the proposal for a directive (COM(83)783 final) on combating classical swine fever:

Replies to suggestions put forward by Parliament in its resolution.

*Item 2*

'Asks it, nevertheless, to propose a list of stricter criteria in order to define more closely what is meant by the 'high health risk area' referred to in its proposal;'

In the Commission's view many criteria must be taken into consideration in defining what a high-risk area is, which is why it provided for the decision to be taken, case by case, by the Commission once the Standing Veterinary Committee has given its opinion. When it has occasion to take such decisions, the Commission will take into account the incidence and persistence of the disease in the region in question, the density of the pig population, the structure of the farms, the predominant purpose of the farms (production of breeding animals, reproduction, fattening, etc.).

*Item 3*

'Requests the Commission to use this to undertake the requisite action to contain and combat this epizootic disease as efficiently and thoroughly as possible;'

The Commission is following the evolution of the disease through the Member States' national eradication plans. It will continue its efforts to reinforce such measures, notably by determining high-risk areas. It will give particular

attention to the coordination of regional action within the Member States and between them, especially in high-production frontier zones.

*Item 4*

'Requests the Commission to present a report to the Council and the European Parliament by 30 June 1985 on the results of the eradication plans and the evolution of the disease in the Community in 1983 and 1984;'

The Commission will not fail to keep the Council and the European Parliament informed of developments in the situation and particularly of the results of tightening up the measures applied and will therefore act on this request.

Commission's position at debate: Verbatim report of proceedings, 12 April 1984, p. 285

Text of proposal adopted by EP: Minutes of 13 April 1984, p. 126

2. Report by Mr Chanterie on the 1985 guidelines for the European Social Fund:

On 27 April 1984 the Commission adopted the following communication on guidelines for the management of the European Social Fund from 1985 to 1987 which is to be published in the Official Journal of the European Communities.

'The guidelines for the management of the European Social Fund adopted on 21 December 1983 (OJ No C 5, 10 January 1984, p. 2) remain unchanged for the period 1985-87, with the addition of the Council resolution of 23 January 1984 on the promotion of youth employment to the list of resolutions given in item II.

If, however, experience acquired in the management of the Fund during 1984 makes this necessary, the Commission will make adjustments to the guidelines.'

Commission's position at debate: Verbatim report of proceedings, 29/30 March 1984, pp. 280-1

Text of proposal adopted by EP:

3. Report by Mrs Salisch on the Commission communication to the Council (COM(83)662 final) entitled 'Community action to combat unemployment: contribution of local initiative to job creation'

(i) The Commission has taken note of the parliamentary resolution and will in its future work take into account the various points of the resolution that emphasize the importance of local initiative in the creation of jobs for certain categories, such as women, or certain types of project, such as those with social aims.

(ii) At the Council, the parliamentary resolution was distributed on 6 April 1984 (Doc. 6165/84 ASSRE 151 SOC 119, attached). At the meeting of the Working Party on Social Questions on 30 April the Commission representative drew the Working Party's attention to the parliamentary resolution, stating that the Commission endorsed Parliament's amended text of the draft Council resolution (COM(83)662 final, preamble, Section I(5a) and Section II(1a).

(iii) Pending the Council's adoption of the draft resolution it had presented, the Commission began preparatory work on certain projects at Community level, notably for the collection and exchange of information and a new programme for consultation on local projects (invitations to tender for both these were published in OJ No C 69, 16 March 1984).

Commission's position at debate: Verbatim report of proceedings, 29/30 March 1984, pp. 277-8



Text of proposal adopted by EP: Minutes of 30 March 1984, p. 51

4. Report by Mrs Desouches on the Commission proposal to the Council (COM(83)658 final) for a decision amending Decision 79/783/EEC with regard to general measures in the field of data processing:

With reference to paragraph 4 of the resolution (the need for a measure for the protection of data), the Commission finds that it is not possible merely to take over the provisions of the Council of Europe Convention as they stand. The question then arises whether it would be desirable to include new fields relating to very complicated techniques.

Furthermore, in this field, made particularly complex by rapid changes in technology, it would have to call on the assistance of experts, particularly national experts, in order to be sure that any Community proposal made corresponded to the actual situation in the Member States.

Lastly, for the moment the Commission does not have sufficient staff to carry out such a task. It is therefore continuing at present with its preparatory studies. A new stage may be reached when the Commission is in a position to give the question all the attention it needs.

With reference to paragraph 7 (request for Community action to afford computer programmes (software) legal protection), the Commission is interested, with regard to internal Community policy, in continuing to study the question, with particular reference to adjustments in copyright and patent arrangements. The inclusion of the subject in the green paper on copyrights was considered a positive first step. The Commission is expected to adopt this document in the autumn of 1984. It might then propose a recommendation to the Council of Ministers. Some would like to see representations made to the European Patent Office with a view to having a more open policy adopted towards inventions, including software. In connection with this, we are awaiting useful information from industry concerning the application of patents accepted by national courts while they were summarily rejected by the EPO on the basis of the same legal text.

Commission's position at debate: Verbatim report of proceedings, 26 March 1984, pp. 23-25

Text of proposal adopted by EP:

D. *Disaster aid supplied since last part-session*

*Emergency aid within the Community*

<i>Country</i>	<i>Sum</i>	<i>Reason</i>	<i>Distributed by</i>	<i>Date of decision</i>
Italy	900 000 ECU	earthquakes in Umbria	gvt	May 1984
Italy	2 350 000 ECU	victims in central and southern Italy	gvt	May 1984

*Emergency aid for third countries**Financial aid*

<i>Country</i>	<i>Sum</i>	<i>Reason</i>	<i>Distributed by</i>	<i>Date of decision</i>
Madagascar	350 000 ECU	Hurricane Camisi	LICROSS	18. 4. 84
Benin	500 000 ECU	drought	UNDRO	17. 4. 84
Chad	2 000 000 ECU	drought	EEC Delegation	17. 4. 84
Ethiopia	2 500 000 ECU	drought	UNDRO	17. 4. 84
Ghana	2 000 000 ECU	drought	EEC Delegation	17. 4. 84
Mali	850 000 ECU	drought	Médecins sans frontières	17. 4. 84
Mauritania	2 000 000 ECU	drought	EEC Delegation	17. 4. 84
Niger	1 500 000 ECU	drought	EEC Delegation	17. 4. 84
Senegal	2 000 000 ECU	drought	EEC Delegation	17. 4. 84
Sudan	500 000 ECU	drought	EEC Delegation	17. 4. 84
Togo	500 000 ECU	drought	EEC Delegation	17. 4. 84
Upper Volta	500 000 ECU	drought	EEC Delegation	17. 4. 84
Zambia	500 000 ECU	drought	EEC Delegation	17. 4. 84
Djibouti	250 000 ECU	drought	EEC Delegation	17. 4. 84
Mayotte	270 000 ECU	Hurricane Camisi	EEC Delegation	8. 5. 84

*Food aid*

<i>Country</i>	<i>Quantity</i>	<i>Reason</i>	<i>Date of decision</i>
Gambia	1 000 t cereals	drought	25. 4. 84
Ghana	8 000 t cereals	drought	25. 4. 84
Guinea-Bissau	2 000 t cereals	drought	25. 4. 84
Upper Volta	3 000 t cereals	drought	25. 4. 84
Mauritania	5 000 t cereals	drought	25. 4. 84
Senegal	8 000 t cereals	drought	25. 4. 84
Togo	2 000 t cereals	drought	25. 4. 84
Mozambique	15 000 t cereals	floods (Hurricane Domoina)	25. 4. 84
Zimbabwe	15 000 t cereals	Mozambican refugees and drought	25. 4. 84
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IN THE CHAIR: MR PFLIMLIN

*Vice-President*

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

1. *Approval of the Minutes*

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

Are there any comments?

**Mr Pearce (ED).** — Mr President, I would like to ask your advice on the reference on page 1 of the Minutes to the episode concerning a television crew that was in the Chamber. My colleague, Mr Christopher Jackson protested about this and so did one or two other people. May I ask that you take this matter before the Bureau and that we have a fresh definition of what television crews and photographers are allowed to do in the Chamber. This Chamber does have a certain dignity for itself, Mr President. People should behave in a certain way be they Members, visitors or members of the press. I would like to ask you to take this matter to the Bureau and see that when the next Parliament starts there are fresh rules which enable the dignity of the House and the convenience of Members to be properly maintained.

**President.** — I shall ask the Administration to draw up a report on yesterday's incident so that the Bureau may consider the matter with full knowledge of the facts.

**Mr Gautier (S).** — *(DE)* Mr President, page 81 of the minutes gives the agenda of today's sitting. Now, although it appears in the minutes of Tuesday, 22 May, page 21, under Item 5, urgent debate — air pollution — the motion for a resolution by Mr Gautier, Mr Glinne, Mr Arndt and others on behalf of the Socialist Group (Doc. 1-310/84) is not included today. It deals with the same subjects as the motions by Mr Collins and Mr Alber and was entered in Tues-

day's minutes. Since we have proposed a compromise amendment (Doc. 1-310/84) it ought to be included in the agenda.

**President.** — Mr Gautier, the list of urgencies that can be taken today was notified yesterday morning and approved yesterday afternoon. I cannot make any changes to what has already been decided.

**Mr Gautier (S).** — *(DE)* Mr President, it is not a different subject but the same one considered by Mr Collins and Mr Alber. Mr Collins and I even submitted a joint motion yesterday, basing it on page 21 of Tuesday's minutes.

**President.** — Mr Gautier, I am not able, I am afraid, to modify the agenda as adopted yesterday afternoon at 3 p.m.

**Mr Gautier (S).** — *(DE)* Mr President, it was said yesterday that the question of air pollution would be dealt with today under Item 5. So there was no need to change the agenda. All I am concerned with is that our motion should also appear under Item 5 of the agenda.

**President.** — No, we would have needed a formal decision of the Assembly including that motion for a resolution. I am very sorry, Mr Gautier, that I cannot do what you ask.

**Mr Papaefstratiou (PPE).** — *(GR)* Mr President, I have in my hand a reply sent to me by the President of the European Parliament, Mr Dankert, which says that, following discussions between the President of the European Parliament and the Greek Government, the information programmes on the elections to the European Parliament would be broadcast from 15 May. I regret to have to inform you that these programmes have not been broadcast though it is today 24 May, and thus the people of Greece have not been acquainted with the activities and functions of the European Parliament.

**Papafstratiou**

The Bureau should therefore take this matter up.

(Parliament approved the Minutes)<sup>1</sup>

2. *Topical and urgent debate**Gulf War*

**President.** — The next item is the joint debate on:

- the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-300/84), by Mr Albers and others, on behalf of the Socialist Group, on the mission of the seven Arab countries
- the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-314/84), by Sir Peter Vanneck and Mr Battersby, on behalf of the European Democratic Group, on the Gulf war.

**Mr Albers (S).** — (NL) Mr President, as we prepare ourselves for the elections to the European Parliament, we often hear it said that the European Community is a factor for peace. I wholeheartedly agree with this sentiment.

The danger of there being a civil war in Western Europe is past. The old hatchets have been buried. But this also imposes a duty on us in our relations with our neighbours, our relations with the Arab world. And the Arab world expects the European Community to play its part where military conflicts emerge. And it can play a part because the Arabs know that the European Community has no military objectives in their part of the world.

But, Mr President, this means that the countries of the European Community must not supply weapons when wars break out in this part of the world, like that between Iran and Iraq. When weapons are used in disputes, the supply of arms must cease and it must be ensured that the know-how and equipment required for the construction of atom bombs do not get into the hands of the warring parties. The war between Iran and Iraq is becoming more violent by the day. In Europe we are concerned about the supply of oil to our economies, a subject that is also discussed in Mr Pintat's resolution and report.

But his objective is too limited, Mr President. The European Community has an interest in seeing the warring parties sit down at the negotiating table. Supplies of weapons lead to escalation. Kuwait and Saudi Arabia are now directly involved in the war. The ministers of the Arab countries who have visited the European capitals have a right to the Community's support. The Ten must decide to stop supplying arms.

**Mr Hutton (ED).** — Mr President, I am speaking on behalf of Sir Peter Vanneck who, unfortunately, has been called away, but I am sure that all the Members here look forward to his return in July.

My group would like to be associated with the joint text of Amendment No 1, and I should like our name to be added to the list of proposers. The Gulf War is a matter of crucial importance to us in Europe. The United States purchases very little oil from the Gulf States. The Soviet Union has its own supplies. But Europe, Asia and Africa depend upon oil from the Gulf. Any sudden disruption could nip our economic recovery in the bud.

So, who is to offer a beneficial influence in the area? The United States' influence has not had a happy record recently. The Soviet Union is the principal arms supplier to the war. The Community has the potential to be an influence for peace. Given that the Gulf will go on dominating our oil supplies, we must formulate a positive response to the Arab Foreign Ministers' appeal to the United Nations' Secretary-General to mediate in this ugly war.

If it is not checked and begins to spread, let me remind you of the words of the Koran which say 'Who can protect you from Allah, if it is his will to scourge you?'

**Mr Croux (PPE).** — (NL) On behalf of the European People's Party I endorse the joint resolution that has been tabled. As regards the first point, this is clearly an excellent opportunity for the Ten to speak with one voice, to act as a factor for peace and to play a mediating role by reacting positively to the appeal from the Arab Foreign Ministers to the United Nations Security Council.

As for the second point, the supply of weapons, we might adopt the same position as we adopted on the Fergusson report, particularly where sophisticated weapons are concerned. We often put this question to the Foreign Ministers and the Council, but we do not always get the answer we want. In this critical situation in a part of the world so close to us and so important for our energy supplies, we feel the Council and the 10 Foreign Ministers really can play an active and positive role.

**Mr Pintat (L).** — (FR) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, given the situation in the Gulf, it is important to assess objectively what its real consequences may be.

The first thing to consider is the possible physical blocking of the Ormuz Straits over a distance of 45 km and a width of 40 km. The experts consider this unlikely in practical terms. A minesweeper, for instance, passing just once a day, can assure that a clear

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

**Pintat**

passage 410 m wide will be kept open, which is adequate for super-tankers.

In any case, the United States have undertaken to guarantee the free passage of international shipping in the Straits. Any intervention in this respect by the Community is, in our view, out of the question.

Secondly, a prolonged hold-up of oil traffic through the Straits, even if they are not obstructed, for safety reasons. We consider that this is where the real danger of the present crisis lies.

In the explanatory statement of the report which last night I introduced on behalf of the Committee on Energy, Research and Technology on this very subject — the future of Middle East oil supplies — Parliament has stated the reasons why the loss of supplies coming through the Straits, which account for 18% of the oil supplies to the non-communist world, could very quickly be made up from other sources, by calling on reserves stocked on sea and land.

The real shortfall, before stocks were exhausted, would not amount to more than 7 to 8% of world demand.

The real and serious danger concerns prices — because a considerable price increase cannot be ruled out in these circumstances. This is where the importance of the report submitted by the Committee on Energy, Research and Technology, on which the vote should be taking place this afternoon, can be seen because it calls on the Community to pursue unremittingly the development of alternative energies to substitute for petroleum in order to lessen our dependence on third countries.

I feel that this report answers adequately the questions raised by Members and I consider that by voting it this afternoon we shall be providing an appropriate answer to the problem.

**Mr Rivierez (DEP).** — (FR) My group has signed the joint resolution which is before the Assembly. Let me tell you why.

The last few days have seen a new escalation in the conflict between Iran and Iraq. Commercial ships have been sunk, making the passage through the Ormuz Straits increasingly dangerous. But while it is important to react rapidly to this development, in order to restore the free movement of tankers, it is more important still to condemn the risk of the internationalization of this conflict. The inertia of the Western States is deplorable and a very serious matter. We should not remain indifferent to the conflict between the two Gulf States, because concerted destabilization and a threat to world peace concern us all.

We should also bear in mind, Mr President, that it may be in the interest of some countries of the non-

Western bloc to keep this region in permanent turmoil. It is therefore a matter of urgency for our ministers not only to establish a joint position on this question, which is now becoming of crucial importance, but to approach the belligerents and to do all in their power to bring about a solution through diplomatic channels to a conflict that is becoming more serious every day.

**Mr Davignon, Vice-President of the Commission.** — (FR) Mr President, the Commission is, of course, watching developments very carefully and, as I told you yesterday, in the course of the wider debate on the report submitted by Mr Pintat, the Energy Ministers met last Tuesday on the Commission's initiative and they agreed that, first, the policy of energy-saving which was introduced in the Community some years ago — with significant effect — allows us a little more flexibility in the present situation than we might have enjoyed in earlier years; and, secondly, that at the present stage there is no need to take special measures for market stabilization, as markets remain steady and supplies are coming in.

This being so, we agreed that, if contrary to expectations further difficulties should arise, the Community will be able together with our partners, the industrialized countries — to take measures which will not cause, either as regards supplies or, above all, as regards the prices of these supplies, deleterious effects to our economies. At the political level, the meeting which the Foreign Ministers will be holding during the coming weekend will enable them to discuss what can be done to defuse the situation, which is, of course, what the Commission desires.

**President.** — The debate is closed.

*Vote<sup>1</sup>*

*Libyan People's Bureau in London*

**President.** — The next item is the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-286/84), by Sir Henry Plumb and others, on behalf of the European Democratic Group, on recent events concerning the Libyan People's Bureau in London.

**Lady Elles (ED).** — Mr President, first of all my group wish to express our deep sympathy to the family of WPC Fletcher, who was killed while on duty in St James's Square in April of this year performing her ordinary duties as a policewoman. As Members of this House will know, she was killed by a member of the Libyan People's Bureau behind the protection of that building in St James's Square.

<sup>1</sup> See Annex.

**Lady Elles**

What our concern is, is what measures Member States can take against such blatant acts of terrorism under the protection of diplomatic immunity: diplomatic immunity which covers buildings, persons and, of course, the use of the diplomatic bag. We accept that diplomatic immunity is based on necessity, on the reciprocal protection of diplomats — privileges and immunities which, in fact, have existed for centuries. We also recognize the difficulty of making changes in the Vienna Convention on diplomatic immunity. Apart from the difficulties that would be raised, it would take a very long time indeed. We believe that it is for the Ten to take immediate action, to make immediate proposals for measures which will deal with international terrorism, which is being protected at the moment on the basis of diplomatic immunity.

This is an intolerable situation, and it is exactly the sort of measure and the sort of problem which can only be dealt with by the Ten as a whole. We therefore urge the Foreign Ministers acting in political cooperation to get down to it and coordinate some system that will protect the people of Europe from this form of international terrorism killing innocent people.

**Ms Clwyd (S.)** — Mr President, I too wish to join with Lady Elles in expressing my sorrow at the death of WPC Fletcher and condemn the events of 17 April 1984 in and around the Libyan People's Bureau of St James's Square, London.

At the same time, I find it somewhat hypocritical that the Conservative Group in this Parliament should put down a resolution of this kind, particularly as the British Government has refused a full inquiry into the incidents concerning this particular occurrence. The question this Parliament ought to ask is why they have not agreed to a full inquiry.

Undoubtedly, drug-smuggling under the guise of diplomatic bags is a fairly commonplace occurrence. The Nigerian Government, some time ago, warned diplomats that they would be searching diplomatic bags while the currency was being changed in that country.

Of course, the answer to the question why the British Government do not agree to a full inquiry is pretty obvious. There is evidence to show that British intelligence knew before the shooting that it was likely to happen, that there were cables available in the Foreign Office, as there were during the Falklands war, and that an inquiry would reveal, yet again, the incompetence of the intelligence services in Britain and the incompetence of the British Government.

The attitude of the British Government, I believe, has put at risk thousands of British lives in Libya, and it is totally hypocritical of this group, as it has been many times over the past 5 years, to put forward a resolution of this kind when they refuse to hold an inquiry in their own country.

Having said that, my group, of course, will back this resolution, because it is important that the peaceful exchange of diplomats continues — but with the proper safeguards.

*(Cries of 'Hear, hear!')*

**Lady Elles (ED)**. — I simply cannot allow completely fallacious statements to be left unanswered in this House. The government is having an inquiry. The reason that it is not public is quite clear, because it is a matter for the intelligence services, and Ms Clwyd has totally misrepresented the situation.

*(Protests)*

**Mr Pannella (CDI)**. — *(FR)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I feel it is no concern of ours if our colleagues speak with one tongue here and another at home. What concerns me is that they should speak appropriately here.

As regards this resolution, I think that there are a number of political comments to be made, not on what these colleagues have been saying, but on the conduct of the British Government. I do not propose to honour — or offend — anybody in this House by accusing them, or regarding them as representatives of the British Government. We are all here representatives of our European electorates.

I was able, Mr President, to inform the Political Affairs Committee at its last meeting of the very serious events which have occurred and to state very clearly the position of the Italian and the European Radicals on these events. I shall vote for this resolution but that does not mean that I do not have my own very definite view of the responsibility that falls on our governments — and incidentally not only on the British Government — each time criminals calling themselves statesmen act in a certain fashion. This time it has been the lot of the British Government, but I do not feel we should stress that fact, because all our governments are not on the whole very good at coping with such situations.

**Mr Narjes, Member of the Commission**. — *(DE)* The Commission observed with horror the events which took place in St James's Square in London on 17 April 1984. It condemns these events utterly; it mourns the victims.

The Commission is in agreement with the Ministers acting in political cooperation on the need to put a stop to the misuse of diplomatic immunity. It therefore notes with satisfaction that those Ministers have decided to examine this question in depth and formulate proposals to prevent any such crass misuse of diplomatic immunity in future. The Commission will

**Narjes**

do all it can to ensure that its activities produce early and concrete results.

**President.** — The debate is closed.

*Vote<sup>1</sup>**Olympic Games*

**President.** — The next item is the joint debate on:

- the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-284/84) by Mr Penders, on behalf of the EPP Group, on participation in the Olympic Games in Los Angeles
- the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-285/84) by Mr Langes and others, on behalf of the EPP Group, on the Olympic Games
- the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-288/84) by Mr de la Malène and others, on behalf of the Group of European Progressive Democrats, on the boycott of the 1984 Olympic Games by the Soviet Union
- the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-294/84) by Mr Haagerup, on behalf of the Liberal and Democratic Group, on the Olympic Games.

**Mr Penders (PPE).** — (NL) Mr President, all this began with the boycott of the Olympic Games in Los Angeles by the Soviet Union and then by a number of other countries. Let that be clearly stated once again.

I should like to place the emphasis on the paragraphs of the joint text which appeal to the International Olympic Committee, the governments and the national Olympic committees to continue their efforts to ensure the widest possible participation in the Los Angeles games. The prospects are not good, but I feel that every opportunity must be seized. The European Parliament is after all an international body which takes a very serious interest in the East-West conflict and therefore has a right to seek a solution.

The second point is that the Olympic Games should in future always take place in Greece. All in all a reasonable proposal. And yet I feel slightly uneasy about this, because what would we do if the military again seized power in Athens? But let us assume that will not happen. Let us not think about it, because the question would then be whether we could allow Greece to remain in the Community.

If this resolution was implemented, calm would return to the Olympic arena. That seems a good thing to me.

Mr President, with your permission, I shall be nationalistic for a moment. As the Olympic Games should certainly be held permanently in Greece from 1996 onwards, they could take place in Amsterdam in 1992.

**Mr Langes (EPP).** — (DE) Mr President, may I begin by referring to the excellent report by Mr Israël, who in 1980/81 — at our request — examined the question whether the Olympic Games should not be held solely in Greece in future. At that time Parliament definitely decided yes, it agreed. The difficulties that have arisen with the current Olympic Games in Los Angeles show how right our decision was at the time. We very much regret that evidently neither the Commission nor the Council endorsed this view of ours. We have obtained an assurance from the Greek President, Mr Karamanlis, for which we thank him, that he would give extra-territorial status to the site of the Olympic Games in Greece. In that way we would make it clear that today, as in olden days, the Olympic Games can be held in a spirit of freedom and peaceful competition between peoples. It is mistaken to believe that nowadays the Olympic Games could still be held in a kind of apolitical world, in Los Angeles, or somewhere in Seoul. So the people of Europe should support our view. Moreover, since we have already entered 10 million ECU in the budget, we have made it clear that we want to support the Greeks, so that we can save the Olympic Games for the future and for our young people. Please support our motion.

(Applause)

**Mr Rogers (S).** — Mr President, I am pleased that this particular subject is on the agenda if only that the European Parliament, in its last part-session before it finishes, address itself to this problem and the hypocrisy that surrounds it at the present moment.

The Olympic Games were conceived as an institution, a happening where young athletes from all over the world could get together in harmony to pit against each other their special skills. Many young people in all of our countries have dedicated themselves over a period of years to prepare for these Games. Unfortunately, and particularly since the Games were awarded to the United States of America, we now have virtually the ultimate corruption of the Games into a commercial enterprise. As a result of this, many of us who are very strong supporters of athletics and other sports and have been so over the years, have found the run-up to the Los Angeles Olympic Games quite disturbing. No longer are the Olympic Games bringing people together; indeed, they are driving people apart. This is why I would prefer that we could adopt a permanent site. The Russians are not going to the Games, the Eastern Europeans are not going to the Games. Of course they are not. They never were going to go in view of the hypocritical attitude of the United States of America in withdrawing from the Moscow Olympic

<sup>1</sup> See Annex.



## Rogers

Games on the spurious reason of the invasion of Afghanistan while forgetting completely about their own invasions of Chile, El Salvador or Nicaragua and their interference in the affairs of other freely-elected countries.

The hypocrisy will continue, and you will always get the United States of America in the lead of this hypocrisy, dragging behind it the puppet State of the United Kingdom, with Mrs Thatcher continually bowing to the wishes of the cowboy in the White House.

**Mr Bord (DEP).** — (FR) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, faced with a situation so harmful to the entire international sporting movement and to cooperation among the peoples of the world, we felt in the EDP Group that it was expedient not to multiply texts. We have in fact already given our support to the resolution tabled on behalf of the EPP Group.

May I remind you, Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, that our group had already asked, in an earlier motion for a resolution that Greece should become the permanent host country for the Olympic Games. In a report which has been adopted by the Assembly, our friend and colleague, Mr Gérard Israël, had pointed out some time ago that it would be advisable to locate the Olympic Games in Greece.

There is no doubt that this is the most appropriate country to host the Games, for it carries a symbolic importance as the cradle of the Olympics. Besides, as Mr Gérard Israël has reminded us, a fixed venue, which could be improved from year to year, could provide substantial financial savings.

In view of this, and of the seriousness of the present situation, I feel that the European Parliament should firmly ask the Olympic Committee to exclude in future from the Games any nation that might unilaterally boycott them. This would also prevent the intolerable exploitation of sport as a means of exerting political pressure.

We have no illusions as to the irrevocable nature of the Soviet decision and we see in it confirmation of the hardening of that country's foreign policy. This gross blackmail, however, will have as its only result the jeopardizing of the future of the Olympic movement. Is this really the aim of the Soviet Union and its allies? Is it even in their interest?

I speak less as a politician than as the chairman of a sporting movement, and I want to remind you in this House of the great value of sporting competition among the nations of the world as a factor for solidarity and peace among the peoples. I speak also to remind you that we are deeply attached to the spirit of the Olympics and to the democratic tradition which they represent.

(Applause)

**Mr Kallias (PPE).** — (GR) Mr President, friendship between peoples, brotherhood between men, noble rivalry between athletes, competition for a sprig of olive and for the honour of winning, these are what the Olympic ideal stood for.

But while the Olympic Games always move men deeply the Olympic flame is in danger of being extinguished.

The perversion of the Games is most obvious. Politicization, the resort to propaganda and the slide into commercial advertising are irreconcilable with the Olympic ideal.

The most noble and ancient of athletic institutions is under threat, so the proposal of the President of the Hellenic Republic, Mr Konstantine Karamanlis, for the Olympic Games to be held in Greece on a permanent basis is of immediate and burning relevance.

The Games can only be rescued and made safe for the distant future, regain their glory and give lasting expression to the noble Olympic ideal if they are held in the country and place of their birth.

(Applause)

**Lady Elles (ED).** — Mr President, I merely wish to state that my group associates itself with this joint amendment. Our name is not on the list and we wish, therefore, to support explicitly and totally the proposals contained in this resolution. We welcome the fact that Olympia might become the centre for the Olympic Games as it was centuries ago. I think that we should certainly accept the offer of President Karamanlis.

I would just add that I am amazed that Mrs Thatcher has such power that according to Mr Rogers you can talk of Los Angeles, Moscow, Olympia, President Karamanlis and everybody else and manage to bring in Mrs Thatcher's name. I think it merely shows what a powerful person she must be.

**Mr Segre (COM).** — (IT) Mr President, the affairs of the Olympic Games return once again to claim our attention, punctually four years after the first occasion on which they came into our orbit because of the United States' decision not to take part in the Moscow Olympics.

We are now faced with the Soviet decision not to take part in the Los Angeles Olympics. We deplore the Russians' decision, just as we deplored the American decision four years ago. Not all political groups can claim the same consistency and the same independence of judgment and behaviour as the Italian Communists.

Those who supported that boycott in this Chamber four years ago should now at least reflect on the blow

**Segre**

they helped to inflict on the Olympic idea and its expression in practice.

We agree with the amendment to the draft resolution, even though we should have preferred that a reference be made to the connection between Moscow four years ago and Los Angeles now, which is anyway a matter of history. The choice of Greece could be the way to make the Olympics universal once again. It may be the only way open to us, but it is undoubtedly saddening to see the state that things have reached in the world, the refusal to communicate, the irrationality.

The lesson that this teaches us above all is that we have to redouble our efforts for a clear reversal of the trend in international relations, for a return to tolerance, to rationality, to dialogue: in short, we have finally to start really building peace.

*(Applause from the left)*

**Mr Plaskovitis (S).** — *(GR)* Mr President, I want to say that the Greek Socialists of Pasok have listened to the discussion about holding the Olympic Games in Greece with great satisfaction. We shall be very happy if agreement by the whole of the European Parliament and those with specific responsibility really leads to the Olympic idea being taken back to Greece. We have reservations about what has been said concerning the undermining of the Olympic Games and the blame that has been laid against the two superpowers. But regardless of this, and leaving aside the organizational and financial considerations which such a decision would involve, we too would be glad to see the Olympic Games permanently established in Greece and we shall vote for the resolution.

*(Applause from the left)*

**Mr Bournias (PPE).** — *(GR)* Mr President, we Greeks in the New Democracy Party accept the urgent motions on the Olympic Games without reservation, and we think this is a splendid and propitious initiative on the part of the European Parliament.

Mr President, in our opinion these motions are an SOS by the 10 EEC countries for the rescue of the Olympic Games. Following the withdrawal of the Soviet Union and many of the Eastern bloc countries from this year's Games in Los Angeles, and the unacceptable and barely serious justification for this purely political move, there is only one way in which the Olympic ideal and the Olympic Games can be kept alive: by moving them permanently to Greece and ancient Olympia where they were first held in 776 BC as a symbol of peace and friendship between men.

The President of my country, Konstantine Karamanlis, foresaw the risk to the Olympic idea quite early,

and the Greek offer made by him some years ago points the way to a solution. The adoption of this by Parliament will outlaw all abuse and political and commercial exploitation of the Games in the future.

With this hope I as a Greek welcome this initiative of our Parliament which serves the cause of peace and friendship between peoples, and I give warm thanks, Mr President, to all those who have spoken in favour of moving the Games permanently to Greece.

*(Applause from the centre and the left)*

**Mr Fernandez (COM).** — *(FR)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the French Communists and Allies deplore the refusal of the Soviet Union and several other countries to participate in the Olympic Games.

We regret it as much as we regretted the American boycott of the last Moscow Olympics.

In both cases we were concerned that contacts between the peoples should be maintained, especially at this time of political tension.

This is why we cannot agree to any exploitation of this situation, to any tit-for-tats that could only exacerbate the existing strains.

In this spirit, Mr President, while we may not be entirely in agreement with the formulations proposed, we shall be ready to vote for any text that will promote a return to the Olympic spirit, which we hold dear.

**Mr Ephremidis (COM).** — *(GR)* Mr President, I want to remind all those who write and talk about a Soviet boycott of the Los Angeles Games that in order to speak about a boycott they should be invoking the argument that the Soviet Union has withdrawn because of the invasion of Grenada. The Soviet Union is not using this as an argument, however, so therefore there is no Soviet boycott. What there is is a refusal to take part in response to the Reagan administration's refusal, in breach of the Olympic charter, to guarantee the safety, the integrity, the lives even, of Soviet athletes.

We agree with the proposal that the Olympic Games should be held in Greece, but for us to get over the deadlock in this way our country must be given international guarantees as regards, for example, its neutrality, so that it can safeguard the institution and the ideals that go with it. We do not think it will suffice for these guarantees to be given for just one part of Greece, Olympia to be precise, because under these circumstances our country will not be able to fulfil this high mission. The Games cannot be made safe just by moving them to where they first took place.

We insist that our country must become neutral ground, and then it and its people will be able to pro-

**Ephremidis**

tect and safeguard the Games until, with the creation of more favourable conditions, it can hand the torch with honour to other peoples so that the Olympic Games can be held in any continent and country, as a world institution.

*(Applause from the left)*

**Mr Narjes, Member of the Commission.** — (DE) Mr President, the Commission endorses the majority views and assessments put forward in the motions for resolution and in this debate. It deeply regrets the Soviet decision, which in our view runs counter to the spirit of Olympia and is not likely to achieve the easing of international tension we all desire. The Commission shares the interest and concern of the European Parliament in the future of the Olympic Games and the European cultural heritage they represent.

As regards opportunities for practical action on the part of the Commission, may I refer you to and confirm the position set out by Mr Tugendhat in the debate of 13 October 1981, namely that the Commission has no actual power in this matter. This reply does not, however, on principle preclude granting aid from the Regional Fund, for instance, should Olympia be established as the permanent site of the Olympic Games. May I add, in reply to a remark by Mr Langes, that since 1981 the Regional Fund has made a major contribution, in two instalments, to financing the Patras-Olympia road, which would then become an important traffic route.

**President.** — The debate is closed.

Vote<sup>1</sup>

*Agricultural problems*

**President.** — The next item is the joint debate on:

- the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-264/84) by Mr Bocklet and others, on behalf of the EPP Group, on the consequences of the Council's decision on agricultural prices and related measures for the 1984/85 marketing year,
- the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-259/84) by Sir Fred Warner and others, on the disposal of dairy surpluses.

**Mr Bocklet (EPP).** — (DE) Mr President, honourable Members, the quota scheme for milk has substantially reduced farmers' incomes in several European Community countries, and especially those of dairy

farmers. Moreover, the agricultural price round produced a zero increase for milk and other products and a price fall for a number of products. The European farmers are being expected to accept a great deal. But in addition, the Commission has adopted what it calls related measures, which Parliament had already rejected before the Council of Ministers' decisions. The related measures have done much to create uncertainty among our farmers and to render them unable to make the concessions they were formerly able to make on the basis of their income situation.

May I give you two examples. The lengthening of the intervention payment period is an extra cost factor and has led to a fall in the price paid out for milk. Secondly, the higher quality standard for skimmed milk powder reduces the price paid out for milk. You can see how senseless and vexatious all this is from the fact that the Commission is requiring higher quality standards for skimmed milk powder, while 80% of that skimmed milk powder then goes back into the butter tubs, which means these quality standards are not actually necessary but serve only to save money. Anyone who treats the farmers like this cannot be surprised to find unrest in that sector. We want the Commission to do what Parliament requested in its resolution on agricultural prices.

**Mr de Courcy Ling (ED).** — Mr President, I commend to the House the motion for a resolution signed by Sir Fred Warner and 20 other Members, representing four political groups, concerning two problems: first of all, the disposal of dairy surpluses, and secondly, the chronic problem of the nutrition of elderly people. The proposal is that elderly people — old-age pensioners — who buy 2 litres of milk a week, should have a ½ litre provided free of charge, against a voucher system, which we have organized in principle. This would be financed from the co-responsibility levy. Governments are already sitting on substantial sums from the co-responsibility levy which have been collected and are yet to be handed over to the Commission.

I am sure that the House would not be deflected from voting unanimously in favour of this practical measure to help elderly people, by a rather disagreeable intervention yesterday by Mrs Castle. I am sure that the European Socialist Group, along with the other groups of the House, will disown the British Labour Members again today, as they have done so often in the past, on this genuinely practical measure which Sir Fred Warner and I have been attempting to bring to the House for the last several months. It has now become an urgent measure because of the need to find practical ways of dealing with the remaining surpluses which still stand at 6 million tonnes of dairy produce, during the current year.

As regards Mr Bocklet's resolution, Mr President. We, in this group, have some difficulty with paragraph 2 of

<sup>1</sup> See Annex.

**de Courcy Ling**

his resolution because a change of the VAT directive will be needed and Parliament has yet to be consulted on that.

**Mr Gautier (S).** — (DE) Mr President, honourable Members, Mr Bocklet has just given a major election campaign speech on behalf of Mr Strauss, but that does not make what he says any more correct. Mr Bocklet, it is nice to hear you speak of savings, as your Federal Government also keeps doing — while in fact it never wants to save.

What are you asking for in your motion for a resolution? In paragraph 1 you say the fat-protein price ratio should be changed again. In practice that would mean raising butter prices again. The consumer prices have at last been reduced by more than 10%, and the shoppers are pleased about this, yet you Christian Democrats now stand up and say you want to raise the butter prices again. That is exactly what your motion for a resolution means. We cannot agree to that under any circumstances; we do not consider it part of a reasonable consumer policy or agricultural policy.

Paragraph 2 admits that the present Federal Republic is acting illegally. The Federal Government and the Federal Council want to alter the Turnover Tax Law on 1 July in order to distribute DM 2 000 million to agriculture. That does not comply with the Sixth Directive on VAT, as Mr Villain said in the Committee on Agriculture, and the Council of Ministers has decided to take the necessary measures pursuant to Articles 99 and 100 and to consult Parliament.

So we must be consulted on any changes to the VAT directive before the Turnover Tax Law can be changed in the Federal Republic of Germany in order to grab DM 2 000 million from the pockets of the German people and distribute it to agriculture. Mr Bocklet, unfortunately we cannot agree to this motion for a resolution. You have started out well on your election campaign, but sad to say it is not likely to be effective.

**Mr Narjes, Member of the Commission.** — (DE) The measures referred to by Mr Bocklet to change the value ratio between fat and protein in milk and improve the quality standards for skimmed-milk powder do reflect the current trend of the dairy sector. The harmonization of the payment periods for intervention products also seems justified, since intervention had become too attractive for some products in some Member States. So unfortunately the Commission does not consider it possible to go back on its own decision or to propose to the Council that it go back on its decisions. May I point out that the budgetary difficulties have not yet been resolved.

The Commission will submit the necessary proposal to the Council for the MCAs to be paid to farmers in the

Federal Republic to compensate for the price fall effective on 1 January. Then the Commission will also make proposals on the date when these proposals enter into force.

As regards the motion for a resolution by Sir Fred Warner: on 31 March 1984 the Council, acting on a proposal from the Commission, adopted a number of measures to check the excessive growth of dairy products. It is to be expected that the central instrument of the super-levy will reduce milk supplies to dairies to less than 100 million tonnes per financial year. The marketing measures proposed by the Commission, together with the justified export expectations, make it probable that in the medium term the milk supply will more or less coincide with demand.

True, we do now have stocks of dairy products, in fact nearly 1 million tonnes of butter and nearly 1 million tonnes of skimmed-milk powder. These stocks, which came into being before the changes to the milk policy, will have to be sold in the coming years. That is why the Commission is carrying out intensive studies of a range of possible ways of marketing dairy products. Moreover, in its proposals to the Council for additional appropriations in 1984, the Commission proposed making 150 million ECU available for the first phase of such a measure.

The Commission is aware that many pensioners suffer a loss of income on retirement and that many need further support. Yet the proposal to subsidize sales of fresh milk to pensioners has two major drawbacks, compared to the support for butter sold to old people's homes or similar arrangements and to subsidizing sales of school milk. The first drawback is that unlike those two programmes, in this case the administration and control would be cumbersome and expensive, if at all possible. The second is that sales of fresh milk, which are hardly affected by price, to older people are much lower.

That is why such a programme would be of only limited value; and anyway it is highly unlikely that the subsidized half litre would be added to the existing consumption. In view of this situation, the Commission is not in a position to propose a programme of cheaper fresh milk for pensioners. The Commission will, however, consider how to make the existing programmes more attractive and accessible to the socially disadvantaged.

**President.** — The debate is closed.

*Vote!*

*Air pollution*

**President.** — The next item is the joint debate on:

<sup>1</sup> See Annex.

**President**

- the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-257/84) by Mrs Schleicher and others, on limiting the emission of pollutants into the air from large combustion plants
- the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-296/84) by Mr Collins and others, on lead-free petrol
- the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-316/84) by Mr Alber and others, on behalf of the EPP Group, on the introduction of lead-free petrol in the EEC.

**Mrs Schleicher (EPP).** — *(DE)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, because of the very poor way in which points of order were handled in Parliament, the reasons for which I do not want to go into today, it was unfortunately not possible to adopt Parliament's opinion on the common rules on large combustion plants promptly. The members of the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection from all groups therefore decided to request our Parliament to give the Council of Ministers the green light in spite of this and to draw up the report as soon as possible after the elections. We believe that no further delays can be accepted in the deliberations, in view of the recorded evidence of damage from air pollution. It is not just a question of the death of the forests; if you read the papers carefully you will find a new key word: damage to stone. Air pollution has caused millions of pounds worth of damage to buildings and also to bridges. This damage is due to corrosion, which also endangers the stability of skyscrapers; I would also like to point to the damage to health, especially in our urban centres, from air pollution.

I therefore request Parliament to endorse our motion, drawn up on behalf of all the groups; for every day that we waste counts against us.

**IN THE CHAIR: MRS DE MARCH***Vice-President*

**Mr Collins (S).** — Madam President, I am again introducing a resolution which has support from all round the House. I hope that Members will look at the signatories of this particular resolution. They include people from every Member State and from every political group in Parliament.

We are convinced that the campaign for lead-free petrol is being led by the European Parliament. We consider it to be an important campaign, and we only regret that in spite of its good intentions the Commission failed to come up with the agreed timetable and did not produce proposals on 15 April. We insist, however, that the Council, when it meets in June, will

have this as a priority item and we hope that by the end of this year the Community will be well on its way to establishing a firm, clear and sharp timetable for eliminating lead from petrol. We consider this an important step, not only towards improving the public health of the people of Europe but also towards improving the whole question of air pollution. Lead-free petrol is yet another contribution to a solution of the problem already raised by Mrs Schleicher and about to be raised by Mr Alber as well. We commend the resolution to the House.

**Mr Alber (EPP).** — *(DE)* Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, the Commission has decided not to introduce low exhaust gas values for motor vehicles, corresponding to the American levels, until 1995. That is another 11 years. This decision is incomprehensible, irrational and irresponsible. I regret the fact that Commissioner Narjes, who has realized the importance of combating air pollution, could not make his views prevail in the Commission. The Commission as a whole is in no way inferior to the Council of Ministers in terms of failure to act. More and more forests are dying everywhere, not only in Germany. One could almost say — if the Commission does not want to do anything about this — that it would have been better if it had immediately decided on reforestation programmes.

A clean environment is a great asset. The damage to our national economies from exhaust gas is higher than the economic effects on a few motor vehicle firms. I regret the fact that some car manufacturers are so short-sighted and keep reproaching us that first they need the politicians to fix the values. That is just passing the buck again. I hope that the car buyers will be more environment-conscious than the Commission; I also hope that the buyers are more sensible than the Commission. That would not be too difficult.

*(Applause)*

**Mr Linkohr (S).** — *(DE)* Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, our criticism of the Commission proposal focuses on four aspects. Firstly, the Commission took far too long to draw up a proposal and, moreover, today we still do not have an official proposal. Secondly, it is doubtful whether the Council of Ministers will even accept this extremely weak proposal. According to my information, some countries consider even this proposal much too far-reaching. Thirdly, the proposed timescale for the introduction of lead-free petrol is far too long. The introduction of lead-free petrol is not to be made compulsory until 1989. And fourthly, the exhaust gas emission rules are to be introduced in two phases, and the timing of the second phase is not even known yet. So we are not to get standards comparable to those of the United States and Japan before the middle of the next decade.

**Linkohr**

In my view the Commission has not done its homework; worse still, it has forfeited the last semblance of environmental credibility; and its decision is also wrong in industrial policy terms, since the industry needs definite rules and not vague suggestions. The Commission is thereby also weakening the competitiveness of European industry. Environmentally speaking too, the Commission's proposal is a disaster for the forests of Central Europe, while also leaving towns such as Athens exposed to lethal air pollution.

I am no longer surprised to find a growing number of people despair of European policy, and I can assure you of one thing in this context; in many countries there is now opposition to the failure on the part of the Commission and the Council of Ministers to take environmental action. If the German Federal Government does not keep its promise to introduce lead-free petrol by 1 January 1986, together with stringent exhaust gas emission standards, there will be an uprising on the other side of the Rhine. I promise you that, and it will be the first successful revolution in Germany.

**Mr Johnson (ED).** — Madam President, I warmly welcome these resolutions on air pollution, coming as they do during this last part-session before the elections. They underline the determination of this House to fight and to go on fighting for major improvements in environmental quality throughout the whole of the European Community.

Last Tuesday, together with my good friend, Siegbert Alber, author of one of the resolutions, I visited parts of the Black Forest where the trees have been devastated by air pollution over a wide area. That pollution comes from both stationary and mobile sources. It comes from local emissions and it comes from long-range transport. The resolutions before the House deal with both aspects. They urge the Commission and the Council to take rapid and effective action.

I can tell the House, in what will probably be my last speech, I hope, before this Assembly, that the United Kingdom Government has given a clear commitment — and you will find it in the Conservative Manifesto 'A strong voice in Europe' to finding practical answers to the problems of acid rain and phasing out lead in petrol by 1990 at the latest.

*(Applause)*

**President.** — My thanks to you, Mr Johnson, and it is my belief that we shall remember you as a very active parliamentarian.

**Mr Cousté (DEP).** — *(FR)* Madam President, our group supports the three motions before the House, and particularly that of Mrs Schleicher. Already on Tuesday night in this Chamber we have said how

much we welcomed the Commission's initiatives and the decisions of the Council of 1 March on atmospheric pollution. This is why we warmly support Mrs Schleicher's motion for a resolution: we feel that, quite apart from the Council's decisions, the policy which the Community now intends to pursue, for the benefit of all Europeans everywhere, is fundamental in the battle against atmospheric pollution.

So, bearing in mind the Council of the Ministers for the Environment to be held on 28 June, we state our support for these resolutions and only wish to add that all the resolutions, regulations and directives will only make sense within the framework of an overall policy that we mean to successfully pursue for the welfare of Europe's peoples and for a better quality of life for everyone.

**Mrs Bonino (CDI).** — *(IT)* Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, even though it is true that this has been and is an almost completely or at least predominantly pro-nuclear parliament, as it has always shown by the way it has voted, this is not sufficient reason for us not to acknowledge the small, tiny steps forward that, none the less, are apparent every now and again in regard to the problem of the environment and pollution.

We shall vote in favour of this resolution, essentially for two reasons. First, because of the very firm reference it contains to the failure of the Commission to keep its word, after having committed itself to present a programme by 15 April 1984, which we can obviously now read as 15 April 1985, 1986, or whatever.

Secondly, because, unlike the Danish, Dutch, German and British Governments, our own country, Italy, has not come out in favour of introducing lead-free petrol by 1986. That is the reason for our vote in favour, at least as evidence, as far as we are concerned, of our commitment to bring the Italian Government also to associate itself with this intention.

**Mr Narjes, Member of the Commission.** — *(DE)* First let me speak to Mrs Schleicher's motion. The Commission has noted with satisfaction that Parliament regards common rules to limit emissions from large combustion plants as urgently necessary and wants to adopt them as soon as possible. It finds itself in full accord with Parliament on that point.

On paragraph 1 of the motion for a resolution, may I point out that deliberations on the Commission proposal have already begun in the Council. The first two meetings took place in March/April. Moreover, there are plans to hold a debate of principle on the Commission proposal in the Council of 28 June 1984. Secondly, the Commission will inform the newly elected Parliament of the outcome of the deliberations

## Narjes

immediately after its constitution. And thirdly, the Commission very much hopes that the new Parliament will make an effort to bring forward to October the November date you referred to.

On the motion on exhaust gas emissions, may I first point out that I personally have great sympathy with any criticism. But secondly, let me also point out that the actual situations in the Member States and the views on what must be done and when differ widely, much more widely, at any rate, than emerged in the debate this morning.

Thirdly, there is an error of fact in some of the motions. It is not the case that the Commission forbids or prevents the introduction of lead-free petrol from 1 January 1986 if a Member State wants to introduce it. That is by no means the case. We merely chose 1989 as the compulsory date and left it to the governments who so wish to choose an earlier date, so that we can make as rapid progress here as possible. The practical conditions for introducing it on 1 January 1986 do not exist everywhere. May I point out — and this also applies to the next point — that manufacturers whose product range consists mainly of small cars face different problems from those who concentrate mainly on 2 litre cars and more. That also had to be taken into account as regards the repercussions on competitiveness and employment. That is why there is no obstacle to freely introducing lead-free petrol as from 1 January 1986.

The question of the timescale for reducing exhaust gas emission values is another matter. As regards the final target, we have been as precise as possible by taking as our point of reference the currently applicable Japanese and American values. We have not yet dealt with the technical conversion to a European working cycle. Yet that must not be taken as a pretext for playing for time; but we have proposed two phases, which can be discussed in industrial policy terms, as the Commission has done. The first phase, which begins in 1989, already leads to a certain reduction of exhaust gas emissions. Given these facts, some of the motions do not reflect the real situation and content of the Commission proposals. For the rest, we assume that the Commission will be able to adopt the technical implementing provisions before the end of this month.

**President.** — The debate is closed.

*Vote<sup>1</sup>*

*(After the vote on the proposal Doc. 1-257/84)*

**Mrs Van den Heuvel (S).** — *(NL)* Madam President, as we have only another half-hour to consider all the

resolutions still before us, the Socialist Group proposes that the remaining resolutions should be considered without debate. I would ask you to put this proposal to the vote.

**President.** — The Rules do not allow us to vote on a motion for a resolution without debate, but political groups and speakers may properly express their positions on this issue, and I thank the Socialist Group for its proposal.

**Lady Elles (ED).** — Madam President, I appreciate the concern of Mrs van den Heuvel, but if we do not waste time now we have time to get through the resolutions and my group would object to taking *en bloc* all the resolutions outstanding.

### *Emergency aid in Afghanistan*

**President.** — The next item is the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-265/84) by Mr Barbi and others, on behalf of the EPP Group, on a plan of emergency Community aid for the Shamali-Paghman region in Afghanistan.

**Mr Croux (PPE).** — *(NL)* Madam President, this resolution calls for emergency aid to be granted to an area of the Shamali plateau North of Kabul in Afghanistan that is in dire straits. This resolution is based on one that Parliament adopted on 16 June 1982. The situation in this area is extremely critical. As you know, the reports coming out of Afghanistan recently have been more and more alarming, and we feel there is an urgent need for emergency aid to be granted through humanitarian organizations, the NGOs, so that we can be sure that the people receive help directly, through independent organizations, in compliance with the many statements Parliament has already made on this subject.

**Mr Fergusson (ED).** — Madam President, the long, cruel and pitiless attempt by the Soviet Union to crush freedom in Afghanistan has run parallel with the life of this first directly elected European Parliament, practically from start to finish. The contrast between the events in the Panjgur Valley in Afghanistan, now bombed and blasted by rockets and gunships, for the seventh time in four years — it is evidently Soviet policy by causing the death of every living thing in it to make it uninhabitable — between those events and our proceedings here could hardly be starker.

That there are Members of this Parliament, not least to our shame in the British Labour Group whose leader does not disown them, who can find it in their hearts to support Moscow's policy in Afghanistan is less important, I think, than the fact that they can

<sup>1</sup> See Annex.

**Fergusson**

freely express those views here, but they are a tiny, twisted minority. We may not as a Parliament these four years have been able to do much to help the Afghan resistance or to promote the liberation of the country, but at least we here, louder than any, have given constant voice, and we did it first, to the outrage of the whole world against Soviet imperialist expansion. So we give strong support now to this call to send emergency aid to those who have survived the carnage.

**Mr Israël (DEP).** — (FR) We must be grateful to the Christian-Democratic Group for tabling a resolution on humanitarian aid for the unemployed in Afghanistan. With your permission, Madam President, I should like to speak in a double capacity: first, as rapporteur on the situation in Afghanistan and then as the head of a small delegation which I had the honour to lead, not to Afghanistan, but to Pakistan, where the problems are the same.

It is not an easy matter to bring aid to a people under foreign occupation. Mr Barbi's resolution states that non-governmental organizations should deliver this aid. But that is the problem, Madam President: can we really be sure that humanitarian organizations will be able to deliver the Community's aid to the suffering peoples? Soviet occupation of Afghanistan is not a simple matter, not a matter we can accept; it is a very hard, a very oppressive occupation. Against an unarmed mountain people, incredibly sophisticated arms are being used. It follows that the best way of delivering our aid must be found. And that means that the non-governmental, the charitable, the humanitarian organizations acting in a country in a state of war, should enjoy international legal protection. But the international community has done nothing to ensure this: the UN has remained silent, the Council of Europe has not had much to say. It will be up to us — to the next Parliament perhaps — to find adequate legal protection for the men and women who risk their lives to carry on this humanitarian rescue work.

**Mr Narjes, Member of the Commission.** — (DE) As early as the beginning of 1980 the Community first gave aid to Afghan refugees in Pakistan. The aid was increased with the increasing flow of refugees and at present accounts for a total of 26 million ECU, distributed via the UN Commission for Refugees, the International Red Cross Committee, the League of Red Cross Societies, and World Hunger Relief. Moreover, the European Community has entered a new Article 936 in this year's budget in order to help towards self-sufficiency refugees, exiles and other groups who have lost their home or country of residence. That aid is designed to help the refugees to relieve their most urgent needs and until a lasting solution is found.

In this context, the Commission adopted a project on health and hygiene for the Afghan refugees in Balu-

chistan on 21 May this year. At present it is discussing other activities, under the same Article, to help Afghan refugees in Pakistan, together with the UN Commission for Refugees.

As for aid in Afghanistan itself, that is obviously conceivable only via intermediate non-governmental organizations which come into actual contact with the population groups concerned.

**President.** — The debate is closed.

*Votes<sup>1</sup>**Earthquakes in Italy*

**President.** — The next item is the joint debate on:

- the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-260/84), by Mr Ercini and others, on the damage caused by recent landslides to the historical, artistic, cultural and scenic heritage of the city of Orvieto in Umbria
- the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-261/84), by Mr Barbagli and others, on behalf of the EPP Group, (Christian-Democratic Group) on the damage caused by the earthquake of 30 April 1984 in Umbria
- the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-263/84), by Mr Costanzo and others, on the earthquake which hit Italian regions in the Central and Southern Apennines
- the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-302/84) by Mr Lezzi and Mr Glinne, on behalf of the Socialist Group, on the earthquake which hit Central Italy and some regions in the south on 7 May 1984.

**Mr Pannella (CDI).** — (FR) Madam President, I trust that the fact that the sponsors of these resolutions were absent when we were about to debate them, will be recorded in the minutes of this Assembly.

I shall vote for these resolutions, but I have to tell the Commission and the House that in Italy, Community money paid for the victims of earthquakes, for industrial conversion, frequently ends up mostly with the *Mafia*, the *Camorra* and the *'ndrangheta* — as shown by a number of on-going and very shocking court cases.

I ask therefore, for the honour of this Parliament, of Italy and of the Italian people, that there should be

<sup>1</sup> See Annex.



**Pannella**

monitoring of the sums paid for the earthquake victims. It is intolerable that our money should have been used — and continues to be used — by a ruling class which is of the *Mafia*, against our peoples.

**Mr Forth (ED).** — Point of order, Madam President. I wonder if you could guide me as to how seriously I can take the claim for urgency for these matters which are before the House today when none of the proposers saw fit to come here to tell us about the urgency. How on earth can I judge the matter when I have not been told about the background to these resolutions and when the movers themselves apparently could not be bothered to be here? Can you help me, please?

**President.** — I take note, Mr Forth, of your point of order. It will be recorded in the Minutes, and I think it will give the proposers pause.

**Mr Ortoli, Vice-President of the Commission.** — (FR) Madam President, let me first say that, as Parliament has already been informed, the Commission has decided to grant emergency aid, following the earthquake of 7 May, to a total amount of 3 250 000 ECU: 1.5 m for the Abruzzi, 90 000 for Umbria, 350 000 for Lazio, 300 000 for Molise and 200 000 ECU for the Campagna.

As regards the resolutions, and especially that by Mr Costanzo, I have to say that the ERDF non-quota section, which can be used for specific Community regional development measures, cannot, under existing regulations, be used for measures to deal with natural disasters.

We are at present preparing a European research programme on earthquakes, on the measurement of the risks they entail and on the means of reducing the damage. The pilot project suggested in the resolution could be studied in the light of this.

As regards Mr Ercini's resolution on Orvieto, let me point out that emergency aid which the Commission can grant must be of a humanitarian nature and be devoted to preserving the lives and the livelihood of the population affected. It cannot be granted therefore in this case. Apart from an overall amount of 400 000 ECU available in 1984 for financial support for Community pilot projects in the area of the preservation of the architectural heritage, the Commission does not have at its disposal any specific Community fund from which subsidies could be granted in a case like that mentioned in the resolution.

Finally, to Mr Pannella, I want to say that I heard what he had to say and that as far as we are concerned, we take all the appropriate precautions to ensure the best utilization of the funds that we make available to governments under such measures.

**President.** — The debate is closed.

Vote<sup>1</sup>

*Human rights*

**President.** — The next item is the joint debate on:

- the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-289/84) by Mr Habsburg and others, on behalf of the EPP Group, on the situation of Andrei Sakharov and his wife
- the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-303/84), by Mr Glinne, on behalf of the Socialist Group, on the situation of missing persons in Argentina
- the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-304/84), by Mr Glinne, on behalf of the Socialist Group, on the position of Juan Pablo Cardenas
- the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-307/84), by Mr Lomas and others, on behalf of the Socialist Group, on the deportation of Afia Begum
- the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-311/84), by Mr Fellermaier and Mr Glinne, on behalf of the Socialist Group, on respect for human rights in Turkey
- the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-319/84), by Mr Denis and others, on behalf of the Communist and Allies Group, on persistent violations of human rights in Turkey
- the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-313/84), by Mr Pearce and others, on behalf of the European Democratic Group, on drug taking by children.

**Mr Habsburg (EPP).** — (DE) Madam President, scarcely anyone in this House is not moved by what is happening to Andrei Sakharov and his wife. I think I need say no more except to ask this House to make it quite clear that we stand behind Sakharov, and behind Sakharov for freedom!

(Applause)

**Mr Lomas (S).** — Madam President, I shall be extremely brief so that we can get through the business.

This is a very sad case and a personal tragedy. This young 20-year-old woman and her child came to join her husband, to live with him in London. Her husband died tragically in a fire just before she arrived, and the British Government have now deported her to Bangladesh saying that she now has no valid reason to live in

<sup>1</sup> See Annex.

**Lomas**

Britain, although her father, who is old and ill, is still living there, as are other close relatives and friends.

I would only tell you briefly that there is wide protest in Britain about this matter. To quote rapidly from two newspapers, *The Guardian* said that the government had acted without a shred of pity or humanity, and the *Daily Mirror* said it was typical of the government that it had expelled a young Asian widow the same day that they had invited the racist leader Mr Botha to lunch at No 10.

I beg Parliament, Madam President, to support this motion. It is purely on the grounds of sympathy with this woman. Let us end our parliamentary session with this support and show our compassion!

*(Applause from the left)*

**President.** — Ladies and gentlemen, in order that we may get through our agenda, I propose that the groups each have two minutes on the issue of human rights. In this way we shall be able to conclude the debate and vote on the motions for resolutions.

Are there any objections?

That is decided.

**Mr Pearce (ED).** — Madam President, the growth of drug-taking by children in the United Kingdom and other parts of the Community is a mounting curse and a threat to the future of our people. The Community can and should exert its diplomatic muscle on those countries where opium is grown to cut this trade off at its source. I beg, indeed I urge the House to support my resolution to see that the Community's full force is brought to bear to end this curse.

**Mr M. Martin (COM).** — *(FR)* Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, during this part-session, concerned more particularly with the issue of human rights, the debate on the situation in Turkey deserves an especially important place. Will the European Parliament use its authority to press the junta to restore the freedoms in that country?

On 26 April in Brussels the Political Affairs Committee held a hearing on the violation of human rights in Turkey. Many bodies selected by the committee gave evidence on the information they possessed and their assessment of the situation in Turkey. During an entire day they told of the sufferings of the people, of the ruthless rule of martial law, of torture, executions: of the eradication of the freedoms, in a word. All the evidence pointed to one conclusion: after the elections, infringements of human rights continue, and continue on a totally unacceptable scale. In fact, Amnesty International has just published a very significant document on the use of torture in Turkey over

the last three years, 'with no appreciable change in recent times', to quote the document. I myself was in Ankara on 29 March. I visited a prison where the military did not allow me to see the hunger strikers or to be present at the trial which was taking place that afternoon. Well, these same people — and the general in charge of the state of emergency in Ankara was among them — quite cynically admitted to me that torture was being practised in Turkey; indeed they justified its use!

Ladies and gentlemen, I think it is time this Assembly, acting in line with the resolution adopted in October 1983, issued an unambiguous condemnation of the dictatorial practices obtaining in this country which is so close to Europe and which not so long ago was associated with the EEC. You know that pressure from the European Parliament would be something that the junta would dread.

I should like now to make a most solemn protest against the presence in the European Parliament of Turkish deputies who have been presented to the Press by a European parliamentarian.

Clearly, there is within our Assembly a lobby which is favourable to Evren and which is trying to force the Assembly's hand and bring about a resumption of relations between the EEC and Turkey without the elements of democracy being restored in that country.

In conclusion I will only say this: all those who refuse to succumb to such pressures and who wish to contribute to the restoration of the freedoms to this people, whose friends we are, should vote for the resolution tabled by our group.

**Mr Pannella (CDI).** — *(FR)* I only have 40 seconds to speak, which I owe to the Liberal and Democratic Group, for this I thank them.

Madam President, I shall vote for all the resolutions. I shall vote gladly for the Sakharov resolution, but also for all the others, because it is a shameful fact that if Sakharov was a Turk, this Parliament would probably be expressing solidarity with his torturers.

**Mr Cecovini (L).** — *(IT)* Madam President, there can be no doubt as to the position of the Liberal and Democratic Group as far as a more decisive affirmation of fundamental human rights and the firmer protection of those rights is concerned. No differences of language, race, custom, history or philosophy can justify indifferent or downright lax behaviour in face of the violation of primary human rights, wherever that occurs.

Life, freedom of association and religion, and the integrity of the body are an absolute heritage, and every failure to respect them is incompatible with the

**Cecovini**

very principles of the civilization in which we live and in which we believe.

With regard to the position of the Sakharovs, I do not think there can be any disagreement: the Nobel Prize-winner Andrei Sakharov is trying, by means of a voluntary hunger strike, to make it possible for his wife Helen, who has already had to have treatment for her eyes by Italian specialists, to resume and continue the treatment that had commenced. The relationship between patient and doctor is a relationship of trust, and no one should be allowed to interfere with it.

Parliament, by its vote, must endeavour to induce the Soviet authorities to allow the Sakharovs to leave Russia.

This applies to Sakharov, whose figure has become the symbol of peace and liberty, but it applies to every man on this earth, and this Parliament must always be on the side of whomsoever invokes freedom and asks for it to be applied.

The Liberal Group will vote for all these resolutions, abstaining only on the Lomas resolution because of the fact that the case is already before the appropriate committee.

**Lady Elles (ED).** — All Member States have immigration laws and those of the United Kingdom are considerably less severe than those of other countries. I would point out that Mr Lomas's resolution is long in words but short in facts.

The facts are these: Mrs Begum has regrettably had a hard life. Her husband died 3 months before she came into the United Kingdom. She was refused admission because, of course, she was not therefore joining her husband, but she came in. The United Kingdom authorities had compassion on her and she was allowed to stay while settling her husband's affairs. She then went into hiding for two years, while the authorities did not know where she was. She did not go and live with her old father, who was there, incidentally, since the time she was born, she has never had anything to do with her father, on whom compassion is called in this distortionate resolution, and her mother and all her near family are in fact in Bangladesh.

We accept that there are hard cases, we accept that one must show humanity but this particular resolution is a total distortion of the facts.

*(Cries of 'Hear, hear!')*

**Mr von Hassel (EPP).** — *(DE)* Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, Mr Fellermaier has submitted a motion for a resolution which the Group of the European People's Party could have endorsed, although with some reservations. Unfortunately, yesterday the

first important paragraph was deleted. That made the motion biased and destroyed the basis for our approval of it.

In order to try to reach a joint resolution, I have proposed in Amendment No 5 reinserting this deleted paragraph. The rest of my proposal coincides with that of Mrs van den Heuvel and the Socialist Group. Paragraph 1 states that by virtue of the elections, Turkey has taken its first steps towards the re-establishment of democracy, which, we think, cannot be disputed. That is why I cannot quite understand why this should not be admitted. Surely we should note with great pleasure that Turkey is following the accepted road towards the re-establishment of democracy.

I would be grateful, therefore, if our Amendment No 5 were accepted so that we can all endorse this motion for a resolution.

**President.** — The debate is closed.

*Vote<sup>1</sup>*

With this item we have now come to the end of the topical and urgent debate.

*(The sitting was suspended at 11 a.m. and resumed at 11.10 a.m.)*

### 3. European Council

IN THE CHAIR: Mr DANKERT

*President*

**President.** — The European Parliament has the honour to receive today the President of France, Mr François Mitterrand.

*(Prolonged applause)*

I am gratified that his presence among us gives us the opportunity to greet with enthusiasm the firm determination with which he has conducted the presidency of the European Council.

His personal commitment *vis-à-vis* Community matters is remarkable. It will turn out to have been decisive if the joint talks, which had become deadlocked, take a new turn as a result of the progress accomplished, notably with the common agricultural policy.

*(Applause)*

<sup>1</sup> See Annex.

*Mr Mitterrand, President-in-Office of the European Council.* — (FR) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I am speaking to you as President of the European Council for the first half of 1984. Believe me when I say that I am conscious of the honour of addressing an Assembly that represents 270 million men and women who will soon be called upon to repeat, in their individual countries, that fundamental act of democracy, electing a Parliament.

But I am also speaking to you as a French European whose personal commitment has been in evidence at every stage of the emergence of Europe.

When, in May 1948, just three years after the war, the European idea took shape at the congress in the Hague, I was there and I believed in it.

(Applause)

When, in 1950, Robert Schuman launched the plan for the European Coal and Steel Community, I supported it and I believed in it. When, in 1956, the vast task of building the common market began, with the very active participation of the French Government of the time, I was there and I believed in it. And today, when we have to rid Europe of the Ten of its differences and lead it resolutely along the path to the future, I can still say that I am here and I believe in it.

(Applause)

Many of my generation have shared the same ordeals, experienced the same hopes and worked for the same cause. There are many younger ones who have, in their turn, conceived the ambition of bringing Europe into line with the dictates of history and, through her, serving the just interests of the peoples that make it up.

Everyone should realize this. Going beyond political divisions and national rivalry, they are the builders of a vast undertaking that will radically change the facts of politics or international geopolitics. They must continue to unite around this project and their public life will be justified by this alone. They will have reshaped the planet.

This meeting, here in Strasbourg, was something I wanted. It is no doubt usual for the President-in-Office of the European Council to report on its progress to Parliament. The Stuttgart Council made this a principle of our life together, which is a good thing. But I should like to add something else to this observance of the rites — faith in our action and the will to see it through.

Today, the Community has achieved the initial objectives it inherited from the war. In the beginning, it had to reconcile and bring together peoples whom force and bloodshed had divided and get them harnessed to a common task. That has been done. Now the choice is between letting other people on our continent and

outside our continent decide on everyone's destiny, ours included, and combining all the talent and ability, the creative ability and the material, spiritual and cultural resources that have combined to make Europe a civilization, so, as Walt Whitman puts it in a line I very much like, it can at last become what it is.

Our choice is based on a simple idea. None of our peoples, however rich its past and however strong its desire to live, can in isolation have the necessary effect on the present and the future of mankind.

Together, we can,

(Applause)

but we are at a period of time when destiny is still hesitant. For all too long Europe has been held back by absurd arguments that make it lose sight of its objective. It had to wake up to the fact that there was no chance of any great design for Europe being anything more than a pipedream as long as it was bogged down in a morass of petty arguments.

(Loud applause)

To put an end to them, a method of work was fixed on in Stuttgart. Experience has shown it to be a good one. Then, in Athens, came the plan for reconciliation that was to come about in Brussels, in particular in agricultural, budgetary and industrial matters. All the points at issue, bar one, were settled.

A brief reminder of them will show that the way has been cleared and that we have begun to move forward again. Not that the remaining disagreement is negligible, far from it, but, contrary to what many people feared, it has not blocked the machinery of Europe. I shall return to this later.

Our first duty was to modernize the common agricultural policy, which has given the food and agriculture industries in our countries a capacity of international proportions. Then came the problem of surpluses, and dairy surpluses first and foremost, with a view to taking account of the real dairy outlets on the market, a vital corollary to guaranteed prices — 104 million tonnes produced for 85 million consumed. In Brussels, our farmers were invited to try to adapt and convert, a drive which the Community should back up, as it has done in the past, in line with the Treaty of Rome. And what goes for milk should go for all the other agricultural products too. Other important decisions have been taken on the monetary compensatory amounts (dismantling and methods of calculation, that is to say), on fruit and vegetables, on agricultural prices in the prescribed time limits and on the negotiation of cereal substitutes with the USA. And these decisions are now taking practical shape.

Without wishing to ignore the legitimate concern of the producers, I think that this is a victory by the

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Community over the Community. Now, 27 years after it was devised, the common agricultural policy returned to the bases from which it should not have strayed.

The Esprit programme was launched a few weeks earlier. It will cost 3 billion ECU in all, as much as or more than comparable efforts in the same field outside Europe. So the dynamic movement of cooperation on research and development of information technologies between European firms has been encouraged, in a way, with the help of the Community, in a different context. I am also thinking here of CERN, the Airbus, Ariane and JET.

And recently, the 12 biggest European companies laid down common standards for data processing. Taking this industrial initiative further, the Industry Ministers have laid the foundations for joint action by the Ten in the field of telecommunications. They will do the same, next month, for biotechnology, while the Economic and Finance Ministers are working to facilitate this cooperation through a series of financial, legal and tax provisions.

Let us continue with this outline. Everyone, as you know, was calling for tighter control of the Community budget and the Brussels Council reached agreement on this point too. But control over spending could not involve a cut in the resources that were vital to the development of the Community, which is why the Brussels Council came down in favour of raising the VAT ceiling from 1% to 1.4% on 1 January 1986, the date of enlargement to include Spain and Portugal — I make no secret of the fact that I should have liked to see more — and a further rise to 1.6% on 1 January 1988.

Everyone is aware of the problems of the present budget. But I do not think the Community will be forced to use extraordinary means or give in to unacceptable pressure. The Treaty demands that agricultural spending be financed and it has to be adhered to. That leaves the dispute modestly referred to as the correction of budgetary imbalance — which in fact means the current discussion about the British contribution.

After four years of difficult negotiations, which are forever being relaunched, and in the absence of any agreement at the time of this speech, my comments will be careful ones. The Presidency has spared no effort in trying to handle this problem, but its main aim — and this is where it is intransigent — has been to see that Community principles, in particular that of Community preference, are preserved and it therefore judged that agricultural levies and customs duties, which by their very nature belong to the Community and not to the State that received them, could not be taken into account when compensation was calculated.

(Applause)

I should add that the Treaty of Rome, like any treaty, is a contract and that this contract implies refusal of the idea of fair returns.

(Prolonged applause)

It may be reasonable to reconcile, the naturally varying positions of the 10 partners when excessive imbalance occurs, because of the solidarity that binds us — provided we stay within the reasonable limits of a circumstantial regulation and do not try to revise the Treaty without saying so. This was the aim of the debate which has not and never will be concluded as long as there is a fear of Community law being held up to question.

However, the Community is alive and working as a simple account of the arrangements made over the past two months serves to show. It has, in particular — and I want to spend time on this point — passed the point of no return in the Spanish and Portuguese accession procedure.

There are questions about political necessity — which is something we all recognize, not just because of these two countries' courageous reconquest of democracy, but also because of the simple realization that they are Europeans, completely, and that to deny the fact would be to flout history past and present. Are we not going to increase the tension and reduce the cohesion of the present Community? Or will the conditions for economic integration conceivably be met over a long period?

Convenient attitudes may be adopted. Saying yes to enlargement, on a *a priori* basis, in order to please the applicant countries and without drawing any practical conclusions. Or saying no, come what may, and refusing to look at the question. Let us refuse such facile attitudes. Europe would certainly lose out if, as it grew, it merged with the free trade area to which those around it continue to aspire.

(Applause)

Let us remember the last enlargements and beware of leaving the most difficult discussions until later.

At all events, I think an answer to the enlargement question will be forthcoming before the end of September. I think it will be positive and I think it will be applied as from 1 January 1986.

This will mean a frank comparison of the economies, harmonization of the social and tax systems, mutual adherence to the rules of fair competition and a timetable for implementation. It will also mean the present Community making a prior effort to rationalize its functioning and preparing, in particular with integrated Mediterranean programmes, to handle the productions of the South as it did the productions of the North. The producers will of course understand

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that it is not possible both to call for market laws whereby they can produce unspecified quantities as they like and to protect themselves from these laws with price guarantees. At all events, I note that decisive progress has been made in two hitherto undiscussed sectors, agriculture and fisheries.

But going beyond these debates, the Brussels Council committed itself to taking other steps in other directions. Directives doing away with technical barriers to trade were thus approved, an instrument of common commercial policy was introduced, fishing quotas for 1984 were fixed in time and iron and steel quotas were extended for a further two years. The Eighth Directive on company law was approved, agreement was reached on the social aspects of the reorganization of the coal sector and on so-called demonstration research projects and the reform of the Regional Fund was approved after three years of arduous negotiations. Lastly, the field of initiatives has now been cleared of obsessive disputes and stretches wide before us.

In spite of customs dismantling, for example, there are still too many obstacles to free movement within the Community.

(Applause)

How many controls and formalities there are to try the patience of those who are subjected to them and baffle the understanding of public opinion!

In view of this House's interest in this matter, a transport policy involving greater flexibility at frontiers and more support for major infrastructure will be proposed at the June Council. What could be more in keeping with our principles than freedom to come and go, to do business and to trade?

In 1981, when I had just taken up my duties, I mentioned the European social area at the Luxembourg Council. How can a common market be created if, at the same time, the producers are working in wildly different conditions? Since the common market exists, it would be better for the workers' representatives to organize at that level, in the same way as firms and governments do.

(Applause)

This will be done, I hope, next month, when the Council of Foreign Ministers has produced the Community's medium-term action programme for submission to the European Council, as was agreed in Brussels. More specifically, this same Council of Ministers will have to pursue the efforts, as yet hardly begun, to rid our societies of the disease from which they are suffering — unemployment and, worse, unemployment among young people, by providing vocational training that is more in keeping with requirements. It will be presented with recommendations on the reor-

ganization of working time and will select guidelines relating to the social implications of the new technologies in the light of observations made by the employers' and employees' representatives on the Standing Committee on Employment.

The voice of the European Trade Union Confederation will, of course, be heard.

The natural environment warrants equal attention. When it comes to protecting the environment, our national frontiers have even less *raison d'être*. Yet our ways of thinking and our national susceptibilities are in defiance of good sense.

The Rhine flows beside or through three of the countries of the Community and what harms the environment of one equally harms them all.

(Applause)

But this argument seems not to be heard and the river and its tributaries still carry death to animals and plant life and threaten the health of mankind.

Acid rain has profoundly changed the forests of Germany and it is now eating into the forests of the Vosges and moving northwards to Scandinavia. And, for other reasons, the Mediterranean forest is under threat too.

No country is free from this latter-day epidemic. Who will put an end to the scourge? A directive on industrial pollution was adopted in Brussels and it remains to speed up the finalization of strict provisions to control the transfer of toxic and dangerous wastes.

Similarly, the reduction of the lead content of petrol is at the centre of arduous negotiations. Now that the target has been clearly identified in this way, will we be wise enough to work towards it without delay? I would not swear to it.

So much for the near future, with its usual pattern of light and shade and its combination of progress and impasse.

But we must look further than the common market.

What is Europe for? This is a question we have to answer if we are not ultimately to lose our identity, our *raison d'être* and our reasons for action.

Is Europe, which has played a pre-eminent part in the formidable advance of modern science, so disconcerted by the development of modern technology that it is unable to emerge from the crisis and take up its place once more, to revive the forms and rediscover the values of its ancient civilization? Is Europe, which contains two-thirds of the free regimes of the world, unable to consolidate its institutions and act, with one movement, where action is called for, as a force for

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peace and equilibrium amongst the most powerful and as a force for justice and progress between North and South? No, I do not believe it is.

But it has yet to realize the full extent of the economic, cultural and political stakes of the coming century.

Let us take four examples.

The first is electronics. Europe spends more than Japan or the USA on research. But each country of Europe is jealous of its techniques and sees its defences crumble under American and Japanese pressure. The protectionist temptation will gain ground — or when it awakes, Europe will have lost the battle on which all others depend. Attempts at industrial alliance so far have failed. Is it not high time the States encouraged unity? Industry will not be modernized if it is content to amass plant. It also has to use financing from such sources as the European Investment Bank and the New Community Instrument.

My second example is the conquest of space. There, the choices came earlier than we anticipated and perhaps earlier than we hoped, first, because of our own success with launchers and satellites. But moving into the industrial phase means sharing the tasks and the investments. It will be easier to look at US offers on a projected civil space station from a position of strength. As I said in The Hague recently, should Europe not put priority on concentrating on itself? A space station is within its grasp. It has the relevant technical and financial means. And although it may be presumptuous to aim higher than present means allow, our industrial experience shows us that anything that can be achieved in 15 years' time must be started now.

*(Applause)*

Transport is the third example. Agreements were reached recently on increasing the Community road haulage quotas, on cooperation in the railway sector and on road safety. It would be as well to improve on them all right away. A vast railway equipment programme for high speed transport would, by reducing distances, bring Europeans closer together as a matter of course.

My fourth example is culture. Failing to unite would be condemning ourselves to being borne along on the tide of words and images from outside.

There is no shortage of projects and they are all within our grasp. What are they? Why not use a Franco-German satellite for a European television channel . . .

*(Applause)*

. . . for all producers in the member countries concerned? Why not have a common fund to support the programme industries that will have the difficult task

of giving content to the countless networks? Why not have a coherent plan for teaching European languages . . .

*(Applause)*

. . . European universities, encouraged by exchanges of research workers and equivalence of diplomas? What about the European Cultural Foundation?

I was also proud to see the theatre of Europe, which Giorgio Strehler runs, set up right in the heart of Paris. Each of your countries takes a pride in its enviable successes, but none of them has a big enough market. Europe is there. It must put its mind to it and get organized!

However, there is one field in which Europe is present, if I may say so, instinctively, namely human rights. When it ratified Article 25 of the European Convention, my country was true to its tradition. But we are all concerned about the increasing ground being gained by terrorism and oppression almost everywhere in the world.

Your Parliament has constantly expressed its attachment to the principles on which freedom was founded and, only yesterday, it adopted a resolution on Andrei Sakharov, whom we are all thinking about.

*(Applause)*

Every day, alas, in every clime, men suffer and are persecuted for what they believe, for what they hold dear and for what they are.

The time has come to repeat a word under which we once rallied — resist. Yes, resist violence!

*(Applause)*

I know no other subject on which the people of Europe feel nearer to those who represent them. Yes, this Europe of ours is a Community of laws and we are proud of it. The finest illustration of this is the Court of Justice, where a European legal order is being forged from an unprecedented synthesis of different legal systems.

Another dimension is the different positions the Ten take up on world affairs.

No one but Europe has shown so much imagination and constancy in its trade with the Third World. The Suva conference early this month was an opportunity to orchestrate points of view in preparation for Lomé III. The final discussions should be taking place in Luxembourg on 28 and 29 June, so the drafting of the future Convention can be completed.

The importance of this is clear at a time when international aid is being cut back and the situation of the

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poor countries — and I am thinking especially of Africa here — is worsening under the combined effects of the climate, the recession, their debts, the anarchy of the markets, the burden of their interest rates and monetary disorder.

The European Councils have adopted suitable solutions to problems in the world — in the Middle East, Central America, southern Africa, Afghanistan, Cambodia and many others. They have helped preserve that fragile link which maintained a dialogue between the eastern and western parts of our continent from the Helsinki Conference to the Stockholm Conference. They have boosted cooperation between the Community and the seven friendly countries of EFTA. It was not for them to take account of the aspirations — so frequently expressed, particularly of late — towards security and a common defence.

Speaking for myself, I mention this, as I did in the Hague, merely to indicate how very difficult it will be to bring about and how very badly it is needed.

*(Applause from the right)*

It is clear that we are moving away from the time when Europe's sole destiny was to be shared out and divided up by others. The two words 'European independence' now sound different. This is a fact that our century, which is nearing its end, will, I am sure, remember.

*(Applause)*

The European elections are an occasion for taking stock and embarking on fresh initiatives. The life of the Community institutions is marked by many an imperfection. None of them is really intolerable, but together they create a constant and widespread constraint and we are constantly paying for it.

First we have the unanimity rule, which is used far more than the Treaties suggest and even more than is provided for by the Luxembourg compromise.

*(Prolonged applause)*

How can the complex and diversified unit that the Community has become be governed by the rules of the Diet of the old Kingdom of Poland, where every member could block the decisions? We all know where that led. It is time we returned to a more normal and more promising way of doing things. The French Government, which was behind this compromise, has already proposed that it be used only in specific cases. The more frequent practice of voting on important questions heralds a return to the Treaties. But the unanimity rule is not the only difficulty facing the Council of Ministers.

*(Applause)*

The way the work of everyday management is shared by the Commission, the Permanent Representatives and the Council of Ministers also fluctuates far too much. The latter body is losing part of the political responsibility the Treaties gave it and the European Council is becoming a permanent court of appeal, or even a local court, in the running of our everyday affairs. That is obviously not its role. Let us give the Commission back its authority.

*(Applause)*

Let us give the Council of Ministers back its means of implementing the policies of which the European Council lays down the guidelines. Let us give the European Council a permanent secretariat for political cooperation.

*(Applause)*

There are, I know, complaints about relations between the Council and your Parliament being inadequate. Let us do something about this by adhering to the commitments the Member States made in the solemn declaration of Stuttgart and presenting a reform of the consultation procedure. And lastly, let us reflect on the best way of ensuring greater continuity in the presidency of the Community.

*(Applause)*

Europe has always been a composite entity. It has developed in stages, using, as the need has arisen, those institutions which seemed the best at the time, even if it meant changing the way they related to each other. But we must keep our points of reference.

This is why it is vital to consolidate the main Treaty that binds the European countries together and constitutes their fundamental law — the Treaty of Rome. Yet the same movement is already carrying us beyond this Treaty to areas it does not cover. I am thinking here of education, health, justice, security and the campaign against terrorism. And what do we find? Some people have talked about a Europe of different speeds or variable geometry. Such a step, which reflects a real situation, is one we must take. Care will be taken to ensure that it complements, rather than competes with, the central structure, the Community. Whenever problems of this kind have arisen, Europe has created a new institution — the European Council — or adopted a new legal act reflecting an established practice — the European Monetary System and the political cooperation as defined in the Stuttgart declaration — or concluded a treaty ratified by the national parliaments — the Lomé Convention. And here is the House encouraging us to go further along this path by proposing a draft treaty on European Union. Those of us who are interested will observe that the same old method is being used. A new situation calls for a new treaty . . .

*(Applause)*



**Mitterrand**

... which must not, of course, be a substitute for existing treaties, but an extension of them to fields they do not currently cover. This is the case with the European political Community.

France, ladies and gentlemen, is available for such an enterprise.

*(Prolonged applause)*

I, on its behalf, state its willingness to examine and defend your project, the inspiration behind which it approves.

*(Applause)*

I therefore suggest that preparatory consultations, perhaps leading to a conference of the Member States concerned, be started up. The project on European Union and the solemn declaration of Stuttgart will be a basis for this.

*(Applause)*

Those, ladies and gentlemen, are the thoughts prompted by my experience as a European and my term of office as President of the European Council.

I am sure that one day this will all be done, for our young people have need of it and it is the price we have to pay for our independence and the independence of our own nations and of Europe. I have too much confidence in our history to believe we could ever allow ourselves to go into a decline — of which an intolerable demographic regression is the most disquieting sign.

*(Applause)*

But we must not leave it too late. So the exciting task for you and for us is to prevent the ineluctable, to make the improbable succeed, to achieve our hopes and to perpetuate, with its revived youth, a great civilization — our civilization.

*(Prolonged standing ovation)*

**President.** — I thank you, Mr President, on behalf of all the Members of this Assembly.

**Mr Thorn, President of the Commission.** — *(FR)* Mr President of the Republic, you have told us how you see the state of the Community and its long-term prospects today, on the eve of the European elections which will be held shortly.

As President of the Commission I want to tell you how grateful we are to you for stating once again your faith in Europe's future and your resolve, above all, to give that faith practical expression in a political plan. One

of the essential needs for a statesman today is to be able to grasp essentials.

The outline that you have drawn of Europe's future shows what an acute intuitive feeling you have for that Europe, which is still being consolidated and of which so many dream — both inside and outside the Community. That the Head of State of one of the great founder countries of European construction should show so much understanding is a great encouragement for all of us who, like yourself, refuse to give up our particular idea of what Europe should be. This outlook and these aims explain the commitment, the efforts, the prodigious energy with which in these six months you have been trying to bring the Community out of the crisis which is threatening to submerge it.

You have done well to remind us that much has been done in these six months, because they have allowed us to trace out the paths of the Community's recovery. We still have to settle, however, Mr President, the troublesome budgetary quarrel and the institutional problems which have been paralysing us for all too many years.

Now, with a last effort before we start on the recovery, we must resolutely tackle these problems with the intention of solving them.

Mr President of the European Parliament, ladies and gentlemen, over these last four years we have been living together through the Community's crisis. A future historian will see it perhaps as a cycle which started with the beginning of the world economic crisis or, as far as the Community system is concerned, with the refusal of solidarity and of joint action in the face of the first oil shock in 1973. It was then that a period commenced which has been marked by doubt as to the aims of the European construction, by the postponement of deadlines and by the shifting of responsibility.

This was particularly apparent in 1979-80. The European Council, giving up the attempt to resolve the British problem of which you have so frankly spoken, embarked on the process of issuing cheques for which criteria had not been negotiated, indeed were not agreed. It then chose to cloak its indecision in the mandate of 30 May 1980. The period of cheques and mandates was to lead us, through London, and Stuttgart, to the fiasco of Athens. I hope that our future historian will be able to say that the low point of the cycle was reached then and that a rising phase, started in Brussels, took firmer shape in Fontainebleau. It is perhaps too soon to be saying so: we are still at a stage when the optimism of the will should be tempered by the pessimism of reason.

The Community's crisis is not confined to budgetary matters, but settlement of this issue is a necessary condition for our recovery. We can achieve it in Fontainebleau: it is in the interest of all the member countries. But we shall not achieve it unless the legitimate def-

### Thorn

ence of national interests is transcended by the feeling of common interest. In our institutional system it is the Commission's responsibility to remind the Member States of this common interest — sometimes to define it, after long and difficult debate.

Let me tell you, Mr President, and Mr President of the Republic, what is the view we shall be putting forward at the forthcoming European Council. There are, as we see it, four aspects.

First, the matter of budgetary discipline. The Commission would like to see the Community, and more particularly the Council, equipped with budget-management rules that ensure appropriate allocation of the resources available. The Commission will not agree to any deflection of this necessary effort that would defeat its purpose if it became a pretext for reducing the powers of the directly-elected Parliament.

*(Applause)*

I know that the President of the European Council shares on this point the Commission's view: he has just told us so.

A condition for greater budgetary discipline is greater responsibility of Parliament, that is, the exercise of legislative powers and close association with the major budgetary decisions. Greater budgetary discipline will not be obtained by gagging the Council or by putting the Parliament in a straitjacket.

As regards raising the ceiling on resources, a Community united in a common political design and strong in the confidence in its own institutions will be able one day to remove the ceiling on own resources, as we have proposed. The time has not yet come for such a breakthrough, as the President of the Republic has reminded us. But in that case let the new ceiling at least assure for the Community a sufficiently long period of budgetary peace under the new budgetary discipline.

I must say it clearly, ladies and gentlemen: to raise the ceiling to only 1.4% is to place behind the necessary budgetary discipline a constant threat of exhaustion of own resources, a threat that can only have a paralysing effect on the Community and undermine the credibility of its development projects. What a disparity between the ambitious new policies which, happily the Member States have agreed, between the need for enlargement, between the structural measures to be taken in the less prosperous regions — and the means with which the Community would thus provide for itself!

I ask all of you who are going before the electorates to take a stand on this point, just as the Commission will be doing before the Heads of State and of Government before and at Fontainebleau.

The third aspect of the budget problem, Mr President, is obviously the question of the sharing of the budgetary burden, a question which has been poisoning Community life for so many years.

It is not easy to take a calm view of the question, there has been so much suspicion on all sides. What is more, I fear that electoral public pronouncements may only make it even harder to reach a solution which requires balanced compromises and hence a good deal of political courage.

I shall say nothing of the amounts that are at stake: that is a matter for the States directly concerned. But it is my duty to remind you of the principles which should inform any solution that is consistent with the interest of the Community as a whole.

We must once and for all turn back on the system of the annual cheque, the amount of which is simply the resultant of a temporary ratio of strengths, in favour of a permanent system in which each Member State is in agreement with the functioning of the Community to which it belongs. Parliament has never ceased to call for this. Such a system must obey the principles enshrined in the Treaty of Rome. It must guarantee to each Member State that it will not have to go on bearing a budgetary burden which is excessive in comparison with its relative prosperity. And, finally, it must provide for the participation — perhaps on an adjusted basis, but an effective contribution nevertheless — of all Member States in the increases in the budgetary burden as agreed jointly — whether these result from enlargement or from the launching of new policies.

Like President Mitterrand, I had the feeling that agreement was very close at the European Council in Brussels. But I fear that the differences that did persist had as much to do with divergences as to the application of these principles as with the gap between the figures proposed by the two sides.

The fourth and final aspect of the budget issue is the question of financing in the transitional period between the time own resources become exhausted — which is a certainty — and the ratification of the higher ceiling by the national parliaments.

Mr President, there are only three possibilities.

The first is, unfortunately, in the tradition of the Councils.

It would consist in taking no decision and thus preventing the Community from honouring its financial obligations which are the direct consequence of legislative acts taken by the Council. The result would be an undermining of the Community's credit and the shifting onto the Member States of a financial burden which might be difficult to bear for the smallest and least prosperous among them.

### Thorn

Another way would be to decide nothing and to shift the responsibility to the Commission, enjoining it to effect savings beyond those which it has already introduced within the framework of its management powers.

Those who speak of economies are thinking either of sacrificing non-compulsory expenditure, so that rising agricultural expenditure can be met, or of reducing agricultural expenditure itself.

At this my last meeting with Parliament before the Fontainebleau summit let me make this point absolutely clear: I have given ample warning to Parliament and to the Council that the Commission will not countenance sacrificing non-agricultural policies, just as it will not countenance upsetting the balance of the budget which has been agreed by the branches of the budgetary authority . . .

*(Applause)*

. . . merely to meet increased expenditure resulting from the Council's decisions, or failure to take decisions.

I am indeed convinced that neither in Parliament nor even in the Council could a majority be mustered in favour of such a solution. As for reducing agricultural expenditure beyond what has already — and with enormous difficulty — been decided, can you believe for a moment that the Agricultural Council could get down to business so quickly again — and produce instant budgetary results?

The CAP has often been compared to a big steamship. The Council, to its credit, has begun to change its course, as the President of the European Council has reminded us this morning. But it would be naive to expect that it can also reverse steam and stop as swiftly as a corvette.

There is thus only one way: the Council must be ready to take up the responsibility for the financial consequences of its legislative acts. Formulae for financing which are different from those proposed by the Commission may be envisaged, but the principle of the financial responsibility of the Council, so that there may be continuity in our policies, must be established at the next European Council as part of an overall package. The budgetary authority, that is Parliament and Council, will then be able to decide on the details when the draft supplementary and rectifying budget, which we shall be submitting, is examined.

The difficulties pertaining to the current and future financing of the Community must be settled as a matter of urgency, so that we can have the recovery on which, I hope, the new elected Parliament will be able to concentrate.

Experience of past European Councils helps us to identify the areas where immediate action is needed.

They are all related to making the most of the Community's economic dimension: completion of the internal market, consolidation of monetary and financial relations, with strengthening of the European Monetary System, development of a consistent industrial strategy, ranging from orderly conversion of declining industrial sectors to the promotion, from the research stage onwards, of new technologies and their applications. Some excellent decisions, such as the Esprit programme, or the reform of the ERDF, have, as you have reminded us, Mr President of the Republic, been taken, but they are still too few; many others are now in a stage of active preparation. It should be possible to put them quickly into effect, if only this budgetary millstone can be lifted.

The merit of defining with sufficient precision the programme for recovery is mostly, as I have just said, due to the French Presidency, and above all to the personal efforts of President François Mitterrand. Though the presidency of the Council lasts only six months, a decisive impulse will have been given. This means much and I thank you for it.

*(Applause)*

Now it remains to give the programme concrete shape, and as soon as possible. That is the work of the Community institutions. It will require, apart from the assurance of adequate finance, an unflagging political will and a decision-making capacity which the Community seemed to have lost. Neither can be had, unless we all return to a strict and respectful observance of the Treaties and of their spirit.

In particular, and I am especially grateful to you for having said it, we must return to majority voting, an irreplaceable dynamic factor in the building of Europe.

President Mitterrand has told us that that is also his conviction and I know he will use the full weight of his authority to ensure substantial and rapid progress towards that goal.

Beyond certain limits, there is no logical process whereby we can pass imperceptibly from the economic to other vital aspects of European construction. On the contrary: essential progress, recognized as such by all the Member States, is halted by the fact that national structures and national administrations obstinately refuse any transfer of powers to the Community. In the face of this stubborn inflexibility the Community decision-making system is not yet strong enough. We see that it is incapable of taking in good time decisions consonant with the common interest, that is, with the interest of each of us, properly understood. It will have to be modified if we really want the European undertaking to extend to all the essential aspects of our common future, as it must in order to be successful.

Without abandoning the Community's traditional economic goals, indeed, in order to preserve them,

### Thorn

European construction must now play an important part so that our fundamental values of democracy and freedom are preserved and strengthened, so that without falling into isolationism and while respecting our diversity, we can forge for ourselves a true cultural identity and gradually take over responsibility for our own security.

President Mitterrand's observations on this subject are of fundamental importance. Everything goes to prove that if we fail to make substantial progress towards union, the only alternative is the decline of our economies and our societies.

We have a common responsibility for assuring Europe's future. This undoubtedly requires new pragmatic and varied forms of cooperation. Let us think of the immense potential in technology and research, as evidenced by the success of the Ariane rocket which has now entered the American market, let us think of the Spacelab, indeed why not think of a European manned orbital station, such as the President mentioned just now. It will also certainly require a strengthening of our institutions and an extension of Community powers.

This Parliament, and it deserves the acknowledgement, understood this very well when, on the initiative of Altiero Spinelli, it drew up, most painstakingly and competently, the draft of the European Union.

In that task, ladies and gentlemen, you performed the work of a constituent Assembly. Your draft is now before all the governments and all the national parliaments. It shows the way and it is the right way; it has set us a goal.

In concluding, and in the hope of contributing to a unanimous and constructive response to your act, I should like to quote Jean Monnet who said: 'People pass away, others will come in their place. What we can leave to them is not our personal experience, because that will die with us. But we can leave them institutions. Institutions live longer than men and — if they have been well set up — they can accumulate and pass on the wisdom of successive generations.'

*(Applause)*

**Mr Glinne (S).** — *(FR)* Mr President, Mr President of the Republic, Mr President of the European Council, ladies and gentlemen, let me first thank you, Mr President, on behalf of the Socialist Group and all my colleagues, for honouring us with your address to this House today.

I also wish to thank the French Presidency and the President of the Republic for their efforts on behalf of European construction.

The Socialist Group hopes that these efforts will prove fruitful and that Europe will emerge stronger from the

elections of 17 June and from the European Council of 25 June.

At all events the Presidency of the first half of 1984 will have done all that is humanly and politically possible to bring the Community out of the depths of the fiascos accumulated since the Stuttgart Summit.

The same, unfortunately, cannot be said of all the members of the European Council. The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, by her approach to the undeniably serious problem of the British contribution, has done nothing to promote a positive solution. For our part, we have always called for a permanent solution, as much in the interest of the Community as of the United Kingdom. We have to end this quarrel — not exploit it time after time in highly publicized confrontations. We want much more than a common market (which we have not yet managed to achieve). It is an outdated and inadequate concept. We want a strong Community that has a meaning for the everyday life of its peoples.

I say once again: In these times of crisis and doubt we want, not less, but more of Europe. We want a particular kind of Europe: a thoroughly democratic Community, that is recognized as such by the workers, the men and women that belong to the crisis-stricken industries and to the disadvantaged regions.

It was in this spirit that in November 1982 the European Socialists proposed to this Parliament a plan for European recovery in the shape of a resolution which now bears the name of its principal author — my friend and colleague Gérard Jaquet.

Today he is presenting to the Community's citizens a joint manifesto on behalf of the member parties of the Union of Socialist and Social-Democratic Parties. We consider, first of all, that the Community must at last seriously tackle the social scourge of unemployment. We cannot any longer tolerate 13 million unemployed in our midst; we cannot any more accept the erosion by certain national governments of the social gains of past decades; we cannot agree to the deliberate creation by the forces of conservatism of a new sub-proletariat today: a Fourth World consisting of growing numbers of those without work, of the sick without care, of the handicapped without succour, of the young with no future, of the old with diminished and uncertain rights.

We, the socialists of the 10 Community countries, maintain that an alternative exists. We reject the inevitability of unemployment, we do not believe in the irreversibility of the crisis, we do not accept the harsh policies of competitive deflation and monetarism.

Selective and coordinated recovery is a solution, and its only handicaps are the lack of political will on the part of too many of our rulers and the obstinate hostility of certain powerful interests.

**Glinne**

We join you, Mr President of the Republic, in calling for a European social area which is essential to the credibility of the European undertaking; we are with the striking German steel-workers — against whom the employers are now resorting to lock-outs; we are with the French Government; and we are with the European Trade Union Confederation in calling for a reduction of the working week to 35 hours.

*(Applause from the left)*

**Mr Herman (PPE).** — *(FR)* That's irresponsible!

**Mr Glinne (S).** — *(FR)* A decision on this must be given at the European level which will commit the social partners as much as the governments. The workers will not be deceived: we cannot tell them that the decision is up to the Community when they take action at national level, only to refer them back to national provisions when they raise their demands at the Community level.

As regards the enlargement of the Community by the accession of Spain and Portugal, let me say once again that the target date of 1 January 1986 is not incompatible with the need for detailed negotiations to clear up every last problem. The Community's offers to the friendly governments of Madrid and Lisbon should, moreover, be improved, as the Spanish Secretary of State for European Affairs, Mr Manuel Martín has just pointed out on behalf of his country.

Mr President of the Republic, on 18 January last, speaking on the occasion of Mr Cheysson's statement on the six months of the French Presidency which were just commencing, I said what a hard task you were facing. After the Athens fiasco and within a few months of the European elections, it was a titanic undertaking to try to bring Europe out of the crisis. Thanks to your efforts, a glimmer of hope is now before us. We thank you for it and we hope most sincerely that you will succeed.

As for the elections of 17 June, they should not be regarded as the end point, but as the start of a great democratic debate on the future of Europe and its peoples. Only the forces of progress are able to give a positive response to the anxieties of millions of Europe's citizens, for the loss of social achievements, the degrading of the notion of social solidarity, the undermining of the right to work — all this for many of us means annulment of the right to a dignified life and it engenders fear and scepticism, two heavy brakes on the progress of the public good and of European construction.

Mr President of the Republic, Mr President of the Council, the manifesto which was unanimously adopted on 9 March 1984 in Luxembourg by the Union of the Socialist Parties of the Community pro-

pose three lines of action: employment, peace and freedom. We are thoroughly convinced that these three are inseparable and that they should be the aims of the European undertaking.

*(Applause from the left)*

**Mr Barbi (PPE).** — *(IT)* Mr President, we appreciate very much what you are doing for Europe: both as President of the European Council, which is striving to get the Community out of the plight in which an antiquated, short-sighted conception of national interests and the inadmissibly distorted application of the Treaty have landed it: and as President of France, in which capacity you are guiding your country towards greater integration in the Community.

I do not know whether the many knots that are strangling the life of the Community can be undone at Fontainebleau: I am referring to the reform of the agricultural policy and the adoption of new Community policies in the fields of technological innovation and industrial reconstruction, energy, and transport — which our peoples urgently need, if there is not to be general economic decay and an increase in unemployment as a result.

And then again — and very closely tied up with those problems — there is the thorny and unpleasant question of the so-called 'British contribution', and the membership of Spain and Portugal and, finally — a *sine qua non* for all of this — the increase in own resources to bring them to an appropriate level, as President Thorn has just reminded us: these questions are awaiting decisions on policy lines and concrete proposals that this Parliament and the Commission drew up years ago.

For this reason we hope that the efforts that you, Mr President, are making in this direction will meet with success, in the general interests of the Community, and for your own prestige as President.

But we are watching with no less interest and expectation the work that you are doing to lead French socialism — and therefore the present governing parliamentary majority that rules the country — to overcome the ancient hostility and continuing distrust that have been apparent even in this Chamber, in the vote on the treaty for the construction of European Union.

It appears to me that you are less tied than some of your illustrious predecessors were to certain prejudices of the past, and that you are culturally and psychologically ready to accept — as you showed us in your speech this morning — the prospect of that integration between our peoples that my political party has always had amongst its ideals and in its programme for concrete action.

And I think I can also see that the hard experience of these first years of your presidency in France has made

**Barbi**

you aware that the possibility of implementing the policy for economic recovery, the policy for social justice, and the policy for security and peace, rests entirely and solely on agreement and joint action with the other partners in the Community.

We are convinced — and we have seen from experience — that the expansion of our economies cannot be subordinated to the recapture of our internal markets, and the resultant barriers of economic national self-sufficiency; such expansion must be based on the ever-increasing integration of the immense market of 300 million European consumers.

It is worth infinitely more — economically and politically — to achieve the more complete implementation of this great market than all the contributions which the accountants can work out for this or that Member State put together.

Just try to calculate what the cost would be to our economies and our national budgets if we 'renationalized' the common agricultural policy, and what payments we should have to make to those whose work is on the land, in order to preserve the level of income which they have attained during these years of Community policy. Try also to calculate what the cost would be of restoring customs barriers and unleashing customs and excise wars! But we are convinced — and we see it from experience — that even the reorganization of working time, Mr President of the Socialist Party, which the rapid application of technological innovation is probably making inevitable, needs to be run on a Community basis.

I think that those who, out of prejudice, oppose this reorganization of working time, closing their eyes to progress, are wrong: but they would be right if each of our countries had the mistaken impression that it could act alone. If a reduction in the working week is to produce new employment in Europe and not in Japan or in America, the operation must be worked out by the entire Community, and it must be negotiated and agreed by the Community with all the industrialized countries, worldwide; otherwise, it will not go through.

And, finally, we are convinced that the very security, independence, freedom and hence the peace of our peoples can only be built on a united Europe. I believe that neither the great, strong France with its arsenal of dissuasion, nor Germany — with its economic power — nor Britain — with the memory of its commercial power — nor, still less, my own very much weaker country, can delude themselves that they can provide their own security by themselves. With the political and military situation in the world as it is today, we should be destined to meet with the same end as Belgium and Luxembourg in both the First and Second World Wars; independent, free, democratic and even neutral as they were, they were invaded and devastated on both the first and the second occasion.

And even to be able to construct, solidly and independently, the 'European pillar' of the Atlantic Alliance — which we do not believe in — the Community must be in charge of both foreign policy and defence.

Thirty years ago France rejected such a project, for reasons which — even though we do not share them — are understandable.

Today the need is even more urgent.

I hope, Mr President, that through France's initiative, and under your leadership, Europe may return to that path: realistically, with courage, and with foresight — as we were taught by our great Christian Democrats Schuman, Adenauer and De Gasperi, and also your great Socialists, Monnet and Spaak.

*(Applause)*

**Sir Henry Plumb (ED).** — Mr President, Mr President-in-Office of the Council, today is a time of mixed emotions. We are very happy that you should be amongst us, and all of us are grateful to you for the particular effort you have made during a very difficult presidency.

*(Applause)*

We thank you too for your excellent speech today.

Your vision of Europe's future has proved an appropriate culmination to five years of this Parliament's work. The past five years have not been easy for any of us nor have we made as much progress as the most optimistic among us thought possible. But democratic institutions do not mature overnight. In the past five years our Parliament has gained authority and prestige. I am sure that in five years' time it will have gained more, despite the problems of the immediate future.

Under your country's presidency, Mr President, great strides have been made towards giving our Community a more rational and a more European budgetary system. We have realized that spending on the common agricultural policy, as you have said, cannot continue unchecked indefinitely. Everyone now recognizes that there is an imbalance in the Community's policies and that resources spent on agriculture must be made more cost-effective.

Similarly, we are on the threshold of working out a fair system for Member States' contributions to the European Community and this has long been a Community problem which has borne most heavily in the past five years on Germany and on the United Kingdom. Given that this is a Community problem, I am saddened that it is being sometimes said that it is a problem caused only by one country. It does not seem to me in the spirit of our Community to single out in

### Henry Plumb

this way a single country especially when that country is a major sufferer from the Community's irrational budgetary system. We have repeatedly said that we do not seek *juste retour*, and we recognize the importance of Community preference. It is a long-term solution we are seeking, Mr Glinne, as we made quite clear in our debate on European economic recovery in respect of the importance of jobs and in the importance of the prosperity of the Community. I hope and I believe that the meeting of Heads of State and Government in Fontainebleau will resolve the Community's most pressing problems. Certainly no group or country has a greater interest in their solution than the European Democratic Group or the United Kingdom. Once we have solved the problems of the moment, which need to be solved because they block progress, then I am optimistic about the Community's future.

We have scarcely begun to scratch at the surface of Europe's possibilities. You have reminded us, Mr President, quite rightly, that environmental problems have no respect for country boundaries. We have much left to do to realize a genuine internal market with the freedom of goods and individuals to travel and be economically active anywhere in the Community.

I am sometimes asked what vision of Europe the Danish or the British Conservatives have. I have a simple answer. It is the Europe of the Treaty of Rome, whose watchwords are freedom, prosperity, individual choice and the breaking down of barriers between Member States. The Community has not always fully lived up to those ideals, and my group will always be at the forefront in attempting to realize them for the future.

Mr President, you remind us that the Community has a population of some 270 m people. It also has a gross domestic product larger than that of the United States of America. Its peoples are linked by a shared history, by culture, by ideals and by a political system. There can be no limit to what we can and what we must do together.

Your presence here today reminds us that our Community is unthinkable without France, but equally Europe is unthinkable without Italy, without Germany and without all the other elements that go to make up our Community. If the Germans were less German, if the British were less British or the Belgians less Belgian, then Europe would be the less. To be a Dutchman is to be a European, but to be a good Dutchman is to be a good European.

This last point, I think, goes to the heart of the matter. I believe that my country's talents, its economic interests and its characteristics can only find their fullest expression in the European Community.

(Applause)

I take it for granted that everyone in this Parliament thinks the same about his or her own country. All of us

have a common culture based on Christianity and the classical civilizations. What unites us is infinitely more important than the trivial things which divide us.

Mr President, today is a time of mixed feelings in this House as we come to the end of Parliament's first term. It is a time of mixed feelings also as the 40th anniversary of the Normandy landings draws near. All of us must remember with admiration and with gratitude the sacrifice and the bravery of those who took part in the events of June 1944. Our Community is the best guarantee that such heroism and suffering will never be necessary again through war in Western Europe.

(Applause)

Our children will have much with which to reproach us, but we have one claim to their gratitude. The European Community has made Europe a safer place than we received it from our own parents. Existence of this institution is proof positive of the change we have brought about.

Mr President, colleagues in the Parliament, we shall never — all of us — be gathered here again. It was a privilege to have been here with you today, particularly in the presence of you, Mr President, and also of the President of the Commission.

(Applause)

**Mrs de March (COM).** — (FR) Mr President, you have traced for us the events of the last six months in the Community, you have told us your plans and your hopes. You know from personal experience that the Community is going through a difficult time. You know, too, how much effort is needed merely to ensure that the Community's members agree to abide by its most fundamental rules and to bring us back to the great aims which were the foundation stones of European construction: improvement of the standard of living and the creation of a real social Europe that can eliminate the policies of austerity which oppress only the workers.

Mr President, the European Economic Community is undermined above all by its inability to face up to the terrible challenge of 13 million unemployed, to the challenge of reviving productive investment that creates jobs, permits modernization and the training of people to adapt to this age of scientific and technological revolution. Yet, our 10 countries have much going for them. They have industrial and agricultural wealth. They have workers, skilled technicians, they have trade unions which, as you have said, must be able to share in the decisions that are taken.

Despite the efforts of the French Presidency, the Community has not been able to eliminate the causes of the crisis which still hampers its functioning and the

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realization of its ambitions. In the course of these five years of our mandate, the Communist and Allies Group, while fully respecting the diversity of its membership, has concentrated its efforts on three subjects of essential importance, of which I shall now remind you.

To begin with, the economic sphere. The Europe of the Ten should put all its resources into combating unemployment, economic recovery, productive investment, competitiveness and innovation. That is an indispensable condition for the deployment of its creativity and innovative capacity — for what you have just called meeting the hopes and expectations. The Community must assert itself with respect to the United States and to Japan. But how? By strengthening the instruments of the common trade policy, by making better use of the ECU to counteract the fluctuations of the dollar and the rising interest rates. Our group has been able to contribute to this Parliament's first pronouncement to this effect.

As for the battle for employment, no stone must be left unturned — and we have noted with interest that millions of workers throughout Europe are raising the issue of shorter working time. They are thus giving added meaning to the concept of the European social area.

Now for the political sphere. Our group, Mr President, wishes the Community to take initiatives in favour of the first of human rights, the right to peace. My friend, Guido Fanti chairman of the Communist and Allies Group, has reminded you that we have made a solemn commitment to 'construct a Europe that contributes, on the basis of the cooperation of the peoples and the States, to the peaceful solution of disagreements, to security and the strengthening of the international organizations, a Europe that stands for the defence of peace and freedom.'

At the institutional level, we all want to improve relations between the Council, the Commission and the Assembly. I will not hide the fact that this question is the subject of widely varying opinions within our group, but I would remind you that it is our colleague, Mr Spinelli, who is responsible for a report which the Assembly adopted by an overwhelming majority and to which you, Mr President, have referred.

The third and last objective to which the Communist and Allies Group wants the Community to devote all its efforts is the establishment of closer links with the developing countries. I should like to make three points here: Is it not time, Mr President, for the Community to take a bold political initiative to revive the North-South dialogue? Should it not be taking a firmer stance still against apartheid? That is the Community's proper role. Can it not take steps to ensure that some of the money that goes to the excessive accumulation of weapons should be diverted to development? That would be a proper humanitarian

aim. Why does not the Community take up proposals to that effect, including those which might emanate from France?

Lastly, as regards the current negotiations for a new Lomé convention by which Europe is linked to 64 developing countries, a heavy responsibility indeed would be ours if we did not see to it that sufficient financial means are made available for strengthening this cooperation.

As I review these major aims, Mr President, I am aware that they go far beyond the difficult internal problems that the Community and you, as President of the Council, have to face. But there is no doubt in our minds on these benches that only at this price can a Europe of the peoples be built.

We believe in such a Europe, Mr President, in this age of independent and sovereign countries and of cooperation among them.

*(Applause from the left)*

Mr Bangemann (L). — (D) Mr President, it is true, and I thank the President of the European Council for reminding us of it again, that the building of Europe has a historic dimension. It does not just involve overcoming technical difficulties but means carrying out a task whose economic and political implications go far beyond what is called day-to-day business, and it is one that we are trying to tackle together. Moreover, opportunities such as today's give us a chance to establish whether we are on the right road. But it is also true — and here I am not addressing you, Mr President of the Council, but Mrs De March, for instance, who spoke before me — that on such occasions we must avoid giving an impression out of line with reality. For instance, it is easy for someone to say: Mr Spinelli belongs to our group and played a decisive part in the formulation of the European draft Treaty, without mentioning that one did not vote for that Treaty oneself.

*(Applause)*

I sometimes have the feeling we are living in different worlds and sometimes do not know just why we are not moving ahead. The President of the Council rightly said: I want freedom of movement, majority decisions, I want the Europe of the space age, I want to combine our economic forces, I want to introduce new policies into the Community. Everyone sitting here wants that. The citizens of whom you spoke also want it — the majority at least, leaving out those few who do not want it. We all *want* Europe. Why do we not *create* Europe? That is the question we should ask in such a situation, and it becomes all the more urgent because there is no going back to national freedom, to national independence. Freedom and independence are words which must either be written in a *European*



**Bangemann**

script or never written again on this continent. That is the task facing us all.

I would like to ask you, Mr President of the Council: has there been some change in your government's attitude, since you said, to great applause from Parliament: on the matter of majority decisions we want *'le retour aux Traités'*? Has something changed or are we to see what we had not considered possible in Stuttgart, when your government was the only one of the six founding members of the Community not able to sign the Genscher-Colombo initiative, when you were one of the famous, or rather notorious, 'asterisk' countries which refused in Stuttgart to accept the majority decision? Those are questions which are being raised in this Parliament and which you must answer.

We do not want to let an excellent speech — for which I thank you — leave the impression that everything is now possible. Sometimes I have the feeling — the same happened when Mrs Thatcher was here — that people are in the mood which a composer of your country expressed in his *'Après-mid d'un Faune'*. Everything seems possible on the 'afternoon of the faun': the sun shines, a European mood reigns. We feel we need only go through that door over there to find Europe! But when I go through that door over there, Mr President of the Council, then I meet my electors, who are despairing and no longer believe that this Europe will ever become reality. Then we find a weariness of Europe, and that is the mood that heralds disintegration. I ask myself: are you, are we all, really doing enough to prevent that? That is the historic task facing us and I think we should all do more than before to achieve majority decisions.

Turning now to you, dear Sir Henry — and I am not attacking any Member State — I entirely agree with you that the United Kingdom belongs to Europe, France belongs to Europe, and of course not only the present members of the Community belong to Europe, not only the countries which are democracies, but Poland too belongs to Europe, as does Hungary; many other countries belong to Europe.

*(Applause)*

But all these countries look to Western Europe and ask themselves; what are democracies capable of doing? Are they capable of organizing life in freedom and solidarity? Then they also ask themselves: why should it be that an important representative of a large Member State cannot manage, because of a question of 150 million ECU, to clear a hurdle and say: Yes, I too am for Europe and feel the same solidarity as the others? We ask ourselves that too.

*(Applause)*

I will not side-step these questions, because I believe that the citizens of Europe are quite simply disap-

pointed at the double-talk of some Europeans. The citizens no longer listen to us because they no longer believe us. We Members of Parliament suffer from this more than others, because we have to talk to the citizens and because it is to us that they rightly turn.

What about Parliament's budgetary powers? Is it true, Mr President of the Council, that your government once made a proposal to restrict Parliament's existing budgetary powers? Why was that done? Alright, that proposal no longer exists and I believe you when you say you think as a European, you are a European. But the proposal was conceived, it was made, and that is the truth and the reality of Europe. I admire your speech — I would admire it more if it corresponded to European reality.

You said one thing which I find very revealing and regard as the key to our difficulties: *'Hélas, c'était une victoire de la Communauté sur elle-même'*. You are right: only when the Community wins victories over its own difficulties and over those who are against it will it be a Community. As long as it still has to win victories over itself it will not be Europe.

*(Applause)*

**Mr Lalor (DEP).** — Mr President and colleagues, I would like to salute and welcome the President of the French Republic here in his capacity as President-in-Office of the European Council. We salute you also, Sir, on account of the binding friendship that exists between France and Ireland.

Mr President, I do not envy you in your daunting task trying to seek agreement and compromise in the face of intransigence, national egomania and the determination to change the nature of the European Economic Community into a free trade area. As we all know, the European Community is at its very lowest ebb. Resources are running out. Cohesion has been shattered by the failure of successive summits and a general air of uncertainty hangs over our heads stifling initiative and generally killing incentive.

Mr President, when your government launched its European memorandum we here were heartened. You put forward an ambitious programme to relaunch Europe and while we did not all agree that Europe had to be Socialist, we saw in your programme a serious effort to move forward and also to maintain the one solid achievement of the Community, that is the common agricultural policy. Indeed, this solid policy has always been supported by my group here in this Parliament and by other French colleagues from other groups.

Like the boy who stood alone on the burning deck, the gap between your European political programmes and the realities seems to me to be so wide that you have now become an element of crisis rather than a

**Lalor**

mediator with the solutions. I regret this. At the March Summit a lot of concessions were made to the Iron Lady. Other delegations reserved their positions. Subsequently, we had the meetings outside the Community framework and still absolutely no solutions. Mrs Thatcher held on until the Rocard agreement which inaugurated a new approach for France on European agriculture: the reduction of prices and the limiting of production with the super levy penalizing those who depend on milk production for their income.

This morning you described this as modernizing. On the other hand, there was no undertaking whatsoever from the other side either on taxing oil and fats coming into the Community or on increasing the Community's resources to allow it to deal with the overall scourge of unemployment.

While these are exceptional times, we cannot allow this one-sided surrender of the Community's principles and foundations to go on. The Community spirit will die an even quicker death if unilateral demands are satisfied every time without any regard whatsoever for the Treaty or the common interests of the Member States. Mrs Thatcher can certainly be very proud of her unilateral demands being met.

The sad thing about this whole budgetary question is that there seem to be no prospects for the future. When are we going to have real policies to deal with unemployment in the Community? When are we going to have proposals to defend and develop European industries and new technologies? When are we going to be able to propose, initiate and carry out programmes for the development of all our countries? Let us get our research act together, as you suggested this morning. I hope that in the future we will be able to make such advances, because the alternative is too terrible to contemplate, namely, national policies of a non-coordinated nature.

May I also say that when extra money is being allocated under the transport heading referred to by you this morning, please do not forget those of us on the periphery who need extra help to bring us closer. It is essential that the European Community should regain its *raison d'être* and its credibility before the people of Europe are called to the polls to show their support for a further new Parliament.

*(Applause)*

**Mr Pannella (CDI).** — *(FR)* Mr President of the Parliament, Mr President of the Council, Mr President of the Commission, for the second time in this century, the future of Europe depends on France.

This time, Mr President, France says she is ready. Long live France! Long live Europe!

But, Mr President, I feel that it would be both mean and wrong of me to speak at the price of silencing Altiero Spinelli. I would therefore ask you, and I also ask Altiero Spinelli, to do the Italian Radicals the honour of using the four minutes which are at my disposal. I believe we shall hear the voice of Parliament, and the voice of Europe speaking.

*(Applause)*

**President.** — Mr Spinelli, thus transformed into a radical, you have another four minutes and fifteen seconds.

*(Laughter)*

**Mr Spinelli (COM).** — *(FR)* Thank you, Mr Pannella. Mr President of the French Republic, Mr President of the Council, following the vote on 14 February on the draft treaty, the German, Belgian and Italian Parliaments have already started preliminary debates on the subject. The French Senate has already prepared a first, excellent, report on the draft. But with your solemn announcement that France is ready to take the initiative in bringing about political union, our draft becomes *the* subject of European construction. A new chapter has opened.

Since it will be difficult to do so in writing, let me thank you, Mr President of the Republic, and I think I speak on behalf of the entire Parliament, for giving this undertaking . . .

*(Applause)*

. . . but let me also draw your attention to the dangers to which the draft and the initiative are open. If adjustments were found necessary — and this almost certainly will be the case — the task should be entrusted, not to experts or diplomats, but to the new Parliament, the legitimate representative of the citizens of Europe. Mr President of the French Republic, we are counting on you.

*(Applause)*

**Mr Eisma (NI).** — *(NL)* Mr President, we much appreciate the efforts and energy of the French Presidency. You, Mr President, have been very busy in the cause of Europe in the last six months. Unfortunately, the crisis has emerged more clearly in this period than the achievements of last year. The results that have been achieved seem to have been snowed under. We share your view that an impulse for progress was given in Athens. We share your view that major results were achieved in Brussels. European cooperation is growing. I say this not as an idealistic but as a realistic optimist. The agricultural policy has been brought up to date in some ways. The quota system is beginning to have an effect, and that is something this Parliament

**Eisma**

has been calling for since 1979. You have referred to the progress made with Esprit, the nuclear fusion project in Culham. You have announced Community decisions on telecommunications and biotechnology.

The Social Fund has been improved. The Regional Fund has been improved, since the non-quota section has been enlarged. This means more European policy under the Regional Fund. But we would warn against reductions in expenditure and economies in the European Community at the expense of these two funds. Parliament will strongly resist any such moves.

Mr President, you have spoken here as the President of the Council of Ministers. You have expressed the view that decision-making in the Council is overly dominated by the unanimity procedure. It is very important to recall that the French Presidency has said this. Being the initiator of the Luxembourg Agreement, France is after all largely to blame for the unanimity rule. If France now wants to abandon this rule, it can make an important contribution to the complete abolition of the Luxembourg Agreement. Then we can have real decision-making in the Community again. The French introduced this rule, and it is to be hoped that they remove it again.

The French President also spoke of a strong environmental policy, the Rhine and acid rain. Parliament responded with loud applause when he announced these intentions. I would point out that there is a contrast between the environment and the economy. To ensure that a radical European environmental policy is pursued, innovation in industry will be encouraged, and in the longer term we can expect this to have an effect on economic growth. In this context we consider the draft treaty on European Union extremely important because environmental policy will be one of its objectives.

I will conclude by saying that this Parliament will not be able to assess the outcome of the forthcoming summit conference. I wish the French Presidency every success at the forthcoming meetings, particularly in Fontainebleau. We hope that, after all the efforts that have been made in the past year, the French Presidency will achieve positive results. You deserve them, but Europe deserves them even more.

**Mr Bøgh (CDI).** — (DA) Mr President, I do not think I was the only Dane to be amazed at what the French President said about unanimous voting arrangements in the future. I should like to point out that it was France who first introduced the principle of unanimous voting, and that Denmark's accession to the EEC took place in the light of that principle. It was an explicit undertaking made in the context of the referendum and if it is not upheld in practice the basis for Denmark remaining within the Community disappears. We can therefore conclude that the new arrangements referred to by the President will mean

that Denmark can no longer remain in the EEC. I believe that this is something which we have to contemplate.

**President.** — I thank all those who have intervened, and in particular I thank the President of the European Council and President of the Republic for coming here and giving this address.

(Applause)

(The sitting was suspended at 12.55 p.m. and resumed at 3 p.m.)

**Mr Cheysson, President-in-Office of the Council.** — (FR) Mr President, I think all the Members of the European Parliament listening to the President of the European Council this morning were left in no doubt that his declaration has been very carefully thought out. It thus contains all that could be said on behalf of France and all that we felt could be presented as the conclusions drawn from five months of presidency of the European Council.

You will therefore appreciate that I shall not in any way be seeking to complement or clarify what Mr François Mitterand has said in his speech this morning. It would only reduce its import.

I shall confine myself to answering some remarks and comments — favourable or otherwise — which have been made by the Commission or the representatives of the political groups.

As President of the Council of Ministers for general affairs I should like first of all to thank the Members and the Commission for recognizing that an effort has been made, that it was a big effort, and that the President of the European Council has personally taken part in it. 'Prodigious energy' it was called on behalf of the Commission. Never have I been so happy to be associated with such prodigality... Such a decisive impetus', the President of the Commission has also said. I thank you all for recognizing that much, in fact, has been achieved. I should like to say to you here, before this Parliament, that if such an effort has been made, it was not only from a sense of professionalism, a desire to please, but because we were determined to get over the stumbling blocks which have halted the progress of the Community and, going beyond them, to rediscover the areas in which Europe can develop. We need this Community and it is because of this need, which I have no hesitation in admitting has also a national aspect, that we have spared neither energy nor effort.

This determination was spelt out this morning by President Mitterand in terms which I think leave no room for equivocation. It was, let me repeat, a considered statement, it is now public and it commits the

### Cheysson

Head of the French Executive, the elected President of the French people, who holds that office for seven years. It was not, in any sense, an improvised speech. Indeed, our earlier conduct had indicated that in many ways.

It had been no easy task for my country, you may believe me, to take that very firm stand on enlargement which has now been adopted, to help the completion of the Community's negotiating mandate, to speed up the debates which made the start on the final negotiations possible, to set that straight and perhaps arduous course, which we hope nevertheless will not be long in the negotiating.

Nor was it easy, in many respects, to take up the environmental issues in which France has been regarded as blemeworthy or at any rate was being accused of being so.

It was also a challenge to tackle the plans, which President Mitterand disclosed or reaffirmed this morning, for industry, for transport and for culture. Yes, culture — and you know how much that means to the French — culture as an expression of the Community, which means that we shall often have to accept that cultural expression at Community level is more important than at national level.

As you know, we French sometimes tend to believe that we are better at expressing ourselves than others. Well, we now have to accept that what we have to say will only be listened to if it is proclaimed with a Community voice, in fact that our country's independence, by which we set so much store, can only be secured fully if the European idea develops.

In affirming these principles, we also accept the means of their realization. And, ladies and gentlemen, one of your number, Mr Spinelli, speaking, I trust on behalf of you all, made the point this morning: the French President's statement that we embrace the aims of the draft treaty instituting European Union is further confirmation of our determination to see rapid progress of the Community on the basis of the Treaty of Rome. For experience has taught us how well conceived and structured that treaty is and experience tells us that it must be consolidated and applied in its entirety, possibly with some essential complementary provisions.

As President Mitterand has said — and I repeat it here in answer to some comments — we wish to see a new treaty examined and then negotiated as early as possible by all those who wish to accede to it and we want it to cover those subjects which we regard as essential.

The representative of the Liberal Group seemed to doubt the sincerity of our commitment. I am happy to reassure him on that score by taking as my authority the most eminent Frenchman of the day, the President of the Republic — and by reminding him that in these last months we have on many occasions shown our

commitment to the new approach and to the idea of a common political expression.

He mentioned the Genscher-Colombo memorandum which became the Solemn Declaration on European Union adopted in Stuttgart. Let me remind him that in the first speech I made to this House as President-in-Office of the Council I said how much importance we attached to better consultation and that, to the extent that this is currently possible for the President-in-Office of the Council, I have done my best to demonstrate that we attach great importance to closer consultation by contacts with the Political Affairs Committee, by contacts — to which you, Mr President will testify — with the Presidency of Parliament, by the consultations we have held.

I have also done my best to act in this spirit by applying one particularly important of the Stuttgart Declaration, that concerning majority voting. I think Mr Bangemann cannot deny that during the most recent Council meetings we have applied the majority rule in votes on some very important subjects, such as the new commercial policy instrument, or the implementation of the fruit and vegetables regulation. We applied it in circumstances that were by no means propitious and we found that certain countries with which we are having difficulties at this moment nevertheless conducted themselves in the Council in a remarkably responsible Community spirit . . .

**President.** — Mr Bangemann asks for the floor. Under the Rules of Procedure he is entitled to put a question, if you will allow it.

**Mr Cheysson, President-in-Office of the Council.** — (FR) Of course.

**Mr Bangemann (L).** — (FR) Mr Minister, I thank you for your comments but I do not think your recollection of my modest observation is entirely accurate. I am, indeed, perfectly aware of all the efforts undertaken by the French Government. Perhaps I am wrong, but my observation, which was more of a question, concerned the official position. My question was this: Has the French Government changed its position since Stuttgart? If my memory serves me right, I can list the countries which raised objections to the majority rule. To my astonishment — and rather to my disappointment — the only founder-member of the Community on that list is the country you represent here, Sir.

**Mr Cheysson, President-in-Office of the Council.** — (FR) Mr President, I thank Mr Bangemann for affording me the opportunity to state our position. We are bound by the Solemn Declaration on European Union adopted in Stuttgart, we are implementing it and we have done our best to show in practical ways

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that we are fully committed to that declaration. It is, indeed, one of the two working documents to which the President of the Republic referred in his statement and which will form the basis for the discussion of this important subject which we hope will take place this autumn. The other is the European Parliament's proposal on European Union.

Mr Bangemann has pointed out that at a certain time a suggestion was put forward which might have had as its consequence a modification of the European Parliament's budgetary powers. He will allow me to use this opportunity to reiterate what I have said on many occasions, and again only a few weeks ago before this Parliament, that the French Government, being a responsible body, has never for a moment envisaged that any improvement of the budgetary procedures could be made otherwise than in full observance of the Treaty, that is to say in full respect of the institutional powers, and those of the European Parliament and the Commission in particular.

Mr President, having reaffirmed our resolve, may I go back to what I was saying and answer the other speakers.

We felt from the beginning of our exercise of the Presidency, and indeed had felt for a considerable time before, that if progress was to be resumed in the Community, there were a number of areas in which blockages had to be removed. That was what Stuttgart was about. At Stuttgart we were not concerned with dealing with particular problems, but we tried to link up subjects which were under discussion and on which stalemate had been reached, in such a way that when concessions were made on this subject or that the deadlocks in the various Community bodies, the various Ministerial Councils could be unblocked.

The President of the French Republic has been reminding you how that course was followed: to Athens, where we were able to define the difficulties more clearly and see the links between them; to Brussels, where we were able to deal in principle with some of these difficulties; through the weeks following Brussels, when we were able to unravel elements which had been joined in a single package, so that we could make progress by dealing with elements which had become tractable once again. It was in this way that we were able to arrive first at proposals, then at decisions on the compensatory amounts and on other important matters in agricultural policy, including the 'sense' we were able to put into the dairy sector. It was in this way that other regulations in this area became possible. It was thus that on a number of external problems we were able to achieve a joint Community stance. I will just mention the mandate that has now been given to the Commission, and communicated to the candidate countries, on subjects as difficult as agriculture and fisheries for Spain and Portugal, sensitive subjects which in some cases concern our 64 ACP partners in view of the renewal of Lomé II.

In this way it has been possible to break the deadlock on such difficult subjects as technical barriers to trade, the new commercial policy instrument, the social aspect of our coal policy; in this way, too, it has been possible to take up very old subjects, as for instance a more satisfactory definition than the last of a European Regional Development Fund, or the definition of transport quotas; in this way it has been possible to deal with our day-to-day affairs, such as the fixing of agricultural prices in time for the harvesting year, the fixing of fishing quotas in time for the season, the fixing of steel quotas before the last ones run out, the fixing of road transport quotas. Who, a year ago, would have thought that on each of these subjects we would get somewhere, that we would make progress and that we would take up what ought to be our regular Community routine, or that we would now be able to deal even with the most sensitive topics! But it is not enough. If our resolve is to have practical effect, we must — and here I acknowledge a number of speakers who have said this — do more. But we must always do it, as President Mitterand was reminding us this morning, within the compass of the Treaty.

I note interesting progress as regards the encouragement of industrial cooperation. Reference has been made to it this morning — but we should be able to make progress, too, in the social area and in the day-to-day running of the Community.

There remains, it is true, a matter in dispute, this troubling matter, as the Commission calls it, in the budgetary area: the matter of calculating a budgetary imbalance which is all the more difficult to deal with because no provision has been made for it in the Treaty, since the Treaty never contemplated the arithmetical notion of a 'return' to this or that State. It has been a difficult and troubling question ever since, in 1980, as one of the speakers this morning has recalled, an isolated, summary decision was taken which, as it has turned out, has involved us in a problem for which we were not prepared: the problem of budgetary imbalance.

One of the speakers this morning has reminded us that in Brussels we were on the brink of a solution. We were very close, you must agree, in numerical terms, but I am afraid I have to tell you that the reason for our failure in Brussels was not the difference of 100 or 200 million ECU, but a much more serious difference of approach as to the principles on which the final decision should be based. On this we must be clear. Now, if we invoke principles, then, as the President of the French Republic made plain this morning, we are in a grave difficulty. Because then we have on the one hand, those who demand that the Treaty should be observed, and hence that the Community's resources should be counted as the Community's resources, and not as the contributions of individual States, and on the other hand we have those, or more precisely that one voice, which says that the particular problem of a particular State should take precedence over the prin-

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ciples which inspired the authors of the Treaty to negotiate and sign that Treaty, and which later inspired other countries to accede to it.

From this troubling difficulty, which in arithmetical terms is unimportant, but in terms of principle is fundamental, other problems follow concerning the immediate future of the Community in the budgetary sphere — as a number of speakers have pointed out.

I would hope, Mr President, that this problem — worrying though it is, especially for those with responsibility for the management of the Community's affairs — will not make us lose sight of all the other important things, all the future prospects, all the reasons which make us all feel that today's meeting is of special importance. Of course, the matter will have to be dealt with, a way of balancing income and expenditure for 1984 will have to be found.

But we should not forget that legally we are bound to find that balance. And not only in the sense of adjusting expenditure to income. We are also bound — I say this advisedly, Mr President — to do this in terms of adjusting income to expenditure. Let us not forget that the Treaty lays down an obligation to continue actions which the Community has decided to undertake.

The Community is not entitled to forget its commitments either in respect of agricultural policy, or of regional development policy, or of social policy. It has no such right. The Court of Justice has been quite unequivocal in this respect on two occasions: the Community is bound to find the means to implement the policies which it has decided to put into effect. I readily admit that the problem is difficult and that it may cause a lot of technical headaches, but it is not a problem of principle, it does not affect the Community's policies — which, I think you will agree, is what the day's discussion is about.

Let us keep our eyes on the horizon. Let us not forget what is expected of us. Accounting shortfalls are something that will have to be dealt with, but they are not the core of this Community's existence. Indeed, it would be a very dangerous thing if they should be the core of this Community's existence. Indeed, it would be a very dangerous thing if they should be the core of this parliamentary session or of the meeting of the European Council.

These, Mr President, are the observations I have permitted myself to make as President-in-Office of the Council and as France's representative within that Council. But all this, let me say again, should in no way obscure the fundamental statement made this morning by the President of the French Republic on behalf of France and the state of progress which he presented to you in his capacity as President of the European Council.

**President.** — My sincere thanks to the President-in-Office of the Council. I particularly appreciate his

having raised a number of budgetary principles for which, at an earlier date, he was partly responsible in connection with the formulation of Article 203. I think this is helpful to the European Parliament.

### 4. Membership of Parliament

**President.** — Mr Cronin has informed us in writing that he is resigning as a Member of the European Parliament. In conformity with the second subparagraph of Article 12(2) of the law governing the election of representatives to the European Parliament by universal suffrage, we establish this vacancy and will inform the Member State concerned.

As the reason for the resignation of Mr Cronin is his state of health, I think I speak for us all when I say that our best wishes go with him.

*(Applause)*

The agenda indicates that the vote will start at 3.30 p.m. I do not wish to take anyone by surprise. The sitting is therefore suspended until 3.30 p.m.

*(The sitting was suspended at 3.25 p.m. and resumed at 3.30 p.m.)*

Votes<sup>1, 2</sup>

### JOINT STATEMENT BY PARLIAMENT AND COMMISSION (DOC. 1-328/84/REV.)

**Mr Fantì (COM).** — *(IT)* Mr President, I should like to remind us all that this problem was debated at length by the enlarged Bureau to decide whether or not it should be included on the agenda. I maintained then that the suggestion that the European Parliament should propose a joint declaration with the Commission on its relations with that body at the end of the legislature, and at a time when the Commission's own mandate is about to expire, constituted, in my opinion, a totally inadmissible practice. By doing this, in fact, we should determine for the next Parliament and the next Commission a pre-ordained, compulsory mode of visualizing their mutual relationship.

In this connection the European Parliament has adopted numerous resolutions that have so far received no response. These resolutions are recalled in the proposed declaration. Amongst all of these resolutions there is a notable omission — the vote with which the majority of this Parliament, in approving the

<sup>1</sup> See Annex.

<sup>2</sup> *Procedure without report: see Minutes.*

**Fanti**

reform of the Treaties, also indicated the manner in which relations between Parliament and the Commission should be conducted.

I asked in vain, at the meeting of the Bureau, to be told on the basis of what criterion and what procedure we are opening this debate. I think a detailed debate is necessary on this point to allow all members to consider the importance of this vote, and whether or not it is necessary to have it.

It is also my view that, given the present attendance in this Chamber, it is necessary to refer everything to the next Parliament, without having at this moment to check whether we have a quorum — which we have not, Mr President.

To avoid a formal act of procedure, therefore wisdom demands that we should all together take this line — in other words, we should hand over the problem to the next Parliament, giving it also the results of the work that have been done, so that the future Parliament and the future Commission can tackle and provide a solution for these problems.

**Mr Pannella (CDI).** — *(FR)* Mr President, under Rule 84, I do not think the procedure you have adopted is in conformity with the Rules. It is not clear what this declaration is: it is not a resolution. We don't know what it is. The matter is being dealt with in a somewhat cavalier fashion. As regards the content, I agree with Mr Fanti.

But that is not the essential point. We cannot have what appears to be a solemn declaration without giving any committee, nor the Members themselves, the opportunity of considering it. I don't see why we should be acting in a hurry.

I move its inadmissibility. I ask that the matter not be debated.

**President.** — I think, first, that I should mention to you a number of considerations that led the enlarged Bureau to put this proposal before you.

As you know, Parliament has instructed its Political Affairs Committee and, in particular, the Committee on Institutional Affairs to negotiate with the Commission a number of recommendations concerning the improvement of institutional procedures, as drawn up in reports adopted by the European Parliament. The Political Affairs Committee was entrusted by Parliament with the task of bringing that about. It was a limited task because implementation was to be kept within existing Treaty texts.

That implementation is now put before us. The enlarged Bureau yesterday agreed with Mr Fanti that we would do well to find time for a debate on this sub-

ject. As you know, this is the last part-session and holding a debate would mean that no other work can be completed. That is why we have chosen this approach. If the majority of Members present take the view that a debate should nevertheless be held, we shall have to hold the matter over till the next Parliament. That is the background to this proposal and therefore I must now put to the vote Mr Pannella's proposal not to deliberate on the subject as a whole.

**Lady Elles (ED).** — I am not certain what the point of this vote is. I thought it was decided in the enlarged Bureau that we would present this motion to the House on which to vote and that was what would happen. The fact was, as you have said, that the Political Affairs Committee was given a mandate to draw up this declaration, but I would remind the House that it is also a declaration which has been agreed with the Commission. The Commission also, therefore, must have a say. It is not for this House to decide that we can put amendments to this declaration and expect it to be adopted because it has been a joint effort by both institutions. Therefore, I would remind the House that it is not quite as simple as it might appear.

**President.** — That, Lady Elles, is the reason why in placing it on the agenda on Monday, I proposed that if there was a majority that did not agree with the procedure, it would be sent back to the Political Affairs Committee because we in plenary cannot negotiate with the Commission. That has to be done in a more limited body such as the Political Affairs Committee.

**Mr Spinelli (COM).** — *(IT)* Mr President, I should like to ask all members to be reasonable. We have shown that we are people of integrity in this Parliament, and we cannot hope, on the last day but one of this Parliament's life, to indicate what the relations between the Commission and Parliament should be — and thus commit the new Parliament — without discussion, or with a makeshift discussion.

The reasonable thing, after having done a certain amount of work, is to hold it back for the new Parliament, which will discuss it: but, for goodness' sake, do not let us have a vote on this point! Let us try to agree — reason itself and the decorum of Parliament demand it.

*(Applause)*

*(Parliament rejected Mr Pannella's motion)*

**President.** — On the joint declaration by the Parliament and the Commission, I have received a request for a roll-call vote.

**Mr Fanti (COM).** — *(IT)* Mr President, I asked Members to give up the idea of any kind of vote, after having explained the reasons which make such a decision necessary. If after all a vote is still being called for, then I must request a check on whether we have a quorum.

*(A quorum check was made)*

**President.** — I note that a quorum is not present. The question will therefore be held over to the next sitting.

**PFENNIG REPORT (DOC. 1-280/84  
'ESTIMATES OF PARLIAMENT' FOR 1985'**

*Estimates of revenue and expenditure: Item 1255 (new):  
Amendment No 1*

**Mr Pfennig (EPP).** — *(DE)* Mr President, the Committee on Budgets has not voted on this motion. I myself am against, because we already have two other budget headings for the same purpose, headings 1149 and 1123. We do not need a new budget heading.

**Lord Douro (ED).** — Mr President, I understand that this amendment, which has been signed by all the group leaders, was not in every case signed by the group leader before being submitted. I would ask you, therefore, to confirm that you received this amendment duly signed by all the Members whose names are listed on the sheet in front of us.

**President.** — I have seen the amendments signed by all the leaders of the political groups with one exception, as far as I recall.

**Lord Douro (ED).** — Mr President, of course I cannot, in due deference to you, question what you said; but that does surprise me, because two group leaders have told me they never signed it.

**President.** — Can some information be procured on this issue, because I am not absolutely sure? Mr Pfennig, as rapporteur, you must know.

**Mr Pfennig (EPP).** — *(DE)* Mr President, I am assuming that all the group chairmen have signed this motion. Nevertheless I wish to inform you that I am against the motion because budget headings 1149 and 1123 already fulfil the purpose of the proposed heading 1255.

**President.** — Thank you very much. At any rate the amendment has a sufficient number of signatures. We can go ahead and vote.

*(The President declared Amendment No 1 rejected)*

**Mr de la Malene (DEF).** — *(FR)* I'd like an electronic check on Amendment No 1.

**Mr Louwes (L).** — *(NL)* Before we take the vote, I should like to ask you to verify that all five or six group chairmen have signed this amendment.

**President.** — Mr Louwes, that does not seem to me in order. I have only to consider the validity of an amendment tabled and to verify that the signatures appended thereto are sufficient for the amendment to be tabled. For the rest, it is a matter for the group chairmen in which I have no desire to meddle. I merely noted that a number of names are appended and in the enlarged Bureau I heard that Mrs Hammerich had not appended her signature.

*(After an electronic check, Amendment No 1 was adopted)*

*Motion for a resolution: After the rejection of Amendment No 3 to paragraph 2*

**President.** — I would just point out that this vote cannot change the Rules of the European Parliament.

**Mr Forth (ED).** — On a point of order, Mr President, could you please explain that cryptic comment?

**President.** — Mr Forth, Rule 113(3) reads:

The Bureau, after consulting the appropriate committee, shall decide the number of officials and other servants and lay down regulations relating to their administrative and financial situation.

The Bureau shall also decide to what categories of officials and servants Articles 12 to 14 of the Protocol on the privileges and immunities of the European Communities shall apply in whole or in part.

**Mr Forth (ED).** — Mr President, are you suggesting therefore that the Bureau is superior to this House? Presumably, the Bureau has brought a recommendation to Parliament. By our vote I would have thought we had rejected it. What status, therefore, are you suggesting the Bureau has against the House as a whole?

*(Applause)*

**President.** — Mr Forth, I wished to indicate that the competence of the Bureau on the *organigramme* remains untouched. At the same time Parliament establishes the financial limits to the budget.

**Mr Forth (ED).** — Is it then the case that if the House, as a whole, wishes to assert its opinion as



**Forth**

against the Bureau, we must vote against the resolution as a whole or against the budget for Parliament as a whole? We must be able to have a say in this surely. Is Parliament not sovereign against the view of the Bureau?

**President.** — As far as the Rules are concerned, Parliament in some instances recommends policies to the Bureau but cannot decide on the policies.

**Mr Lange (S), Chairman of the Committee on Budgets.** — (DE) Mr President, I wish you had not made that remark. You are giving rise to a discussion we would have liked to avoid. In principle, the Bureau's powers remain untouched. In this one case, the plenary of Parliament — Parliament itself — overrules this rule of the Rules of Procedure, as it has already done on other occasions. Every provision of the Rules of Procedure can on occasion be overruled by a plenary decision.

(Applause)

**President.** — Mr Lange, I should like to ask the Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions to pronounce on this matter since up to now changes to the Rules have only been possible with an absolute majority of Members. This matter needs to be cleared up.

**Mr Konrad Schön (EPP).** — (DE) It is not a question here of amending the Rules of Procedure but merely of whether the plenary's opinion — that of Parliament — is a meaningless farce or whether the Bureau takes it seriously. I think that is the question.

**President.** — I don't believe that is the problem.

**Dame Shelagh Roberts (ED).** — Mr President, I find your rulings perplexing. If, in fact, the Bureau is supreme, why has the Bureau bothered even to table amendments?

**President.** — The Bureau would, of course, prefer to be in harmony with the House.

**Mr Langes (EPP).** — (DE) Mr President, I asked to speak after the vote in order not to disrupt the discussions about Parliament's budget which, whatever the British Members may think, were prepared for with great care and at length in the Committee on Budgets.

The House has rejected Amendments Nos 3 and 4, and I can give you one of the reasons for this. Four of the group chairmen mentioned in Amendments Nos 3 and 4 have told me they did not sign this motion. I

would ask the Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions to establish who it is *within* the administration who signs the motions on behalf of the group chairmen. I fear that this House is being misled, and if my suspicions are justified, Mr President, it is time to ensure that the secretaries-general of the groups cannot misuse the group chairmen's signatures. I ask you to check this, for it will be an interesting point for us.

(Applause)

**President.** — Mr Langes, that is a very interesting point, which should be looked into. I will see that it is considered.

**Mr Langes (EPP).** — (DE) Mr President, I am happy to give you the names of the group chairmen who told me they did not sign the motion because they were not even present at the relevant time!

**SCRIVENER REPORT (DOC. 1-322/84  
'COVER FOR BUDGETARY REQUIREMENTS  
IN THE 1984 FINANCIAL YEAR')**

**Lord Douro (ED).** — Mr President, on behalf of myself and nine other Members of my group, I would ask you to establish whether there is a quorum present.

(Then Members rose to support the request — A count having been taken, the President announced that a quorum was not present)

**President.** — The vote is therefore held over to the next sitting.

**Mr Lange (S), Chairman of the Committee on Budgets.** — (DE) Mr President, on a point of order, what the members of the European Democratic Group have requested, i.e. to establish whether there is a quorum present, would in fact paralyze the European Parliament...

(Applause)

..... would mean that the European Parliament is prevented from carrying out its tasks. The curious justification given by our Conservative colleagues — that we should leave this matter to the Parliament that takes office after 24 July — would mean that our Parliament cannot deliver its opinion until October at the earliest, and by then the Council and the Commission will have dealt with everything without Parliament having any chance of having a say on the matter.

(Applause)

I can only say, what sort of MPs are you! You are paralyzing your own activities, without reaping any praise

**Lange**

for it. That also applies to the behaviour of the European Democrats. If your successors do the same in the next electoral term, the United Kingdom representatives will have no reputation left at all. Just think: since you claim to have the mother of Parliaments at home, why not behave accordingly!

*(Loud applause)*

**Lord Douro (ED).** — Mr President, perhaps you will allow me to reply to the points Mr Lange made. Firstly, I reject utterly the charge that we are behaving irresponsibly. Many Members of this Parliament, many different groups of this Parliament, have this week and other weeks asked for a quorum check when it has suited them for various reasons. Just because we have on this occasion asked for a check does not mean that we have behaved irresponsibly.

Secondly, our reasons for not wishing to see a vote this week are threefold: firstly, when the Council considered this matter some ten days ago they issued a press release which indicated no sense of urgency whatever. They then a few days later requested urgency. The two statements are inconsistent. I do not believe there is urgency. Furthermore, much can change between now and when the Commission need the money. The Commission have often in the past miscalculated for very good reasons because many things can change the Commission's estimates. Much therefore can change before September or October. That is when the money will be needed. That is when Parliament will be able to exercise a proper influence on how the shortfall is to be covered.

Thirdly, it is an extremely important matter of principle. It would be inappropriate if in the last days of this Parliament we delivered an opinion on something which will set a precedent for the future and is a matter of extreme importance. I do believe that it is more appropriate that it should be dealt with by the new Parliament.

For these reasons I hope I have shown the House that we are acting for very good reasons and we are acting responsibly.

*(Applause from the European Democratic Group)*

**Mr Davignon, Vice-president of the Commission.** — (FR) Mr President, in order to prevent misunderstanding I should just like to remind you of what Mr Thorn said this morning in the general debate, namely that for the Commission there is urgency, for the reasons which have been stated. I should like to add that the Commission would regret it if Parliament were not to express its view, even if that view, as in this case, should not be identical with the Commission's.

*(Applause)*

**Mr Forth (ED).** — Mr President, the true reply to the point that Mr Lange has made which my colleague the Marquess of Douro has been too polite to make is this . . .

**President.** — There has already been a lot of abuse as far as that is concerned. In order to solve the question I have given the floor to Lord Douro to reply to Mr Lange, after which the Commission intervened. We are now back to points of order and nothing else. If you have a point of order you have the right to speak, but I would not want to continue this debate.

**Mr Enright (S).** — Yes, my point of order is that the quite disgraceful procedures of the good Lord Douro, who is a very nice man personally, the quite disgraceful . . .

**President.** — Mr Enright, you may not speak until you indicate on which rule you are making your point of order.

**Mr Enright (S).** — It is on Rule 48, and we are helped by the fact that it did not appear on the television screen.

**President.** — Mr Enright, I cannot see the urgency of your proposal.

**Mr Enright (S).** — There may well be a quorum now, and if you look you will see that the television screen is showing the wrong procedural motion.

#### IN THE CHAIR: MR JAQUET

*Vice-President*

#### SECOND NOTENBOOM REPORT (DOC. 1-226/84 'REPLACEMENT OF FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS BY MEMBER STATES')

*Proposal for a regulation: After the vote on all the amendments*

**Mr Notenboom (PPE), rapporteur.** — (NL) Mr President, as the rapporteur for this second report, may I ask the Commission's representative whether he can confirm on the Commission's behalf that it will accept the amendments the European Parliament has just adopted and change its proposal accordingly. We have been given an oral assurance in committee, but it is

**Notenboom**

important for confirmation to be given here in the Chamber. The Commissioner is giving a sign of affirmation, Mr President . . .

**Mr Davignon, Vice-president of the Commission.** — (FR) Mr President, since I am not sufficiently incisive: 'ja'.

**PEDINI REPORT (DOC. 1-224/84  
DEVELOPMENT OF ADVANCED REACTORS)**

*Paragraph 5: After rejection of Amendment No 2.*

**Mr Arndt (S).** — (DE) We are asking that a check be made to determine whether a quorum is present. Since our amendments have been rejected we are acting in precisely the same way as the Conservatives. That's how they wanted it!

*(More than 10 Members rose to support Mr Arndt's request — After a check, the President noted that there was not a quorum present)*

**President.** — The vote on this report is therefore held over to the next sitting.

**SECOND PEDINI REPORT (DOC. 1-229/84  
'IRC')**

*Motion for a resolution: After the vote on all the amendments*

**Mr Seligman (ED).** — Before we finally vote on this report, I should be very grateful if the Commission could state their attitude to clauses 2 and 3 on the budget transfer situation, and on the presence on the Advisory Council of the scientific representatives. This is not quite clear, and until we do have that clarity, I do not think we should approve this report.

**Mr Davignon, Vice-president of the Commission.** — (FR) Mr President, I shall answer Mr Seligman's second question, because I have not quite understood what he was asking in his first question on the budget.

On the second question, then, I have said, and I have explained at length to the Committee on Energy, Research and Technology, that the Commission will not accept from the Council a text which does not allow scientific experts and experts appointed by the States to sit together. That is my position. There is not just a Board of Governors: there is the Board of Governors and a scientific board. But I will not accept from the Council a statute that does not provide for the scientists to attend the Board of Governors either

at the request of the Commission or at their own request.

As for the first point, I apologise, but could Mr Seligman repeat his question?

**Mr Seligman (ED).** — I think the first question would be better put by Mr Lange, from the Committee on Budgets, because he was the one who was worried about that.

On the second question, you did say that you would submit a new recommendation to the Council bearing in mind the Parliament's view. Do you adhere to that undertaking?

**Mr Davignon, Vice-president of the Commission.** — (FR) It will not be exactly the text that Parliament is trying to persuade me to accept, and the Honourable Member knows that very well. That is why I have made my statement of principle and the Commission will do its very best to defend that position, without committing itself to accepting the text as voted by Parliament.

**Mr Lange (S), Chairman of the Committee on Budgets.** — (DE) Mr Vice-President Davignon, surely it is only a question of whether you will honour your assurance to the Committee on Budgets to submit a suitably amended proposal to the Council on this matter?

**Mr Davignon, Vice-President of the Commission.** — (FR) I can confirm that, Mr President. That will be done. It has already been done.

**IPPOLITO INTERM REPORT (DOC. 1-228/84  
'CHAPTER VI OF THE ECSC TREATY')**

**Mrs Walz (EPP), Chairman of the Committee on Energy, Research and Technology.** — (DE) Mr President, may I point out that all we are doing here is voting on our interim report, and not on the Commission proposal. We consider the legal foundations inadequate and have therefore merely submitted an interim report, after hearing a large number of experts.

*(Parliament agreed to the request)*

**SHERLOCK REPORT (DOC. 1-203/84  
'MOTOR VEHICLES')**

*Proposal for a directive: after the rejection of Amendment No 1*

**Mr Narjes, Member of the Commission.** — (DE) Mr President, I am not quite sure whether it is admissible to ask to speak in this procedure, but the Commission would like to point out that this is an urgent matter which the Council should, if possible, decide rapidly. If the five amendments were adopted, that might mean having to initiate the procedure pursuant to Article 149(2) of the EEC Treaty, which would delay matters until after the election of the next Parliament. So I would ask for them to be rejected.

**SCHLEICHER REPORT (DOC. 1-213/84  
'PROTECTION OF LABORATORY ANIMALS')**

**Mr Johnson (ED).** — On a point of order, Mr President, I should like, if the Commission is agreeable, to invite it to make a short statement, as I am entitled to do under the Rules of Procedure.

**Mr Narjes, Member of the Commission.** — (DE) If I have understood the question rightly, I am perfectly happy to tell you that the Commission endorses the principles underlying the amendment and will make every effort to put them into effect.

IN THE CHAIR: MR KLEPSCH

*Vice-President*

**WELSH REPORT (DOC. 1-192/84 'MOTOR VEHICLES')**

*Motion for a resolution: after the vote on all the amendments)*

**Mr Herman (PPE).** — (FR) Before we vote on the whole resolution I should like to ask the Commission's representative what he thinks of the report and whether he accepts the amendments we propose.

**Mr Narjes, Member of the Commission.** — (DE) Mr President, the Commission has nothing further to add to what Mr Andriessen said yesterday.

**DE COURCY LING REPORT (DOC. 1-217/84  
'STRAWBERRIES')**

*After the vote on the amendments to the proposal for a regulation*

**Mr de Courcy Ling (ED), rapporteur.** — Mr President, before we proceed to our vote on the resolution,

I wonder whether the Commissioner, Mr Narjes, would be kind enough to confirm my understanding that the Commission will now adopt Parliament's amendments to their proposal, before transmitting it to the Council. My understanding is that they will and if I can have his confirmation I will not then move to refer back the proposal under Rule 36(2).

**President.** — First of all we have to vote on the amendments, otherwise we shall have nothing to put before the Commission.

*(After the adoption of the Commission proposal)*

**Mr Narjes, Member of the Commission.** — (DE) Mr President, the Commission maintains its proposals.

**Mr de Courcy Ling (ED), rapporteur.** — As the rapporteur for the Committee on Development and Cooperation, I move that we refer back this proposal to the committee under Rule 36(2).

*(Parliament rejected the request)*

**PEARCE REPORT (DOC. 1-212/84 'DROUGHT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA')**

*Third indent of the preable: Amendments Nos 1 and 16.*

**Mr Arndt (S).** — (DE) We intend to ask that it be established whether a quorum is present. I think it is more sensible to do that at the beginning of the vote than at the end.

**President.** — You may ask for a quorum check at any time. As far as I can see, we do not have a quorum. But first ten Members have to rise to support your request.

*(Ten Members rose in support of the request — the President noted that a quorum was not present)*

The vote on this report is therefore held over until the next sitting.

The sitting was closed at 6.25 p.m.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Agenda for next sitting: see Minutes.

## ANNEX

*Votes*

The Report of Proceedings records in this annex the rapporteur's opinion on the various amendments as well as explanations of vote. For details of the voting the reader is referred to the Minutes of the sitting.

**MOTIONS FOR RESOLUTIONS  
'GULF WAR'**

- ALBERS (DOC. 1-300/84)
- SIR PETER VANNECK AND BATTERSBY (DOC. 1-314/84)

**REPLACED BY AMENDMENT NO 1 WHICH WAS ADOPTED**

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**MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION  
SIR HENRY PLUMB (DOC. 1-286/84 — LIBYAN PEOPLE'S BUREAU IN  
LONDON): ADOPTED**

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**MOTIONS FOR RESOLUTIONS  
'OLYMPIC GAMES'**

- PENDERS (DOC. 1-284/84)
- LANGES (DOC. 1-285/84)
- DE LA MALENE (DOC. 1-288/84)
- HAAGERUP (DOC. 1-294/84)

**REPLACED BY AMENDMENT NO 1 WHICH WAS ADOPTED**

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**MOTIONS FOR RESOLUTIONS  
'AGRICULTURAL MATTERS'**

- BOCKLET (DOC. 1-264/84: ADOPTED)
- SIR FRED WARNER (DOC. 1-259/84): ADOPTED

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**MOTIONS FOR RESOLUTIONS  
'AIR POLLUTION'**

- SCHLEICHER (DOC. 1-257/84): ADOPTED
- COLLINS (DOC. 1-296/84)
- ALBER (DOC. 1-316/84)

REPLACED BY AMENDMENT NO 1 WHICH WAS ADOPTED

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**BARBI MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION  
(DOC. 1-265/84 — HUMANITARIAN AID): ADOPTED**

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**MOTIONS FOR RESOLUTIONS  
'EARTHQUAKES IN ITALY'**

- ERCINI (DOC. 1-260/84): ADOPTED
- BARBAGLI (DOC. 1-261/84): ADOPTED
- COSTANZO (DOC. 1-263/84): ADOPTED
- LEZZI AND GLINNE (DOC. 1-302/84): ADOPTED

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**MOTIONS FOR RESOLUTIONS  
'HUMAN RIGHTS'**

- HABSBERG (DOC. 1-289/84): ADOPTED
- GLINNE (DOC. 1-303/84): ADOPTED
- GLINNE (DOC. 1-304/84): ADOPTED
- LOMAS (DOC. 1-307/84): REJECTED
- FELLERMAIER (DOC. 1-311/84): ADOPTED
- DENIS (DOC. 1-319/84): ADOPTED
- PEARCE (DOC. 1-313/84): ADOPTED

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**JOINT DECLARATION BY PARLIAMENT AND COMMISSION  
on THEIR RECIPROCAL RELATIONS  
(DOC. 1-328(84/REV.): HELD OVER TO THE NEXT SITTING**

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PROPOSAL FOR A DECISION BY THE ENLARGED BUREAU  
(DOC. 1-327/84 — SETTING UP OF AN INTERIM SPECIAL COMMITTEE  
ON BUDGETARY AFFAIRS): ADOPTED

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PFENNIG REPORT (DOC. 1-280/84 — DRAFT ESTIMATES OF  
PARLIAMENT FOR 1985): ADOPTED

The rapporteur was:

— AGAINST Amendments Nos 1 to 11.

*Explanations of vote*

**Mr Harris (ED).** — I shall be voting against this report not simply to preserve the habits of the last five years, in that I have not voted yet for a budget of this Parliament, but partly because of the procedures by which this whole matter has been considered, or rather not considered, particularly in the Committee on Budgets.

Let me hasten to say that I have the greatest admiration for both the rapporteur who, I genuinely believe, has done his utmost to bring about a greater degree of control over our own budget, and, of course, everyone in this House has the utmost respect for the chairman of the Committee on Budgets.

However, the simple fact of the matter is that when this matter came on the agenda on Monday at the meeting of the Committee on Budgets, very few of us having seen the report before, it was rushed through in a matter of minutes simply because there was no time to consider it. I do not feel that that is the right way for this Parliament to consider its own budget. I honestly believe that Parliament must put its own house in order, particularly on budgetary matters and financial control. I do not think that this report has been given sufficient consideration and therefore I shall vote against it.

**Mr Forth (ED).** — My explanation of vote replaces a point of order that I would have made, because I asked for your guidance as to what the status of this document will be. If we oppose the report, may we thus oppose the views of the Bureau which are not endorsed by this House?

I wish to oppose the views of the Bureau. I have opposed them for most of the past five years. The Bureau appears to me to be largely incompetent in managing the affairs of this House, and I wish on this occasion to reflect in my vote the views which this House in full plenary session has expressed this afternoon in not supporting the views of the Bureau. I want your guidance — and I appreciate that I am putting you on the spot in this — as to how I should vote if I wish to refute, to deny, to oppose, to turn down the views of the Bureau and support the views of this House, of the European Parliament, in expressing its opinion on its own budget for the next year.

**President.** — Mr Forth, I think there is no difference of opinion concerning the volume and the different elements of the budget. As you have seen, there were no amendments by the Bureau.

The Bureau has considered that certain statements were made in some paragraphs of the resolution which were not in conformity with the agreements between the Bureau and the Committee on Budgets in the past and not in conformity with the rules of this House. That is the only point. If you want some advice regarding the vote, I should vote in favour of the Pfennig resolution.

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**SCRIVENER REPORT (DOC. 1-322/84 — MEASURES TO COVER  
BUDGETARY REQUIREMENTS IN 1984): HELD OVER TO THE NEXT  
SITTING**

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**BATTERSBY REPORT (DOC. 1-222/84 — EEC-SEYCHELLES): ADOPTED**

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**NOTENBOOM SECOND REPORT (DOC. 1-226/84 — REPLACEMENT OF  
FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS FROM MEMBER STATES): ADOPTED**

*Explanation of vote*

**Mr Notenboom (PPE), rapporteur, in writing. — (NL)** As rapporteur I am pleased that Parliament has so far agreed to the recommendations of the Committee on Budgets. However, I was personally very inclined to abstain.

Before the final vote is taken, I would remind the House that this is really no more than a compromise text. I myself as rapporteur — and the Committee on Budgets fully agreed with me — had proposed far more drastic changes to the own resources regulation, with a view to making it clearer that own resources are the Community's financial resources and not contributions to the Community from the Member States. Own resources epitomize the Community's financial autonomy, meaning that the Community may finance policies, and thus decide on their contents, through its institutions without having to account to the Member States.

This financial autonomy is not adequately reflected in the present regulation on own resources. It might even be said that these texts do their best to conceal this aspect as far as possible. This game of hide-and-seek has now been completely stopped as a result of the amendments that have been adopted today. But the treatment is still aimed at the symptoms. A fundamental reform has yet to be undertaken, particularly a reform that makes it clear the Community has its own 'financial sovereignty' and thus the powers required to determine the basis and criteria for levying taxes.

I nevertheless recommend as many Members as possible to vote for this resolution because I know that Paris and Rome were not built on the same day and that Europe is also developing in small steps. This also led me to recommend the Committee on Budgets to endorse the compromise proposal I had worked out with the Commission.

Apart from the adjustments they make to give better expression to the Community nature of own resources, these proposals clearly make for an improvement in the procedures for collecting and fixing revenue, especially where national legislation has so far provided an alibi for not assessing duties for the time being and not making them available to the Community. An impulse is also provided for renewed efforts to harmonize national legislation in this area.

I therefore ask you all to approve this resolution, in the knowledge that the newly elected Parliament must not delay in taking up this matter and taking it further.

**PEDINI REPORT (DOC. 1-224/84 — DEVELOPMENT OF ADVANCED  
REACTORS): HELD OVER TO THE NEXT SITTING**

Mr Herman, deputizing for the rapporteur, was:



— AGAINST Amendments Nos 1, 2 and 4.

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**SECOND PEDINI REPORT (DOC. 1-229/84 — JRC): ADOPTED**

The rapporteur was:

— AGAINST Amendments Nos 1 and 2.

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**IPPOLITO INTERIM REPORT (DOC. 1-228/84 — CHAPTER VI OF THE  
EAEC TREATY): ADOPTED**

Mr Veronesi, deputizing for the rapporteur, was:

— FOR Amendments Nos 2 and 3/rev.

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**VAYSSADE REPORT (DOC. 1-1544/83 — SITUATION OF GYPSIES IN THE  
COMMUNITY): ADOPTED**

The rapporteur was:

— AGAINST Amendments Nos 1 to 3.

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**TURNER REPORT (DOC. 1-227/84 — BARRIERS TO TRADE): ADOPTED**

The rapporteur was:

— FOR Amendments Nos 1 to 3.

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**JANSSEN VAN RAAY REPORT (DOC. 1-216/84 — UNITED KINGDOM  
COPYRIGHT DESIGN LAW): ADOPTED**

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**SHERLOCK REPORT (DOC. 1-203/84 — MOTOR VEHICLES): ADOPTED**

*Explanation of vote*

**Mr Simmonds (ED), in writing.** — Most people are appalled by the noise from some motor-bicycles, whose owners regard the excessive revving of engines as some kind of virility symbol.

Action is needed to do away with out-dated legislation on noise levels from motor-bicycles and vehicles. Europe needs to act quickly to avoid further erosion of our markets by Japan and other countries, who are always ahead of us in implementing such measures by adapting their products.

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**SQUARCIALUPI REPORT (DOC. 1-194/84 — BATHING WATER):  
ADOPTED**

*Explanations of vote*

**Mr Enright (S), in writing.** — Mrs Squarcialupi's report has my wholehearted backing; its only weakness is that it still fails to stop Her Majesty's Government from cheating by manipulating, to its own advantage, the definition of bathing beaches. But that is to the profound disadvantage of places such as Folkestone, Margate and Ramsgate — for it hinders their valiant efforts to attract Continental holidaymakers by a penny-finding policy which calls into question its integrity and commonsense.

**Mr Simmonds (ED), in writing.** — My original resolution called for a common system of warning to tourists when popular beaches are polluted temporarily because of adverse tide or weather conditions. In some European countries, purple flags are erected on main beaches when they are dangerously polluted.

I have received many letters from visitors to my constituency complaining of raw sewage on beaches, and that they were not warned of such pollution. Many holidays have been ruined by resulting tummy bugs and worse.

I believe that one sensible use for the European Regional Fund would be to help seaside resorts to improve or replace outdated, overloaded sewage outlets, many of which date from Victorian times.

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**MERTENS REPORT (DOC. 1-189/84 — PROTECTION OF THE HABITAT  
OF THE LAKES OF GANZIRRI AND FARO (MESSINA) AND THE PONDS  
OF VENDICARI (SYRACUSE): ADOPTED**

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**MUNTINGH REPORT (DOC. 1-237/84 — WADDEN): ADOPTED**

The rapporteur was:

— AGAINST Amendment No 1.

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**SCHLEICHER REPORT (DOC. 1-213/84 — PROTECTION OF  
LABORATORY ANIMALS): ADOPTED**

The rapporteur was:

- FOR Amendment No 2
- AGAINST Amendments Nos 1, 3 to 5.

*Explanations of vote*

**Mrs Seibel-Emmerling (S), in writing.** — (DE) I find it very difficult to endorse Mrs Schleicher's report, which in fact goes back to a request of mine.

What I wanted to achieve, namely effective protection of the millions of creatures now being tortured, is not achieved by this report. Its incorporation into law in my country would not prevent a single one of the painful tests on animals, which are surely irreconcilable with the unwritten laws of humanity.

My motion that animal tests, if considered essential, should be permissible *only* for medical purposes, was rejected, as was an effective system to prevent the same tests being carried out again and again for the same purposes.

If I now vote in favour with a heavy heart, then I do so not because I want to support this entirely inadequate report, which is merely an alibi, but to make it known that we must take a further step in a direction which is essential to a humane society. For humanity also means taking a responsible attitude towards nature and the animal world which is at our mercy.

**Mr Simmonds (ED), in writing.** — As an MEP, I receive more letters on this subject than almost any other.

There is no longer a case for experiments on live animals involving extended suffering, except in certain very limited medical fields.

The 10 Member States should pool knowledge gained from such experiments to ensure that they are kept to an absolute minimum; furthermore, there should be greater policing of laboratory work involving live animals.

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**HOOPER REPORT (DOC. 1-241/84 — INDOOR POLLUTION): ADOPTED**

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**COLLINS REPORT (DOC. 1-215/84 — INFORMATION SYSTEM ON THE STATE OF THE ENVIRONMENT): ADOPTED**

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**DURY REPORT (DOC. 1-218/84 — EEC-UNRWA CONVENTION):  
ADOPTED**

*Explanation of vote*

**Mr Denis (COM), in writing.** — (FR) The gravity and urgency of the refugee problem has just been underlined by the tragedy of the Palestinian refugees in the Ain-Heloué camp in Southern Lebanon where women and children have been killed.

Our conscience can only revolt in the face of such criminal acts and we reaffirm our solidarity with the Palestinian people whose plight in the last three decades has been one long story of martyrdom. It points up the political essence of the problem.

Out of 16 million refugees and displaced persons, over 14 million are to be found in the developing countries: in Africa, which accounts for approximately one half, in Asia and Latin America — in other words in countries whose economic situations and internal structures are in any case extremely precarious.

While acknowledging that the Community is making a contribution to the implementation of the aid programmes, as well as to the budget of the UNHCR, we should nevertheless like to see this contribution extended to other appropriate organizations, in particular to non-governmental organizations. In addition, specific provisions should be made under the new convention of association between the EEC and the ACP countries.

We share the rapporteur's concern about the financial position of the UNRWA and we hope that the Community will see its way to increasing that body's funds as well as making complementary contributions to other appropriate bodies, such as the Palestinian Red Crescent.

On behalf of the French Communists and Allies I declare a vote in favour.

**CARETONI ROMAGNOLI REPORT (DOC. 1-211/84 — FIREWOOD CRISIS IN THE SAHEL REGION OF AFRICA): ADOPTED**

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**SIMMONDS REPORT (DOC. 1-230/84 — VIDEOCASSETTES): ADOPTED**

The rapporteur was:

— AGAINST all the amendments

*Explanation of vote*

**Mr Simmonds (ED), rapporteur, in writing.** — In my report, I have called for Community-wide action to restrict the availability of the worst violent and horrific films — the so-called 'Video Nasties'. Last autumn, those Members of Parliament who attended the viewing of excerpts of such films provided by Officers from Scotland Yard, were united in their revulsion — one Member was physically sick, and more than a third could not bear to stay at the viewing. Many European countries are fairly relaxed about sexual pornography, but there is universal concern about the trend towards films depicting sadistic and sexual violence, including dismemberment of human bodies. There have been a number of alarming court cases in Europe, where people have been charged with crimes which have been direct imitations of scenes from 'Nasties'. Very often such people have been under the influence of drink or drugs when their crime was committed.

My report calls on those bodies responsible for censorship, statutory and otherwise, in the Member States, to meet to consider a common line of action, based on the experience of the passage of legislation in the UK Parliament.

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**MARCK REPORT (DOC. 1-223/84 — PUBLICATION OF INFORMATION BY THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY): ADOPTED**

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**COTTRELL REPORT (DOC. 1-206/84 — PENAL PROCEDURES OF A  
MURDER IN GREECE): ADOPTED**

*Explanation of vote*

**Mr Ouzoumidis (S), in writing.** — (GR) We have repeatedly said in Parliament that we have to be particularly careful when examining matters that relate exclusively to the internal legal procedures of Member States and do not fall within the area of Community law. We are reinforced in this view by the recent answer given by Mr Thorn, on behalf of the Commission, to our written question No 2010/83.

As regards the resolution of Mr Cottrell on the Chapman affair we are obliged to point out that it involves a judicial matter that was dealt with in Greek law during the dictatorship and is *res judicata* in accordance with Greek penal procedure.

We wish to inform Parliament that notwithstanding the substantial objections about the handling of the case and the judgment arrived at the only way in which the affair could be reexamined would be if new evidence were to be brought to light which could justify a reopening of the case.

Naturally, this is something which would have to be decided by the Greek judiciary which, under the constitution, has independent powers, as of course in all the European countries. In accordance therefore with the basic principle of the separation of powers it is not possible for the executive or the legislature — the national parliament and much less so the European Parliament — to intervene in the work of the judiciary.

For these purely formal reasons of principle we in PASOK feel obliged not to support Mr Cottrell's resolution which is designed to put pressure on the Greek executive (the Ministry of Justice) to intervene in matters which are properly within the province of the courts.

All the same, as far as the substance of the matter is concerned, we do agree totally that there should be no murky areas which can give cause for reasonable doubt. But for the reasons given we feel that we cannot support the report and therefore we shall abstain.

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**NYBORG REPORT (DOC. 1-249/84 — ARTICLES 85 AND 86 OF THE  
TREATY — MARITIME TRANSPORT): ADOPTED**

The rapporteur was:

- FOR Amendments Nos 5, 7 to 9
- AGAINST Amendments Nos 1 to 4 and 6.

*Explanations of vote*

**Mr Moreland (ED).** — I would just like to say that I am in favour of a more competitive position on shipping than this report would reveal. I recognize that the rapporteur and the Commission have taken proper account of shipping interests but I think shippers' interests and industries' interests are also important. I think that some of the liner conferences need to be looked at because much of industry feels that at present they make for high tariffs for shipping Europe's goods around the world.

Therefore I would abstain.

**Mr Lagakos (S), in writing.** — (GR) Since the accession of Greece to the EEC not only has the Community had an increased share of the foreign-going merchant marine trade,

bearing in mind that a significant portion of intra-Community trade is carried out by sea, but the size of its shipping interest has grown considerably also. According to the figures for 1981 Greece was second only to Liberia in overall merchant fleet capacity and accounts for 40% of the Community's merchant shipping strength.

We must therefore make a proper appraisal of the great significance the application of the rules of competition (Articles 85 and 86 of the Treaty) carries for maritime transport and of the effects this will have.

After the coming into force in January 1983 of the Code on Maritime Transport the extension of the application of the rules on competition to maritime transport as well was a logical next step in making for the more effective and efficient operation of this sector, something which had been hindered by certain liner conferences which had disturbed the balance of the market. So while the consumer effects of the conferences are acknowledged it is accepted, on the other hand, that these agreements lead in many instances to distortions and abuses of the rules of competition. For this reason it is essential that Articles 85 and 86 of the Treaty be applied to maritime transport as well so as to ensure also that the conferences, which frequently take the form of monopoly cartels, do their job properly.

The requirements for admittance to the conferences, the rights of shipping companies based outside the country in which a conference is based, together with the entitlement which the member shipping companies of a conference have to its trade, turn the conferences into monopoly cartels which shut out independent operators and thus effectively exclude them from trading. So it is absolutely essential that the proposed regulation should lay down rules and criteria which will make it possible for independent carriers to stay in the market and have right of participation in the conferences.

We believe that the legal basis chosen for the proposed regulation must be paragraph 2 of Article 84 of the Treaty which stipulates unanimity in decision-taking. Here we would like to believe that bulk transports, where there is no chance of getting agreements, and where there is acute competition, chiefly from third countries, should be excluded from the regulation.

Measures must be taken at Community level to overcome the worsening crisis in shipping and in the maritime economy more generally so as to avert the movement by Community ship-owners to flags of convenience, because in the end this could lead to the complete decline of Community shipping.

Given the final shape of this report we in PASOK will abstain from voting.

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#### WELSH REPORT (DOC. 1-192/84 — MOTOR VEHICLES): ADOPTED

Sir Brandon Rhys Williams, deputizing for the rapporteur, was:

— AGAINST all the amendments.

#### *Explanations of vote*

**Mr Moreland (ED).** — I only want to say that I regard it as a total racket that people in the United Kingdom have to pay about 30% more for their cars than elsewhere in the Community. What the Commission is doing is generally speaking absolutely right. I shall be voting for this particular resolution although it does not go quite as far as I would like. I would only say to the Commission that I hope it will not be put off by certain noises from my own country intended to put it off. Go ahead. We want cheaper cars.

**Mr de Courcy Ling (ED).** — My point of view is slightly different from that of Mr Moreland.

The idea of a common pricing system for motorcars is clearly an ideal objective. Nevertheless, the costs of labour, of materials and many other factors in production, to say nothing of varying rates of inflation, make the proposal, in my view, unrealistic and thoroughly objectionable to the European motorcar industry as a whole. Therefore I shall vote against it.

**Mr Rolland (DEP), in writing.** — (FR) We are especially grateful to Mr Welsh, the author of the report now under consideration, for discharging successfully a task as technically difficult as the application of Article 85(3) of the Treaty.

The rapporteur presents us with a text which has the essential merit of striking a balance between, on the one hand, the consumer's right to purchase on the Community markets vehicles at a uniform price — which is by no means the case at the moment — and, on the other, the protection of the rights of motor vehicle manufacturers, a sector which is in difficulties today and is coming under threat.

We must therefore try to correct the distortions which now exist in the internal market but at the same time be careful not to harm the distributors.

And that is what the rapporteur has done in his report on the Commission's draft Regulation conferring a block exemption on motor vehicles distribution and servicing agreements.

We shall support Mr Welsh and we shall vote for the motion for a resolution. We wish to pay tribute to this truly 'communautaire' initiative which is directed above all to the Community's interest.

This is how, in our view, Mr President and ladies and gentlemen, the genuine Europe, Europe on the ground, will make progress.

**Mr Skovmand (CDI), in writing.** — (DA) As the Welsh report shows, car tax in Denmark is much higher than in the other EEC countries.

These taxes provide a series of advantages for Danish society. It means that people take better care of their cars and that the cars last longer. By taxing the people in the society who are best able to pay it has a useful social function. Finally it motivates the motor manufacturers to hold prices down, since otherwise cars would be exorbitantly dear. This means that the amount of Danish foreign exchange used to purchase cars is lower than would otherwise be the case.

The Welsh report calls on the Commission to put forward proposals for harmonizing car taxes. Such a proposal will probably mean that Denmark will have to give up its new taxation system which will have serious adverse social and economic consequences for Danish society.

The Popular Movement against the EEC will therefore vote against this report.

**Mr Tyrrell (ED), in writing.** — The proposed restriction on motor manufacturers' distribution systems to come into effect if there is a certain diversity of car prices is premature.

The first task of the Commission, which they have lamentably failed to accomplish, is to create the essential trading conditions in which a common market in motor cars is possible.

Four steps should be taken now, together, and as a matter of emergency. These are: broad harmonization of car tax; the prevention of dumping by Third Countries, notably Japan and some Comecon countries, in parts of the Community, notably Denmark and Belgium; anti-pollution regulations for petrol engines, different from and superior to those of Third Countries; and a joint research programme assembled by the Commission.

Unless, and until these steps are taken, proposals to enforce rigid competition policies in the motor car industry are also proposals to weaken Community manufacturers' position in their home market, with a risk of further closures and loss of jobs.

Accordingly, I cannot possibly support the Commission proposal and must abstain on Mr Welsh's Motion for A Resolution.

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**DE COURCY LING REPORT (DOC. 1-217/84 — 'STRAWBERRIES'):  
ADOPTED**

The rapporteur was:

— FOR Amendments Nos 1 to 3.

*Explanation of vote*

**Mr Provan (ED), in writing.** — Eastern Scotland is the area in which the highest quality soft fruit that is grown in the European Community comes from. It is a very important crop and a vital part of the local economy.

Any additional product or import has a depressing effect on the market price, and I hope that the Commission will make it clear to all with reducing consumption and extra production and imports, that the developing world need not expect to gain a larger share of our market.

Eastern Scotland has seen a reduction in the overall soft fruit acreage in recent years, and raspberries have seen a reduction of 20% in area in the last 5 years. This has a very serious effect on income and employment in the region I am honoured to represent and I cannot therefore support the De Courcy Ling proposals.

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**PROPOSAL FROM THE COMMISSION TO THE COUNCIL (DOC. 1-232/84 -  
COM(84) 217 FINAL 'FOOT AND MOUTH DISEASE'): ADOPTED**

*Explanation of vote*

**Mr Lalor (DEP), in writing.** — I have to vote against the proposed directive on foot and mouth disease (Doc. 1-232/84) because in it the Commission visualizes forcing Ireland to run the risk of importing that dreadful disease from overseas.

We cannot run this risk, and it should not be recommended, plus the fact that I do not accept that it will not affect our trade with some of our most important third country trading partners.

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**PROPOSAL FROM THE COMMISSION TO THE COUNCIL (DOC. 1-281/84  
— COM(84) 192 FINAL — AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS IN GREECE):  
ADOPTED**

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**PROPOSAL FROM THE COMMISSION TO THE COUNCIL (DOC. 1-282/84  
— COM(84) 285 FINAL — MILK PRODUCTS): ADOPTED**

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**J. MOREAU REPORT (DOC. 1-207/84 — USE OF TELEMATICS): ADOPTED**

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**MOREAU REPORT (DOC. 1-231/84 — SHIPBUILDING): ADOPTED**

The rapporteur was:

- FOR Amendment No 1
- AGAINST Amendments Nos 2 and 3.

*Explanations of vote*

**Ms Quin (S).** — I shall abstain on the resolution, although I voted in favour of our amendment to the directive. I am glad that the Commission has at last proposed a relaxation of the rules governing the shipbuilding industry as a recognition not only of the serious problems that the industry faces but also of the need to ensure the industry's very survival in the future. I am sorry, however, that my own amendments which were supported by the Socialist Group were not adopted by the House as a whole. Unfortunately, many Conservatives here seem to feel that we can go on cutting capacity in shipbuilding whatever the consequences. I believe that the time has now come when we should say very firmly that we are not prepared to see shipbuilding decline further and that we must retain a reasonable share of the world market in the future. If we are to give our shipyard workers any real hope, we must urge the Commission and our governments to go much further than the very modest step forward which we are taking today.

**Mrs De March (COM), in writing.** — (FR) It is remarkable how, once the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs has to give its opinion directly to the Commission, the criticisms which seemed to me much sharper at the March part-session, are watered down.

Besides, and most importantly, the Moreau report calls explicitly in paragraph 5 for 'further reductions in capacity'. The French Communist and Allies group has repeatedly stated that if the shipbuilding industry is suffering, it is not from over-capacity, but over-specialization, it is suffering from financial speculation, from capacity cuts, from the policies of European shipowners which reduce European dockyards' sales, from aggressive and often unfair trading practices by Japanese and Korean shipbuilders.

The Commission says in its proposal that the situation has worsened. True enough. But what does it propose? Oh, just carry on as before! That is to say, go on restraining and punishing the Member States when they try to modernize their shipbuilding and create jobs.

We say: Yes, the crisis has become worse. *Therefore*, let us change our policies. The Commission could and should do much to create a truly comprehensive shipbuilding policy. The Commission could:

- promote coordinated modernization and diversification programmes aimed at job creation based on vocational training and improvement of qualifications, in other words aimed at reducing social inequalities;

- encourage European shipowners to place orders within the Community and to stop buying second-hand ships;
- prohibit the sailing in European waters of ships which do not meet standards or which fly a flag of convenience, and combat the obsolescence of fleets: it is essential to this end to lay down Community norms;
- lay down a definition of Community products, so that Community preference can be applied in this sphere;
- talk firmly to the Japanese and the Koreans to halt their aggressive policies of expansion and sales;

This is what the French Communists stand for, and this is what this Assembly should ask the Commission to do.

Europe's industrial future is at stake. That future depends on employment, on social progress and on making the most of all the assets of the Member States.

#### DELEAU REPORT (DOC. 1-69/84 — SMUs AND CRAFT INDUSTRIES): ADOPTED

The rapporteur was:

- FOR Amendments Nos 1/rev., 6 and 12
- AGAINST Amendments Nos 2 to 5, 7, 8, 16 and 17.

#### *Explanations of vote*

**Mr I. Friedrich (EPP).** — (*DE*) We have now accepted that for the first time the SMU can have their interests represented in the Commission. We have voted to set up an internal advisory committee. I ask the Commission to take this vote very seriously and to act accordingly now.

May I conclude by saying the following to the members of the Socialist Group: I hope that you will also express the pro-SMU attitude reflected in the vote at home — here I am thinking of the recent discussions on the strike front in the Federal Republic of Germany.

**Mr Adamou (COM), in writing.** — (*GR*) Experience has shown that behind the fine words of those in charge of the EEC there is always one sole aim: to protect the interests of big business at the expense of working people. Much more so when these fine words on the policy on SMUs and craft industries go right against the basic law of capitalism: the concentration of capital in ever fewer hands, and the takeover of the means of production by ever fewer monopolies. This law operates inexorably, as witnessed by the fact that 1 400 000 small and medium-sized undertakings in the Community have gone out of business.

EEC policy towards these undertakings has been spelled out quite unequivocally by the Vice-President of the Commission, Viscount Davignon: 'The EEC cannot be a wet nurse for sick undertakings.' And the sickest undertakings of all are the small and medium-sized ones. If there is anything good to be said about the European Year of SMUs, 1983, it is that it laid bare the EEC's attempt to adapt to the grave economic crisis by improving its competitiveness *vis-à-vis* the other two centres of capitalism — the USA and Japan — and by sacrificing thousands of SMUs on the altar of this policy. A pointer to this was the well-know Davignon plan for steel which has hit not only SMUs in the metalworking sector but also, in order to ensure the survival of the steelmaking monopolies, major steel plants as well.

Another thing aimed at in that year was to stop the move by small and medium-sized undertakings towards an anti-monopoly stance by unleashing a murderous attack on them

by monopoly capital. As far as the proposals in the Deleau report go, they remind one of a doctor treating cancer with aspirins.

Because of its weak economic infrastructure and unfavourable Community treaties and regulations the consequences of Greece's joining the EEC have been absolutely disastrous for Greek SMUs and craft industries. With the dismantling of tariffs, which has led to the domestic market being overrun by foreign manufactured goods, bankruptcies, short-time working, heavy loss-making and shutdowns have become everyday reality for Greek SMUs. Since Greece joined 3 207 such undertakings — in traditionally robust sectors, let it be said — have gone bankrupt, and 8 450 others have gone into voluntary liquidation. In the same period my country's trading deficit with other members of the EEC rose from 54 billion drachmas in 1980 to 477 billion drachmas in 1983. At the same time unemployment has soared to 350 000, 10% of the workforce.

We are certain that the situation will go on worsening for as long as Greece stays in the EEC, and we expect no real improvement from the measures proposed in the resolution. To put the SMUs of our country on a firm footing we communists propose the following measures to the Greek Government:

- The erection of tariffs to protect home-produced goods.
- Reshaping of the taxation system to meet national social and economic needs.
- Production incentives in line with the contribution of SMUs to the national income and to employment.
- Utilization of state tenders as an instrument of national economic policy.
- Price controls as regards raw materials and machinery.
- The development of trade with the socialist countries and with third countries.
- State export subsidies.

In the view of our party, the Communist Party of Greece, an alternative solution would be the implementation of a state-planned, anti-monopoly economic development policy outside the EEC.

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**PINTAT REPORT (DOC. 1-244/84 — MIDDLE EAST OIL SUPPLIES):  
ADOPTED**

The rapporteur was:

- AGAINST Amendments Nos 1 to 8.

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**SECOND EYRAUD REPORT (DOC. 1-236/84 — SHEEPMEAT): ADOPTED**

The rapporteur was:

- FOR Amendments Nos 3 (1st part), 7 and 8
- AGAINST Amendments Nos 1 to 3 (2nd and 3rd parts), 4 to 6 and 9.

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**STELLA REPORT (DOC. 1-61/84 — VITICULTURAL LAND REGISTER):  
ADOPTED**

The rapporteur was:

— AGAINST Amendment No 1.

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**PEARCE REPORT (DOC. 1-212/84 — DROUGHT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA):  
HELD OVER TO THE NEXT SITTING**

The rapporteur was:

— AGAINST Amendments Nos 1 and 16.

## Sitting of Friday, 25 May 1984

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IN THE CHAIR: MR PFLIMLIN

*Vice-President*

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

#### 1. *Approval of Minutes*

**President.** — The Minutes of yesterday's sitting have been distributed. Are there any comments?

**Mr Patterson (ED).** — Mr President, with reference to page 42 of the English version of the Minutes, you will remember that yesterday there was some dispute as to precisely which group chairmen had signed the amendment to the Pfennig report which was eventually adopted. The Minutes record all the group chairmen as having signed this amendment, although

during the course of the sitting it was claimed that not all of them had done so. Can you tell us which group chairmen did sign?

**President.** — With the exception of Mrs Hammerich of the Group on Technical Coordination and the Defence of Independent Groups and Members who withdrew her signature, all the chairmen of the political groups signed.

**Mr Bangemann (L).** — *(DE)* Excuse me, Mr President, that is not correct; I did not sign.

**President.** — I did not mention you by name, Mr Bangemann. I said 'the chairmen of all the political groups'.

*(Parliament approved the Minutes)<sup>1</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> *Document received — Petitions — Transfer of appropriations: see Minutes.*

2. *Votes*<sup>1</sup>

**JOINT DECLARATION BY PARLIAMENT  
AND THE COMMISSION  
(DOC. 1-328/84/REV.)**

**Mr Fanti (COM).** — *(IT)* Mr President, I repeat and insist on my request to the Presidency to postpone this vote, and refer the whole subject to the next Parliament. If this request is not accepted, I must once again ask for a check to be made on whether we have a quorum.

**Mr Arndt (S).** — *(DE)* Mr President, the Socialist Group endorses Mr Fanti's request and invites the other groups to do the same. The issue is no doubt a necessary one, but we have certainly not had an opportunity of discussing this difficult question in depth in the groups. We therefore ask again that this item should be removed from today's agenda so that we can consider the issue. I would like to state categorically that the Socialist Group has not had a chance to study this proposal. In such circumstances it is customary for the debate to be adjourned.

**President.** — A request to establish whether a quorum exists has been made. Are ten Members . . .

**Mr Arndt (S).** — *(DE)* No, Mr President. Our initial request was that the plenary sitting should vote for an adjournment. Only if this request is not acceded to shall we feel obliged to 'apply the brakes' by ascertaining whether or not a quorum is present. We do not want to do this — we should prefer the House to provide a further chance of discussing this declaration in the groups.

**Mr Croux (PPE).** — *(NL)* Mr President, I assume we are talking about the document on the interinstitutional agreement. In the absence of the rapporteur and other members of the subcommittee which considered this matter, I should like to make two points.

Firstly, this matter was discussed at length in the subcommittee. All the parties managed to agree. Mr Hänsch in particular was very keen on our taking a decision before the elections.

Secondly, we are concerned here with the implementation of the resolution by the late Jean Rey on relations between the Commission and Parliament and Mr Hänsch's report on Parliament's participation in the legislative process.

The subcommittee and Parliament's Bureau felt that this matter, in implementation of the 1982 resolutions,

should be considered before the elections. As no one else from the subcommittee is present, I feel this should be explained to Parliament so that Members can decide in full knowledge of the facts.

**Mr Glinne (S).** — *(FR)* Mr President, I should like to point out that the deliberations in question took place within a sub-committee and not within the Political Affairs Committee as such. What is more alarming is to note that, whereas on 14 February 1984, Parliament debated a motion for a resolution and an attached draft treaty relative to European Union, the general tone of the joint declaration by the Commission and Parliament on relations between the two institutions now diverges from that adopted by this House in February last. I feel we can ill afford to indulge in the luxury of spreading confusion with regard to our ultimate wishes as this legislature draws to a close.

**Mr Bangemann (L).** — *(DE)* Mr President, my Group basically shares the opinion expressed here. But given that Mr Arndt would like a count to ascertain whether a quorum is present, and given that it is not, I think it would be nicer and more stylish to say that we have adjourned the debate and held it over to the next part-session because the Socialist Group is not yet ready, rather than saying that we do not have a quorum.

*(Parliament approved adjournment of the debate)*

**SCRIVENER REPORT (DOC. 1-322/84 'MEASURES TO COVER BUDGETARY REQUIREMENTS IN 1984')**

**Mr Price (ED).** — Mr President, the European Democratic Group has repeatedly made it clear this week that we consider it premature for Parliament to adopt a position on this particular issue. Of course we will bow to the democratic will of the majority, but on such an important issue we feel that that will must be expressed by a clear majority and certainly not while this House is inquorate. We have also made that position clear earlier this week.

This morning I perceive that the House is not only inquorate, but well below its quorum and we feel that in that circumstance we must ask you to apply Rule 71.

*(More than ten Members rose to support Mr Price's request. After a check had been made, the President declared that a quorum was not present)*

**President.** — As the House is inquorate for the second time, the report by Mrs Scrivener is referred back to committee.

<sup>1</sup> See Annex.

**PEARCE REPORT (DOC. 1-212/84  
'DROUGHT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA')**

**Mr Glinne (S).** — (*FR*) Mr President, for the reasons outlined yesterday, the Socialist Group is requesting, pursuant to Rule 71(3) of the Rules of Procedure, that you ascertain the existence, or otherwise, of a quorum.

*(More than ten Members rose to support Mr Glinne's request — After a check had been made the President declared that a quorum was not present)*

**President.** — As Parliament is inquorate for the second time Mr Pearce's report will be referred back to committee.

**3. Action in the cultural sector — European television — Video cassettes — European policy for the media — Information technology**

**President.** — The next item is the joint debate on:

— Oral question with debate (Doc. 177/84) by Mr Schwencke and others, on behalf of the Socialist Group, to the Commission:

**Subject:** Action in the cultural sector: the social, economic and legal situation of cultural workers in the Community

At a public hearing organized by its Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport on 24 November 1981 the European Parliament heard the views of representatives of European artists organizations and cultural associations concerning the social, economic and legal situation of cultural workers in the Community. The proposals for action in this area contained in the communication from the Commission of 24 November 1982 on 'strengthening Community action in the cultural sector' were also discussed at the hearing. The representatives of the Commission undertook, both at the hearing and in its opinion on Parliament's resolution on the social situation of cultural workers (Pruvot report — Doc. 1/558/80), to implement or endorse Parliament's demands.

The Socialist Group wishes to take this opportunity, at the end of the first term of the directly-elected Parliament, to inquire what action has been taken on the demands of the European Parliament in relation to the social, economic and legal situation of cultural workers:

**1. Cultural statistics**

Why have no statistics yet been produced on the employment, remuneration and social security benefits of cultural workers, as called for by the European Parliament in its resolution of 19 January 1981? Why has it not been possible to present at least interim data, possibly in the form of a document giving statistics for the main individual categories in those Member States which already have such data available? Who or which body has been asked by the Commission to carry out the pre-

paratory work in connection with the compilation of European statistics?

**2. Copyright**

- (a) What steps has the Commission taken to improve the social protection and career prospects of living authors, composers, etc. — particularly by means of self-help measures, administration by the author of the funds of the exploiting company, etc. — by extending the copyright period?
- (b) What is the Commission's reaction to the suggestion that the customary copyright period of 50 years be extended by 20 years, enabling the proceeds from this extension to be used exclusively for promoting contemporary originators and their immediate relatives, but not for inheritors or those who merely hold legal title (e.g. firms), since after all they generally do not need such assistance for social and artistic reasons (see the proposal by Dr Diets in the expert report for the Community of May 1976)?

**3. Tax problems of cultural workers**

What precisely is preventing the adoption of the Seventh Directive on the harmonization of turnover taxes, the purpose of which is to provide tax relief for artists and the art trade and thereby potentially to promote cultural exchange in the Community? Is it true that fundamental objections have now been raised in the Commission or in individual Member States (which ones?) against exempting self-employed artists from value-added tax, despite the fact that this tax generally has the effect of an additional tax on income in such cases (since it cannot be passed on) and that certain Member States already grant exemptions?

**4. Frontier controls and the arts**

When are the extensive and totally unjustified checks on cultural workers at intra-Community borders finally to be abolished?

Has the Commission taken steps to ensure that articles needed for the performance (musical instruments and accessories) or exhibition (paintings, sculptures etc.) of artistic works may be transported across borders without any discriminatory checks or red tape? If not, will the Commission provide details of the nature and extent of such obstacles, specifying the legal basis for them and indicating which Member States oppose such freedom of movement across Community frontiers?

**5. Problems of recognition and exercise of cultural professions**

What specific proposals has the Commission prepared, in the form of draft directives, aimed at harmonizing the situation of artists, journalists and similar professions in the Community, given that admission to these professions, training, working conditions and/or forms of remuneration are governed by different laws or regulations in the various Member States?

- (a) General situation
- (b) Translators/interpreters (in this case, for example, Denmark has passed legislation on professional training and similar legislation has been drafted in Italy, the Netherlands and the Federal Republic of Germany)

**President**

- (c) Directors and producers (some Member States have rules governing access to the profession, but most do not)
- (d) Architects (when is a directive likely to be forthcoming on equivalence of qualifications throughout the Community)
- (e) Journalists (differences in rules on training and admission — does the Commission not feel that there is a need to harmonize provisions on training and recognition of qualifications throughout the Community?)
- (f) Other artistic professions, publishing and allied professions.

6. *New media and employment opportunities for cultural workers*

What is the Commission's reaction to the concern expressed by the professional organizations of workers employed in cultural activities and the media that, owing to the uncontrolled spread of new media forms (video, cable, commercial broadcasting stations, etc.) the scope for producing independent programmes economically is diminishing, resulting in more broadcasting of 'canned music' and cheap purchasing of films or serials, which has a largely adverse impact on employment opportunities for artists, writers, authors and other media-related professions?

7. *Promotion of genuinely European films*

- (a) What steps has the Commission already taken to implement the resolution on the promotion of film-making in the Community countries adopted by the European Parliament on 11 October 1983 (Doc. 1-504/83; Pruvot report)?
- (b) What, in particular, does it intend to do to preserve and promote national and regional films and other cultural and media areas so as to broaden the range of genuinely European productions and to encourage the creative forces needed to bring this about?
- (c) What is the Commission's reaction to the proposal to hold a European Film Festival in Munich (resolution of 11 October 1983)?

8. *Cooperation with the Council of Europe*

What specific steps has the Commission taken to cultivate cooperation with the Council of Europe (and also Unesco) — called for repeatedly by the European Parliament — in the cultural and social fields beyond mere participation in functions, thus enabling the Community to benefit from the cultural and educational work carried out by these organizations for over 30 years and to help strengthen the cultural and linguistic ties between the Member States and the other European countries involved?

Is the Commission prepared to support a request from the European Parliament that the Community should, for cultural policy reasons, accede to the Council of Europe's European Cultural Convention of 1954?

- Oral question with debate (1-175/84) by Mr Bangemann and Mrs Pruvot, on behalf of the Liberal and Democratic Group, to the Commission:

Subject: European television

In the light of the indications contained in the Hahn report<sup>1</sup> and of the considerations developed in its report to the European Parliament on the television in Europe,<sup>2</sup> can the Commission specify what initiatives have been taken or are going to be taken in order to

1. favour the cooperation at Community level of the networks and national radio-television services;
2. favour a harmonization of the technical norms regarding the direct transmission of TV through satellites (TDS);
3. promote the creation of a European television programme transmitted by satellite, using the 5th channel on the national satellites or a channel from a long range European satellite?

- Oral question with debate (Doc. 1-174/84), by Mrs van Alemann and others, on behalf of the Liberal and Democratic Group, to the Commission:

Subject: Video cassettes

Taking into account the rapid expansion of the production and sale of video cassettes and the need to prevent young people from exposure to particularly violent and unsuitable productions, unfortunately increasingly present in the video cassette market, can the Commission indicate:

1. whether it feels that the Treaties provide a legal basis for Community action in this field and which particular measures could be envisaged;
2. whether any action has been undertaken in order to promote cooperation between Member States and the harmonization of national legislation in this field?

- Oral question with debate (Doc. 1-176/84) by Mr Hahn, on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (Christian-Democratic Group), to the Commission:

Subject: European media policy

Can the Commission say what initiatives have been taken on the basis of European Parliament resolutions concerning

1. the introduction of a European media policy involving, in particular, the creation of a European legal framework for trans-frontier television broadcasts, with particular regard to the protection of young people, copyright and advertising;
2. support for the efforts of the European Broadcasting Union to establish a joint European television channel to be directly broadcast by satellite;
3. the introduction of a uniform television standard (C-Mac packet) to overcome the split in European television caused by the differing PAL and SECAM standards;

<sup>1</sup> OJ No C 87 of 5. 4. 1982.

<sup>2</sup> (COM(83) 229 fin.)



**President**

4. the creation of a European television fund for European programmes?

— Oral question with debate (Doc. 1-179/84) by Mr Adam, on behalf of the Committee on Energy, Research and Technology, to the Commission:

Subject: The procurement procedure of the Commission for information technology equipment, services and software

Having regard to the judgment expressed by the Commission in its proposal for the Esprit programme<sup>1</sup> that, because Europe has lagged behind the USA and Japan in the industrial application of many high technologies and notably electronics, 'the identity of Europe and eventually its political independence will be seriously at stake',

having regard to the approval given by the European Parliament to the Esprit programme in the Veronesi report,<sup>2</sup> which stated that 'if the European information technology industry is not to succumb to the massive pressure from its counterparts in the US and Japan, where public aid is granted on a large scale, it needs similar incentives to enable it to develop,

The Commission is requested to reply to the following questions:

1. Would the Commission explain the procedures it follows in procuring information technology equipment, services and software for the use of its own services, including the Joint Research Centre?
2. Have there been any changes in these procedures, or in the principles guiding their execution, within the past year or so? If so, what have these changes been?
3. How do the Commission's present procedures compare with those followed by the public authorities of the Member States?
4. How does the Commission seek, in this sphere, to balance the claims of an open tendering procedure on the one hand and, on the other, the need to encourage the development of an independent European information technology industry?
5. Is the Commission satisfied that its present procurement procedure is not likely to lead to a dominant supplier situation, and what action is the Commission taking to avoid this possibility?
6. Is the Commission satisfied that parallel action towards this end is being taken in the Member States?
7. Does the Commission acknowledge that, in this important industrial sector, its own actions set an important example?

**Mr Schwenecke (S).** — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, at the beginning of this week the cultural

affairs ministers of the Council of Europe, meeting in Berlin, issued a declaration which somewhat pompously claims that culture is the basis of freedom and hope and which makes a number of specific demands in respect of a European cultural policy. These specific cultural demands include the safeguarding of freedom, promotion of cooperation, strengthening of solidarity and planning for the future. This is intended as a challenge towards a common future in Europe. The Culture Ministers of the Council of Europe regard cultural policy as one of our major responsibilities. The Socialist Group shares this view, although it could have wished for rather less pretentious language.

We as the European Community have a far better chance of putting such formulae to the test and introducing concrete measures. We have a real opportunity of realizing for the 'producers' and consumers' of culture what is here simply called for. Our group has thus put to the Commission an oral question which concentrates on cultural statistics, copyright, tax problems, frontier controls, problems of the recognition and exercise of cultural professions, new media and employment opportunities, promotion of genuinely European films and, last but not least, cooperation with the Council of Europe.

To illustrate our very specific list of issues, which is of course also a list of demands to the Commission, let me mention three particularly important and relevant facts. A few days ago I heard of a case on the Germany to Strasbourg border where a small group of musicians had every single instrument and accessory examined before they were allowed to cross. And this in 1984! Secondly, we still have a growing number of artists who are paid well below the minimum wage. And thirdly, let's do something to create jobs! It costs 200 000 DM to create a new job in industry, and only 20 000 DM for a new job in the cultural field.

Mr President, I shall not dwell further on our demands, but I should like in this concluding debate to re-state our call to the Commission to provide us in the course of the coming year with cultural statistics from which we can assess the situation of European artists, journalists and writers, and, secondly, to ensure that this report, together with concrete measures, receives proper consideration.

**Mr Bangemann (L).** — (DE) Mr President, my Group is very glad to see this last debate dealing with a problem which is of great concern to us all, particularly now during the run-up to the elections. All of us currently engaged in the election campaign, irrespective of our group, are familiar with the problem. At election meetings we first have to spend two hours explaining what the European Parliament is, what the Commission's powers are, what the Council is and what the Council of Europe is. In other words, we have to go over ground which Parliament has already had prepared for it by others when it engages in politi-

<sup>1</sup> Proposal for a Council decision adopting the First European Strategic Programme for Research and Development in Information Technologies (Esprit) (COM(83) 258 final) of 2 June 1983.

<sup>2</sup> Doc. 1-682/82

**Bangemann**

cal debate. In addition, virtually nothing is known of this House's achievements. We are surprised at the man in the street's astonishment when we tell him how much we have achieved in the last five years. He doesn't know. He gapes at us in amazement and says 'What, you've done all that?'

Such a situation is extremely dangerous in politics. We are good, but no one knows it. And that is the worst possible thing in politics. If I am bad and no one knows, then I don't care, and I don't make any effort to change things. But if a parliament has done outstanding work and no one registers the fact, then we must do something. And our honourable friend Professor Hahn, who will no doubt speak in this debate and who has done excellent work in the field of television over the past five years, is affected here just as much as the rest of us, for his work is not known either.

I should thus like, at this juncture, to thank him very warmly on behalf of my group. Whether or not he is returned to the new Parliament — and I trust he will be — his work provides a basis for discussion of this pressing question of a European television channel, for this ignorance all stems from the way in which the media are structured at national level.

The European Community as a whole — Commission as well as Parliament — has trouble making any impact on this media set-up. Attention is always focused on the relevant national structure. If a town council has anything to say on a development plan it gets its local paper to print it. Members of the regional and national parliaments use similar channels.

We in this House also have a good relationship with our journalists, and with your permission, Mr President, I shall take this opportunity of expressing our warm thanks to those who have worked alongside us for the last five years. But they have the same problem as we have at home: if a journalist rings up his editor and says 'there's been a great debate going on in the European Parliament' the editor days 'too bad — a calf with two heads has been born in Denmark and that story makes better copy'.

**Mr Rogalla (S).** — (DE) Caroline of Monaco!

**Mr Bangemann (L).** — (DE) I really don't know how my honourable friend can think of Caroline of Monaco when I talk about a calf with two heads.

(Laughter)

In any case, we have this problem of breaking through national structures, and we can only do this by setting up a European television channel. How best to do it is another matter. My group would like to see a public corporation. We have no objections to a joint endeavour

by the national corporations to establish such a public structure, with all the relevant guarantees of free speech but also — it must be said — with all the red tape which unfortunately often abounds in public corporations. Even a first class journalist, if you send him to a public corporation, will suffer from *déformation professionnelle* when he leaves it ten years later. He will have become tainted by bureaucracy, lost his journalist's flair. So I can also perfectly well envisage cooperating with a corporation or with a private company, if there is no alternative, but we must settle these matters within the next five years. We thus address our question to the Commission, which has already made an interim report in response to initiatives by Mr Hahn, and we ask it to state its position: what does the Commission think of the practical and legal possibilities of setting up the kind of European television channel proposed, and is it prepared to work together with the next Parliament so that we can at last stop being the Great Unknown?

Mr President, this is also a contribution to democracy in Europe. Our citizens need to know more about those representing them than they do at present. Only then can we hope to see our work appreciated. I am glad that the enlarged Bureau has provided a forum for further discussion of this subject today.

(Applause)

**Mrs von Alemann (L).** — (DE) Mr President, this assortment of questions currently on the agenda makes it somewhat hard for me to explain our question on video cassettes, since of course it basically belongs only within the widest possible compass of this debate. Our debate is, if I understand it correctly, concerned with the media, with information, and not necessarily with the protection of young people, though it is precisely to this question that I wish to address myself here. Members of my group put a question on the subject some months ago. We wished to know what if anything could be done at Community level to protect young people against 'video nasties'. When I first mooted this question in my group I was worried, not knowing how many lawyers in my group might say 'Mechthild, this is something you can't ban in a free society: you can only counter it by education'. Banning things is indeed not the way. This is why I cast this question in relatively mild terms to ensure that a debate on it would indeed take place. It transpires that it does not altogether belong with the subjects under discussion today; it would have been more appropriate to discuss it along with the Cottrell report.

In all our efforts towards greater freedom of information on we must bear in mind that our society permits the manufacture and sale of video films which are easily accessible to any young person and which are so dangerous that we risk creating a total misconception of freedom of information in the younger generation, in a way which could not be more disastrous.

**von Alemann**

The Liberal and Democratic Group held very serious discussions on this question and I was happy to find that my lawyer colleagues too were fully of the opinion that the subject requires discussion and careful thought of the kind it is currently receiving in the United Kingdom.

How can we prevent more and more video nasties being available on the European market so that more and more young people are exposed to an appalling influence? And it is an appalling influence, but most people feel no personal involvement when they first hear of this subject because they simply cannot conceive of the horrors shown in these video nasties — cannibalism, murder, all the vile things we do not wish to see on our screens.

One can become involved when one hears of a recent case in Düsseldorf. A young lad murdered a girl because he had seen it done in one of these videos and wanted to know what it was like. A glib account, but if we have known something like that to happen, that young people can be corrupted by seeing total perversion on the TV screen, then it is time we thought seriously about this problem.

I agree that today is not the right time for a lengthy debate on videos which are harmful to young people, but I would ask you not to neglect this subject but to help ensure that something is done about it at Community level too. There have already been parliamentary debates in some of the Member States, notably the United Kingdom. I don't know how we could ban or censure video nasties without all our critics immediately laying into us and accusing the European Parliament of being 'anti' freedom of information. But we must discuss the matter, and I call on the Commission to give thought to it. Young people are at great risk from these videos, it is a fact, and I would ask that this subject be reconsidered in depth in a later debate, perhaps when there is rather more interest and involvement among the Members of the House.

*(Applause)*

**Mr Hahn (PPE).** — *(DE)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen. My sincere thanks to Mr Bangemann who spoke so generously of my efforts towards the introduction of a European media policy. And I am glad that we are returning to the subject at the end of this parliamentary term because I believe like Mr Bangemann that it has been a weak point of this Parliament. Although outstanding work has been done, it has too often been done away from the public gaze. And yet everything depends on Parliament getting through to the man in the street and making him understand what it is doing for European unity. We should then be buoyed up in this second direct election campaign by a quite different wave of goodwill and desire for European unity.

I cannot say too often that in a modern democracy anything which is not in the media does not exist! This is the very real danger facing the work of this House.

Two things happened yesterday which may be said to underline still further the topical nature of this problem.

Firstly, the Commission yesterday submitted the green paper which Parliament asked for some time ago and which the President of the Commission and particularly Commission Narjes had long since promised. We are very grateful for it, though of course we have not yet had time to study it in detail as it was not yet available in all the languages yesterday. So this demand by the European Parliament has now been met. I will say a brief word about the green paper in a moment.

The second event of significance is that President Mitterrand is the first Community president — Council president — to have named media policy as an important common task for the European Community. It is all the more significant in that legislation on the media is simultaneously under preparation in all the Member States and that these draft laws contradict each other and actually reflect a completely national — almost nationalistic — media policy which is totally at odds with current technological developments.

*(Applause)*

But I should first like to thank the Commission for the initiatives it has taken in response to initiatives by this House. Last year's interim report of 1 July is a first-class piece of work. It makes the point that because of the development of new media forms the entire array of technology available in this field urgently requires an appropriate initiative from the Commission. The Commission points out that we have not much time left in which to take action and change course. Otherwise time will run away with us and the commercial solutions we opt for will probably come from outside Europe — something which does not advance the cause of European unity. The Commission indicates, and Mr Bangemann has just said the same thing, that a European television channel would be an excellent means of increasing European awareness: a programme additional to the national programmes, with just one picture but soundtrack in the various languages, which would help to make the Common Market a reality at last.

Yesterday's green paper is a reply to our call for a joint European legal framework for all broadcasts beamed by satellite, with particular reference to the protection of young people, copyright and advertising. These matters are explored in detail in the green paper and provide an excellent basis for tackling the problem. I would reassure Mrs von Alemann that what she was saying earlier is closely bound up with this very problem. In January, for example, RTL showed a dreadful video nasty; nothing could be done to prevent

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vent this being received in the Federal Republic because there is no common legislation which would ensure that relevant laws were in fact obeyed. This is a very pressing problem, and the two questions really are connected. In future we shall be able to receive far more programmes from abroad than from our own country, and so a degree of alignment at European level is necessary.

Now to our questions and demands. Our first demand is that the problem should be taken up again immediately after the second direct elections.

We ask the Commission to instigate a broadly based discussion, but in particular to ensure that this subject is included on the agenda of the Council and that the Council considers it. Mr Mitterrand referred to the matter yesterday and made a start. In other words the Council should not ignore the subject as it has done hitherto, but should be prepared to deal with it seriously.

Our second question: what is the Commission doing in support of the European Broadcasting Union's efforts to create a European television channel beamed by satellite? The EBU has been trying to do this since 1982. A whole lot of experiments have been launched in this field, but there have been repeated fears that they might collapse, and nothing further has been achieved for lack of real political support. We need political support and we must work in the European Community for written regulations.

Let me point to two very concrete developments. Firstly, the Netherlands — both government and television service (NOS Nederlands) have taken the initiative and propose from 1 January next year to transmit a European television programme via the telecommunications satellite ECS 1. Seven nations, seven different television corporations of which six belong to the European Community, have agreed to join in the venture. But assistance will be needed if this programme is in fact to be fed into the national channels, into the national programmes. There is a pressing need for an initiative here.

In 1986 the European Space Agency is to put into orbit the huge Elsat satellite which will cover the whole of Europe. Italy has first call on it and has made Elsat available for a European programme, but as yet permission to transmit in Europe has not been forthcoming, for television territories are still all nationally regulated and each country insists that transmission should only originate in its own territory. Here too we must help the ESA and Italy to bring a European programme into being.

Finally let me raise a further point which is particularly important because it has an economic dimension. Television in Europe is currently split between two differing technical systems, Pal on one side of the Rhine, Secam on the other. This divide runs throughout

Europe, and the two systems are not compatible. A superior system, the McBecket system, has now been developed by French, British and German engineers and all EBU bodies, technical bodies and broadcasting corporations have opted for this system which will in future be the world leader. Japan and the USA too are already interested in the licence, but our post and telecommunications ministers refuse to go along with the new system and want to stick to Pal and Secam. It is vital for us to seize the initiative here, or we shall once again lose the world market. We would ask the Commission to contact the Council immediately on this matter and to take the appropriate steps.

Information is a question of decisive importance. It must be better dealt with in the next parliamentary term than it was in the first.

*(Loud applause)*

**Mr Adam (S).** — Mr President, this question, tabled by the Committee on Energy, Research and Technology, seeks detailed information on the procurement policy of the Commission for information technology equipment services and software. I think it is very appropriate that the last motion to be called in this first directly elected Parliament should be one that looks to the future of the Community.

The Commission is involved in computers and telecommunications in two particular ways. First, in policy for information technology, especially through the Esprit programme. Second, it is also a consumer of goods and services in the information technology sector. Esprit is a determined effort to stop the European information technology industry being annihilated by giant enterprises based in other industrial countries. The survival of the European industry was forcefully expressed on page 1 of the original Esprit proposal. The Commission noted that Europe had been lagging behind the industrial application of many high technologies and commented that. Because of the increasing direct or indirect influence of electronics in practically all aspects of industrial life in the Western world, what was in the past just technological dependence in a few specialized areas is now threatening to become an industrial and economic dependence plain and simple. In these conditions, the identity of Europe and eventually its political independence will be seriously at stake. That is the underlying comment which must affect our entire consideration of this particular subject area.

The Commission is also an important consumer. It is not only in the market for large mainframe computers, but also for many smaller items of equipment for data processing, information retrieval, word processing and the transmission of texts to say nothing of software and data bases. At the Joint Research Centre at Ispra, for instance, very sophisticated data processing facilities are needed for scientific research. Although this

**Adam**

represents a great deal of business, it is only a very small part of the total European market. It is, in fact, the very fast rate of growth of this market which is making it a major battleground for new orders.

The real importance of the Commission's role, as I see it, is not so much as a consumer, but in the lead that it gives to other people, to other public bodies and to national governments. Take, for instance, a project like Caddia, which is the Community's plan to computerize customs and agricultural markets data. This is going to involve innumerable interfaces between the Commission systems and the systems operated by national and regional bodies. The plan requires agreement on various different types of standard so as to make the systems compatible. In such circumstances the decisions that are made by the Commission can have a very decisive influence.

The question then is what kind of lead the Commission is going to give. There are established procedures for the procurement of goods and services by the Commission. These involve calls for tender which must be open and fair. Now I do not suggest that the Commission should give an artificial boost to some of the European suppliers by dropping orders into their laps. This could not be in anyone's long-term interests. But what should worry us, however, is that there is concern among European manufacturers that things are, in fact, working in the opposite direction. There is a real danger that the Commission could become over-dependent, not necessarily on a single supplier, but on the standards used by one supplier. This would mean that its systems were not open to the standards and specifications used by major indigenous European companies. In other words, the cumulative results of decisions taken by the Commission could be to weight the whole apparatus against the very European information technology industry which is so vital for our economic independence and prosperity.

As I said, it would be wrong to load the dice in favour of a particular, or particular, European suppliers. But equally well it would be just as wrong to load the dice against them. The best chance for the future, not only in Europe but also in the Third World, lies in general agreement on international standards for computing and telecommunications equipment and services, and work has already started with a view to an agreement on such standards. In March of this year the 12 leading information technology companies in Europe jointly proposed to the Commission a programme for the implementation of open systems interconnection standards from 1985 onwards.

This, Mr President, is the direction in which we must go. Europe must not be allowed to slide imperceptibly into over-dependence on the standards imposed by any private undertaking or any undertaking outside the Community. Now this is a matter which is of particular importance also, not only to the Community as a whole, but to those regions in the Community which

are suffering the most serious unemployment at the present time. It was very significant in the most recent Commission report on the comparison of the regions which pointed out that if those regions were really going to be successful in curing unemployment, then they were the regions that had to advance most quickly into the new technology areas. Those regions, and I represent one of them, depend very heavily on advances in information technology industries. These are the regions where the industries have got to be located, and a positive purchasing policy within the Community is going to be an essential element for success.

We looked this morning, Mr President, for a positive response from the Commission, and I urge Parliament to support the motion which the committee has tabled to wind up this debate. It will be a sign of our intention to keep a close watch on developments in this field in the future.

*Mr Narjes, Member of the Commission. — (DE)* First of all I should like to express my thanks to the House for this morning's debate — for the variety of points raised and the broad base on which the discussions have taken place.

As regards the first four questions I shall deal with, those of Mr Schwencke, Mr Bangemann, Mrs von Alemann and Professor Hahn, they raise such a plethora of problems that the time available for this debate allows me to give only cursory answers to them. Of course we are prepared to engage in any kind of detailed examination, we want to discuss detailed study of the various problems, especially — as this debate also shows — since these problems are nearly all interdisciplinary ones. Problems which have a bearing on culture policy, general policy, which pop up in varying areas of technology and law, are all interdependent and thus need careful consideration. The various points raised, I should remind you, will be covered at the next meeting of Community culture and education ministers on 22 June, and the Commission will of course report to the new Parliament on this.

Briefly, my answers to various questions asked are as follows: the Zentralinstitut für Wissenschafts-, Finanz- und Kulturwesen in Mainz has been asked to prepare a study on a better definition of the term 'cultural worker', and this study is already under way. On the question of copyright the Commission will as soon as possible, and we hope by the end of this year, publish a green paper which will start off a general discussion of this subject area and give an airing to possible substantive and procedural solutions to the question of copyright. I should also mention that the green paper, which has now been announced on radio and television, also raises the question of special legislation to cover matters of copyright in radio and television. The tax problems of cultural workers have been examined

### Narjes

in the Seventh Directive, with which you are familiar. For a variety of reasons this Seventh Directive is currently having a hard time of it. I cannot predict when it will be decided on and when the Council of Ministers will conclude their examination of it. In any event the Commission has in Article 2, Paragraph 2 of its proposal included exemption for cultural workers from tax on the sale and importation of articles required for the exercise of their professions. This is encountering resistance.

As far as frontier controls and the arts are concerned, the adoption of Regulation No 3/84 of 19 December last year based on a Commission proposal of September 1981 has led to some improvement. In particular, for a trial period of three years beginning on 1 July 1985 concessions are proposed for intra-Community movements, and security will no longer have to be lodged for culture-related articles. These may — to take Mr Schwencke's example — apply to musical instruments and articles which, for example, painters may take across borders for exhibitions. I make no secret of the fact that the tax authorities have found it extremely hard to grant this and other concessions because they are afraid of losing their powers of control and fear being cheated of turnover tax and VAT.

As regards the recognition and exercise of cultural professions, the Commission is giving priority to those areas in which the greatest obstacles to freedom of movement by those in the cultural professions in the Community are found. This does not apply to artistic activities in general, since there are virtually no required qualifications for these. The situation is different for architects and, as you know, the Commission's proposals are unchanged and still awaiting a decision from the Council. I won't conceal the fact that it is largely a German problem which is holding up agreement on this matter.

In the Commission's view the new media forms could offer cultural workers a chance of broadening their circles of viewers and listeners and thus increase earnings and employment — as Mr Schwencke has pertinently observed — if they can be guaranteed a fair return for their work. Ways of doing this are proposed and discussed in the green paper. A major premise is that a fee should be payable when radio programmes are simultaneously transmitted by cable.

As regards the promotion of European film making, the Commission has already announced that the cities of Lille and Munich are to organize European Film Festivals, to be held in each city in turn. The Commission will make funds available for them. The first of these Festivals will be held in Munich from 23 June to 1 July. The Commission is also waiting for the forthcoming meeting of the Community culture and education ministers to raise the question of the European Parliament's proposal for a European Fund to be set up to assist the European film making industry and financed out of the Community budget. Also relevant

here are Professor Hahn's idea of setting up a fund to support European television and film production and the idea of promoting cooperation by the national radio and television corporations at European level.

I agree with all those who have stressed the urgency of this problem, but I must also remind everyone of the institutional and budgetary restrictions which currently stand in the way of a solution. I share the view that a debate on policy directions by the Council of Ministers, to be organized as soon as possible, might sound out how much room for action the Community has here. And I make no secret of the fact that the Commission too suffers from insufficient public awareness of the work done by the institutions in the European interest; outright condemnation or praise of Brussels in other contexts and the nationalistic nature of media coverage of Brussels or the Community are some of the great handicaps which the election campaign and in general terms the success of European integration have to overcome.

*(Applause)*

Unless we stop thinking like war correspondents in terms of victor and vanquished, defence and attack, regarding the whole thing as a stalemate when there should be only winners or losers, we shall never achieve integration.

*(Applause)*

There is wide-ranging cooperation between the Council of Europe and Unesco. Commission representatives take part in the work of these organizations by invitation. The Commission will also be represented at the fourth conference of European culture and education ministers to be held in the next few days in Berlin. However, the Commission does not think it opportune at present to propose that the Community should become a signatory to the European Cultural Convention, that is the Council of Europe's Convention of 1954. The question of our accession might be reviewed in the light of the Council of Europe's plans to update this convention. Given its current form and influence, we doubt the usefulness of acceding to it. If it is amended, we can reconsider the matter.

Provided this question is indeed reviewed the Commission sees no reason in law for the Community to take action to prevent the manufacture and sale of video cassettes depicting acts of violence. But this subject too has been examined in the green paper, Mrs von Alemann, and we are confident that it has been done in a way which will stimulate public debate on this very question and on the possibilities of applying Article 100 of the EEC Treaty to it.

The Commission has already stated its views on the possibilities of setting up a European television channel in its interim report of last July, quoted by Professor Hahn. I would refer back to what I said earlier

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about the desirability of a debate on policy directions by the Council of Ministers, and possibly by the council of Europe, which would lay down guidelines for a more active and more dynamic pursuit of this objective.

The Commission favours the introduction of a uniform television standard. In fact I consider it to be of paramount importance. What we need is technical solutions which are as simple as possible and acceptable in cost terms to the consumer. In all our efforts to standardize systems within the Community we should also take care to ensure that we do not erect a new border fence between ourselves and central and eastern Europe. We must make sure that our television standards remain European in the broadest sense of the word and that our programmes can be received everywhere.

Regarding European media policy I should like to return to the green paper. As far as the technical details are concerned, it comprises 350 pages, and its translation into the official languages is an operation of some considerable technical complexity. I would ask your forbearance, given that the summary of the operative part is today available and being distributed only in the third and fourth languages, but at all events the Italian, French, German and English versions will be available this evening. You will receive the full text in all the languages not later, I hope, than two to three weeks from now. It is simply a matter of getting it prepared and printed.

In this green paper the Commission analyses the possible creation of a common market in broadcasting, particularly via satellite and cable, and considers how this objective may be attained. The aim of the green paper — I feel I should underline this — is to examine the overall importance of broadcasting for progress towards integration and to determine the importance and jurisdiction of the Treaties of Rome over this subject area, in order to limit *a priori* the arguments of any legal experts who may claim that we have no powers to act on the matter.

Thirdly, it is our duty to submit for public discussion the Commission's current ideas on how to harmonize certain aspects of legislation in the Member States on radio and television advertising, the protection of young people, trans-frontier broadcasting and copyright.

In conclusion, Mr President, let me say that we should like, with the help of the European Parliament, to trigger an intensive public debate on the green paper and the questions it raises. This discussion should if possible take place in the next six or seven months so that by next winter we can already have an interim picture of what action on needs to be taken and what agreement there is on the content of legislative and other measures which need to be passed. In this way we can

achieve the aim of this green paper and make trans-frontier television a reality.

(Applause)

**Mr Davignon, Vice-President of the Commission.** — (FR) Mr President, I should like to begin by replying briefly to the very precise questions posed by Mr Adam and, in closing, to make a general comment.

Mr Adam is quite correct: the Commission has a special responsibility in that it should tailor its possibilities to its role both of consumer of these technologies and sponsor of the expansion thereof.

I would hasten to assure Mr Adam that I fully subscribe to the balanced account he has provided. If the Community and the Commission's task were merely one of propping up uncompetitive industries by providing them with a lucrative market, such action would in no way help to resolve the problems of these industries. Such a guaranteed market could only be safeguarded at a higher cost *vis-à-vis* outside competitors, for the former would confine their sales to the protected market. That much is undeniable.

Secondly, it is no less clear that as soon as an overall framework for the promotion of these new technologies has been defined, the procurement policy must adhere to these objectives. Hence the very strict standards laid down by the Commission since 1983, as contained in all of our invitations to tender. The considerable public awareness of such requirements precludes any element of surprise whenever an invitation to tender is made public. Stipulations are set out painstakingly, in particular with regard to the norms which have to be complied with, thus precluding the interminable problem of equipment incompatibility. Thus potential suppliers are obliged to enter into a commitment, by virtue of precise agreements to apply the norms which change as the technology itself advances. The prior undertaking to apply norms to be laid down in the future as technology advances, guarantees that no undertaking will obtain a dominant position either in the Community or with the Commission's services.

Thirdly, some twenty undertakings and service companies are currently providing services to the Commission under this support policy. This is, I feel, as it should be, since it means that we are working with a group of people rather than just a few individuals.

It is, to my mind, clear that industrial cooperation on the Esprit programme will stimulate ever greater innovation by Community undertakings and provide more data banks to which our services can be linked — something which particularly concerns the Ispra research institute. It would be ridiculous to have a research data system which was not linked to outside, non-European data banks providing us with information on scientific developments and on the progress of

**Davignon**

experiments currently, being carried out. In the past the equipment needed for link ups to data banks outside the Community had to be obtained from third countries because of their unavailability on Community markets. This helps to explain the Community's reliance on outside sources.

On the whole, therefore, I feel I can assure Mr Adam that the Commission, acting on behalf of the Community, ensures coherence between objectives of a general nature, as laid down in Esprit, and our particular responsibilities as consumers. Moreover, within the Commission the departments which deal with this issue form part of one entity, consisting of those who deal with the Esprit programme on the one hand, and those whose tasks are confined more particularly to the day to day internal administration. This makes it possible to create an even balance by providing, on the one hand, guaranteed markets, and a procurement policy in line with overall Community policy, on the other.

That having been said, Mr President, I should like to conclude with a general comment on this subject matter as a whole.

Given that Europe is in need of an economic revival — something which is not contested, least of all by this House — such a revival will only be feasible to the extent that its effects filter through to the citizens as a whole.

We are constantly confronted with the difficulty of persuading Community citizens that European integration, far from being a theoretical or technocratic exercise, is a matter of crucial importance to each individual and to their children. Those currently involved in the 17 June election campaign are aware of the difficulty of getting this message across for, although the Community is, on the whole, accepted as a good thing, its direct influence upon the everyday lives of its citizens is less clearly perceived. With this in mind, ladies and gentlemen, it is clear that the main thrust of the electoral campaign — in which the key role is played by television — is that of getting across the European idea and of facilitating Community citizens' access, via technology, to what Europe has to offer.

In this context I should like to quote one figure. If we accept, that optical fibres — which present no undue technical difficulties, — and satellites will make it possible for every Community citizen to have access to, at the very least, some ten television channels, each of which is on the air for at least eight hours per day, the question arises — and this is the cardinal issue — who will be responsible for, and who will exercise control over the programme content? At present the Community produces no more than 300 or 400 programme hours per year. This presupposes that, in making up the difference, we either purchase all of it from outside the Community, with everything this implies for our way of life and culture or, alternatively, that we

proceed to develop and expand our own programmes, thus tapping a vast and rich area which has hardly been explored hitherto.

Today's debate — and the answers provided by my fellow Commissioner, Mr Narjes, have confirmed this impression — have demonstrated the commitment of both Parliament and Commission, faced with the danger of becoming a 'cultural desert' to an exploratory, a pioneering role on the part of the Community, both in this new field and in others, as opposed to a passive and outdated one.

*(Applause)*

**IN THE CHAIR: MR ESTGEN***Vice-President*

**Mrs Viehoff (S).** — *(NL)* It is time we took culture seriously and did more than say how important it is, as has happened far too often in recent years. It is time we actually did something about the position of artists in the Member States, particularly at this time of economic crisis, when things are rather more difficult, because these people are always the first to suffer when cuts are made. Our question and the resolution on this subject are worded in clear enough terms, and Mr Narjes' answer gives us some cause for hope, where the first question is concerned.

The second and fourth questions concern European television and European policy on the media, which we have already discussed on various occasions. The long awaited Green Paper has appeared. I have not had a chance to study it at length, but one of the things it says is that the Commission is a strong advocate of European programmes relayed by satellite and of joint programmes. I think there is a chance we may have European television programmes earlier than we thought. On 1 January 1985 the Netherlands Broadcasting Corporation — to which Mr Hahn has already referred — will be joining with eight other countries in a six-month experimental period of transmitting European programmes by satellite. Programmes on sport, culture, European information — meaning information on the Council, Commission and Parliament — and information on the European regions are to be broadcast five evenings a week. Seven languages will be used, and there is an advisory board on which, if that is what we want, Parliament, the Commission, consumer organizations, trade unions and employers might be represented.

Advertising must provide some of the funds required, but it must comply with the Dutch standards — and we are pleased about this in the Netherlands. In other words, a time will be set aside for advertising, and



**Viehoff**

there will no commercials during programmes, nor any commercial links with the contents of programmes. As I understand that the Commission also intends to be very careful about the influence of advertising on programmes, I think we must take another look at Mr Hutton's report, because he has made very light of the influence of the commercial world on programmes.

The Dutch Government will very probably make 14m guilders available to enable these programmes to start. I think this also represents a unique opportunity for us to become involved. I would therefore ask the Commission, once the Green Paper has been discussed by all concerned, at least to consider the possibility of more extensive participation, not only during the six-month experimental period and to make it possible for the programme to continue afterwards, although a different satellite will then have to be used.

Then there is the questions about video cassettes. I do not want to say a great deal about this, but I find it very strange that Mr Simmonds' report was taken without debate yesterday and yet it is on today's agenda and is being debated. I think Mr Simmonds will find that very strange too. On the other hand, I am glad it is on the agenda now because it enables me to explain once again that the amendments I tabled yesterday were certainly not intended as a criticism of Mr Simmonds' report. Like him and everyone else, we are extremely concerned about violence on videos.

Culture is the final number on this last morning of the part-session. It took a great deal of trouble to get this far. There was not really any time left, but space was found. I hope that the new Parliament will be as tough and resolute about bringing culture to the attention of the Commission and Council as my committee has been in recent years. I think it is worth the trouble.

*(Applause)*

**Mr Beumer (PPE).** — *(NL)* Mr President, I am pleased to see the constant improvement in the exchange of views on culture and the policy on the media between Parliament and the Commission. Both institutions take initiatives. I welcome this because I believe that Europe will be less if it is not shown on the television and that European culture — on which Mr Fanti has written an excellent report — will also be less if the media do not show it to be European culture. I am therefore very pleased with the Green Paper, which is in fact a follow-up to the interim document you had already drafted. On the other hand, we have two reports from the European Parliament, so we are quits again. Although I have not yet been able to read the Green Paper, I should like to ask a few questions.

Firstly, it is an excellent thing that we should try to harmonize the legislation on broadcasting. But do we

know what the national broadcasting organizations and the governments think about this? Is something being done to sound them out, or was this done, for example, when the Green Paper was being prepared? It should be noted, Mr President, that the situation as regards the media is chaotic not only in Europe as a whole but in the individual countries too. It is therefore a good thing that we are taking matters in hand, but everyone must cooperate. I recall the agreements that were reached in Geneva in 1980 at a congress of the broadcasting companies. When we see how the positions adopted at that time, on the protection of national markets, for example, have been completely overtaken by technology, aerial technology and cable technology, I think we would do well to act as quickly as possible.

I agree with what Mr Davignon has said. We Europeans face the gigantic task of ensuring that the television programmes we make to replace the ones we now buy and import all too easily are sensible, meaningful and varied. This will involve a great deal of creative work. In this respect, I should like to refer to the initiatives that have been taken by the European media platform, where this is again emphasized. The reference to all these initiatives is to be welcomed.

The Commissioner said that he has placed the emphasis in the Green Paper — I have not been able to read all of it yet — on four areas: harmonization of advertising time, rules for young people, the right to reply and harmonization of copyright. I hope he has also taken account of the premises set out in the resolution adopted by Parliament and drawn up by Professor Hahn, the great initiator in this field. We said that, if advertising was included in one way or another, we must ensure that it could not influence the content of programmes. The same must apply to the authorities. This will create enough additional problems, but journalism must be independent in Europe and if, for example, the European Community participates in the production of a European programme, it must be possible for the Community to be criticized during the programme. That seems commensurate with the society in which we live.

My questions principally concern the following. I understand a kind of interim balance-sheet will be drawn up before the end of the year, and my question is: how do you intend to draw up this balance-sheet? How do you intend to fill in the details? How will you go about it?

My second question is this: there is talk of a wide-ranging debate. Who will be taking part? Who is preparing this debate? Will it link up with plans that all kinds of other organizations have already laid? I should also like to know whether it would not be appropriate to set up a kind of working party in the near future, to consist of Members of the Commission and European Parliament, people from EBU and possibly representatives of other organizations which are

**Beumer**

making practical preparations in this area. It is after all rather difficult to envisage precisely what an interim balance-sheet and a wide-ranging debate entail. We cannot imagine what form they will take, and that is something I should very much like to know.

I should also like to know something about the initiatives that have been taken. Reference has already been made to the initiative taken by the Netherlands Broadcasting Corporation and other organizations, for which the EBU gave the green light just a short time ago, on 23 May. I am also thinking of plans that have been made by the Italian organizations. I think it would be sensible if these initiatives were combined, and this might well be achieved in a working party of the type I have just mentioned.

Mr President, I think that is all I have to say. The most important question I am asking is: how are we going to draw up the interim balance-sheet which is the Commission's provisional objective? How are we going to organize the wide-ranging social debate so that justice is done to all the initiatives that are taken?

One final remark, I suddenly remember. Referring to the finances, Mr Narjes said — and he was being realistic — that it was not so easy for the Commission to throw money about. But I think a symbolic financial contribution from the Commission would be extremely important, and the amount would not be crucial. I remember the Dutch Minister with responsibility for the media saying, for example, that he felt a symbolic contribution from the Commission was important because it would constitute a guarantee of Community cooperation and support from the Commission. I hope there will be an answer in the affirmative to this question.

Mr Tugendhat reacted positively last time, but I should like to hear it again now that the Green Paper has appeared.

**Mr Simmonds (ED).** — Mr President, I would like to confine most of my remarks to the oral question that has been tabled on the subject of video cassettes.

On the one hand, I was extremely cross when the oral question was tabled, because it was tabled only a few days before my report on the subject was discussed in committee and not one of the signatories of that oral question was at the committee meeting, nor did they participate in the vote in committee on that resolution.

On the other hand, I am delighted that the oral question was tabled, because it gives me an opportunity to say a few words on the subject which I was denied yesterday, as Mrs Viehoff has pointed out, because my report was taken without debate.

Mr President, this is a regrettable and growing problem throughout the Community. In the report that we

voted through yesterday, we called for Community-wide cooperation to restrict the available of the worst of the new trend in violent and horrific films, the so-called 'video nasties'. Last autumn, when I arranged a showing of extracts from some films — and I have to say that there were more MEPs present at the showing than there are here today — Members who did attend that viewing, whereas those from some Member States are more relaxed on the subject of sexual pornography, there was, I believe, unity in the revulsion — indeed, one Member was physically sick — on the subject of these violent and horrific nasties.

There have been in recent months a number of court cases throughout Europe, including one here in Strasbourg, where people have been charged with crimes which have been direct imitations of scenes from these new violent films. Very often, people charged with such crimes have been under the influence of drink or drugs at the time. My report calls on those bodies responsible for censorship, statutory and otherwise, in the Member States, to meet to consider a common line of action. I am encouraged by the Commissioner's remarks on his line of action this morning.

Two brief further remarks, Mr President. One is that this Parliament has discussed the film industry. Following that report and debate, very strong protests have come from the industry in Britain that the views of the trade were not taken properly into account. I hope that that will be corrected in the life of the next Parliament.

Lastly, Mr President, much work needs to be done in the very exciting and challenging field of cable and satellite transmissions. I look forward to working with my colleagues from the other groups, as I hope, in the next Parliament. May I close by saying how much I have enjoyed working with those colleagues from all groups in the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport.

*(Applause)*

**Mr Fanti (COM).** — *(IT)* Mr President, the speeches made by my colleagues, and the observations of the representatives of the Commission — Commissioner Narjes and Vice-President Davignon — prompt me to make a more general observation that stems from this debate — a debate that I consider significant, taking place as it does on the last day's session of the European Parliament, since it deals with a matter that entirely concerns the future.

This general observation — to which Mr Davignon also referred — concerns the fact that, for the recovery of Europe, for which we have worked, debated, clashed, united and divided during the course of this five-year period, an infinite series of messages needs to be sent out, exemplified and personified by public opinion. The will and determination of four hundred

**Fanti**

members of the European Parliament is not sufficient; we need a will and a determination that is incarnate in the action and work of millions and millions of Europeans.

This information is necessary: and so is a policy for information — the information that is essential to the very life of the Community. Moreover, we have gone full sail into what has been called the age of communications, in which information becomes a determining, decisive factor. We are in an era of profound change that is affecting the lives of everyone of us, and to which President Mitterrand also referred in his speech yesterday.

This is the ground on which not only the determination of the Community institutions, but also their ability, to bring about this recovery of Europe, will be measured. We have therefore to tackle this new condition; an information policy is necessary, which must be approached from the standpoint of the economy and from the cultural standpoint. An indissoluble bond exists between two aspects, and it is on this test bench that Europe's ability to give itself an identity and become truly independent will be measured.

I should like to conclude my speech by claiming for the Committee on Culture the credit for having worked over the years to bring these problems into the limelight; for this public acknowledgement is due to the Chairman, Mr Beumer, the two Vice-Chairmen, Messrs Hahn and Schwenke, and the Members of the Committee on Culture, who have worked intensively and unremittingly on a committee that was for a long time considered as being of only secondary importance.

I think that the discussion that we are bringing to an end this morning augurs well for the future — a future that concerns the activity of the Commission itself. And I should like to express our thanks for the work done and complemented by the Commission's Department for Cultural Affairs — Doctor Gregoire and President Thorn, who took a special interest in the cultural work. The message that we have to leave and send on to the new Parliament is that this Committee must not be in any way diminished, as rumour in some quarters has it, but must on the contrary be strengthened, enriched, so as to make culture an essential part of Community policy.

*(Applause)*

IN THE CHAIR: MR DANKERT

*President*

**Mrs Tove Nielsen (L).** — *(DA)* Mr President, the European Parliament is today concluding in an excel-

lent and worthy manner the first legislative period of the directly elected Parliament since the work which takes place in the Parliament is in the highest degree the expression of genuine national and cultural cooperation. We Liberals do not think that we can conclude this debate and this period in a more worthy fashion.

However we also wish to stress, on the basis of the experience of the first legislative period, that there is clearly a genuine need for information. We particularly welcome that fact that so many visitors' groups have come to Parliament and we are happy to learn of the keen interest in our work. These visitors' groups who return home with the experience which they have gained at the very place the work is carried out are, without doubt, some of our best ambassadors. When someone speaks from experience he speaks with much greater conviction than if he spoke from mere hearsay.

But we can also conclude that these visitors' groups express the fact that in our Member States there is a need for much more comprehensive information about our work. Not everyone has the opportunity of travelling here. We should welcome the fact that visitors come, but those who cannot have the real democratic need to be informed about the things that affect us all. We know what is happening in the local community and we take an interest in it since it concerns our everyday life and our future. We are also aware of what takes place on the national scene since it also concerns our everyday life and our future. But we are also European citizens and it is quite natural that in a democratic society that we should also be aware of all aspects of that is taking place at European level. This is also an area where, we hope, people are really informed since the sign of a genuine democracy is that people are properly informed. Since we represent genuine democracies we must call for genuine comprehensive information. This means moreover that inaccurate reports should meet the fate they deserve.

Mr President, I should like to conclude by mentioning something which I also feel is encouraging and which I have learned during this legislative period. I think it is a good thing that so many young people in our Member States have a genuine desire to visit other young people in other Member States. This is indeed the best means of promoting genuine national cooperation. We wish to experience how much we have in common. We have many tasks in common to accomplish. There are certain realities facing us all. We have hopes and dreams which are indeed the best guarantee of ensuring that genuine national cooperation can take place even across frontiers which should no longer exist in the Community which is of such great benefit to us all. Let us express the hope that the people of Europe acquire this genuine experience. This is our right in a true democracy.

*(Applause)*

**Mr Linkohr (S).** — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen. I should like to speak on Mr Adam's oral question and say straightaway that I am very glad that this at first sight very technical question is being discussed in conjunction with the questions relating to cultural policy, because the question of information technology — indeed, of the Third Industrial Revolution — arises not only from technocratic considerations, but reflects the wide-ranging cultural upheaval which our society is experiencing. Some one once said that we are currently seeing the transition from the mechanical to the electronic age, and I think he wasn't far off the mark.

To come to the point: recently in my region I had a consultation meeting about the Esprit programme with representatives of industry and the chambers of industry and commerce. An extremely interesting debate ensued, which was greatly assisted by officials from the Commissioner's directorate-general. It became apparent, however, that although many undertakings, and many chambers of industry and commerce, had vaguely heard of the Esprit programme they were in general very poorly informed about it. I should like to see better publicity being given to what is after all a very big, aggressive industrial programme.

Secondly, it emerged that many undertakings, especially those of small and medium size, were still somewhat confused by the question of the tendering procedure. This is thought by many to be very unwieldy, and perhaps it might be simplified a little. My third comment: in my view the European Community's task should not be simply to provide money, but above all to support the efforts of the Community's industries, labour forces and engineers to help themselves. This would include, for example, better cooperation across borders, better cooperation across borders by the universities — not only with universities in the USA, but universities in Europe — and provision of the requisite funds, which are not usually all that great. And I think it very important that the various countries' training programmes — usually the responsibility of the government authorities — should be improved, especially their further training programmes. This is often more important than just dishing out money. Or, for example, the European Community should be more positive on the question of the international standards for new technological systems. I think this is also important. In conclusion I should like to say that those of us who are returned to the new Parliament will certainly follow the Esprit programme and its execution with great care. We shall not only be counting on fruitful cooperation with the Commission in this; we shall also keep a critical eye on the Commission's tendering procedure and on further advances in this technological field.

Lastly, I would welcome a closer degree of cooperation during Parliament's next term between the Culture and Research Committees, on a whole series of questions which affect our society as a whole.

**Mr Seligmann (ED).** — Mr President, I am grateful to the two leading Commissioners on this subject who are still here this morning. It adds weight to the debate. The Community has a duty to encourage joint action and standardization in procurement of information technology. It must itself lead by example and NATO has singularly failed to do this.

In Esprit, secondly, it is vital to give financial help mainly to the small firms working together across frontiers. Money is very limited. It must not go to the giants in the information technology field. Esprit must be a catalyst — I am sure Viscount Davignon agrees — which gets small firms started.

On the general debate on culture I would also like to say I support very much more Community aid to cultural workers. Many people say that musicians, artists, actors and writers are not economically significant, therefore they must not have financial help from the Community. This is not right. This is completely wrong. Artists are the creators of public taste which lies at the base of the huge film and entertainment industry. Musicians are the creators of taste and new trends in the recording, television and radio industries. These are very important economically. Viscount Davignon himself said: 'Who will produce all these enormous television programmes that have to be produced in the future?'. Cultural workers are going to do that. Otherwise we shall have a cultural desert, as he says.

Cultural workers are economically important. The Community should do much more to support them for example in the European Music Year and prevent this cultural desert referred to by Viscount Devaignon.

**Mr Denis (COM).** — (FR) Mr President, this final debate of our legislature, together with the reports of my friend, Mr Veronesi, in favour of the Esprit programme, and that of Mr Simmonds dealing with the video cassette market provide a further opportunity of reminding the House of the importance of maintaining and expanding the Community video and film industry. This industry is, however, gravely imperilled by the policy of the multinational Kodak.

The laudable and legitimate aim of the proposed Community strategy on research in information technologies, quality control, including moral quality, of films, presuppose, likewise, measures to defend the photographic and electronic industry and technology on the Community market too.

Faced with the spectre of a restructuring and rationalization plan which will condemn thousands of qualified workers to the dole queue in the immediate future, the workforce of the leading industry, Kodak, has launched an appeal for our assistance.

The multinational parent company, Eastman-Kodak, has been stepping up, in the absence of consultation or

## Denis

information, its plans to close down. Such action shows the right stance we were to insist, with regard to the Vredeling directive on codetermination, on the need for a binding guarantee to ensure information and consultation of workers, in particular the workforce of multinational undertakings.

All of the measures taken by the Eastman-Kodak group justify the concern voiced by the workforce of its 17 establishments throughout the Community, whether we consider its plans to halt production and research on magnetic tape at its Vincennes production unit, in the Val de Marne, or for that matter, the contracts it concluded with Japanese firms for the manufacture of video cameras; in each case the workforce has justifiably discerned the essence of a long-term strategy which consists in removing production from Europe and gradually assigning European subsidiaries no more than a function of warehousing, marketing and distribution.

This pull-out creates an enormous mess, resulting in the unemployment and dismissal of untold numbers of workers in a leading industry, and in increasing Community economic and industrial dependence on the United States, for we are dealing here with a key industry for Community Member States' economic, technological, cultural and political independence.

The Esprit programme, on research and development in information technologies demonstrates, if proof were needed, the viability of tangible inter-Community cooperation in an effort to make up our leeway *vis-à-vis* the United States and Japan. Should not such an example be the catalyst for Community joint efforts in the production of the various video and film accessories? We feel that a precondition would be to maintain, initially, the current level of employment and production in the existing production centres both in France and in the other Community Member States concerned.

This is the main thrust of the motion for a resolution tabled by my colleagues and I, in which we urge the Commission, in concert with the workers concerned, to carry out an inquiry into the future of the video and film industry with a view to putting forward appropriate measures.

We should like to know what steps the Commission plans to take.

**Mr Faure (L).** — (FR) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, my wish to address the House on this range of issues reflects, to a large extent, my desire, on the occasion of the last part-session of this legislature, which will be my final address to the House, since I shall no longer be standing for election, to express my faith in the Community institutions, my confidence in the role played by this Parliament which you, Mr President, have led with such competence, and to

express optimism, for there is widespread doubt concerning the usefulness of our work. But I believe we are making headway — and, after all, every institution requires a certain running-in.

To come to the point, I believe that a body such as this Parliament should be in the forefront where this immense issue of contemporary communications policy is concerned.

We should plan to make widespread use of television and educational programmes for all age groups.

As early as pre-primary school television can be used to familiarize the very young children with a European culture, thereby providing them with the rudiments of a European consciousness.

This must be followed up by forging of structural ties between secondary, and, more importantly, university education. Student and teacher status must be harmonized throughout the Community, thereby paving the way for inter-Community university mobility of students, teachers and researchers alike. The Community possesses as many minds — and just as many brilliant ones — as there are in larger countries, yet we are unable to obtain a comparable level of specialization.

It is also necessary to promote culture, chiefly through the media which constitutes an inexhaustible source of promotion for individuals whose working hours are less heavily-charged or who opt for a few years sabbatical leave and for the retired or elderly, of whom I speak as one who could join their ranks one day — as late as possible, naturally.

Mr President, we must face up to the considerable changes which the contemporary world is undergoing. We are all preoccupied with the employment issue but do we really believe that the 40-hour working week is an ideal to be perpetuated? We must, therefore, part company with such a scheme of things. How else could we envisage the future?

I recently had the opportunity of welcoming to the 'Académie française' an eminent Africano-European, Mr Leopold Sédar Senghor. I learned from his memoirs, his recollections that the indigenous inhabitants of the somewhat convivial civilization of Senegal only worked during half of the year. The rest of the time was set aside for outings, athletic and poetic competitions. It should be borne in mind that the goal coveted in life should be more than one of attaining the same daily work output.

If I may, for the moment, diverge somewhat from our subject-matter, and at the risk of seeming paradoxical, I shall endeavour to persuade the House that the idea of a Community consensus on a 35-hour working week seems far from absurd to me, inasmuch as it concerns, naturally, heavy, repetitive, and, particularly,

**Faure**

shift work. The 39-hour week was not conclusive, for a reduction of only one hour precluded the creation of additional employment. An entirely new way of life is called for, in which not everyone will work in the same way or at the same time. As Alvin Toffler reminds us, in his book *Future Shock*, we are now leaving the mass period, mass industrialization, mass consumption, mass culture, and returning to a singular life style, to the individual, the personal, the differential. In this scheme of things the media has a considerable role to play.

Whereas the instruments are, in themselves, very important, the awareness of those who make use of them is of greater importance. And it must be our task, as European Parliament, to be the main support, the personification of this awareness, the superior media, that is to say, the one which facilitates judicious utilization of the others.

(Applause)

**Mr Harris (ED).** — Mr President, I am grateful to have the opportunity of making what I think is the last speech in this Parliament, apart from your own which we look forward to. I am grateful because, like Mr Faure, I am not returning, but in my case not because I am retiring but because I am a member of my national parliament.

I should like, however, to speak as a journalist in this final debate before the elections. It is natural that with elections upon us, or at least upon some, we are sensitive about our image. I believe, however, that it is wrong for a parliament or for politicians to be constantly preoccupied with their image. I believe it is wrong also to think that if we provide sufficient money we can get across our message and have all the information we want. Dare I say it, but I think there was some confusion in the debate between information and propaganda. We have to live with the press. We have to live with television. It would be fatal for us to have a European channel if we wanted to turn that channel into a propaganda channel. Leave information — in the sense of comment and reporting — to the journalists and let us get on with our job! That is my final message to this Parliament, to yourself, Mr President, and to those who will head Parliament in the years to come.

I believe in this Parliament. Despite all the difficulties, I think it has made a remarkably good start. I think it is doing too much. I think it is spending too much money. I want it to concentrate on its own role and not be constantly looking over its shoulder and saying that our message is not getting across. If you Members who are coming back have confidence in yourselves and concentrate on your work, which I am sure you will do, then this Parliament has a future, and I wish it well.

(Applause)

**Mr Narjes, Member of the Commission.** — (DE) Mr President, let me give two brief answers to matters raised in the debate which concern the Commission. Firstly, I should like to reassure my honourable friend Mr Linkohr — on behalf of Commissioner Davignon also — that the points he has made to the Commission find a sympathetic ear. We agree with him. Secondly, I agree with Mr Harris that we need to sort out our subject areas. On the one hand we have the right of establishment, that is to say the setting up and operation of broadcasting corporations. This is the 'public' aspect of it. On the other hand, though, we have the Community question of the need for harmonized rules for radio and television, that is to say the legal framework within which broadcasting corporations should operate. Thirdly, we have the general questions of programme planning and, lastly, the problem of how Parliament and the European institutions are to project themselves in the new media forms.

Against this background I would reply to Mr Beumer as follows: the Commission will have to take stock next winter, because it must first have a picture of what action needs to be taken and what agreement can be reached on the content of the results obtained from studying the situation as a whole.

Secondly, we do not intend to be the only ones organizing discussions. Indeed, this is technically not possible. We expect to see spontaneous debates happening all over Europe, within and across national borders, amongst journalists, lawyers and politicians, and we shall have to monitor these debates and be guided by them in forming our own opinions. I fully expect that the next European Parliament will also, perhaps via consultation procedures, obtain an overview of what might be contained in a legal framework, as the Commission stipulates. Possibly — it is more a question of practicalities than of principles — we might be able to organize such meetings on a joint basis, as you suggest.

We have given substantial consideration to your earlier reports, such as the one by Professor Hahn. You will find ample evidence of this and I would ask you to forgive me, since time is short, for being unable to go into the other matters arising out of the debate. Once the new Parliament is elected they will be examined in depth by the appropriate committees.

**President.** — I have received four motions for resolution with request for an early vote to wind up the debate on the following oral questions:

- by Mr Schwencke and others, to wind up the debate on Oral Question Doc. 1-177/84 on the situation of cultural workers in the European Community (Doc. 1-292/84),
- by Mr Hahn, on behalf of the EPP Group, to wind up the debate on Oral Question Doc.

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1-176/84 on European media policy (Doc. 1-293/84),

- by Mr Denis and others, to wind up the debate on Oral Question Doc. 1-175/84, on the future of the visual technology (photographic and electronic) industry (Doc. 1-326/84),
- by Mr Adamou and others, to wind up the debate on Oral Question Doc. 1-179/84, on the procedure followed by the Commission in the field of information technology for the purchase of hardware and software services (Doc. 1-290/84).

*Vote<sup>1</sup>*

There are no further items on the agenda.

*4. Address by the President*

**President.** — Before giving my address I should like to call Mr Davignon, Vice-President of the Commission.

**Mr Davignon, Vice-President of the Commissions.** — (FR) Mr President, in the course of the past five years of this legislature, I have had the privilege of addressing the House on numerous occasions and it is not without a degree of solemnity that I would now like to do so on this last sitting of this ultimate session prior to the elections.

There cannot, of course, be any question of taking stock, for it is neither the moment, nor is it the role of the Commission. However, counting myself among the ranks of those who believe fervently in the future of Europe and in our ability to unite, I should like to extend my thanks to the members of the House for their endeavours on behalf of European integration. This Europe, which holds out a real chance for future generations, is the edifice you have wished to build and for which you have, for the most part, aligned yourselves with those who militate in favour of Europe and, in casting aside the deceptive security afforded by immobilization, you have given vent to your desire for a larger and better role for Europe.

To achieve this end, you have demonstrated a willingness, over the past five years, to consider the Commission as your privileged ally, and the significance of this gesture was not lost on the latter. All of which did not, in any way, deter you from giving the Commission a rough ride in conformity with the best parliamentary tradition, from time to time, and so it ought to be!

I would like, in particular, to thank Parliament for its relentless repetition of the message that 'European

integration is a political, not a technical enterprise — the political aspect must take precedence over the technical'.

It is thanks to your endeavours that a draft treaty on European Union came about whereas Member State governments did not advance beyond their respective statements of intention.

The vital Community revival which will get under way this coming autumn, and to which both President Mitterrand, as President of the Council of Ministers, and Chancellor Kohl are committed, as each has respectively stated to this House, would be unthinkable in the absence of this critical text. Thus, pursuant to the tradition of an *ad-hoc* assembly, Parliament will have dictated, through precise texts the institutional and political conception of the Europe of the future as we envisage it.

You have, therefore, been constantly preoccupied with the future and, thanks to judicious use by Parliament of its budgetary powers, the new policies, so often invoked by various Member State governments, have, thanks to this House, become reality.

Turning to the new technologies — and I have been deeply involved in this battle — they have only seen the light of day thanks to Parliament's — and not the Member States' — willingness to accede to the initial budgetary appropriations. At present I am happy to say that Esprit is gathering ever-more approbation but this House can lay claim to being one of those who played a founding role from its conception.

You have inaugurated a veritable research programme; you have enabled us to demonstrate the reality of this policy through pilot programmes. Thanks to this — and let us not forget that we are dealing with policy and not technics — the Community can shake off its dependence, affirm its scientific excellence, develop its industrial potential and, in so doing, create the vital employment, making the internal Community market in the process the type of development zone first envisaged by the signatories to the Treaty of Rome.

Thanks to Parliament's endeavours we have seized this opportunity and the beginnings we have today will constitute one of the vital priorities of the next session.

Parliament, not content with paying lip service to the notion of solidarity, endeavoured to make it a reality. Without its support we, at the Commission, would have been powerless to complete the reform of the Social and Regional funds respectively. Without your help the social chapters enshrined in Community coal and steel policy would never have become reality. I am today paying homage to this endeavour and it is a fitting tribute both to Parliament and Commission that the conflict of interests was not allowed to efface the notion of solidarity, without which there can be no Community.

<sup>1</sup> See Annex.

**Davignon**

Mr President, I could continue in this vein and mention the manner in which Parliament exercised its budgetary powers as a jealously-guarded preserve or that in which it controlled the Commission but I would like to end on a more personal note by pointing out Parliament's good fortune in having at its head two pre-eminent personalities in the course of these past five years. Both Mme Veil and yourself, Mr President, have endowed Parliament with an image thereby demonstrating, both within and outside the Community, that Europe is alive and that the pessimism which comes to the fore unduly, is a reflection of impatience rather than resignation.

Such is the deep conviction both of the Commission and of myself. On this Friday morning I would like to wish each of the members of the House, who instead of going home to prepare for next month's part-session, are returning to your respective Member States to defend the Community idea, just as you have done over these past five years, good luck, to extend my thanks to those who will not be returning and to prepare myself to extend a warm welcome to all of those who will be joining us in July.

*(Loud applause)*

**President.** — Ladies and gentlemen, as the Commission Vice-President has just said, in a few weeks time the first term of the directly-elected European Parliament comes to an end. In fact it ends today. For many of you, the gavel signalling the end of this sitting will also be the starting pistol signalling the beginning of the election campaign. For others — and looking around the Chamber there seem to be quite a few — it will mean a final farewell, either because other duties await them or because they have decided that the time has come in their life to enjoy a well-deserved rest.

From this podium I should like to make a point of thanking you for all you have done for this institution and for the people of the Community.

*(Applause)*

The end of our electoral period and the approaching elections provide an occasion to take a look behind us and into the future.

We are a parliament in the making. At the same time we are a parliament without a government. We are also a parliament in the manner of national parliaments, in other words, a meeting place for different ideas and beliefs.

We owe an answer to the question posed by the media and also by our electorate — indeed, in the next few weeks — as to whether we have made sufficient progress over the past five years to offer the prospect of this Parliament developing further into 'maturity'. At the same time, we have to make it clear to our electo-

rate that the issue at stake on 14 or 17 June — again on two separate days — is the future of the European Parliament and of parliamentary democracy in the European Community; on 14 or 17 June a choice has to be made between the various currents of political thought represented in this Parliament, which are also to be found nationally.

One of our honourable Members recently described the first five years of the directly-elected Parliament as but the blinking of an eye, in historical terms. When I look at the incredibly rapid development of Western Europe over the last thirty or forty years, however, I find that nowadays more can change in five years than previously in a whole century.

In the past five years we, the European Parliament, have not achieved as much as many of us hoped for in 1979, when measured against the needs of parliamentary democracy at European level. On the other hand, I feel that we have in fact achieved a great deal, particularly in those fields where we already had the beginnings of certain powers. It was expected of us that we would make full use of the existing powers we inherited from our non-elected predecessors, and consolidate and extend those powers. This has happened, especially in the field of supervision of other Community institutions. Our supervisory function has worked successfully, partly thanks to the new methods of information gathering which we have evolved, and here I am thinking of the setting-up of special committees of inquiry and the introduction of public hearings. In any event, our political control over the Commission has resulted in its more fully discharging its proper role and being able to take a more independent line towards the Council of Ministers. I consider that important.

As far as the Council of Ministers is concerned, we have made the proposals we were asked to make — and here I am thinking of the proposals for a uniform electoral procedure and for a statute for Members, and also our pressure for a single seat for the institutions. I only regret that the Council of Ministers has been unable to react satisfactorily to these proposals.

*(Applause)*

Our control function is free from restrictions imposed by the Treaty. The same applies to our role of instigator of new forms of Community policy, which I might call our 'platform' function.

At Community level we are in a position to subject everything to our scrutiny and now, as a result of the increase in the number of Members and the gradual disappearance of dual mandates, we are better-equipped for this role than our predecessors of the old Parliament, even *vis-à-vis* the Council and EPC. In the legislative field, on the other hand, we are tied by irksome restrictions which have made themselves increasingly felt in the course of the last five years. It is



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true that we have risen above our purely consultative role, especially in the quasi-legislative use we have sometimes made of our budgetary powers — Commissioner Davignon has given us a few examples of this. It is also true that many of the amendments tabled by this Parliament and endorsed by the Commission have been ultimately incorporated in legislation adopted by the Council. The influence of our institution on Community regulations and directives is unmistakable, but — and that is the rub — it is impossible, or at any rate extremely difficult to pinpoint specifically.

The problems this causes in interinstitutional relations are not insuperable. But 'influence alone' is not enough to cement the essential relationship between an elected Parliament and its electorate; a say in the framing of legislation is a minimum requirement.

*(Applause)*

The President of the European Council drew a parallel yesterday between the Community's rule of unanimity and the Polish Diet. I am glad that the President of the country that was responsible for the Luxembourg Compromise saw fit to make that comparison. I trust that the proper conclusions will now be drawn.

*(Applause)*

The observation from the speech by President Mitterrand regarding a reform of the consultation procedure between Council and Parliament, the strengthening of the role of the Commission, and the statement that France was prepared to discuss the draft treaty on European Union, are important. I trust that not only France but also the members of the European Council are prepared to work with us during the period 1984 to 1989 in these areas and to make progress. For unless this willingness is shown or, similarly, unless the draft treaty on European Union which we adopted by such a large majority can be achieved, the direct relationship between Parliament and electorate, and, hence, the development towards democracy, parliamentary democracy at European level, will remain problematic. Governments and national parliaments who subscribe to the ideals of parliamentary democracy cannot claim to defend these ideals unless they are prepared at the same time to defend and pursue them at European level. Democracy in Europe is indivisible.

*(Applause)*

When national parliaments delegate to governments certain powers related to European affairs, the quality of parliamentary democracy suffers at national level if the European Parliament in turn cannot exercise these powers at European level.

I believe that, given the circumstances in Europe during the years 1979 to 1984, we, the first directly elected European Parliament, have been able to considerably

improve our position compared to the powers we inherited in 1979.

Our greatest success has been the use of our budgetary powers, which are the most important powers we possess. By rejecting the 1980 budget we in fact provided the jolt needed for the reform of the common agricultural policy, five years before the Ministers really took the matter seriously.

In rejecting the supplementary budget for 1982 and placing the United Kingdom contribution in a reserve at the end of last year, we helped to save the Community from becoming nothing more than a kind of equalization fund.

*(Applause)*

It is regrettable that the financial crisis in the Community has caused these powers to be temporarily interfered with. It is more than regrettable, it is unacceptable that some governments seem to be using this crisis in order to make this interference permanent. This Parliament has made it perfectly clear that it is against internal wrangling and unilateral deals within the Council, which are incompatible not only with the letter but with the spirit of Article 203 and strike at the very core of the interactive relationship between the two arms of the budgetary authority, which constitutes the essence of the budgetary procedure. We have also made it clear that we are prepared to discuss Article 203 in its present form, and in particular the margin for manoeuvre, but only on condition that we obtain a say on the budget as a whole and new powers in the framing of legislation.

Ladies and gentlemen, as I said earlier, we have used our existing powers to the full. We have stretched them like a piece of elastic and in so doing we have strengthened our role and status in interinstitutional relations.

However, even elasticity has its limits.

As I see it, we have now almost reached the limit of our capabilities, and while we have admittedly achieved the primary aim of our first electoral term, we have still not established a real identity or the essential contact with the electorate. Our representative role, which in the long run will have a deciding influence on the question of whether the system of direct European elections will survive, is weak and urgently needs strengthening. This we can achieve only by reinforcing our powers, principally in the legislative field. This is the area on which we must concentrate during our second term, on the basis of the Spinelli draft. Powers to frame legislation imply the sort of coresponsibility which is inextricably linked to our elected status. The current President of the Bundesrat, Mr Franz Josef Strauss, and the Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Leo Tindemans, recently said that the third European elections would be extraordin-

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arily difficult unless the directly elected European Parliament was able during its second term to acquire new fundamental powers.

But I do agree with the basic point underlying these statements. As an elected body we are more vulnerable than other institutions. We can only be held responsible if we also have some real responsibility.

*(Applause)*

Our legal legitimacy must become political legitimacy. Only in this way will the European Parliament and its system of direct elections survive into the 1990s.

Ladies and gentlemen, I consider this important not just because I am a strong believer in parliamentary democracy; it is also important because without a strong European Parliament the sights of the Community's future will have to be set lower than is justifiable for the future of the European people. Lastly, it is important to fulfil the hopes which countries outside the Community have placed in direct elections to the European Parliament.

*(Applause)*

Whatever our political differences this message must be central in our minds between now and 14 or 17 June. There is no alternative to the European Community and there is no democratic alternative to a European Parliament. I am certain that we shall continue to build on this premise after 24 July. Thank you.

*(Loud and prolonged applause)*

**Mr Lange, Chairman of the Committee on Budgets.** — *(DE)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen. Allow me, as a kind of unofficial spokesman for those of us who are leaving the House, to say a few words of thanks to you and your predecessor and to all the other honourable members. We thank you, Mr President, for your kind words to us today and at yesterday's reception, when a large number of honourable members were present. For technical reasons we were not able to acknowledge them as we should have liked to.

We have seen and see time and time again that the relations amongst ourselves which we need do exist and that they go beyond the limitations of political colour or group membership. For if we all want to join in helping our peoples to build Europe — as the President has just said — then this Parliament must of all the Community institutions be the *most European*, if one can talk of degrees of 'Europeanness'. This does

not mean that the responsibilities to be discharged by the Commission are any less weighty, though when we think of the Council we sometimes have doubts.

And so, ladies and gentlemen, our sincere thanks for the kind and generous expressions of goodwill which we have received and exchanged. Sincere thanks also to you, Mr President.

One request: what would please us most would be if the European Parliament, or rather, its members, made every effort after 24 July 1984 to push forward the idea of European unity and place it on solid democratic foundations which can never be destroyed by the whim of governments or councils.

*(Loud applause)*

That would be the best possible present to those of us who are now leaving — or at least the best one I myself could wish for. But even though today is our last official meeting it does not mean that we cannot and shall not meet again on many occasions here in this chamber, in this House.

Warmest thanks once again and, as my last word, a greeting from my country: 'Glückauf!' — good luck with the building of Europe!

*(Loud applause)*

### 5. Approval of the Minutes

**President.** — As this is the last sitting of the present legislative period, I propose to the House that we derogate from Rule 89(2) which stipulates that the Minutes of a sitting are submitted to Parliament at the beginning of the following sitting and adopt here and now the Minutes of the present sitting which have been drawn up during the course of the debates.

*(Parliament gave its consent and approved the Minutes)<sup>1</sup>*

### 6. Adjournment of the session

**President.** — I declare adjourned the session of the European Parliament. I wish you every success in the electoral campaign. I look forward to seeing those who will not return to the House. Have a pleasant journey!

*(The sitting was closed at 11.25 a.m.)*

<sup>1</sup> *Declarations entered in the Register (Rule 49 of the Rules of Procedure) — Dates of next part-session: see Minutes.*

## ANNEX

*Votes*

The Report of Proceedings records in an annex the rapporteur's position on the various amendments and the explanations of vote. For details of the voting, the reader is referred to the Minutes of the sitting

**JOINT DECLARATION BY PARLIAMENT AND THE COMMISSION  
(DOC. 1-328/84/REV.): ADJOURNED (RULE 87 OF THE RULES OF  
PROCEDURE)**

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**SCRIVENER REPORT (DOC. 1-322/84 'MEASURES TO COVER  
BUDGETARY REQUIREMENTS IN 1984'): REFERRED BACK TO  
COMMITTEE**

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**PEDINI REPORT (DOC. 1-224/84 'DEVELOPMENT OF ADVANCED  
REACTORS'): ADOPTED**

Mrs Walz, deputy rapporteur, spoke:

— AGAINST Amendment No 3

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**PEARCE REPORT (DOC. 1-212/84 'DROUGHT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA'):  
REFERRED BACK TO COMMITTEE**

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**SCHWENCKE MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOC. 1-292/84 'WORKERS  
IN THE CULTURAL SECTOR'): ADOPTED**

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\* \*

**HAHN MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOC. 1-293/84 'MEDIA POLICY'):  
ADOPTED**

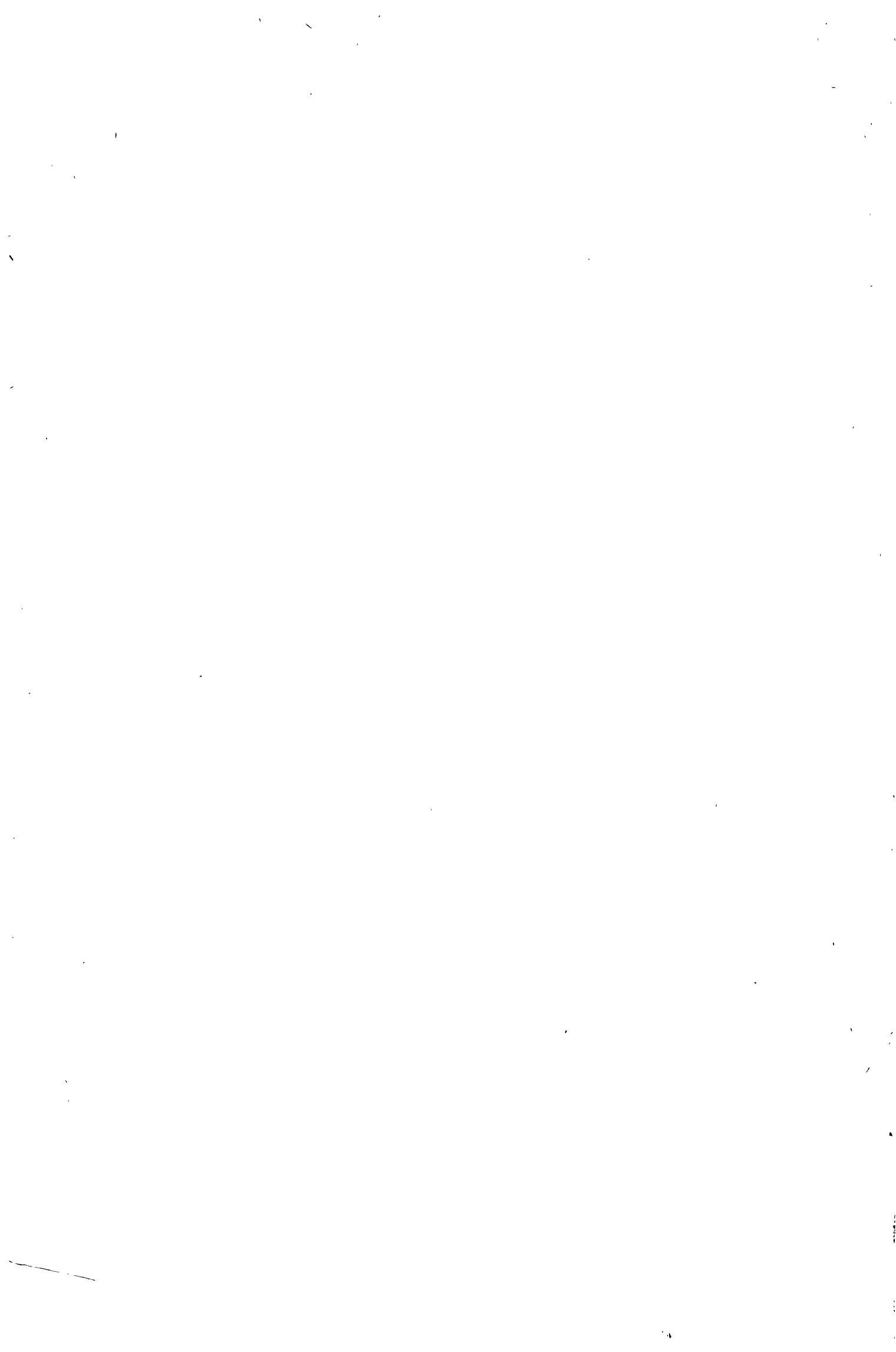
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**DENIS MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOC. 1-326/84 'VISUAL  
TECHNOLOGY INDUSTRY'): REJECTED**

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**ADAM MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOC. 1-290/84 'INFORMATION  
TECHNOLOGY'): ADOPTED**





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