

Annex

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Report of Proceedings

from 5 to 9 July 1982

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### Contents

<b>Monday, 5 July 1982</b> .....	1
Resumption of session, p. 1 — Order of business, p. 1 — Action taken on Parliament's opinions, p. 5 — 'Tourniquet' system, p. 7 — Reform of the Treaties and European union, p. 10 — Annex, p. 25	
<b>Tuesday, 6 July 1982</b> .....	28
Topical and urgent debate: announcement, p. 29 — Urgent procedure, p. 29 — Reform of the Treaties and European union (contd), p. 31 — Welcome, p. 37 — Reform of the Treaties and European union (contd), p. 37 — Welcome, p. 57 — Reform of the Treaties and European union (contd), p. 58 — Urgent procedure, p. 62 — Agenda, p. 64 — Question-Time, p. 65 — Welcome, p. 79 — Reform of the Treaties and European union (contd), p. 79 — Agenda, p. 92 — Annex, p. 94	
<b>Wednesday, 7 July 1982</b> .....	99
Minutes, p. 100 — European Council — Danish presidency, p. 100 — Topical and urgent debate: objections, p. 134 — 'Tourniquet' system (contd), p. 135 — Political situation in Turkey, p. 136 — Budget, p. 148 — Welcome, p. 162 — Question-Time (contd), p. 162 — Annex, p. 178	
<b>Thursday, 8 July 1982</b> .....	193
Minutes, p. 194 — Agenda, p. 195 — US-EEC trade relations, p. 196 — Death sentence on members of the ANC, p. 209 — Adams v Hoffmann-La Roche, p. 212 — Drought in Italy, p. 213 — Foot-and-mouth disease in Denmark, p. 215 — Budget (contd), p. 216 — Welcome, p. 227 — Symbolic empty seat in Parliament, p. 227 — European judicial area, p. 228 — Wine market, p. 237 — Agenda, p. 247 — EEC external trade, p. 248 — Protocols to agreements consequent on Greece's accession — Negotiations with Spain and Portugal — Mediterranean plan, p. 249 — Sheep- and goat-meat, p. 262 — Relations with Comecon, p. 263 — Road hauliers, p. 266 — Transport infrastructures, p. 267 — Inland waterways, p. 270 — Annex, p. 275	

(Continued overleaf)

## NOTE TO READER

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.

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

Contents (continued)	Friday, 9 July 1982 .....	284
	Votes, p. 285 — European Association for Cooperation, p. 287 — Agenda, p. 292	
	— Agricultural development in Greece, p. 294 — Hops, p. 297 — Salmon, p. 298	
	— Medical research, p. 303 — War-toys, p. 304 — Maritime navigation, p. 309	
	— Adjournment, p. 310 — Annex, p. 311	

## SITTING OF MONDAY, 5 JULY 1982

### Contents

1. Resumption of the session . . . . .	1	4. 'Tourniquet' system — Report (Doc. 1-398/82) by Mr Sieglerschmidt:	
2. Agenda:		Mr Sieglerschmidt; Mr Gerokostopoulos; Mr Prout; Mr Patterson; Mr Price; Mr Patterson	7
Mr Kirk; Mr von der Vring; Mr Patterson; Mr C. Jackson; Mr Gerokostopoulos; Mr Glinne; Mr Van Minnen; Mr Forth; Mr von der Vring; Mr Forth; Mr Prag; Mr Papaefstratiou; Mr von der Vring; Mr de la Malène; Mrs Dury; Sir Fred Catherwood; Mr Cottrell; Mr Pearce; Mr de Goede; Mr Bange- mann; Mr Pearce . . . . .	1	5. Reform of the Treaties and European Union — Report (Doc. 1-305/82) by Mr Spinelli:	
3. Action on the opinions of Parliament:		Mr Spinelli; Mr Radoux; Mr Barbi; Mr Prag; Mr Nord; Mr Ippolito; Mr Junot; Mr De Goede; Mr Thorn (Commission); Mr Hänsch . . . . .	10
Mr Irmer; Mr Andriessen (Commission); Mr Israël; Mr Andriessen; Mr Kirk; Mr Andriessen; Mr Harris; Mr Andriessen . . . . .	5	Annex . . . . .	25

IN THE CHAIR: MR DANKERT

*President*

2. Agenda

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

**President.** — At its meeting of 16 and 17 June the enlarged Bureau drew up the draft agenda which has been distributed to you.

#### 1. Resumption of the session

At their meeting this morning the chairmen of the political groups instructed me to propose a number of changes to the House.

**President.** — I declare resumed the session of the European Parliament adjourned on 18 June 1982.<sup>1</sup>

(The President read the changes proposed to Monday's draft agenda)<sup>1</sup>

I call Mr Kirk.

<sup>1</sup> Approval of minutes — Petitions — Transfers of appropriations — Motion for a resolution (Rule 49) — Authorization to draw up reports — Referral to committees — Documents received — Texts of treaties forwarded by the Council — Application of the Rules of Procedure — Deliberations of the Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions: see Minutes of this sitting.

**Mr Kirk.** — (DA) Mr President, on behalf of the European Democratic Group I must say that we find it unfortunate that the Sieglerschmidt report is to be dealt with today, as the time-limit for tabling amend-

<sup>1</sup> See Minutes.

**Kirk**

ments to this report is fixed for tomorrow at 12 noon. This means that the debate we are going to have this afternoon cannot include those amendments that may be tabled. Therefore, I would like to ask you not to include this report in this part-session.

**President.** — We have heard Mr Kirk speak against. Does anyone wish to speak for the Sieglerschmidt report today?

I call Mr von der Vring.

**Mr von der Vring.** — (DE) I am in favour of it. I shall not explain why.

*(Parliament agreed to the proposal to include the Sieglerschmidt report on the agenda)*

**President.** — I call Mr Patterson.

**Mr Patterson.** — Mr President, can you now indicate what the time-limit for amendments to this report will be, because I find it extraordinary that we are going to debate a matter before any single amendment can possibly be distributed to Members?

**President.** — The time-limit for tabling amendments is tomorrow at 12 noon.

*(The President read the changes proposed to Tuesday's agenda)<sup>1</sup>*

I call Mr Christopher Jackson.

**Mr C. Jackson.** — Mr President, may I just clarify that, because you added something which I had not heard before? You were suggesting that I could re-table this for the October part-session as well. I am grateful to you for that, because I was going to suggest that it should be shifted there anyway.

**President.** — Do you agree with the proposal now?

**Mr C. Jackson.** — Mr President, I think it would probably be clearer if we just delayed the whole thing until October and had it as an Oral Question with debate then.

**President.** — Mr Jackson, that is perfectly in order as far as I am concerned, so the question is still on the agenda, probably for October. My proposal is withdrawn.

<sup>1</sup> See Minutes.

I call Mr Gerokostopoulos.

**Mr Gerokostopoulos.** — (GR) Mr President, I ask you to note that the distribution of the minutes of the proceedings in Greek takes place in an unsatisfactory and irregular way which makes our work more difficult. To be specific, I refer to the motion for a resolution by Mr Spinelli on behalf of the Committee on Institutional Affairs. In that instance, which is unfortunately not an isolated one, the motion was distributed unaccompanied by its explanatory statement, and we first had sight of the latter only very shortly before the commencement of the sitting itself.

I pointed out this irregularity to the ushers some months ago, but am sorry to see that up to today nothing has been done to remedy the fault.

**President.** — Mr Gerokostopoulos, I will raise with the Bureau the question of the distribution of the minutes in Greek.

As far as I know, the Spinelli report — motion for a resolution, explanatory memorandum and annex — has been distributed separately in all languages, but I will also check on that.

*(The President read the changes proposed to Wednesday's agenda)<sup>1</sup>*

I call Mr Glinne.

**Mr Glinne.** — (FR) Mr President, I am afraid I was not paying attention to this side of things this afternoon, but I seem to recall that several committees, among them the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment, have already settled the problem by means of a report on Turkish migrant workers in the Community. My group would like, if such is indeed the case, for it to be debated jointly with Mr von Hassel's report on the political situation in Turkey, so that the two problems can be looked at together, which would make everything much clearer for the public, the media and ourselves.

**President.** — Mr Glinne, I am aware of the problem, but the Van Minnen report to which you refer has not yet been distributed. I suggest to you therefore that we defer a decision on this matter until tomorrow morning, by which time we shall have ascertained whether the report exists in all the official languages and whether it can be distributed.

I call Mr van Minnen.

**Mr van Minnen.** — (FR) Mr President, the report has been distributed, at any rate in Dutch.

<sup>1</sup> See Minutes.

**President.** — It is not certain, Mr van Minnen, that it is available in all the languages. We are checking on that. Tomorrow we shall have to propose that a number of additional reports be entered on the agenda, and it will then be for the Parliament to decide freely upon this matter. I would consider it wiser to put this report amongst their number, so that it will definitely have been distributed in all the languages.

I call Mr Forth.

**Mr Forth.** — I hope, Mr President, that when you do, you will ask for the opinion of either the rapporteur or, failing him, the chairman of the appropriate committee in order that they may give their own judgement as to whether this can reasonably be incorporated in the report. I trust this will be so.

**President.** — Mr Forth, that is exactly why I propose to do it tomorrow morning so that everybody can be prepared for the item.

I call Mr von der Vring.

**Mr von der Vring.** — *(DE)* Mr President, could your proposal not be rephrased to read that we shall put the Van Minnen report on the agenda provided you ascertain tomorrow that all the requirements have been satisfied?

**President.** — Mr von der Vring, I am not sure whether the report has already been distributed in all languages and to all the Members. This morning we discussed with the political group chairmen the question as to whether a report can be put on the agenda if it has not been distributed. The general consensus was that this should not be allowed to happen. I shall therefore have to check this. If the text is distributed, then I shall propose tomorrow that it be incorporated in Wednesday's agenda.

*(The President read the changes proposed to the agendas for Thursday and Friday<sup>1</sup> — Parliament adopted the agenda thus amended)*

I have received from Mr Forth and then other signatories, pursuant to Rule 56 of the Rules of Procedure, a request that the vote be taken at the close of each debate.

I call Mr Forth.

**Mr Forth.** — Mr President, having been a close observer of the procedures of the House for some three years now, I have come to the conclusion — and

I believe it is a view shared by many others — that the relevance of and the interest in our work would be greatly heightened were we to adopt — or indeed I should say re-adopt because it was the practice in Parliament prior to direct elections — the procedure whereby we vote at the conclusion of each debate. I believe this is something that the press and the media would very much welcome and which would greatly increase awareness by the media and therefore by the public of the proceedings of the House.

I have come to the conclusion that one of the things which has caused a dramatic fall in interest in our proceedings is our practice of holding debates on one occasion and then voting on quite a separate occasion. It is very difficult for those who wish to follow our proceedings to make that connection in their own minds. It is for this reason, Mr President, that I and others have submitted this proposal to you. I hope that all colleagues will think carefully about this and I would ask them to give it their support, if only on a trial basis, to see if it cannot increase the liveliness of the House, its relevance and its interest to the people of Europe who should be interested in and following our business. It is in this spirit that I submit this change to you and to the House and I hope it will have your support.

*(Applause from the European Democratic Group)*

**President.** — I call Mr Prag.

**Mr Prag.** — Very briefly, Mr President, as an ex-journalist, I know that by separating the debates and the votes we cut the lead sentence, and indeed the lead paragraph, from every journalist's story. Apart from giving us an ache in our arms on Thursday evening, grouping votes in batches means that the votes cannot possibly be reported, nor can our debates because they are without conclusion. So I do hope that we will give Mr Forth's resolution the support it deserves because it does give us a chance of greatly improving the publicity we get for our debates.

*(Applause from the European Democratic Group)*

**President.** — I call Mr Papaefstratiou.

**Mr Papaefstratiou.** — *(GR)* I am sorry to say that I must disagree with this proposal, because I fear that it will bring about results exactly the opposite from those that it intends. If it were the case that at each sitting we voted on two or three issues, then of course we would all agree. However, since experience has shown that Parliament can vote dozens of times at each sitting, I think that the system in force at present is the correct one, even though at first sight it may seem that there is a large gap between the debate and the vote. The present system ensures the presence of a large

<sup>1</sup> See Minutes.

**Papafstratiou**

number of members, and I think that this favours the authority of Parliament, in other words, as many members as possible should be present during the voting.

**President.** — I call Mr von der Vring.

**Mr von der Vring.** — (*DE*) Mr President, I suggest — and I hope this suggestion will take precedence — that this request be referred to the Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions. We cannot simply turn parliamentary practice upside down in five minutes, particularly when the matter has not yet been discussed by any of the political groups. I am quite prepared to consider Mr Forth's request and to draw the necessary conclusions, but this is not the way to go about it.

**President.** — Mr von der Vring, your request is admissible only if Mr Forth withdraws his request. Rule 56 gives him the right to make such a request and to demand that a vote be taken on it.

*(Parliament rejected Mr Forth's request)*

I call Mr de La Malène.

**Mr de la Malène.** — (*FR*) Mr President, I quite sympathize with the proposal put forward by our colleagues, but it does seem to me absurd to try change a system in a plenary sitting and in the heat of the moment.

I am entirely in favour of the Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions looking into it to see if they can improve our voting system, which is indeed very bad, but to try to change it just like that, given the difficulty of organizing our debates, that I think is ludicrous!

**President.** — Mr de la Malène, I note your suggestion that this matter be referred to the Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions.

I call Mrs Dury.

**Mrs Dury.** — (*FR*) Mr President, clearly this is a matter for the Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions, but I believe that, basically, it also has to do with the publicity given to our work and I wonder, therefore, if we ought not also seek the opinion of the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport.

**President.** — This is a matter for the Bureau initially and possibly, as far as the form is concerned, for the Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions.

I do not believe that it has to be referred to the House.

I call Sir Fred Catherwood.

**Sir Fred Catherwood.** — Not on this subject, Mr President, but on the next one. I find it very difficult to follow the changes in the agenda.

There are quite a lot of reports from my committee, and I understand that one has been withdrawn i.e. Mr Irmer's report on Comecon. Can I have your assurance that all the rest are on the agenda, even though I did not hear them read out?

**President.** — As far as I can see, only the Irmer report is off the agenda. But what has been adopted is adopted, so if I am wrong, the agenda is still right.

**Sir Fred Catherwood.** — In effect that means that the agenda is now adopted! We went straight on to Mr Forth's motion, so that did not manage to get in in time; otherwise I would have done so.

**President.** — Sir Fred, Mr Forth's motion was still part of the discussion of the agenda, because it would have modified our way of voting this week. So I can only now ask if there are further objections to the order of business we have adopted so far.

I call Mr Cottrell.

**Mr Cottrell.** — On a point of information, Mr President, have you in fact completed detailing the changes to Thursday's agenda?

**Mr President.** — In fact we have completed the changes to Thursday's agenda as far as they could be proposed today. Tomorrow morning I suppose you will have further proposals.

I call Mr Pearce.

**Mr Pearce.** — Mr President, you allowed Mrs Dury to make a statement which might perhaps have been challenged. I think what was going on in that vote was not entirely a question of publicity. What do Members think they are elected to this place for? We are elected here to do a job of work, and with regard to those Members who are not here — and there are an awful lot of empty seats over there — one really wonders what people think they get their money for as Members. At a time when this Parliament is under criticism, I really think that one's duty and role is the most important thing and the publicity, important though it is, is secondary.

**President.** — Mr Pearce, perhaps you could continue the discussion on that point with Madam Dury outside the hemicycle.

I call Mr De Goede.

**Mr De Goede.** — (NL) Mr President, I should just like to say a few more words about this week's agenda. I had expected to hear you say that you would be making a statement this week. What about? We all know, the press knows and many members of the public know that Parliament is again the centre of interest, an interest that is not in its favour. I am aware that you have held a press conference to give some provisional information on the situation in the administration of our Parliament. But I do not think that is enough. I feel that the public, the press and above all we parliamentarians have a right to know exactly what is going on.

Why have staff been transferred, how is it that deficiencies have been found, by whom and how much is involved? I quite appreciate that you will need some time to make a proper assessment, but I consider it important for you to state publicly in the very near future, this week if possible, how much you can say about the situation. I feel we all have a right to that. We just do not know what to say at speaking engagements when we are asked about this, and I would be very grateful for something, even if it is only the beginning of an explanation. Perhaps you need to discuss this tomorrow in the enlarged Bureau. But I would be grateful if you could make a public statement in Parliament this week to explain what is going on. I would appreciate that very much.

**President.** — Mr De Goede, I can tell you straightaway that I have no intention of making a statement in Parliament in the course of this week, because I do not believe that that is part of my job. The procedure is that special reports by the Court of Auditors are considered by the responsible committee of Parliament; in this case it is the Committee for Budgetary Control. If its findings lead that committee to the view that it must submit a report to Parliament, then that is alright. I believe, however, that we must observe very strictly the procedural rules involved and we must leave the responsibility to those on whom it is conferred by our Rules of Procedure.

I call Mr Bangemann.

**Mr Bangemann.** — (DE) Mr President, I should just like to emphasize once again that, if there have been irregularities and if it can be established who are responsible, everything must be done to call them to account. But as long as there is no definite proof, my group feels that the reputation both of those directly concerned and of Parliament will suffer if public statements are made on the subject. Only facts may be dis-

cussed in public, facts backed by evidence, not mere assumptions. In view of this basic rule, my group would even have preferred it if you had not given any press conference, contrary entirely to what Mr De Goede has just said.

**President.** — I call Mr Pearce.

**Mr Pearce.** — Mr President, I respect your judgement on this matter, but I wonder if you could take two points on board.

The first is that you yourself should not make any comments on this matter to the press before you have done so in this Chamber.

Secondly, you should give a categorical instruction to members of the staff not to speak to the press or the public except in the way that is authorized by you personally. Those Members of this House — and as far as I know it is 434 of them — that are honest in their dealings are gravely embarrassed by things that have been said by members of this staff, and I wish you had stopped them saying it.

**President.** — Thank you, Mr Pearce, I think this is a matter for the Bureau of Parliament. Certain steps have already been taken.

I think we should close this discussion.<sup>1</sup>

### 3. Action on the opinions of Parliament

**President.** — The next item is the statement by the Commission of the European Communities on the action taken on the opinions and resolutions of the European Parliament.<sup>2</sup>

I call Mr Irmer.

**Mr Irmer.** — (DE) Mr President, I should like to hear from the Commissioner what has happened to the proposal for a directive on liability for defective products. I read in one newspaper that the Council of Ministers is discussing this proposal. I recall, however, that the House asked the Commission not to forward the proposal to the Council before Parliament had reconsidered it. I hope that my information — that the proposal has been forwarded to the Council — is incorrect. If the Commissioner can confirm that this information is incorrect, I shall be satisfied. But if it should turn out that the Commission has submitted the proposal to

<sup>1</sup> Speaking time — deadline for tabling amendments: see Minutes.

<sup>2</sup> See Annex.

**Irmer**

the Council contrary to the wishes of this House, I shall consider the matter very serious.

**Mr Andriessen, Member of the Commission — (NL)** Mr President, I find myself in a rather difficult position since, as I recall, this item was not discussed at the last part-session and the agreement we have is that, until a settlement is reached on the question of procedure, on which we have now put forward our proposals, this item of the agenda should be restricted to questions on matters before the last part-session. In view of the agreed procedure, I am not therefore quite sure whether this question is in order.

**President.** — I think you are perfectly right, Mr Andriessen. It would, however, be helpful all the same if you could come up with some answer to Mr Irmer's question. In my opinion it raises a point of the kind on which you will be anxious to give an answer as soon as the new procedure comes into effect. If you can do so therefore, in this context, we shall be simply anticipating the new procedure.

**Mr Andriessen.** — (NL) At the moment, Mr President, I do not have the necessary information. I do not even know whether this would come under the new procedure, at least in the form proposed by the Commission. It is, of course, for Parliament to decide whether it wishes to accept our proposal. I am naturally prepared to provide the honourable Member with written information on the subject as soon as I am able.

**Mr Israël.** — (FR) Mr President, at our last part-session Parliament adopted two resolutions, one concerning Afghanistan and the other concerning Pakistan.

During these debates the Commission expressed its opinion orally. Now, in the document submitted to us today, I find that the Commission does not express any opinion. This is really astonishing, especially in view of the fact that Parliament did request the Commission to report back to it within three months on the matter of aid to Afghan refugees and, moreover, Mr Haagerup's report did urge it to review its relations with Pakistan in the light of the incident that you all know about.

May I ask the Commissioner if he will kindly tell us today that he has taken due note of these resolutions and that he does intend to prepare a report within the three months.

**Mr Andriessen.** — (NL) These matters certainly form part of the subject under discussion. As regards the situation in Afghanistan, Parliament called on the Commission to draw up a report on new measures

which might be taken to help Afghan refugees. The Commission submitted a document on 21 June — and I regard it as more than a report — which discusses, among other things, emergency aid to Afghan refugees, taking the form of appropriations that the Commission has requested in the supplementary budget for 1982. It will thus be possible for the parliamentary committees to discuss the matter very soon.

With regard to the second question, which concerns diplomatic relations and even the general pattern of relations between Pakistan and the Community, the Commission said during the debate that, in view of the action that has been taken at diplomatic level, it does not consider this the time for such far-reaching steps. I do not believe that further consideration of the matter would result in a change in this view, but the Commission has not yet adopted a final position on the subject.

**Mr Kirk.** — (DA) Mr President, last year Parliament discussed two proposals from the Commission. One proposal was for derogations to Article 100 of the Treaty of Accession on access to Community waters. And the second proposal dealt with the allocation of quotas to the Member States for 1981.

These two proposals have now been radically changed by the Commission and forwarded to the Council, and the Council has dealt with the proposals in question at two meetings. Parliament's Committee on Agriculture and Fisheries has not succeeded in getting hold of the two amended proposals, hence no statement could be issued by Parliament on them. I would like to request, Mr President, that you arrange that the Commission and the Council receive Parliament's opinion in order to ensure that we — who are elected in the European Member States, and, amongst other things, represent people working in the fisheries industry — also get an opportunity to state our views on the two proposals, so that the Council can incorporate them into its final considerations.

**President.** — Mr Kirk, I have the impression that the Commission thinks your question is in order.

**Mr Andriessen.** — (NL) Mr President, the fisheries problem was under discussion for some time, and I think I am right in saying that Parliament has been consulted by the Commission on the original proposal, or the amendments to it, at least three times in recent years. As the proposal the Commission has now put forward does not make any fundamental changes to the basic principles of the original text, the Commission felt that, legally speaking, there was no need for Parliament to be consulted a fourth time.

A second consideration, Mr President, which is at least as important, is largely of a political nature. I cannot help thinking that we have now reached a stage



**Andriessen**

where the opportunities for the establishment of a common fisheries policy are greater than they have ever been. In view of the legal aspect of the matter to which I have just referred, the Commission had to act as it did if it was to seize the opportunities of the political moment. I would add that the Commission certainly did inform the parliamentary committee concerned, which was therefore in possession of the facts and able to discuss the matter. I therefore feel that the Commission was legally entitled to take action and that this policy has benefited the Community.

**Mr Harris.** — Mr President, could I refer the Commissioner to the summary of resolutions adopted by Parliament at the last part-session. On page 9 there is a reference to the Gredal report on relations between the Community and the United States of America, and the standpoint of the Commission is summarized by saying that Commissioner Andriessen felt that many matters at issue between the Community and the United States over monetary affairs, trade and development were more technical than political in nature. In view of subsequent events, particularly over the pipeline saga, could I ask the Commissioner if that is still his opinion?

**Mr Andriessen.** — (NL) Mr President, opinions may, of course, differ as to how tension should be described when it emerges between, say, the Community and the United States. I am in no way saying that a time may not come when the Commission or the Community as such will have to recognize the more political dimension of the present tension and to act accordingly. For the time being, there is no change in the standpoint which I adopted on the Commission's behalf during the debate at the last part-session, and the Commission will endeavour, in close consultation with the United States, to resolve the present difficulties and problems. This does not, of course, mean, Mr President, that the Commission is not preparing for other eventualities, but it would like a good dialogue to prevent such conflicts occurring.

**President.** — I have to point out to Mr Gerokostopoulos that the minutes of 18 June have been distributed, the Greek language included, and the same is true as far as the three parts of the Spinelli document are concerned, so I think there has been some misunderstanding on that point.

#### 4. 'Tourniquet' system

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-398/82) by Mr Sieglerschmidt, on behalf of the Committee on the Verification of Credentials, on disputes concerning the validity of appointments in connection with the 'tourniquet' system.

I call the rapporteur.

**Mr Sieglerschmidt, rapporteur.** — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, it is an unusual occurrence for the Committee on the Verification of Credentials to submit a report with a written explanatory statement to Parliament. This has happened only once before, and that was in connection with seats vacated by Irish Members. There was considerable doubt at that time as to whether a provision of the Irish legislation on European elections was compatible with the Act of 20 September 1976. Incidentally, your predecessor, Mr President, wrote a letter to the Speaker of the Dáil, and I take this opportunity to express my regret that, to my knowledge, this letter has not yet been answered. We should perhaps do something to obtain an answer or an opinion on the subject.

The second report drawn up by the Committee on the Verification of Credentials concerns a matter which has been occupying the European Parliament for some time and one which has also been raised during plenary sittings on various occasions. The point at issue is the so-called — and I stress, so-called — 'tourniquet system' used by the list of the *Défense des intérêts de la France en Europe*, abbreviated DIFE. For those, particularly in the galleries, who do not know what this is all about, I think it best to quote the relevant passage from the election manifesto of the DIFE list: 'Because of the personal undertaking which they have given, the 81 members of the *Défense des intérêts de la France en Europe* list will form a permanent national group.' All 81 of them then. 'The first candidates elected will give up their seats after one year and the same procedure will take place each year subsequently so that all members of our list in turn become Members of Parliament, thus demonstrating the solidarity and equality of all candidates on the list.'

Normally the Committee on the Verification of Credentials checks the validity of the appointments of newly elected Members, as it did in the Irish case, and then puts forward a proposal for a decision. The committee did not consider this procedure appropriate in the present case, since there was a dispute under Rule 7(7) of the Rules of Procedure about the validity of appointments already endorsed by Parliament and objections to future appointments, in one specific case to the appointment of Mr Bord; I do not know whether he is with us now. But, Mr President, what was special about Mr Fergusson's requests was that in his objection under Rule 7(7), in which he also referred to Mr Mouchel, he was really using the names of Mr Mouchel and Mr Bord only as examples. He was, in fact, disputing the appointment of all those who might in future enter Parliament on the DIFE list and the validity of the mandates of all members of the DIFE in this Parliament.

The committee therefore considered it appropriate that so general a doubt about the validity of appoint-

### Sieglerschmidt

ments should be followed by a general response from Parliament. We thus felt that, in this case, Parliament should depart from the procedure we adopted in the case of the Irish appointments and state whether or not the 'tourniquet' contravenes the Act of 20 September 1976 and Parliament's Rules of Procedure.

In this we should make a clear distinction between a political and a legal assessment of the matter. Since I know that some Members find it difficult to make this distinction, I will give the example of the unanimous vote in the Council in cases where such a vote is required by the Treaty. We rightly criticize the Council on political grounds for so frequently failing to achieve unanimity in important instances. But nobody would seriously consider questioning the principle of unanimity for this reason — even though some people may not like this provision of the Treaty. I therefore ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to be very careful to make this distinction.

The committee had good reason to refrain from making any comment that could be construed as a political assessment since — if I may take this opportunity to remind you — the mandate it has been given by Parliament is very limited. Rule 96(1) reads: *'Parliament shall set up a Committee on the Verification of Credentials for the purpose of preparing decisions on any objections concerning the validity of elections.'* That is what it says, and I therefore ask you to appreciate why your rapporteur has had to be careful to refrain from any political judgment in this affair, although he certainly has his own views on the 'tourniquet system', which he made clear in the Committee on the Verification of Credentials.

Paragraphs 7 and 8 of the explanatory statement tell us about the effect the 'tourniquet system' has so far had and about its questionable side-effects. The explanatory statement contains a proposal to the Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions concerning these side-effects. I am referring in this context to some of the things with which we are familiar, of course, such as letters of resignation written and, it would seem, signed some considerable time before the resignation is due to be announced, and various other rather unpleasant practices. We feel the Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions should consider whether the resignation formalities in future should not be such that resignations may only be announced to the President for entry in his record rather than by means of a simple letter put in the post box without anyone knowing how it came about.

However, ours is only to decide on the legal aspects. Firstly, Article 3(1) of the Act of 20 September 1976 says that representatives are elected for a term of five years. Does this mean, the committee asked itself, that representatives have a legal obligation to remain Members of Parliament for five years? Is a representative subject to this legal obligation if he has previously declared that he will leave earlier, after a year, as

provided for under the 'tourniquet system'? Our answer was no, because that would mean that a Member who had not given such an undertaking might resign only if he had good reason for doing so. But neither the Act of 20 September 1976 nor — and this is the decisive point in this context — the French legislation on European elections contains a provision to this effect.

Secondly, Article 4(1) states: *'Representatives... shall not be bound by any instructions and shall not receive a binding mandate.'* While it is true to say that they are not bound by instructions and do not receive binding mandates, that does not, of course, mean that they cannot accept instructions and mandates. We accept them every day from our political parties, as a result of decisions taken by the groups, from our constituencies. The question is simply whether there are any national rulings which *penalize* Members if they do not abide by such decisions or instructions, because they would be illegal.

The Committee on the Verification of Credentials concluded that, whatever one may otherwise think of the 'tourniquet', this turnstile system — and 'tourniquet' also means 'wheel of fortune' in French — it does not contravene the Act of 20 September 1976 or the Rules of Procedure. On the committee's behalf I therefore call on the House to vote as the committee has proposed.

Mr President, I also have time to speak on behalf of the Socialist Group. So I have not greatly exceeded my speaking time. To keep things very brief and not to hold up the proceedings, the Socialist Group calls on Parliament to vote as the committee has proposed.

### IN THE CHAIR: MR MOLLER

#### *Vice-President*

**President.** — I call Mr Gerokostopoulos to speak on a point of order.

**Mr Gerokostopoulos.** — (GR) Mr President, at the risk of becoming monotonous, I must again point out that when Mr Dankert was presiding I complained about the irregular distribution of the minutes in Greek. At this very moment, we, the Greek Members present at this sitting, have not yet received Mr Sieglerschmidt's report. We shall not, of course, invoke the Rules of Procedure to frustrate or postpone the debate, but I ask that, together with the previous example I referred to concerning Mr Spinelli's report and explanatory memorandum, the case of Mr Sieglerschmidt's report should be placed on record. We

**Gerokostopoulos**

would like to thank Mr Sieglerschmidt for his excellent introduction.

**President.** — The question of why the Greek translation is not available will be looked into.

I call the Committee on the Verification of Credentials.

**Mr Prout, Chairman of the Committee.** — I would like first of all to express my concern at the way this report has appeared on the agenda. It concerns an extremely controversial matter, often the subject of heated debate in this House. It would have been wiser, I think, to give Members proper notice of its appearance. I also deplore the practice of debating a report before we know the nature of the amendments to be tabled to it.

Now, Mr President, the Committee on the Verification of Credentials is a new committee. This is, indeed, only our second report to the House. You will recall that our first concerned a matter of Irish electoral law. The precedents that we set now will be of considerable importance for the future. In both reports we were faced with a substantive and similar question of law. Is a national enactment, or a particular political practice in a Member State, compatible with the Electoral Act of 1976? Faced with this question in relation to Irish legislation, the author of our first report, Mr Chamberon, supported by the whole committee, took the following point of view in paragraph 12 of his report:

The Committee on the Verification of Credentials is not competent to pronounce on the conformity of the Irish electoral law with the provisions of the Act of 20 September 1976.

In the Sieglerschmidt report the committee's approach has been somewhat more robust. Paragraph 1 of the motion for a resolution says:

The tourniquet system is not incompatible with the Act of 20 September 1976 and with Parliament's Rules of Procedure.

Speaking as chairman of the Committee on the Verification of Credentials, I am naturally anxious to see its powers grow! Nevertheless, I am acutely aware that the committee has contradicted itself on a fundamental matter, and the House may wish to take a view on the question of competence. Should, for example, the Legal Affairs Committee be asked for its opinion as a matter of course on difficult questions of law raised in the course of our work? Or should its participation be a matter of discretion for the President of Parliament or indeed for the Committee on the Verification of Credentials itself?

There were a number of members who, while believing that the tourniquet system was not in itself con-

trary to the Treaty, nevertheless believed that it may become illegal by abuse. Unfair pressure placed upon Members to force them to conform with undertakings previously given to their party would, in their opinion, fall into this category. In the event, the committee failed to take a view on this matter.

Finally, Mr President, the committee decided not to take a view on the political desirability of the tourniquet. It believed that this should be a matter for the House to comment upon by amendment.

**President.** — Mr Gerokostopoulos' remarks have been looked into, and I can inform the House that the report will now be distributed in all languages.

I call Mr Patterson.

**Mr Patterson.** — I refer to Rule 59 of our Rules of Procedure concerning time-limits. It says:

Except in the cases of urgency referred to in Rules 48 and 57, a debate and vote shall not be opened on a text unless it was tabled not later than 12 days before the beginning of the part-session and distributed at least 24 hours previously.

We have just heard from you, Mr President, that this document was distributed this morning in at least one language and possibly in others. I therefore feel that this debate cannot now take place because it contravenes Rule 59 of the Rules of Procedure, and I should like to move under Rule 87, which refers to the adjournment of a debate, that it now be immediately adjourned and recommenced at 3.30 p.m. on Wednesday, which will also, of course, allow time for the amendments to be translated and circulated.

**President.** — Mr Patterson, I draw your attention to the fact that one hour ago Parliament adopted the agenda which includes the Sieglerschmidt report.

**Mr Patterson.** — Mr President, I must protest. Parliament cannot overrule its own Rules of Procedure. If Parliament voted earlier on to put a matter on the agenda when the document had not been distributed, it was the fault of the President then in the Chair for failing to point out that Rule 59 was being breached. Only he knew that the documents had not been distributed, and he should have pointed out that debate could not take place. It should never have been put to the vote. Now that we have discovered that the Rules of Procedure have been breached, the best thing we can do, as I have suggested, is to adjourn the debate to bring us within our Rules. Otherwise this whole debate and the vote will be invalid.

**President.** — Mr Patterson, normally I cannot dispense from the Rules of Procedure, but since we have

**President**

started to debate this item, I would ask you to agree that we should carry it through.

**Mr Patterson.** — Mr President, I have formally moved the adjournment under Rule 87. I request you now to vote on the adjournment.

**President.** — Mr Patterson, the Assembly cannot at this point set aside what was adopted an hour ago when so many more Members were present.

I call Mr Price.

**Mr Price.** — Mr President, what was put earlier on was a motion under quite another Rule of our Rules of Procedure to change the agenda. What is now happening is quite different. It is first of all to raise under Rule 59 a point regarding the distribution of texts, which was not raised previously. This is coming to the presidency for the first time for a ruling and, Mr President, you have no option, in my submission, because what the Rules of Parliament say is that, except in the cases of urgency referred to in Rules 48 and 57, a debate shall not be opened on a text unless it has been distributed at least 24 hours previously. You have indicated, Mr President, that it was not distributed at least 24 hours previously, and so according to our Rules you have no power to enable the debate to proceed.

Now what Mr Patterson offered to you as an alternative suggestion was to apply Rule 87, because if you simply applied Rule 59 there would be a hiatus in that there would be no point on the agenda when this could be resumed. Mr Patterson offered the alternative of moving the adjournment under Rule 87, which would put it back on the agenda later this week. But if you choose not to go as far as his second proposition, you can only apply Rule 59 and take it off the agenda completely.

Mr President, it seems to me that the way round it is the one that Mr Patterson has offered — namely, to put his motion under Rule 87 to the vote. Indeed, if you do not rule the debate under Rule 59 as being out of order, you are obliged under Rule 87 to put that motion to the vote.

**President.** — In view of the point you have just made I shall put the motion to the vote.

I call Mr Price.

**Mr Price.** — Mr President, could you indicate under what Rule you are conducting this vote, because under Rule 59, under which the primary issue which you appear to be putting to the vote was raised, there is no discretion, there is nothing for Parliament to decide,

because the Rules are quite specific that the debate shall not be opened in these circumstances. Parliament has no power to overrule its own Rules. It can only do it by a rule amendment — and of course I need hardly say that we are not in the situation of being confronted with a rule amendment.

**President.** — Mr Price, allow me to refer to Rule 87(1):

‘Before or during a debate on an item on the agenda, any Member may move that the debate be adjourned to a specific date and time.’

I put the motion to the vote.

*(The motion was adopted)*

This item is therefore removed from the agenda.

I call Mr Patterson.

**Mr Patterson.** — As my proposal has now been carried — I am glad of that — could I remind you that according to Rule 87 I did name a specific date and time, which was 3.30 on Wednesday? As my proposition has now been carried, I imagine the debate will now be resumed at that time.

**President.** — The debate will be resumed on Wednesday in accordance with your proposal.

### 5. Reform of the Treaties and European Union

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-305/82) by Mr Spinelli, on behalf of the Committee on Institutional Affairs, on the European Parliament's position concerning the reform of the Treaties and the achievement of European Union.

I call the rapporteur.

**Mr Spinelli, rapporteur.** — *(IT)* Mr President, it would have been difficult to imagine a more suitable time to hold a parliamentary debate on the guidelines to be given to the Committee on Institutional Affairs for its further work.

What we are now witnessing on the international and Community scene demonstrates with appalling clarity the profound contradiction between what we will have to do and what we are able to do.

First, let us dwell briefly on the role of the Community in world politics. For decades we allowed the principal responsibility for our destiny in this regard to remain in the hands of our American ally, adopting an auxil-

## Spinelli

iary role and being content to pursue, in the shadow of American international policy, a European commercial policy, a modest policy of cooperation for development and a search for a precarious intra-Community monetary stability, with occasional statements of intent in relation to various events.

This convenient abdication, however, is no longer possible. The course of events, which I will not describe here since it is well known to everyone, has brought us to a point where not one or other of the Community countries but all of them together urgently need to assume new, great and serious responsibilities. These responsibilities concern our contribution to peace, to security, to the proper and productive management of alliances, to the freedom of international trade, to monetary stability, to a new world economic order which firmly binds the recovery of our more advanced economies to growth in the less advanced countries.

In our countries there is a broad and fundamental agreement on the need to assume these new responsibilities. This awareness, however, is accompanied by many uncertainties, contradictions, lapses, moments of resignation.

It is perfectly natural that within the context of a general agreement there should be nuances and variations from one country to another and from one party to another within each separate country. It would be strange indeed if this were not the case. What we lack is an adequate European institutional system able to mould the common feeling into a common political will through a joint effort to find the necessary compromises; a system able to create a broad and reliable consensus around the common will and ensure the necessary continuity in international action.

The methods so far employed by the countries of the Community have included initiatives by one or other of the Member States, taken in the belief — and sometimes the legitimate belief — that the country in question was giving practical effect to a frame of mind shared by all. They have included intergovernmental agreements laboriously reached through so-called political cooperation or intergovernmental monetary cooperation. On issues concerning commercial policy there has been recourse to the complicated procedure laid down in Article 113 of the Treaty of Rome, but it is a noteworthy fact that recently, on the first occasion when the application of this article had strong political implications, the failure of two Member States to comply with the Community decision was tolerated.

One has only to consider these chaotic methods employed to deal with the serious problems of the European presence on the world scene to understand that it is impossible for us to be satisfied with them much longer. Indeed, there is a great danger that the very meaning of our Community in the context of world politics will dissolve in the face of these inconsistencies, and that each of our countries will return to

the pursuit of the delusion of anachronistic national sovereignty.

The picture is no different if we shift our gaze from world scene to the Community one. During the great development of the 50's and 60's the treaties establishing the Community, together with their commitments, their supporting institutions and the laws and policies derived from them, did fail in some areas and were affected by certain institutional distortions, but they were on the whole adequate to perform the central task of the Community and made a considerable contribution to its development. Thanks to the rules of the Common Market, an unprecedented degree of interdependence and integration among the countries of the Community was attained.

In the 70's, however, and even more so in the early 80's, the picture changed completely. Unemployment, inflation, high energy costs, structural inflexibility, decreasing competitiveness on the world market and acute regional imbalances began to take their toll. The ecological crisis, which threatens the proper relationship of man with nature, became more acute, as did the crisis of the quality of life, which threatens the proper relationship of man with his fellows and flaws the democratic consensus of which we were so proud. All of these are the new ills now shared by all the countries which make up the European Community. But these ills strike to a different degree and in different ways in each of them. In each country our governments, and with them the political forces — the governmental ones no less than those of the opposition — are desperately struggling against all these ills. I say 'desperately', because in nearly every case coherent action at the national level alone is either impossible — because it needs to be completed by converging and compatible action by the other countries to which we are most closely bound, that is, the other countries of the Community — or possible only at the cost of destroying a greater or lesser degree of interdependence with these other countries. The Community, which should guarantee this convergence and compatibility and, when necessary, assume direct responsibility for action on the European level, has neither the necessary authority nor the institutions suitable for dealing with these problems.

For this reason we have a Commission which promises great programmes and then does not even dare to elaborate them because it fears they will not be approved; we have a European Council which outlines great objectives and then allows the Councils of Ministers, prisoners all of ten different national ways of thinking, to obscure these objectives and let them melt away; we have a Parliament which solemnly approves great resolutions on hunger, on own resources, on the better functioning of the present institutions and so on, but must then resign itself to having its resolutions ignored and never put into effect.

### Spinelli

These are the reasons which necessitate a reform of the Community and of the para-Community institutions of Political Cooperation and the EMS.

The brief summary just made of the great internal and external tasks facing the Community should be more than sufficient to answer once and for all the criticism that the development of the Community in the direction of an ever more meaningful European Union demands not so much institutional reforms as a common political will.

It is obvious that at the beginning of every development of a stronger union there must be a sense of a shared destiny, a *destin partage*, a feeling of 'togetherness'. The very fact that we in this Assembly, elected by our fellow citizens in each of our countries, have for years been able to hold discussions, to join together in defining aspirations, plans, demands, to understand one another even when we see things differently, proves that this common political ground exists.

So that this feeling may be translated into a *common political will*, however — and by these words I mean a *decision to carry out joint action* — it is essential that there should be democratic institutions with a European background representing a consensus on the part of both the citizens and the Member States, that there should be parliamentary institutions for European legislation, that there should be an executive institution to oversee the implementation of common policies and that there should be a judicial institution to guarantee that European law is respected.

The task given to our committee on 9 July of last year by this Parliament was to formulate the major objectives of European Union — of which the Community, Political Cooperation and the EMS are only partial forms — and redefine institutional competences and the necessary institutional reforms.

For five months we have discussed the general characteristics of such reforms and the reasons why they are necessary. We have re-written the text of the resolution three times on the basis of long general discussions, and a fourth time on the basis of some 90 amendments presented by Members from each part of the political spectrum of this Assembly — amendments which have nearly all become part of the definitive text. This text, then, which nevertheless has its own unity, is the result of a collective effort on the part of the entire committee, which finally approved it with 31 votes in favour and 2 abstentions out of a total of 37 members. The committee, therefore, presents this text to you with a considerable amount of political authority.

After its presentation some twenty new amendments were tabled for the debate in the Chamber. Some of these suggest clarifications of concept or style which harmonize with the decisions of the Committee on

Institutional Affairs. I therefore feel authorized to suggest their adoption to you.

Others have already been incorporated into the committee's text, but they are amalgamated with other clarifications requested by other colleagues. I will ask their sponsors to withdraw them so as not to jeopardize the compromises already attained. If they are not withdrawn, I will ask you to reject them.

Finally, others are in direct opposition to the spirit and the letter of the committee's text, and I therefore call upon you to reject them. In any case, I have the impression that none of these amendments has sufficient scope to make its adoption or rejection a condition for your final vote on the resolution.

To facilitate matters for each group and for each one of you, I have had a note prepared — unfortunately only in French — which contains my suggestions for each amendment and the reasons behind them.

The debate which will now take place and the vote which will conclude it will show that the work undertaken by this Parliament is not, and has no intention of being, the semi-secret work of a committee ignorant of the nature and size of the consensus supporting it; rather it is, and aims to be, an effort carried out with the active participation of Parliament as a whole.

On the basis of these guidelines, once they have been adopted here, our committee has already drawn up a plan for further work. Six rapporteurs, assisted by a coordinating rapporteur, will present you early next year with a detailed plan for an overall resolution outlining the practical solutions to be applied to the various questions raised in the general guidelines. Only after having received your definitive and reasoned approval will we elaborate the formal plan of reform. We will then submit that to your judgment and final vote, so that it can be sent to the Member States for ratification before the next European elections.

At a time when the Community and the Member States are wondering about their own and the Community's future, at a time when the feeling of bewilderment is widespread, when there is a strong temptation to seek inspiration in outdated forms only because there is no courage to speak of new ones, at such a time the present debate and the vote which will conclude it cannot fail to have great political significance. If, as we hope, the outcome is positive, this will mean not only that the European Parliament will have had the courage to lead the way, but also that all those who vote for the guidelines will have committed themselves to explaining these guidelines to their parties, to their electors, to their national parliaments and governments. It will mean more than the adoption of just one more parliamentary resolution to join the innumerable others; it will signal the beginning of a demo-

**Spinelli**

cratic political battle for the Europe of the 80's, for a Europe made by Europeans for Europeans.

*(Loud applause)*

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

**Mr Radoux.** — *(FR)* On behalf of the Socialist Group, I offer my thanks to the Bureau of Parliament which, at the initiative of its President, has consented to give this report the place it deserves.

I congratulate the rapporteur on the resolution he has produced as the basis for our debates, a resolution that has been modified several times at the instigation of the majority of the group representatives within the Committee on Institutional Affairs.

The rapporteur's moderating influence has enabled Parliament to be presented with a sensible and balanced text, even if it is subject to further amendments. My colleagues in the group will in due course be explaining the Socialist amendments and their respective positions.

I should like, at the start of this debate, to clear up a misconception. It has from time to time been suggested that the work of the Institutional Committee is of only limited value in the context of the 1984 elections. We do not share this view, rather do we tend to go along with what the President of the European Trade Union Confederation said at a hearing before that very committee: 'One can have good institutions and bad policies; what we need is both good policies and good institutions'. Now, what does the committee's resolution largely contain if not proposed guidelines relating to the tasks and responsibilities of European Union? The section devoted to the institutions seems to imply quite clearly that they are instruments through which policies can be implemented. Even the work of the six rapporteurs who are due to start work this coming September is going to have an effect in the short term on the conduct of Community affairs. In other words, if the job of the Committee on Institutional Affairs is to draw up the legal texts in connection with the alterations to the existing treaties, the matters dealt with will have an impact on what the Community actually does between now and 1984. The operation could be doomed to failure unless it can be proved that what has just been initiated is a movement entailing more rapid progress towards completion of the internal market, the introduction of new policies and the formulation of more radical measures to overcome the economic and social situation.

This view of things is the rationale, the justification of the amendments of the Socialist Group as a whole. Having accepted the *how* of things, we wish to state the *why* of things, the why of our acquiescence in an undertaking to update the treaties and to move on to the ultimate goal of the European venture.

But who will believe that the twenty million young people who are going to be voting for the first time in 1984 will be satisfied with the promised improvements in the functioning of the Community, whatever they may be and however excellent the programme, if Community action between now and then should fail to do something to improve their living conditions?

Let us now answer the following questions: Whose job should it be to take the radical measures needed to get the Community out of its present disarray, to prevent it being nothing more than a free trade area, to see to it, rather, that it develops towards a genuine union of our countries? Whose job is it to replace stray impulses with will, whose job is it to select, decide, propose, from among the vast number of projects that are so often abandoned almost as soon as they are presented? Who or what is better entitled than Parliament to set about reinforcing the powers of each of the institutions, working out a new balance between them, and establishing European Union in accordance with the wishes expressed just exactly ten years ago by the Heads of State and Government and based on the structures defined, at their request, in 1975 in the report by Mr Tindemans? It is our duty to democratize the Community institutions, just as it is our duty to pull the Community out of the doldrums. It is also our duty to see the Community involve itself more deeply, bearing in mind the principle of subsidiarity, in measures aimed at raising the level of social justice in each of the Member States at a time when the economic situation is tending to widen the disparities between the social strata. Given the very specific nature of the Council's interests and the multiplicity of tasks that fall within the Commission's responsibility, clearly it is up to Parliament to take on the most practical aspect of the operation bringing us closer to European unification.

It would of course be absurd, indeed it would be wrong, to deny or to ignore what the Member States themselves have achieved in the Community, or to underestimate the Commission's contribution in drawing up proposals and carrying out its executive functions in often very trying circumstances. But for some time now we have been hearing calls from all sides for us to rise above all the difficulties and start forging ahead again. We had no option but to respond to these calls.

Have we chosen the right moment? To tell the truth, we had no choice. Are these the ideal conditions in which to embark on the Community's planned transition to Union? The answer is no. But is it time we made a bold start on a project that has been more talked about than the weather? The answer is yes.

There is a certain amount of scepticism about. People have been prepared to put up with this muddled state of affairs, but they do concede that if things really are that bad, they do need changing.

**Radoux**

And so we have to be ambitious, for without ambition no great undertaking is ever attempted and, what is more to the point, no great undertaking is ever successfully accomplished.

It is quite possible, probable even, that certain questions that have been a regular topic of conversation since the beginning of the year will be discussed in the course of this debate. I refer to such notions as *Europa à la carte*, *juste retour*, and so on, to mention just two. Why? Primarily because these things are not new, contrary to what some people honestly believe. They are as old as the Treaties themselves, including the 1950 Treaty. Like fashion, they make a periodic come-back and create the usual stir. These questions must be treated separately from the project we are debating today. Our work and the work of the Committee on Institutional Affairs is a permanent undertaking with a timetable to observe and a specific goal to achieve. We are concerned with guidelines for medium-term objectives; we are not concerned with discussing a bone of contention between the Council, the Commission and the specialist committees of our Parliament.

I must also say a word about political cooperation. That which we mean by political cooperation must not be treated as a poor relation. Both our friends and our partners know what we are capable of doing but, more to the point, they also know what we are unable to do together. The latest demonstration of how much weight we carry — and which we know we carry — is to be found in one of the communiqués emanating from the recent meeting of Heads of State and Government. Dealing with a country ravaged by war, the verb *to decide* is used when it is a case of Europe lavishing aid and offering humanitarian assistance; but when it comes to acquainting others with our political standpoint, to saying what we think ought to be done, then we fall back on the verb *to wish*. That is the measure of our weakness. I am not denying that political cooperation has brought certain positive results, but we shall go on having to put up with communiqués like this, apart from the rare exception or when there is relatively little at stake, just as long as we do not jointly exert our national sovereignty in foreign relations and, therefore, as long as other countries continue to believe themselves able to exploit differences between the Member States.

Mr President, one year ago we adopted a resolution affirming our decision to give a fresh impetus to the establishment of European Union and, to this end, to draw up amendments to the existing treaties. During the first months of this year certain ideas were circulating within Council and Commission circles; there were reports that perhaps it would be necessary to rethink Messina.

Mr President, there is no question now of rethinking Messina. We are committed to it by this debate. At the hearing two months ago before the Committee on

Institutional Affairs, the President-in-Office of the Council and the President of the Commission came to the same conclusions. They urged us to persevere, even with the European political situation as it is. They, in effect, recommended that we should go all out. As regards the Socialist Group, it will for the most part be voting in favour of the motion for a resolution. It hopes that the rapporteur will consider any amendments it may present with the same open-mindedness that he displayed throughout the first phase of the Institutional Committee's work.

On behalf of my group I express the hope that this debate will help to place everything that this undertaking involves in a still clearer perspective and provide further food for thought. I also hope that when the time comes to vote we shall all experience the same feeling that the members of our Institutional Committee experienced when adopting the motion for a resolution. We felt, at that moment, that we were accomplishing something useful, even essential, so that in the months ahead our Community may no longer be consumed with apprehension about its future, but rather encouraged by the conviction that it will survive.

(Applause)

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

**Mr Barbi.** — (IT) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, in these three years we Members of the European Parliament, the first to be elected by the people of Europe, have been given ample proof of the fact that with its existing institutions the Community cannot advance; perhaps it cannot even survive, for it is in danger of paralysis.

We have seen that the Community is hardly ever able to come to a decision when it is necessary to supplement, amend or simply update the three important Community policies so far in existence: the policy on the iron and steel industry, the customs policy and the agricultural policy. Thus even these vital Community activities run the risk of falling through.

The European Council has twice announced its intention of launching new Community policies in two sectors essential for our economies: the monetary sector, in Bremen in 1978, and the energy sector, in Venice in 1980. However, nothing has been done, and always for the same reason: an inability to decide. Spain and Portugal are knocking at the door of the Community, but we hesitate, not only and not so much because of the unquestionable economic difficulties involved, but also on the justifiable political grounds that the existence of a Community of twelve would be far more complicated, when already with nine and now with ten members the Community gives proof of such serious and dangerous incapacities.



**Barbi**

There is no doubt that, considering the institutional means available to us, we must look with concern on the functioning of a Community where the participating countries, instead of acting with vigour and decision, using Community means, persist in confrontation and conflict, holding fast to the methods and mentality of the national States, as if we were still in the nineteenth century, in the age of coaches and steam engines, of colonial empires and gunboats. This is why we feel that a strong and courageous political impulse is necessary in order to bring the Community out of its paralysis and to suggest new ways and means.

The belief that the prevailing strong and stubborn nationalism and shortsighted economic egoism can be overcome is perhaps a Utopian one, but equally so is the conviction that the Community created 25 years ago can be kept alive solely with the existing policies and the existing institutional machinery. It is futile to believe that the Community can survive by scraping along on three policies launched many years ago, whose mode of application is a source of conflict, without the institutional forms suitable for transforming the conflict into an agreement, a decision. It is certainly futile to think that the Community can survive without tackling the new problems posed by development and the economic crisis or without adopting a policy for the convergence of our economies, as was very wisely planned in Bremen when the EMS was launched.

Without a vigorous and effective regional policy providing concrete means for attaining convergence, without a Community policy on energy which will make us — if not actually self-sufficient, as with food — at least more independent of the blackmail of the sheikhs, without a Community policy on transport to reduce difficulties in the peripheral zones and increase Community mobility, without a policy for applied scientific research to help us to close the gap now separating us from the USA and Japan, we are well aware that no significant progress can be made. We urgently need adequate financial means as well, and better institutional instruments.

For this reason, when we hear the objection that the 1% VAT ceiling cannot be removed until we know how the new financial resources will be used, we answer that the uses are evident, and of vital interest to the Community. We are not asking for money out of the blue, with no notion of how it is to be spent. We are not asking for more powers for the European Parliament and for a better functioning of the Commission and the Council as Community, and not intergovernmental, bodies, solely for the sake of changing the balance of power within the Community!

We ask for this, because we have discovered that the existing relationships are far from effective; indeed, they are condemning the Community to paralysis and a slow but certain extinction. What we hope for, therefore, is not a Utopian dream; on the contrary, it

is the only realistic way to work for the advantage of all our peoples.

We are fully conscious of the enormous difficulties to be overcome, and therefore we turn, not to the national governments, too much influenced by their bureaucratic structures, but to the parliaments, to the political and social forces, to public opinion. What we mean to propose will certainly need the consensus of the people and the approval of the national parliaments which will be called upon to ratify it.

We Christian Democrats approve of the report of the Committee on Institutional Affairs. We present no amendments; we were, I believe, the only group to wish for an immediate direct contact with the representatives of the Christian Democratic groups of the national parties, a contact which took place last week in Luxembourg. Our success depends on their agreement and political support, without it what we do will be of academic interest only, or degenerate into personal propaganda.

I hope that the other political groups of this Parliament will do likewise. This indispensable contact, this understanding with the national parliaments, cannot be undertaken by the European Parliament as such; it must be done by our groups, by our political forces, since it is a question of a true political choice, of the definition of a major political commitment for our parties.

The national parliaments should not believe that their task was ended with the European elections of 1979. If they believe in Europe, if they want it, they must undertake a broad and decisive political action to create, together with the European Parliament, a series of Community policies duly endowed with financial support and suitably provided with effective institutional instruments. We Christian Democratic Members of the European Parliament, for our part, are convinced — and we said it clearly and firmly to our friends in the national parliaments, to our national parties — that the only way to gain recognition for the democratic legitimacy that we hold from direct popular election is to correct the power relationships governing the Community institutions, that is, to enable these institutions to function properly, removing the obstacles which hinder and paralyse them.

It is not so much that Community competences should be increased; rather, the means of exercising the existing ones should be strengthened. The citizens of Europe, ladies and gentlemen, have obtained great advantages from the creation of the Community — political advantages, above all: peace in Europe, cooperation among our countries, solidarity, the first attempts at unified political action. There have been many economic advantages as well: the development of the 60's, stimulated by the Common Market, food self-sufficiency, higher incomes for farmers, the com-

**Barbi**

mon battle now being waged against inflation and unemployment.

Not all European citizens are always aware that they owe this to the Community; but we politicians know it. It is, therefore, our duty to see that this instrument does not fail, that this just policy, inspired by the Christian principles of solidarity, cooperation, and peace is not abandoned, is not 'tarnished' through our fault or negligence. We must work for its complete success.

*(Applause)*

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

**Mr Prag.** — Mr President, today, as we cope with a Europe weighted down with technicalities, necessary no doubt, and tied up in diplomatic manoeuvres, almost certainly less necessary, it is hard to think of the enthusiasm and optimism of the early days of that Europe. Community Europe started out in the early fifties as a great adventure, an attempt to end for ever the bloody conflicts and the evil ways of the past and to build a new kind of Europe — a united Europe, a Europe in which the combined strength of a community of peoples would be infinitely greater than the sum of the strength of its Member States. Those of us who were privileged to be there in those early days — I covered the opening of the Common Market for Coal and Steel as a journalist — will not forget the pioneering spirit of those times or cease to compare it with the dull bureaucracy of today's Community that dampens imagination, stifles action and causes petty legislation to proliferate.

Yet it would be quite wrong if in the task of this institutional committee we forgot the Community's achievements — and we do not do so — if we failed to compare the Europe this Community has built with the Europe of the late forties, a continent whose cities lay in ruins, whose industries were silent and the eastern and central parts of which lay — as indeed they still do — under the heel of a totalitarian power.

The Community we know has brought peace and a permanent link of cooperation between its Member States: we have a common market; we have a common external tariff; we have freedom to move for people, goods and capital; we have joint institutions that meet regularly; we learn more and more from each other, where previously we thought that each nation knew best; and we do have, though they are not without defects, joint policies for food, for foreign trade and, to a somewhat disappointing extent, for transport. Cooperation is growing in foreign policy. We have ten Member States, and soon we hope to be twelve, despite press reports of what President Mitterrand has been saying, instead of the original six. Nor should we forget how, until the massive oil-price increases in

1973 brought simultaneous inflation and stagnation, the Community had brought prosperity and a sustained rate of growth that Western Europe had never known until then.

Yet no one today denies that all is far from well with our Community. Its main defect, we know — although it is the basis of our strength and influence in the world — is that it is a slow and cumbersome workhorse.

When he drew up his first proposals for the Coal and Steel Community, Jean Monnet was quite rightly obsessed with the ineffectualness of the League of Nations, of which he had been Deputy Secretary-General, and with the beginnings of the United Nations. From the first his intention was to avoid the immobilism which rendered the League of Nations ineffectual. And his first concern was to produce an organization able to take decisions and to act. By applying the veto almost automatically in the Council and in practice by refusing to vote or postponing the vote, the Member States have turned the Community in large part into a piece of machinery not for taking decisions but for avoiding decisions.

We have seen a great deal of controversy recently over majority decision on farm prices. I am sure that if a majority vote were taken among my constituents, they would say for heaven's sake, stop talking about majority voting and get on with making the Community work, and work a damn sight better than it does at present.

The Council deadlocks clog up the Community works. Between the two extreme positions I believe the government of my own country, Britain, has adopted a reasonable position, saying that she is ready to apply the Treaty rules on majority voting in normal cases and to accept that this euphemistic postponement of the vote — in effect the veto — should only occur when vital national interests are involved.

Is that enough, Mr President? We know that at present one vital British interest — a common fisheries policy — is being held up by the veto of another Member State. An even more striking example of the way the clogging of the works affects the interests of my own country is the matter of the Community budget. More than once in this House I have made clear my view that the present budgetary position is intolerable and that there is no federation or confederation or any other grouping in the civilized world where income transfer occurs from the less wealthy to the more wealthy, except our own Community.

In the Community the net beneficiaries — Belgium, Denmark, Luxembourg and the Netherlands — are among the richest countries in the Community. The sums involved may be tiny in comparison with national spending on beer and gambling, or, on a different plane, when compared with unemployment benefit.

## Prag

But they are a substantial item in the balance of payments. Yet one is forced to conclude, Mr President, that it is the present system which creates the inability to solve problems of this kind. How on earth can we be expected to develop the new Community policies which are to redress the balance and are indeed the only hope for our Community in the long term, as long as these two countries say no new spending until we have a fair system of budgetary contribution? These are just the most striking and recalcitrant among the problems which are crying out for solution, but which our governments have dismally failed so far to solve. That is the main reason why the work of the Committee on Institutional Affairs is so important.

But there is another and equally important reason, Mr President, for the work of the Committee on Institutional Affairs. As we create new areas of Community action with scarcely a thought for the logic of the whole Community structure, a crude mass of powers and activities is arising. Some of the Community's action — or most of it — is still based on the Treaties. But in other areas, such as regional and environmental policies, Community action reposes on political decisions taken by one or other summit meeting. Then, there are the practices and conventions that have grown up in higgledy-piggledy fashion over the years. The worst example is the ill-named Luxembourg compromise — non-compromise would be a better term. In some of these things — and the Luxembourg agreement to disagree is the best example — confusion reigns supreme. Indeed, at their last meeting on 19/21 June the Foreign Ministers were split right down the middle — 5 to 5 — on this subject.

We have three Treaties, we have a merger treaty, various protocols, a financial agreement and a whole series of actions based on Articles 100 and 235. Surely, Mr President, no one should be surprised that the Community frequently gets itself into a twist. One of these days someone is doubtless going to query the legal basis for some of the practices and conventions that have grown up. Then something will have to be done. No one should be surprised, therefore, that this Parliament has decided to try to put some order into things and make the Community work more effectively.

I must say that my first thought in the light of what happened at the Foreign Ministers meeting was that our task is hopeless.

My second thought, however, was — and there I join Altiero Spinelli — that we cannot leave these things to governments, obsessed as they are with national power, or indeed more often with the illusion of national power, expressed in the endless and abusive use of the veto. Nor can we leave these things to national bureaucrats, the main preoccupation of most of whom is their own prerogatives. As somebody once said, any national civil servant with a bee in his bonnet can hold up Community legislation virtually for ever.

The governments created, in the European Community, what was to be a sharp and splendid instrument. Over the years they have let it go blunt, tied it up in red tape and cemented over the red tape with jealousy and fear. If we do not try to bring clarity out of the confusion, Mr President, and make sense of the nonsense, who else will do it? The effort has to be made and there are no volunteers for the task other than this Parliament.

We know of the opposition in our own countries, some of it deliberately exploiting ignorance and xenophobia. Others, sincere and reasonable people, will condemn our work out of scepticism or out of weariness with the European Community which sometimes seems to be chasing its own tail and very understandably getting nowhere. That is why the Committee on Institutional Affairs has a tremendous task ahead of it, to inform opinion in our Member States of what we are doing, to explain, expound, persuade, cajole, patiently and repeatedly in the face of the distractions — such as the nonsense which is going on at present about our accounts department — and the deliberate incomprehension which comes from various sections of the public. If the Community is to regain its dynamism, this task has to be accomplished; it cannot continue to stumble on like a half-blind man not knowing where he is going. That is why we are attempting once again to set out the Community objectives clearly and to find again the means to take decisions speedily and to resolve disputes between the Member States. The Community cannot remain an economic giant and at the same time a political dwarf reacting to world events but failing to shape them positively.

Above all, it has to find something more to say to its people about the problem which is closer to them than any other, the problem of jobs, living standards and the quality of life in the age of the microprocessor. The young, who are the future of our Europe, cannot be Europeans if Europe means nothing to them.

I believe that the Spinelli report avoids flights of fancy and rhetoric. It has avoided shipwreck on the floods of fancy and the rocks of rhetoric. It has avoided excessively narrow or specific instructions which would tie the hands of our six rapporteurs. It has also, though perhaps only with some difficulty, avoided provoking the governments. I cannot close without praising my old friend and colleague, Altiero Spinelli, for the fairness, comprehension and incredible energy which he has put into producing a report largely acceptable to the whole committee. This report sets out the guidelines for the massive task I have been speaking of. The guidelines, as I have said, are flexible and clear. They will not, I believe, tie us down. And I appeal to my colleagues, Mr President, to give them their firm backing by an overwhelming vote in their favour.

*(Applause)*

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

**Mr Nord.** — (NL) Mr President, the Liberal and Democratic Group feels that this debate, and the resolution that goes with it, is not only important in itself. We also see it as the keeping of an election promise: in the programme with which we jointly presented ourselves to the European electorate in 1979, we said that the new Parliament should serve to compare the present Treaties with the needs not only of today but also of tomorrow and to draw the necessary conclusions. We are glad that the time has come, and we are proud to have been involved from the outset. And this not only as a parliamentary group, Mr President; we also have the backing of our parties. At the congress of the European federation of our parties held in Venice a short time ago, they adopted a motion that links up nicely with the resolution now before us.

Our nation states, each with its own history, are undergoing an economic and political process of adjustment to the transnational demands and needs of the 20th and soon the 21st centuries. Some of our countries have shown that they understand this by establishing the European Communities. But we are dragging a great deal of history around with us, and this makes the process very laborious. Nevertheless, a start has been made, and the Community has already done a great deal of good. In thirty years, however, there have been some changes, both in the world and in ourselves, and it is a good thing that we should now consider what we have achieved, what we want to achieve and what we must do to this end, even if this means entering into new Treaty obligations.

We face a number of fundamental issues in this connection. We want a Community and soon a Union not only of states but also of peoples, and one that is based on a legal order. This basic idea must find expression both in the number of policy areas in which the Community is active and in the way in which decisions are taken.

The present Treaties already point in this direction, but over the years there has been a gradual movement towards an organization consisting of individual states. This has paralysed our willingness to take decisions, weakened our spirit and jeopardized our credibility both in and outside the Community. New impulses are needed to put the process of integration back on the right track. The Community, which even now is potentially capable of a great deal, must be able to frame its own policy. But it must also have what the French call *les moyens de sa politique*.

We believe, Mr President, that the areas of policy for which the Treaties provide should be joined by others, namely, foreign policy and security. Recent history has shown that economic giants need not remain political dwarves. Are we really aware how far our fate is determined by world policy? In questions that affect the lives and futures of all our citizens, others decide for us, and we are not involved in their decisions. But we are wrong to do no more than complain about this.

The others are not, after all, to blame for obeying a law of nature, which also applies in politics, by filling a vacuum that has been created by the mistakes we have made in history. It is our own fault that we fight shy of the necessary process of adjustment and remain fettered by the chains of past glory and overestimation of national, 'sovereign' rights we have ourselves forged. Those who demonstrate for peace in Europe must realize that they are also demonstrating European powerlessness. This powerlessness can be overcome if Europeans so wish and if they equip their Community with the policy instruments that can make it an important factor for peace, stability and cooperation. Our friends throughout the world await this with impatience.

Where decision-making is concerned, Mr President, a new balance must be struck among the institutions, on the basis of the principle of the division of power and what the Americans call 'checks and balances'. No one institution should have a monopoly of power. There should be no almighty Council in which Europe of the States continues to demonstrate its indecision and discord. Nor should there be an almighty Parliament, seeking to draw its inspiration from experience at national level and from monistic views on national sovereignty that are inappropriate to European reality. The Council and Parliament — the states and the peoples — should together form the legislative and budgetary authority. The Commission must play its independent role as the motive force in the centre of Community activities. The Court must act as the guarantor of the legal order under which the states and the peoples have undertaken to act together in their common interest.

Our views on all these aspects are essentially reflected by the motion for a resolution, and I can therefore say that the motion will have the support of my group. We are, of course, well aware that it calls for more than seems immediately feasible. Some Member States are not yet ready for all this. But time passes quickly, and what does not appear possible today may soon be generally accepted. We have seen this often enough in the past. Above all, as Mr Genscher recently said, it is the task of this House and of the political movements from which it stems to explain to the people of Europe what the position is in this part of the world and what prospects we have if the will exists.

This debate, Mr President, is a first step in this direction. It must eventually lead to the proposals with which we shall enter the 1984 elections.

(Applause)

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

**Mr Ippolito.** — (IT) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the construction of European Union has been

**Ippolito**

going on for more than 30 years now, but its progress has always been spasmodic and slow. Periods of enthusiasm and success are followed by periods of inertia, of crisis, almost of regression. However, once the regression becomes perceptible, there is always a reaction which usually leads to a reawakening of the impulse toward union.

Despite the great disappointment of the EDC, a few months saw a new impetus given to the European idea at the Messina conference of 1952, which led in turn — after a period of five years — to the signing of the Treaties of Rome in 1957. This signalled the emergence of the present Community as a fusion of the ECSC, the Common Market and EURATOM.

Nevertheless, ladies and gentlemen, from 1958 to the present we have only failures to record on the overall plane of European unity, for, although there have been isolated successes in particular sectors, and these without satisfying all the partners, political integration has not followed economic integration, vindicating those who believed that political integration had to come before economic integration.

There is no need, ladies and gentlemen, to describe the current crisis. It can be defined as an identity crisis: Europe must search for its identity, an identity which — through its economic strength and the size of its population — will enable it to become a true protagonist in world history, assuming, as a kind of superpower, the management of both the East-West and North-South dialogues.

When the election of the European Parliament took place, we believed for a moment that we had attained an objective. This objective is only valid if Parliament is able to give effect to the need for revitalization which we all feel but which we have not yet been able to assert. If Parliament can do this, then election by direct universal suffrage will in truth have fulfilled its purpose: the fundamental purpose of furthering European union.

I believe, ladies and gentlemen, that the direction we have now chosen is the right one. Last year on 9 July Parliament accepted an idea put forward by a small group of people from various parties and adopted a resolution setting up the Committee on Institutional Affairs. Within six months the committee, through its rapporteur and coordinator, Mr Spinelli, has presented a document which sums up the work accomplished and paves the way for the future. It aims at something more than economic union in all sectors, particularly in those sectors where unity is indispensable.

The plain fact is that we cannot reduce our Community to a purely agricultural one. If we cannot attain real and solid integration in the economic field, in the industrial sector, for example, and in the energy sector, and if we are unable at the same time to present

a united front both in the area of foreign policy and in the area of defense policy, then, unfortunately, we will be unable to justify our existence and the birth of this Parliament.

This is why I believe that the effort of the Committee on Institutional Affairs should receive your approval and your vote. We hope that this vote will be favourable, as the vote of 9 July 1981 was favourable, and that the committee can then start work on a much more detailed document to be subsequently submitted to the attention of our governments, but more especially of our peoples. Because what will we have to say for ourselves in the marketplaces of Europe at the time of the 1984 elections if we as a Parliament have no results to show? If this Parliament can do nothing more than be one of the two budget authorities — in the manner we are all familiar with — and adopt resolutions which the Council of Ministers and the European Council consistently ignore, then there is no apparent need to summon more than 200 million citizens to vote. We will call upon these European citizens to vote in 1984 with the draft of a treaty, with a proposal which must truly represent a step forward in the sector of European unity, in order to create, as Mr Spinelli said, a 'Europeans' Europe'.

*(Applause)*

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

**Mr Junot.** — *(FR)* Mr President, just one year ago, as others before me have mentioned, we took here the decision to give a fresh impetus to the establishment of European Union. To this end we set up an Institutional Committee, which since January has been working away steadily under the friendly and efficient guidance of its chairman and, thanks to the drive of its coordinating rapporteur, is endeavouring to give this fresh impetus to the construction of Europe.

Our object now has to be to develop the Community as it is, however bogged down it is, and involve it in the construction of the European Union that the late President Pompidou declared to be his most earnest wish more than ten years ago.

So, where do we stand? In the midst of an extremely serious crisis; indeed not a week goes by without some authoritative pronouncement to remind us that the Community is going through the worst crisis since its inception not far short of thirty years ago.

In fact, the great hope that was born in the early 1950's, whilst being very quickly dimmed, did nevertheless manage to survive in a narrow but effective sense, thanks to the Treaty of Rome. But we would do well to be aware of the profound and serious misunderstanding that exists between European public opin-

**Junot**

ion, our institutions and those who live around these institutions.

We in the Council, in the Commission and in the parliamentary assemblies, we believe ourselves to be working, to be making progress towards European Union following the narrow paths laid down for it. Public opinion, on the other hand, knows little of these narrow paths. It believes that everything is still possible and is disappointed when it does not see any results. It is upheld in its mistaken belief, moreover, by our habit here of dealing with a thousand and one topics that are entirely outside our terms of reference. I think that is unfortunate, but it has to be said that the Treaties of Rome and the ECSC Treaty, which are the only source of our authority, are extremely limited. And our powers, considerable, even extraordinary as they may be in the area of the budget, are very limited when it comes to agriculture and transport. In actual fact we are not even exercising all our responsibilities, and the chairman of the Committee on Transport will shortly be tabling a motion of censure on the Commission.

We have accordingly to find a way out of this situation, which has, if anything, worsened since that ill-fated mandate of 30 May 1980.

But how do we find a way out? I believe that we cannot be content with amending or adding to the Treaty of Rome; I believe we have to have a new treaty. President Thorn, when he very kindly came to speak before the Institutional Committee, indicated very clearly that he thought a new treaty was necessary, not that it was a step to be undertaken lightly, but after 25 years, given what we are going through, a new treaty is evidently essential.

Should we not improve the functioning of our institutions, should we not be sure of what we are aiming for at the very time when we are aspiring after enlargement, which politically, culturally and geographically is vital to Europe, but for which Europe is not yet ready?

Mr President, the Institutional Committee's task is a stiff one, but also a vital one. Working under the coordinating rapporteur, six specialist rapporteurs will be trying to coordinate their efforts so as to be able, next year, to put before you an effective and detailed programme for European renewal, which could perhaps lead to the birth of the second-generation Europe that President Thorn spoke of last year.

But if we are to succeed in this, clearly Parliament must today give us its guidelines, and that is what Mr Spinelli is asking for in his report. And please do not think that we want to be discussing details; it is a general framework, it is guidelines that we are asking from you, so that we can work to them.

My group has taken the liberty — and I apologize to the coordinating rapporteur if this complicates his task

— of tabling two amendements designed to clarify the problem. Our aim in tabling them was to prevent confusion and thus to simplify our work. Both of them are based essentially on one of the principles that Mr Spinelli, like all of us, is fundamentally committed to, namely, the principle of the separation of judicial power and political power. We believe that two of the points in paragraph 8 are confusing where this is concerned, and that is why we wish to clarify them. Our amendements are not in conflict with the positive spirit of the motion for a resolution, they simply make it more explicit. I trust that they will meet with the rapporteur's approval and that the House will vote for them.

Mr President, our task here is to try to move ahead. We are asking for the means to do it. Somewhere between a Utopian Europe, which twenty years ago had to settle for being a realistic Europe, and a Europe of compromises and shattered illusions, which is the Europe of today, there is room for a Europe of reality and reason. This is the Europe that we hope the work of the Institutional Committee can help bring about and it is with this thought in mind that we declare our support for Mr Spinelli's motion for a resolution, subject to the reservations that I have just indicated.

*(Applause)*

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

**Mr De Goede.** — *(NL)* Mr President, the Spinelli report breathes a spirit of impatience held in check, and rightly so. On the one hand, there is the urge to go forward resolutely; on the other, this urge is repressed because of the not unfounded fear that taking on too much at once will once again bring disappointment. The enlargement of our Community also impresses on us the need for caution, and the idea of a two-speed system might become a very realistic proposition if everything should go too quickly, but we have not yet reached that stage. The Spinelli report calls for three phases, in other words a step-by-step approach. This is a demonstration of caution. The impatience — and it is justified in my opinion — is evident from point 12 of the explanatory statement in the report, which says that the 1984 European elections can be given a political significance only if, before the elections, a new draft Treaty can be submitted to the Member States for the future political and economic development of Europe. This proposal must be based on a wide consensus of political forces.

Mr President, I should like very briefly, in view of the limited speaking time available, to explain our view of the institutional problems. I regard as unsatisfactory aspects of the present institutional structure the absence of democratic powers of control and of recognized opportunities for Parliament to take the initiative, the fact that the majority rule is not applied to

## De Goede

decision-making in the Council, the gradual weakening of the Commission's position and the artificial distinction made between European economic and European political cooperation.

In addition to these four points, we feel that Parliament should become a legislative body alongside the Council. We have been promised this since 1974. There is also a need for greater recognition to be given to Parliament's legislative initiatives, which in no way means that Parliament wants to take over the Commission's work, but that the Commission should find a great deal of inspiration in Parliament. There is also considerable room for improvement in relations between the Council and Parliament. The consultation procedure should become more flexible, it should take less time and it should apply to more subject areas. The Council should pay greater heed to Parliament's resolutions, although we would then have to exercise self-restraint. And the budgetary powers should also be revised in Parliament's favour. As regards the non-application of the majority rule, we say that the Council should apply the Treaty in the prescribed manner, because it is rather odd to talk about a new draft Treaty when we do not even respect the existing one.

Although the Genscher-Colombo plan would improve the present practice, one objection is that it does, in fact, recognize the right of veto. Any formal confirmation of the Luxembourg agreement as a political agreement must be rejected. As regards the Commission, I believe the European Parliament should have more scope to take legislative initiatives. Our ally, the Commission, should make far greater use of our recommendations. We must together present the Council with a stronger united front. With regard to the appointment of the President and Members of the Commission, D'66 believes that the European Parliament should be consulted beforehand and that its views must be acted upon. After the appointment of the new Commission a plenary debate should be held to discuss intended policy and a resolution adopted on the investiture of the new Commission. I must add that the Commission is and remains responsible for the proposals it makes and does not make, for the way in which it takes account of Parliament's wishes, for the implementation of Community decisions and for the manner in which it acts as guardian of the Treaty. As for EPC — European Political Cooperation — there should be better integration of economic and foreign policy. The artificial barriers between the EEC and EPC should be gradually removed, since the link between the two is unmistakable. One difficulty is the difference between the two structures, one being supranational, the other purely intergovernmental. The European Council might do more than it has in the past to overcome this difficulty.

Finally, our relations with the national parliaments should be improved, and a uniform procedure should be adopted for the 1984 elections. In the latter respect, we strongly recommend the principle of proportional

representation, because the nonsense we now have, a straight majority as a result of the strange British electoral system, which has also been adopted for European elections, must be quickly replaced.

*(Applause)*

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

**Mr Thorn, President of the Commission.** — *(FR)* Mr President, on 1 April this year I had the privilege of addressing your Committee on Institutional Affairs. Speaking at the time on my own behalf, when, if you will forgive me for saying so, I also had a longer speaking time than I have today, I was able more or less to pass on to you all my ideas and give you my assessment of your initiative. Accordingly you are familiar with my basic thinking.

Today I am addressing you on behalf of the Commission, leaving it to Mr Andriessen later to take stock of the debate and to comment on whatever amendments Members may choose to introduce.

Mr President, you will recall that the Commission examined the problems of European Union as long ago as 1975. It is bound, today, to recognize the great importance of your initiative, to offer you its support and encouragement and to congratulate very sincerely Mr Altiero Spinelli, who was once one of us, on his tenacity in pushing his ideas forward and seeking to turn them into reality.

We believe, like yourselves, that the time has come to make a qualitative leap forward. The Community has now been with us, as some of you have pointed out, for the space of a generation. We have gained more than enough experience by now to be able to identify the real problems and the opportunities, to suggest remedies and to show above all the urgency of the task. It is high time, I feel, and it is becoming imperative that we refine and bring up to date the 'European contract' which has linked most of us for the past twenty-five years and which actually goes back thirty years, as indeed Mr Junot pointed out earlier.

I think it essential, as each new phase in the gradual evolution of the Community is completed, to consolidate and thus restore a degree of order and coherence to the process as a whole, so as to be fully prepared for the next phase of unification, particularly after two enlargements and with a third to come, not to mention our present political and economic environment.

The Community, ladies and gentlemen, whatever our political opinions, is not a static thing. In its 25 years it has seen numerous developments in the economic and political spheres, some of which, whilst undoubtedly fruitful, have taken place on the fringes of the Treaties, if not entirely outside them, and were not inspired

### Thorn

by any overall view. I am thinking here of the EMS, of relations with Parliament, of political cooperation, and so on. As a result, a grey area has emerged which is full of potential but does not dovetail with the initial enterprise. These developments must be brought under the umbrella of the Treaties if the Community is to have a secure basis for the next phase of integration.

In other words, what we need is a new treaty, and before we can have that treaty we need first to clarify the Community's powers, while remaining faithful to its fundamental principles and initial motivation, from which we cannot allow ourselves to be deflected. The next step is to see in what ways these powers can be extended. We know on the basis of our experience to date that there are some policies that are too closely linked together to allow any real possibility of going forward with some policies without touching others. Take, for example, commercial policy and foreign policy. Who could ever consider one without the other? It is necessary, finally, to improve the functioning of the institutions, to make them more democratic.

Is it not obvious to everyone — and I am sorry to have to repeat it, but it can never be said often enough — that the refusal to accept majority voting is sapping the Community's vitality and that insistence on prompt unanimity within the Council has undermined the logic of the Community institutions and is inevitably a matter of great concern to all? . . .

*(Applause)*

Furthermore, Mr President, how much longer will it be before people finally draw the political and institutional inferences from an event that we all saw as being absolutely fundamental, that is, the elections to the European Parliament by direct universal suffrage?

The time has come therefore, it seems to me, to give some thought to this new 'Community contract'. Like you, we in the Commission believe that this qualitative leap forward can be brought about only if Parliament, and Parliament alone, takes the necessary initiative and does so — and this is very important — by as large a majority as possible.

The fresh impetus must come from the people since, as we are unfortunately forced to observe, action by the governments has not proved sufficient by itself to breathe new life into the second-generation Europe. We must beware, of course, of drawing the too hasty conclusion from this that the governments are no longer capable of refining the European constitution, but there is little doubt that for there to be any real qualitative leap forward capable of placing the Community train securely on the rails leading to genuine European Union, it is essential, as I say, for the action of the governments to be supported by popular action. Without the people we shall never be able to get very far.

Having thus given you the Commission's general political assessment of your initiative, I should now like to concentrate my attention on the motion for a resolution that is before the House.

The Commission noted first of all that, whilst being resolutely innovative, and I congratulate you on that, the motion does not seek, however, to transform the present situation overnight. Instead, its aim is to build on what we have and to do so gradually. Likewise, it makes good sense to reaffirm, as the motion for a resolution does, the principle of subsidiarity, which is in effect just as much a principle of efficiency. The European Union will have to confine itself to undertaking only those tasks — but all the tasks — which can be executed more effectively in common or which are essential to the very existence of the Union. The Commission also took note of the fact that the authors of the motion are proposing certain qualitative leaps forward but are quite realistic in not in any way excluding whatever minor progress may in the meantime be achieved. Quite the contrary, they emphasize the need for attempts currently under way to improve the functioning of the institutions within the ambit of the existing Treaties to be pursued tenaciously. We must use every means to attain our end.

The Commission is pleased to see that the resolution, specifically the section devoted to the institutions of the Union, does contain some of the ideas that it has always itself promoted. Let me mention just a few of the essential points on which we are in agreement. The Commission has always affirmed the need for Parliament to participate in the exercise of legislative power and, as I said earlier, for the Council's decision-making procedures to be substantially improved.

Needless to say, the Commission has always been conscious of the importance of its own role, too. You will forgive me if I make a point of stressing this again now. It is my duty and, I believe, in everybody's interest that I do so.

The motion for a resolution on which you are being asked to vote lays down only broad guidelines for the tasks and objectives of the Union without going into details. But could one expect anything more at this stage? It has to be said that one could not, given that there are a number of highly complex questions which will have to be resolved as we go along and which will depend on the detailed formulation of these tasks and objectives, as well as on the actual distribution of powers both between the states and the Union and between the institutions of the Union. This is a point that has been made by every speaker before me.

The phase immediately following the adoption of your resolution will thus undoubtedly be an especially tricky and critical one, and a cautious approach will need to be adopted. It remains to be seen, on the basis of the proposals that the Committee on Institutional Affairs will in due course put before the House,



### Thorn

whether the vital correspondence between the grand design on the one hand and the needs of the actual and immediate reality has indeed been achieved.

The resolution before you is intentionally no more than a document setting out broad political guidelines. It should be seen as such. That fact has to be borne in mind when making any overall assessment of it. That is why the Commission, far from offering at this stage any observations, suggestions or alternatives, prefers to adopt a more constructive approach and tell you that it is ready to give Parliament its full and unstinting help and support at all times. All that remains for me to do, on behalf of the Commission and myself, is to congratulate you and, through you, those who have made the largest contribution in this area, and also to wish you, or rather we should say wish *ourselves* every success. For your success, whilst it is essential for us, is above all essential for the resurgence of Europe.

(Applause)

**President.** — I call Mr Hänsch.

**Mr Hänsch.** — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I shall have, if not to destroy, then at least to disturb the great harmony that has been the hallmark of this afternoon's proceedings. The pious words we have heard have concealed reality rather too much for my liking. In this debate we are treading the thin line between utopia and illusion. Those who, in principle, wish us well will back our call for a reform of the Treaties, a reorganization of responsibilities and powers. Those who generally reject us will regard what we are doing as simply superfluous.

While a large majority of this House will opt for a forward-looking course, we know very well there are enough people on the outside — politicians, journalists, groups and parties — who do not think the Community needs reforming or, worse, that it is not even capable of reform. At all events, European reality has not yet been reflected by what has been said here. It is almost a platitude to say that the Community of the year 2000 cannot be the same as the Community of the 1950s or 1980s. The Community must change, or it will no longer exist in 20 year's time. It must face up to the new economic, ecological and technological challenges. It must find the means to play an independent role in the world.

Knowing this, we welcome the attempt being made by this House to speed up the reform of the institutions through a reform of the Treaties. There is a need for this reform, of that I am convinced. But I rather doubt that the guidelines now before us can make a contribution.

There has been talk of a new wind. I fear it is more of a gentle breeze. But for this very reason I wish to

emphasize the tenacity with which Mr Spinelli has drawn the attention of our Parliament to these requirements. He has reminded us with passion of our duty as freely elected representatives of the European peoples to blaze the trail to a future Union. That is his abiding merit, and we should be grateful to him for it.

However, we German Social Democrats would have preferred a different approach, a different slant to the committee's work and also to the guidelines. The majority of the committee decided otherwise, and we accept this decision. Despite all the improvements, which we acknowledge, the guidelines were consequently drawn up with undue haste and are in the final analysis short-winded and lacking in depth. They are far too unrealistic for the demands they contain to be implemented in the short term, that is, in the next five or six years. They lack the drive, the great inspiration, the vision that is needed if they are to point the way for the future development of a united Europe. They are neither one thing nor the other.

We are thus wasting what will probably be the last major opportunity during this electoral period for a searching debate on the future of the Community. All we have done in this debate this afternoon is repeat what we have said *ad nauseam* on this subject in the past. Reference has again been made to the British contribution, and the praises have again been sung of the agricultural policy and goodness knows what else. But these will not be the issues that will have to be discussed in the European Community at the end of this century.

The guidelines and our debate ought to be providing information on the social and cultural basis on which a renovated Community should build. Unfortunately we did not take the time to discuss this in committee. What ideas on European society, in fact, underly a thorough revision of the Treaties or even a new draft constitution? What role can the national states play in this Europe? We cannot make them disappear with resolutions. Nor can we or should we make them disappear with European elections. Shall we simply be turning the prayer wheels of the 1950s again, with the same institutional ideas as were put forward at that time? Will the European Community take the form of an economic growth society without liability? Will it find the course it is to follow simply by entering into an unconditional Atlantic commitment? What chances will the regional awareness that is emerging have in this new Union? What new forms of public involvement and participation at all levels of the economy, politics and culture will form the basis of this European Community and the decisions it takes? These are certainly questions we should discuss when we talk about the future. These questions must be included in the committee's future work. If they are not, this Parliament will simply lose itself in the pointless game of mere institutional reforms.

Of course, some suggestions have been taken up as a result of the rapporteur's efforts. It must be said that

**Hänsch**

the present guidelines at least have the advantage that they will permit the committee to work along the lines I have just indicated.

Allow me, therefore, to sum up as follows my ideas on future work, and they are also the ideas of the German Social Democrats: no one can expect a fundamental reform of the Treaties in the next five years. Those who seek this reform must therefore look further ahead. They must try to describe the Community of the year 2000. Although the guidelines do not prevent this, they do not set any specific objectives either. Instead, they lose themselves in the dreams of the 1950s. They do not describe today's realities, let alone tomorrow's needs.

They talk about a division of powers, as if Europe's constitution should be described like that of a supranational state. They refer to the possible distribution of tax revenue between the Member States and the Community, as if this can be isolated from the social and political and economic objectives which should be achieved. It was only with considerable difficulty that such phrases as 'bicameral system' and 'European government' were removed from the text. Does anyone really believe that such dusty old phrases from the early 1950s will enthuse people from Skagen to Syracuse, from Killarney to Kassel?

What, then, does the enlargement of the Community really signify for the future of the institutions? The guidelines do not provide an answer because the subject was not discussed in committee. That is not the rapporteur's fault; it is an omission for which the majority of the committee's members is to blame. The guidelines say nothing about these institutions being designed for a Community of the Six. They are not even appropriate to the Community of the Nine or Ten. What will the position be when we have a Community of the Twelve? I am afraid the guidelines merely repeat the messages of the past and say nothing that will lead us into the future.

The guidelines, as I have already said, refer to a division of powers among the Community's institutions. That sounds to me too much like mere imitation of state institutions at national level. We cannot want that! We cannot simply transfer to the Community what has emerged from the histories of the nation states. The European Union as a superstate, as a union under the slogan 'one people, ein Reich, un président', is utopia, and not even a positive utopia! The European Union must be something apart, or it will fail. If it is the product of the prayer-wheels of the 1950s, it will have no future. The guidelines speak of the distribution of taxes between the Member States and the Union. This has yet to be discussed thoroughly. It was not discussed thoroughly in committee. There must be some fundamental thinking on this subject. I therefore consider it more sensible for the moment to call for a financial constitution, to be drawn up without any immediate discussion of the distribution of taxes between the Member States and the Community. The

guidelines would have done better to be more open and flexible.

But one thing seems particularly important to me, and this above all explains my reservations. As the driving force of European unification, Mr Spinelli, the Treaties state in their preambles that the solidarity of the European peoples is to be achieved through the creation of a common market. This has always been the basic philosophy, and it has always been the right one.

For tomorrow's Europe, however, our association must be based on a new philosophy. We must find new driving forces if we are to achieve solidarity among the European peoples, or we shall go on as we have done, and no guidelines, no institutional reforms will bring change. Solidarity must also be achieved today and tomorrow through joint action to maintain and restore the natural foundations of life in our continent. Solidarity must also be achieved today and tomorrow through the development and protection of regional, ethnic and cultural diversity, through the extension of opportunities for the individual to become involved in politics, culture and the economy.

These are the issues, the great problems, the aspirations of many of our young people that are being discussed outside. Nothing or not enough has been said about this here, and the guidelines are also inadequate in this respect. But a European Union must take up these issues if it is to be effective tomorrow. It cannot be a substitute for common political interests and aims; it cannot replace the will for political solidarity. No institutional reform can achieve that. We need this political desire for solidarity in the fight against unemployment or the reform of the agricultural policy. I will not go into all this again now. Unity for its own sake cannot and must not be our goal. We Germans have had some experience of that in our history. Unity then begins to become isolated from all other political aims, it becomes a priority and is no longer seen as being tied to democracy, social justice, freedom and human dignity.

The mountain — by which I mean the committee — has laboured, and if you look closely, you will see that it has brought forth only a mouse. The mouse cannot help this, and that is the main reason why it must not be killed. We shall therefore approve the guidelines which have been put forward. They are vague enough not to obstruct the real work.

However, I appeal to you all: in the future work of our committee let us give proper shape to the European Union, a shape which allows us to see the future and is not just an imitation of things past, a shape which also answers the questions of tomorrow's European youth. What is asked of us is both passion and circumspection, vision and realism. The longer and more difficult part of the route is still before us.

*(Applause)*

**President.** — I now declare the debate adjourned.

*(The sitting was closed at 8 p.m.)<sup>1</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> Agenda of next sitting: see Minutes.

*Annex**COMMISSION ACTION ON OPINIONS ON ITS PROPOSALS DELIVERED  
BY THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AT ITS JUNE 1982 PART-SESSION*

1. As agreed with the Bureau of Parliament, the Commission informs Members at the beginning of every part-session of the action it has taken on opinions delivered at the previous part-session in the context of parliamentary consultation.
2. At its June 1982 part-session the European Parliament delivered 13 opinions on Commission proposals in response to Council requests for consultation.
3. At the part-session 9 matters were discussed in connection with which Parliament delivered favourable opinions on or did not request formal amendment of the proposals mentioned below.
  1. Report by Mr Buttafuoco on the decision concerning the conclusion of the ASOR (Agreement on the International Carriage of Passengers by road by means of Occasional Coach and Bus Services)
  2. Report by Mr Dalsass on the directive amending Directives 72/259/EEC, 72/160/EEC and 72/161/EEC in respect of agricultural structures
  3. Report by Mr Schwartzberg on the regulation laying down detailed rules for the implementation of Articles 85 and 86 of the Treaty in respect of air transport
  4. Report by Mr Rieger on the regulation on inward processing arrangements
  5. Report by Mr Nord on the decision concerning a contribution to the ECSC from the Communities' general budget
  6. Report by Mr Lega on the regulation amending Regulation No 549/69 determining the categories of officials and other servants of the European Communities
  7. Report by Mrs Lenz on the regulation amending Regulation (EEC) No 1430/79 (repayment or remission of import or export duties)
  8. Report by Mr Nyborg on the directive amending 17 directives concerning the approximation of laws relating to wheeled agricultural or forestry tractors
  9. Amendment of the Commission proposal for a regulation amending for the third time Regulation (EEC) No 222/77 on Community transit
4. In 4 cases the European Parliament asked the Commission to alter its proposals under the second paragraph of Article of the Treaty and in 3 cases the Commission accepted the proposed amendments.

Report by Mrs Seibel-Emmerling on the decision setting up Community arrangements for the rapid exchange of information on consumer products

The Commission is preparing an amended proposal for the draft decision, to be sent to the Council and, for information purposes, to the European Parliament, early in September.

Report by Mr Alber on the proposal for a draft environmental action programme (1982-86)

The Commission is preparing an amended proposal for the draft environmental action programme, to be sent to the Council and, for information purposes, to the European Parliament early in September.

Report by Mrs Rabbethge on the decision adopting a research and development programme in the field of science and technology for development (1982-85)

The Commission is preparing an amended proposal, to be sent to the Council and, for information purposes, to the European Parliament very shortly in July.

In the case of the

report by Mr Maffre-Baugé on three proposals relating to

- (i) the common organization of the market in fruit and vegetables, with regard to producer organizations,
- (ii) the organization of the market in fruit and vegetables,
- (iii) preventive withdrawals of apples and pears,

the Commission explained during the discussion why it preferred to maintain its proposal.

5. The Commission also expressed its views during discussions concerning it and took note of the European Parliament's opinions on the:

Resolution on the situation in Lebanon,

Resolution on threats and attacks on the Ambassadors of the 10 Member States of the EEC,

Resolution on the situation of the European steel industry,

Resolution on the countervailing duties on European steel,

Resolution on progress achieved during the Belgian Presidency in respect of the operation of the European internal market,

Resolution on Community industrial strategy,

Resolution on an emergency aid programme for Caritas organizations in Salvadorian dioceses,

Resolution on the situation in Nicaragua,

Resolution on the European Foundation,

Report by Mr Hopper on the Mandate of 30 May 1980,

Report by Mr Harris on the European Coastal Charter,

Report by Mr Michel on the action taken in response to parliamentary requests concerning hunger in the world,

Report by Mr Herman on the situation of the electronics market in Europe and its repercussions on employment,

Report by Mr Pintat on the communication concerning an energy strategy for the Community: nuclear affairs,

Report by Mr Bonaccini on possible loans from OPEC countries to the Federal Republic of Germany and France,

Report by Mr Purvis on the security required in connection with Italian imports,

Report by Mr von Wogau on the standardization of automobile bumpers,

Report by Mr Donnez on an application for the waiver of a Member's parliamentary immunity,

Report by Mrs Gredal on the political aspects of relations between the European Community and the United States,

Report by Mr Albers on improving the European air traffic control system,

Report by Mr Israël on the situation in Afghanistan,

Report by Mr Haagerup a parliamentary delegation's visit to Pakistan.

6. The Commission took the opportunity to inform the European Parliament of the disaster aids and the financial and food aids that had been granted since the previous session.

(a) *Emergency financial aid*

700 000 ECU for the victims of present events in Lebanon

250 000 ECU for Kampuchean refugees

(b) *Food aid*

20 000 t of cereals and 94 t of skimmed milk powder for the people of Lebanon

## SITTING OF TUESDAY, 6 JULY 1982

## Contents

1. <i>Topical and urgent debate (announcement):</i> <i>Mr von der Vring; Mr Kirk</i> . . . . .	29	<i>Davignon; Mr Gautier; Mr Davignon;</i> <i>Mr Petersen; Mr Davignon</i> . . . . .	65
2. <i>Decision on urgency:</i> <i>Mr Forth; Mr Bocklet; Mr Battersby; Mrs</i> <i>Prwoot; Sir Fred Catherwood</i> . . . . .	29	• <i>Question No 2, by Mr Johnson: Impor-</i> <i>tation of seal products into the Com-</i> <i>munity:</i> <i>Mr Narjes (Commission); Mr Johnson;</i> <i>Mr Narjes; Lord Douro; Mr Narjes; Mrs</i> <i>Maij-Weggen; Mr Normanton; Mr Fer-</i> <i>gusson; Mrs Kellett-Bowman; Mr</i> <i>Narjes; Mrs Weber; Mr Narjes; Mrs</i> <i>Castle; Mr Moreland; Mr Narjes; Mr</i> <i>Muntingb; Mrs Kellett-Bowman; Mr</i> <i>Narjes; Mrs Castle; Mr Narjes; Mr Gau-</i> <i>tier; Mr Narjes</i> . . . . .	67
3. <i>Reform of the Treaties and European union</i> <i>(continuation):</i> <i>Mr Jonker; Mr C. Jackson; Mr De Pas-</i> <i>quale; Mrs Veil</i> . . . . .	31	• <i>Question No 5, by Mr Petersen: Return-</i> <i>able bottles system:</i> <i>Mr Narjes; Mr Petersen; Mr Narjes; Sir</i> <i>Fred Warner; Mr Narjes; Mrs Viehoff;</i> <i>Mr Narjes; Mr Bonde; Mr Narjes; Miss</i> <i>Hooper</i> . . . . .	71
4. <i>Welcome</i> . . . . .	37	• <i>Question No 6, by Mr Gontikas: Unac-</i> <i>ceptable conduct on the part of a Com-</i> <i>munity official:</i> <i>Mr Haferkamp (Commission); Mr Gon-</i> <i>tikas; Mr Haferkamp; Mrs Pantazi; Mr</i> <i>Haferkamp; Mr Cousté; Mr Haferkamp;</i> <i>Mr Spicer; Mr Haferkamp; Mrs Buchan;</i> <i>Mr Haferkamp; Mr Kallias; Mr Hafer-</i> <i>kamp; Mrs Ewing; Mr Haferkamp</i> . . . . .	73
5. <i>Reform of the Treaties and European union</i> <i>(continuation):</i> <i>Mr Horgan; Mr Lalor; Mr Pfennig; Mr</i> <i>Johnson; Mr Chambeiron; Mrs Spaak; Mr</i> <i>Visentini; Mr Bøgb; Mr Psmazoglou; Mr</i> <i>Jaquet; Mr Zecchino; Mr Patterson; Mrs</i> <i>Boserup; Mr De Gucht; Mr Romualdi; Mrs</i> <i>Focke; Mr Seitlinger; Mr Alavanos; Mr</i> <i>Cecovini; Mr Spencer; Mr Paisley; Mr</i> <i>Rogers; Mr Croux</i> . . . . .	37	• <i>Question No 7, by Mr Price: Presence of</i> <i>Commissioners:</i> <i>Mr Andriessen (Commission); Mr Price;</i> <i>Mr Andriessen; Mrs Ewing; Mr Andries-</i> <i>sen; Miss Quin; Mrs Ewing; Mr</i> <i>Andriessen</i> . . . . .	75
6. <i>Welcome</i> . . . . .	57	• <i>Question No 9, by Mrs Ewing; Classifi-</i> <i>cation of roads:</i> <i>Mr Contogeorgis (Commission); Mrs</i> <i>Ewing; Mr Contogeorgis; Mr Boyes; Mr</i> <i>Radoux</i> . . . . .	77
7. <i>Reform of the Treaties and European union</i> <i>(continuation):</i> <i>Mr Kyrkos; Mr Petersen; Mr Antoniozzi;</i> <i>Mr Ruffolo</i> . . . . .	58	11. <i>Welcome</i> . . . . .	79
8. <i>Decision on urgency:</i> <i>Sir Fred Catherwood; Mrs Baduel Glorioso;</i> <i>Mr Andriessen (Commission); Mr Louwes;</i> <i>Mr Cohen; Mr Seeler</i> . . . . .	62		
9. <i>Agenda:</i> <i>Mr von Hassel; Mr Van Minnen; Mrs</i> <i>Maij-Weggen</i> . . . . .	64		
10. <i>Question Time (Doc 1-415/82)</i> <i>Questions to the Commission:</i> <i>Mrs Ewing</i> . . . . .	65		
• <i>Question No 1, by Mr Seligman: The</i> <i>Community's energy objectives:</i> <i>Mr Davignon (Commission); Mr Selig-</i> <i>man; Mr Davignon; Mr Rogalla; Mr</i>			

12. *Reform of the Treaties and European union (continuation):*

*Mr Moreau; Mr Pflimlin; Mr Macario; Mr Blumenfeld; Mr Seeler; Mr Giavazzi; Mr Ferri; Mr van Aerssen; Mrs Van Hemeldonck; Mr Kallias; Mr McCartin; Mr Andriessen (Commission); Mr Spinelli; Mr Rogers* . . . . . 79

13. *Agenda:*

*Mr Irmer; Mr Saby* . . . . . 92

*Annex*

*Votes: Mr Glinne; Mr de la Malène; Mr Seitlinger; Mrs Gaiotti De Biase; Mr Saby; Mr Hänsch; Mr Romualdi; Mr Kirk; Mrs Baillot; Mr Haagerup* . . . . . 94

## IN THE CHAIR: MR LALOR

*Vice-President*

*(The sitting was opened at 9 a.m.)<sup>1</sup>*

1. *Topical and urgent debate (announcement)*

**President.** — I have received the following requests for topical and urgent debate, pursuant to Rule 48(1) of the Rules of Procedure.

*(The President read the requests)<sup>2</sup>*

I call Mr von der Vring.

**Mr von der Vring.** — *(DE)* Mr President, I have just seen the amended agenda, and I am afraid there is something wrong here. The Adonnino report concerning the agreement on the budgetary procedure is not on the agenda, although all the groups considered it essential for this report to be adopted this week, since the President only signed the agreement subject to Parliament's subsequent approval . . .

**President.** — No, we are not lost yet, Mr von der Vring. That matter comes up later. We are dealing now with motions for urgency.

I call Mr Kirk.

**Mr Kirk.** — *(DA)* Mr President, I really do appreciate your swift opening of today's sitting. But, unfortunately, I am convinced that our excellent interpreters have difficulty in following your excellent Irish. Therefore I appeal to you to try and speak a little

slower so that the rest of us will have a possibility to understand what is being said from the Chair.

**President.** — I am sorry, Mr Kirk. I can assure you that the interpreters would have far greater difficulty if I did carry on with the Irish song!

*(Applause)*

In accordance with Rule 48(2) of the Rules of Procedure, I shall announce at 6 p.m. the list of motions for resolutions recommended by the Political Group chairmen for topical and urgent debate to be held on Thursday, 8 July.

2. *Decision on urgency*

**President.** — The next item is the decision on the urgency of several reports.

We shall consider first the *Lega report (Doc. 1-408/82): Transitional measures for the recruitment as officials of the European Communities of 56 members of the staff of the headquarters of the European Association for Cooperation.*

*(Parliament adopted urgent procedure)*

I call Mr Forth.

**Mr Forth.** — Mr President, I think it would help the House considerably if someone could give us just two or three sentences to explain urgency in these cases. It is really very unsatisfactory to be confronted with a list of resolutions about which some of us have little knowledge and be expected to rubber stamp them for urgency. Is there not someone who is prepared to say why they are being brought here as a matter of urgency? That report, to my knowledge, has been around since I was on the Committee on Budgets and that was about 18 months ago. What is urgent about it now?

<sup>1</sup> *Approval of the minutes — Waiver of immunity; see Minutes.*

<sup>2</sup> *See Minutes.*

**President.** — That was the reason, Mr Forth, why I asked from the chair for an opinion from the Committee on Budgets. It is a request from Council.

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**President.** — We now move to the *Kaloyannis report (Doc. 1-411/82): Acceleration of agricultural development in certain regions of Greece.*

*(Parliament adopted urgent procedure)*

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**President.** — We shall now consider the *Bocklet report (Doc. 1-413/82): Aid to producers for the 1981 harvest of hops.*

I call the rapporteur.

**Mr Bocklet, rapporteur.** — (DE) I appreciate Mr Forth's concern. This request for urgency has been made by the Council. If we do not take my report this week, the aid to hop producers, the need for which was unanimously endorsed by the committee, cannot be paid out until the beginning of October instead of the beginning of August. The Council has therefore requested the application of the urgent procedure, and I would ask you to comply with this request.

*(Parliament adopted urgent procedure)*

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**President.** — We now move to the *Provan report (Doc. 1-414/82): Salmon conservation in the North Atlantic.*

I call Mr Battersby.

**Mr Battersby.** — This has been waiting for three months now for a slot in the agenda. It is most important that it is taken now because the Convention comes into force at the end of this month.

*(Parliament adopted urgent procedure)*

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**President.** — We shall now consider the *Pruvot report (Doc. 1-423/82): Public health research and development programme.*

I call the rapporteur.

**Mrs Pruvot, rapporteur.** — (FR) Mr President, I ask the House to agree to urgent procedure because the Council has already had a preliminary discussion on this at the meeting of the Council of Research Ministers of 30 June last. No decision was taken because the Council is still waiting for Parliament's opinion. Last night the Committee on Budgets gave us a favourable opinion and I therefore think we urgently need to vote on this report.

*(Parliament adopted urgent procedure)*

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**President.** — These items will be entered on Friday morning's agenda.

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**President.** — As the report by Mrs Baduel Glorioso (Doc. 1-435/82) on the import system for certain products is not yet available the vote on urgent procedure is postponed until 3 p.m.

I call Sir Fred Catherwood.

**Sir Fred Catherwood.** — Mr President, I would just like to give notice that I am against it. I do not know whether you would like me to explain my reasons now or later?

**President.** — I presume you will be given the opportunity to speak when the matter comes up for discussion later at the 3 p.m. sitting.

The difficulty is that the report has not been translated into all the languages so that we are not in a position to put the request to the vote at this stage. The vote will be taken at 3 p.m. and anyone anxious to oppose or support the request should be here at 3 p.m.

At a meeting last night the Committee on Budgets adopted a report by Mr Adonnino on a joint statement by the institutions concerning the classification of budget expenditure. It has asked that this report be included on Wednesday's agenda for joint debate with the other budget reports.

At the same meeting, the Committee on Budgets also adopted the report by Mrs Barbarella on the preliminary draft amending budget for 1982 which has been scheduled as a possible item for Wednesday to be



**President**

taken in joint debate with the Jackson report on the 1983 preliminary draft budget.

I hope that these two documents will be available in the course of the day. I have been informed that the report by Mr Van Minnen on visas for Turkish workers which had been requested for joint debate with the von Hassel report scheduled for Wednesday, will be available later today.

I shall consult the House on these requests at 3 p.m. today.

### 3. Reform of the Treaties and European union (continuation)

**President.** — The next item is the continuation of the debate on the report (Doc. 1-305/82) by Mr Spinelli.

I call Mr Jonker.

**Mr Jonker.** — (NL) Mr President, where on earth do you get the courage from? You really must be an incorrigible optimist if you can summon up sufficient enthusiasm on the matter of institutional progress in the Community. One could be forgiven for expressing it in such terms. The quality of the Council's discussions these past years, or indeed weeks for that matter, has been less than earth-shaking and it is beginning to look as though the Genscher-Colombo initiative is being quietly laid to rest as were those of Mr Tindemans and of the three experts in their turn — solemnly interred in the Council's mausoleum, albeit with the difference that, as things look right now, the Genscher-Colombo initiative will not even be afforded a decent burial. The initiative came a cropper as a result of some Member States' outright opposition to concerted efforts aimed at further extending the European integration process. One could recite, *ad infinitum*, the litany of ills besetting the Community but I shall confine my remarks to just a few of them; qualified majority voting instead of the 'Luxembourg compromise' unanimity measure, the controversy surrounding the Mandate of 30 May, and, if one wishes to include it, those surrounding Community enlargement. Why on earth should the House bother itself with the matter before us today? Our group has a very simple answer. The citizens of the Community did not directly elect a supra-national body so that it could shirk its responsibility to take the development and integration of that Community further. We Christian Democrats consider the total absence of equilibrium between the Community institutions to be the root cause of much of the stagnation in the integration process. This disequilibrium has, we believe, given rise to a situation in which some 7% of Community legislative measures emanating from Brussels and directly influencing the lives of the Community's citizens, goes on to the statute book without due parliamentary con-

trol, whether European or national. Consequently in questioning Council's stranglehold we mean essentially nothing less than the democratization of the Community. Parliament has a vested interest in breaking down Council's hitherto monopoly on the decision-making process if for no other reason than that if matters continue as they are the European electorate will inevitably and justifiably feel duped. By going to the polls on a momentous occasion in 1979 many voters were expressing their desire to see a supra-national Parliament exercising real power for the first time. Should we fail to give substance to their aspirations then quite clearly direct elections will be meaningless.

Mr Barbi explained yesterday that we Christian Democrats have no objection to the draft motion for a resolution as it stands and it is directly in line with our political philosophy. As such we have tabled no amendments, finding it an excellent point of departure for the six rapporteurs. The real work is only now beginning. We are in unanimous agreement on the ultimate goal that lies before us, albeit by no means on the optimum political strategy for achieving that goal.

The weakest and also the most difficult point in the draft resolution is that concerning the role of the Council and European Council. It is clear to us that Parliament must be invested with the power to cut through Council's indecision. The recommendations we have made with a view to achieving this have been presented to Parliament and its Committee on Institutional Affairs. This is rendered all the more imperative in the light of Council's increasing tendency to take on the form of a forum for the defence of narrow national interests rather than the Community institution as originally conceived. We have had enough of the hot and cold treatment in the form of six-monthly alternating Council presidencies in which energetic leadership and decision-making give way to calamitous inactivity. There is not the slightest semblance of continuity in the decision-making process of Council or European Council. Any connection between them is purely incidental. We ought really to verify whether parliamentary supervision of the Council is only possible through an amendment to the Treaty.

As for the Commission, Mr President, where does it fit into the institutional spectrum? I see that, in spite of the motion approved by the House on the occasion of this Commission's investiture and the assurances of Mr Thorn on the matter, we are still awaiting proposals on the conclusion of institutional agreements. The Commission has come up with proposals, good proposals for which I have some considerable esteem, but, alas, always addressed to both Council and Parliament. But the motion adopted on the Commission's investiture unequivocally enjoins the Commission to conclude an institutional agreement with Parliament. That is the wording of the motion, as indeed it was also in the Rey resolution. And I would like to ask the Commission what it perceives to be its role in this whole debate. Its contribution is always welcome and

**Jonker**

certainly that in the person of Mr Andriessen. But has the Commission resigned itself to the role of a passive observer of Parliament's work? This would seem to indicate to me that the Commission is waiving its own right to initiate new measures whilst simultaneously supplanting Parliament by purloining the ideas emanating in the committee stage and presenting the committee's final conclusions as its own. Or does the Commission intend to take matters into its own hands by following the procedure set out in Article 236 of the Treaty which provides that not only Member States' governments but also the Commission itself 'may submit to the Council proposals for the amendment of this Treaty'?

Mr President, it is not overstating the case to say that the Community is ill. The crisis currently afflicting us is more serious than that which affected the Community in the sixties. In those days we were all bandying arguments about over the kind of Europe we wanted to create, and the identity it should have, whereas we are at present slowly but surely presiding over a disintegration process. Things cannot go on like this much longer and we feel that the time for negotiations and action is long overdue. The Community's citizens simply cannot fathom their government's hesitancy in taking decisive action. We noted with interest and satisfaction that the heads of Council, Commission and Parliament on the occasion of various celebrations marking the twenty-fifth anniversary of the signing of the Euratom and EEC Treaties were each of the opinion that a new Messina conference was needed to examine what is realistically possible in and with this Community. These pious intentions have not, in the intervening period, been followed up by deeds.

This inaction has led us to introduce a Christian Democrat-sponsored motion for a resolution requesting the convening of a conference of Member State governments before the end of 1983 to examine firstly, how the existing Treaties can be better applied and extended, secondly, how European union can be achieved and thirdly, how Parliament's decision on institutional affairs, which we are now discussing, can most effectively be embodied in legislation. A serious attempt must be made to overcome the reticence of certain Member States. Should this not succeed one would have to enquire as to which Member States are prepared to proceed with all haste to the realization of the European union, whilst not, needless to say, breaking the ties with the remaining Member States.

This draft motion for a resolution follows in the direct line of an historical development. If I may put it simply: just as the Coal and Steel Community evolved from the Council of Europe as did the Western European union for that matter, and just as the European Monetary System was born of the European Community Treaty — and one could continue — in like manner it should be possible for us to achieve a European union in difficult times for Europe's history has demonstrated that decisive progress has been attained

even in the throes of difficulties. Mr President, this motion for a resolution is being introduced today pursuant to Article 47 of the Rules of Procedure. We do not deem it necessary that the relevant committees deal with it immediately but would prefer to wait until about mid-1983 at which time we would like them to look into the progress realized by the heads of Council, Commission and Parliament on preparations for the convening of the new Messina conference.

Mr President, the objective of our motion for a resolution is that of holding the heads of the three European institutions to their word and, as such, marks the advent of parliamentary control in this sphere. I hope that it will also be the last. One thing is clear: we are formally requesting the heads of the three institutions to stop dragging their feet and to at last do what they have undertaken to do. We can wait no longer but we can assure them of this House's unequivocal support.

*(Applause)*

**President.** — I call Mr Jackson.

**Mr C. Jackson.** — Mr President, may I add my thanks to our rapporteur for his absolutely exemplary work on our behalf.

The Treaties which have served us all well for 25 years or more are in some respects now creaking at the seams, while in other respects political will in the Member States has by no means been sufficient to ensure adequate progress in the provisions they contain. It took after all over 20 years to get this Parliament elected, and virtually no progress has been made on certain policies, such as transport, which were clearly envisaged back in 1957. What, indeed, has happened to the single seat of the institutions?

That is why I was one of the first participants in the 'Crocodile Club', and why I wholeheartedly supported the efforts to get this House to show a clear way forward to European union.

My first point is that we must aim to build a Community of strictly limited functions but of equally real powers. Many things about Europe, about this Parliament and about European union are profoundly misunderstood in my own country, and indeed throughout the Community. That is why I am particularly pleased that the 'principle of subsidiarity', the inclusion of which I indeed proposed to the rapporteur, appears so strongly in our report. Those in all our countries who distrust progress towards European union should mark paragraph 5a well. It states clearly that 'the union shall only undertake those tasks which are executed more effectively in common than by Member States separately'.

The great importance of this principle is that it provides a logical basis for widespread discussion of the

### C. Jackson

Community's functions. It is possible to define, to argue over, to assess which functions the Community can really carry out better than the Member States individually.

Now I am, in one sense, a minimalist for the Community and for every other level of government, be it local or national. I want decisions and decision-making to be kept as close to the people as possible, only raising them to a more remote level — a county, or a State, or European level — if there is real advantage to the people in doing this. But it is no contradiction that I want to build a Community of real powers, more than at present, but of functions, of course, limited to those matters which the Community can perform better than the Member States.

This 'principle of subsidiarity', however, has its problems. It is quite clear to me that we should not transfer powers from Member States to the Community until we have institutions that can operate those powers to the benefit of European citizens. It is for this reason that institutional reform is of vital importance — otherwise we shall get caught in the Community's 'Catch 22'. The Community's Catch 22 is that governments may deny the Community functions it should perform on the grounds that the institutions do not work well enough, while at the same time denying institutional reform because we do not yet have the functions which make such reform imperative.

My second point is that we should aim both to draft a new treaty and to propose small amendments to the existing treaty. I am convinced that the most prudent course will be to carry forward extremely limited amendments to the existing treaty. But equally, I am sure we must produce among our papers the structure of a new draft treaty for use in future years. We must be realistic, but we must take the freedom we need to build on what our founding fathers did with such success and thus provide a framework that can last the Community for at least the next 50 years.

My third point is that debate outside this Chamber is all-important. It is all very well for this Parliament to put up a draft treaty, to draft amendments, but we all know that any treaty amendments will have to run the gauntlet of the parliaments of all the Member States and that failure in any one of them means no treaty amendments. It is because of this that I have set down an amendment to the resolution which emphasizes the need to encourage informed debate in the Member States and to take evidence. We shall not succeed in our ambitious aims unless there is informed debate which leads the political and intellectual forces in our Member States to support us and thus to carry a majority in national parliaments. Our contribution to this debate must be substantial but I hope — if I may say this *en passant* we shall not feel any compunction in borrowing from the practice of the British House of Lords in taking oral and written evidence from the fin-

est experts we can find, and then publishing this as a basis for further discussion.

My fourth point is a more difficult one. It is that we should continue to use our unwritten constitution as a basis for progress. It struck me at the time of the farm-price majority vote that no one should understand better what was going on constitutionally than the British themselves. I dare say no one is more familiar with unwritten constitutions than we are. And so far as majority voting is concerned, we all know that the Treaty says one thing, that our informal practice in the Community, our unwritten constitution, half stated in the Luxembourg disagreement, says another. And we all know, too, that it is a feature of unwritten constitutions that, put under enough strain, they shift like a river going round an obstacle. I hope that in this case our unwritten constitution has shifted to a much greater and more constructive use of the majority vote.

The fact is that we already have a large number of non-treaty working practices, from foreign policy cooperation downwards and I put it to this House, pragmatically, that this may be no bad thing. It gives suspicious and reluctant Member States a chance to try things out without entering into a commitment which could be politically impossible at first but which, given time and the evidence of success, may prove perfectly acceptable later on. So I believe we should encourage experiments, inter-institutional agreements, such as those proposed in the Hänsch report; agreements between Member States, and then later, include them in treaty amendments after they have been tried, perhaps amended, and found successful.

Mr President, at the same time I confirm that certain treaty changes are vital right now. Surely we have learnt what the Americans learnt 200 years ago, that the advantages of a confederal approach are outweighed by the disadvantages? The fact is that we do need, as Winston Churchill said just after the war, a 'kind of United States of Europe' — our own kind, but a union none the less.

My fifth, and final point, is this: our European Community, with its 270 million people, its annual income greater than that of the USA, its enormous intellectual and human riches, is a giant in the world. Yet we all know it is a giant so restricted, so shackled by nationalism that it cannot give its people or the world the benefits it should bring.

Beyond everything else, then, this report is about creating a constitutional framework that can carry Europe forward for the next 50 years, that can, in effect, cut loose the shackles binding our Community. We vote on our resolution today and I hope it will be carried overwhelmingly: but, at the same time we are asking people throughout the European Community to help us with the task of building European union.

**C. Jackson**

For without their help all our efforts will come to nothing.

*(Applause)*

**President.** — I call Mr De Pasquale.

**Mr De Pasquale.** — *(IT)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the Italian Communists give their full support to the motion for a resolution presented by the Committee on Institutional Affairs and illustrated by Mr Spinelli, to whom we also address our thanks.

After adopting this resolution, Parliament will be obliged to face the most delicate, most difficult, and most exacting task of this first directly elected legislature. We are perfectly aware of the difficulties and the dangers inherent in this second phase of our work, where the tasks of the union, the competences and the structures of its institutions, the procedures to ensure a new coherence and harmony in the complex relationship between the Community and the sovereign States which comprise it, must all be very carefully worked out.

Today, therefore, we should not venture upon the study of the choices to be made tomorrow, in the succeeding phases and up to the conclusion of the definitive act. We would do better to respect the stages already mapped out, for, as we have seen, they serve to dissipate misunderstandings, to reconcile opposing views, and to prepare for informal agreements through orderly discussion. Today the Assembly is called upon to approve or reject, or modify only the general approach, the basic guidelines set forth in the resolution, to which future choices must conform. As I have already said, we are in favour of these guidelines, having helped to draw them up.

At this point, Mr President, I could conclude my speech, but, since I have the time, I would like to add a few other brief considerations.

Our first and fundamental judgment concerns a concept which emerges from the work of the Committee on Institutional Affairs: the passage from the existing Community to the future union. It is clearly stated in the resolution that the process of integration should be developed conjointly in all fields, political, economic, social and cultural. The central idea of the resolution can be clearly and positively distinguished from the many other proposals, all incomplete and unilateral ones, which have been presented recently from various quarters, such as the Genscher-Colombo European Act or the Memorandum of the French government. In a crisis as acute and widespread as the present one, it is absurd to think that economic and monetary integration can develop without strong political cooperation, and vice versa. Equally evident is the extreme difficulty of opening up new social horizons for work-

ers, the unemployed, the young, women, without policies and instruments to encourage the convergence of the European economic systems. We have seen how painful and uncertain are the attempts to bring about an economic and social recovery when they are made at the national level without reference to the European context.

These various proposals, although they are weak and inadequate, nevertheless demonstrate that the need to escape from paralysis is felt even in the quarters most resistant to change. This need is an objective one, therefore, and historically developed. We have come, as the rapporteur and many other members have said, to a point of no return. The Community experience of the past, having ripened some time ago, is now in danger of spoiling, and needs to be renewed, not in bits and pieces, but in its entirety. partial or sectorial adjustments and remedies are either of little use or quite simply impossible to apply, as is demonstrated, to cite only the most recent example, by the failure of the mandate.

Are we indulging in Utopianism, then, in proposing a reform of the Treaties in order to refuel the process of integration which has come to a halt and even begun to move backward? We do not think so. We would certainly be deluding ourselves if the resolution proposed the creation of a 'super State'. But this is not the case. We can make a second positive judgment at this point: the resolution does not ask us to merge into supranationality, it does not ask us to upset the present organization of the Community. On the contrary, it asks us to strengthen it, improving the balance of the institutions and their reciprocal roles in order to perform the tasks laid down in the Treaties and those which have arisen with the passage of time. There is a definite affirmation of continuity with the past, a critical continuity, of course, and this not in order to remain in the past, but rather in order to move forward. This is realism, if realism, as I believe, does not mean resignation and renunciation but rather an aware and responsible dynamism.

Nevertheless, objections have been advanced from the opposing standpoint. From the left, there are complaints of a certain vagueness in the indications of what would be the social foundations of the Union, of what European society of the year 2000 should be. But of what use would it be, ladies and gentlemen, even if it were possible, to sketch the characteristics of a new society? The renewal of society can only be the result of great struggles and shifts in opinion, of substantial change in power relationships, of victory in political and social battles on a European scale. Our immediate objective, which can be shared by a vast spectrum of social and political forces, must be the democratic and peaceful attainment of an authentic 'European dimension', so as to build within it the unity of all the progressive and democratic forces for social renewal.

The initiative undertaken by Parliament for the reform of the Treaties is aimed in this direction, towards the

**De Pasquale**

broadening and consolidation of democracy in Europe. We must not lose sight of this essential point at a time when the use of force prevails over the use of reason, when barbarism and repression are accompanied by threats of war.

There are still those who do not understand this new link between the construction of Europe and the world crisis, and who therefore tend to underestimate what we are trying to do, considering it to be little more than a mere intellectual exercise. To all of these we would like to say that what is being done here is qualitatively different than what has been done in the past. There have indeed been many reports on European union, all valuable and useful. This time, however, we are not dealing with just another report, with an unremarkable document destined for the archives and the libraries: we are dealing with a true political action, an initiative on the part of the elected Parliament directed at the people, the parliaments, and the governments of the Member States, an urgent initiative, assumed in the context of a situation which is already intolerable and which could have catastrophic effects. This is the difference! This is the watershed between the past and the present.

It is an assumption of responsibility which Parliament must accept and which has great political value, whatever the immediate outcome may be. And the outcome cannot be other than positive if, we are able to gather all forces and appeal to all segments of society. In this regard, President Thorn's declaration of yesterday evening concerning his availability for work on a joint basis is worthy of positive emphasis. It would certainly have been better if this declaration had been made a year ago: we would be farther ahead today. It will in any case be necessary to discuss the matter with everyone, even with the most hostile governments; it will be necessary to involve and interest public opinion in the individual countries. If we succeed in explaining clearly, during its elaboration and before the elections, the exact scope of Parliament's proposal, I believe we will have taken a big step towards European union.

*(Applause)*

**President.** — I call Mrs Veil.

**Mrs Veil.** — *(FR)* Others have analysed or will yet analyse Mr Spinelli's report better than I could ever hope to do myself; besides, there was no one better qualified to write such a report when you consider the depth of his experience and the strength of his convictions in these matters, to which I am bound immediately to pay tribute.

I shall therefore refrain from going back over the actual content of the motion for a resolution which we are debating and concentrate instead on the political context in which it has come up, and I shall be con-

sidering it from three points of view: firstly, the Community's present situation, secondly Parliament's situation, and lastly the outlook following the adoption of this resolution.

As regards the Community's present situation, if you discount the crises associated with the Korean War, the Berlin blockade and the blockade of Cuba, never has the world situation been as disastrous as it is today. Conflict situations have come one on top of another without a single one of them being resolved. The disparity between the industrialized and developing countries is widening all the time, while the two superpowers, willing to devote all their capacity for invention and their national wealth to arming themselves to the teeth, seem preoccupied essentially with bringing the other to its knees, the one not hesitating to resort to terrorism and political manipulation and the other to the food weapon.

And what is Europe doing in the meantime? It looks on, or rather it tries to play the go-between and, being in the first line of fire, it suffers the consequences of whatever blows are struck. One might even say that these blows are often struck through Europe.

Immediately after the Versailles Summit our disarray and our weakness were so manifest that everyone knew even before it was held that the subsequent European Council would be able to do no more than deplore the devastation and perhaps, for once, show a spirit of solidarity in so doing.

Now that I have briefly painted this ominous picture of the situation, and ominous it certainly is, one might well ask what it has to do with the Spinelli report. Well, I wanted to show that, with the state that Europe has got itself into now, the fact that we are putting forward a plan for unification is not simply for the sake of dreaming but because this Europe of ours — which has a larger population and a higher gross domestic product than the United States — should be able to play the role which at present it is not playing. What are we doing with all this potential, what are we doing with our intelligence, our capacity to influence world affairs? Nothing, or next to nothing. Where we should be better off joining forces we continue to pursue, each on his own, our petty, individual policies.

That is the first point I want to underline, the idea that union is not an abstraction, an idle dream, but a necessity. It is not the objective of maniacs obsessed with a preposterous pipe-dream.

Furthermore, we are threatened by dangers more serious than ever before. We are familiar with these dangers but they take on a more dramatic significance than ever before when we see the inconsistencies, the growing divergence of our economic, social and monetary policies. These dangers lurk — more so now than in previous crises — in the questions of principle that are heard mentioned, like 'fair return' and protec-

## Veil

tionism. I say it quite plainly: I am afraid that winning back the internal market may sometimes lead to protectionism, thinly disguised at first, but which could be fatal for our Community.

It is true that the background against which we witnessed the moves which led to the setting up of our Committee on Institutional Affairs and Mr Spinelli's initiative was not quite so disastrous. You must remember that it already goes back two years and no doubt the actual idea of this initiative first came to its author three years ago, after the direct elections.

Let us look back at what Parliament's situation was then — which, incidentally, is more or less still the same today — at the time we took up our functions, and here I come to the second consideration.

At that time we disappointed many people in certain countries; in others we aroused considerable apprehensions. And yet, it could not have been otherwise for, even if the Treaties are badly drawn up or still leave room for ambiguities, there are certain possibilities, for example in connection with the budget, that still remain to be exploited, as we found in the area of legislation in the course of the meeting between the enlarged Bureau and the Ministers of Foreign Affairs in November 1981. The fact is, however, that the remaining possibilities, taking into account the Treaties, are exceedingly slender. Parliament's powers are very carefully spelt out under the Treaties as they stand. As for the Council, it does not appear to show any willingness to overcome its inability to act. The noble effort displayed in taking a majority decision in relation to farm prices does not seem likely to be followed up. I, for my part, deeply regret it and do not understand the reason for it. This provided all the more justification for our fears and our determination to do something about it.

Conscious of this incapacity, and despite our intense activity and a more rigorous control, some Members of this Parliament reacted immediately, considering that if in 1984 the electorate was to choose a Parliament knowing what ends it could serve, knowing also what Europe's chances were, then it was necessary to get to work right away.

After all, it is the Community as a whole which is at stake, for one cannot divorce Parliament from the Community: the two are inseparable in the minds of the people of Europe. When one sees the problems entailed by the implementation of the Genscher-Colombo initiative one is forced to the conclusion that it is high time Parliament, too, took a hand in this question. This debate is all about political will, the political will which is rather like Bizet's *Arlésienne*: one hears a lot about it, but one never gets to see anything of it! Let us hope we shall see something of it here in this debate.

What prospects do these proposals offer us, what is their scope? Embittered individuals — and there are

many such when it comes to talking about Europe — will say that the resolution is vague, that it fixes general guidelines but has not made the choice between a federal and a confederal system, that it has not finally resolved the endless debate between the advocates of the 'United States of Europe', those truly committed to the path of supranationality, and those who favour a 'Europe of the States'. That is quite true, but I must say, for my part, that if I have from time to time, deplored Parliament's timid initiatives in certain cases, emptying proposals of all their substance, I welcome this particular initiative, which has required a generous spirit of conciliation within the Committee on Institutional Affairs and allows one to view with optimism the possibility of its receiving a broad measure of support from this House.

It would have been dangerous to have become involved at the outset in theological arguments which would have excluded this or that point of view. What was important was to set objectives, to take into account the specificity of the Community, to organize future institutions according to what they would be expected to accomplish if the union was to exist.

If the Commission were allowed to get on with its job, if Parliament were given real powers in all spheres of the Community's activities, if Parliament were given a genuine role on the pattern of that enjoyed by the national parliaments, and by that I mean in all Community-related matters, union would be as good as achieved. Furthermore, and this to my mind is essential, Parliament will ensure that the work of the Community at last has a democratic basis at a time when there is evidence of a dangerous weakening of democracy and of the role of parliaments, both at national and Community levels. In our countries it is the governments that are undermining democracy through their Summits and through the fact that Community matters are not submitted to the European Parliament except in the area of legislation.

We know of course that there is an element of Utopianism in this undertaking. We also know that ours is not a constituent assembly, that no authority has expressly mandated us to draw up this treaty, this pact of European union, that this initiative owes nothing to any specific and binding political perspective. We are responding to a reflex actuated by our perception of a void, of a failure to respond to clear needs, to answer a more or less explicit, a more or less conscious call from the people of Europe. It is the feeling of working for the future, of resisting a force that is pushing us towards disaster that gives our initiative its legitimacy. This legitimacy apart if this initiative is understood by the citizens who have elected us and whose hopes we feel we have correctly interpreted, then I feel that the adoption by a large majority of a coherent programme — a programme that has been adapted to the needs of society, that is realistic and effective — should, when the elections come round, result in all of Europe being pervaded by a renewed drive and vitality. A wager has

**Veil**

been made, a wager that I support wholeheartedly and, to parody Pascal, I would say that, at all events, we have everything to gain from gambling on the Union and everything to lose by gambling against it? I prefer not to contemplate the possibility of losing, I would rather place my trust in Europe and in the people of Europe, in the belief that they will fight to survive.

*(Applause)*

#### 4. *Welcome*

### IN THE CHAIR: MR FRIEDRICH

#### *Vice-President*

**President.** — It is with very great pleasure that we welcome the President of the Icelandic Parliament, Mr Jon Helgason, who has taken his seat in the official Gallery. He is honouring our institution with a visit of several days.

*(Applause)*

The European Parliament emphasizes the very particular importance of this visit since it represents the first contact with the Icelandic Parliament in the person of its President.

We hope that the various talks which Mr Helgason is to have in Strasbourg will be most fruitful and useful and that his visit will pave the way for closer relations between our two institutions.

#### 5. *Reform of the Treaties and European union*

**President.** — I call Mr Horgan.

**Mr Horgan.** — Mr President, I feel very privileged to be speaking in this debate on behalf of the Socialist Group, and indeed on behalf of my own party, the Irish Labour Party, as a comparative newcomer to this Parliament, having been here only since October.

The first thing I would like to do is to congratulate the authors, and particularly Mr Spinelli, on the idealism and the vision which have informed not just this initiative, but all the work, and indeed the passion, that have been devoted to the cause of European unity for many years now. I welcome the report in its broad

outlines, even though I might demur on many of the details.

I think it is important that we should realize that it is a bad time, unfortunately, for idealism now in Europe. When we look at the moves towards greater European unity, we have to ask ourselves whether the political will for greater unity is there at the moment throughout the Community, and if it is not there, why it is not there. I suspect that the political will for greater unity is not yet there, and that one of the main reasons for this is not that anybody distrusts or dislikes Mr Spinelli or this report or his beliefs in this matter, but that the Community is not seen to have delivered on its promises. That perception impels different people in different directions. It impels people like Mr Spinelli towards greater cooperation, greater unity, greater institutional change. It impels the suspicious, the sceptical and the downright hostile in other directions. I fear myself that the political will for greater unity will not come about until the Community is seen to have delivered more in the economic sphere than it has until now.

One of the ideas behind the creation of the Community is that of convergence, the idea that the Member States' economies and the standard of living of their citizens would converge over a period of time. Instead of convergence, we have had divergence. The situation has got even worse. The gaps in living standards between the rich and the poor — whether they are farmers or industrial workers is irrelevant — have actually widened in many parts of the Community.

If we are to be honest, we shall have to accept the fact that the problems of the Community relate not only to problems between the institutions, but also to problems within the institutions. Everybody knows about the problem within the Council and the question of the Luxembourg compromise; everybody, too, knows about the problems of the Commission and the hand of national interest that makes its presence felt even there; but there are also problems here with the Parliament. I think it is extraordinary that we still waste so much time in this Parliament trying to deal with amendments which go through all the committees and right on to the floor of this House and act as a log-jam for the work of this Parliament. I think we sometimes take decisions about what we discuss which encourage people not to take us too seriously. I am thinking of reports on the need to standardize the height of motorcar bumpers in Europe or on trying to decide the length in centimetres of a feeding trough for a battery hen in Europe. These are all no doubt important matters, but they are hardly matters for this Parliament.

We also have problems with the policies. While it is true that the agricultural policy, for example, has resulted in a substantial transfer of resources to my country, this has not been without cost, because it has happened in a way that has distorted agricultural

### Horgan

production and in many cases given rise to unnecessary hostility between town and country. We should beware when we talk about policies saying that because the present policies have not worked, we should just pump more money into them. We might be throwing good money after bad. We have to look at all the policies and ask if they are not doing what they are supposed to be doing. Is it because they are not being supported financially enough, or is it because there is something structurally wrong with these policies? We should then have a look at the structures of these policies and if possible take steps along the lines recently suggested by the Commission for adopting an integrated regional approach to the problem.

Finally, Mr President, I would like to say a word about European political cooperation. My country is a neutral country — that is, it will not take part in any military alliance — and in the early stages of discussion on this report I put down some amendments designed to underline that fact.

We shall be withdrawing these amendments, because we do not want to divide the House unnecessarily; but they have been put down as markers, because I think it is important to realize that neutrality in the Europe of the future is not the disease that some right-wing people would have us believe but is, certainly in the case of my country, a positive and creative response to the problems of world peace, both in Europe and in the world as a whole. Insofar as questions of security are concerned, I should like to see European political cooperation developing, not least in conjunction with the other European countries outside the Ten who also have a strong and long tradition of neutrality, into a new force for world peace based on respect for the United Nations Charter and for the ideals that it embodies.

**President.** — I call Mr Lalor.

**Mr Lalor.** — Mr President, I am afraid I have to say that the Spinelli report, while admirable in very many ways, runs the risk of adding to the growing disillusionment with the Community amongst our peoples.

I agree that we must move forward, improve the institutional balance and decision-making in our Community. I am also anxious that we fix our sights on European union as the ultimate goal of all our efforts. However, it seems to me that Mr Spinelli is putting the cart before the horse, to use an old expression. The result of all this will be to strengthen the hand of those who are opposed to the Community.

Let us look at the political facts in the Member States at present. In the UK there is a near majority opposed to Community membership. In addition, even the present government there is totally opposed to the terms of their membership which have been renego-

tiated on at least two occasions. Mr Jackson says political will is lacking. Yes, I agree, political will will continue to be lacking unless they get their way. In Denmark there is also strong opposition to the Community. Even in my own country an 85% enthusiasm and endorsement of Community membership is now more realistically in the region of 50%. To add to this, a tendentious and unnecessarily coloured report is in my opinion certainly not called for at this time.

European integration must not be founded on the basis of contesting the legitimacy of the Member States but rather on the integration of their economies and the harmonization of their policies.

Further political integration can only follow economic and social development. The primary motivation for integration is the further development of the Community through the Treaty framework. This means, firstly, the resolution of the complex of internal problems facing the Community in the immediate future. Secondly, the development of an ever closer Community of interest through the adoption of concrete and visible measures designed to face up to the economic and social problems of the Community and to further the aim of convergence of the economies of the Member States. In this connection we recall that since accession we have actually seen more divergence in Member States' economies. Thirdly, this means the provision of the necessary resources for the Community to maintain existing policies and to develop new ones designed to achieve the aims already mentioned.

It will be evident that the Community is an evolutionary concept whose further development is conditional on the necessary political consensus being created at each successive stage.

The paralysis from which the Community suffers at present stems from political factors and cannot be resolved by dramatic initiatives or tinkering with the existing institutional structures. In fact, given the known divergence of views in the Member States at present, any attempts of 'the great leap forward' variety envisaged here in this report could well be divisive and ultimately counterproductive. In particular, amendment of the Treaties is not a realistic proposition.

The development of the Community as an entity, as already pointed out, depends on the development of an ever closer preconceived Community of interests based on the economic and social objectives already referred to, and until this has evolved and is seen to be evolved significant shifts in the inter-institutional balance cannot be contemplated.

Mr President, the Genscher-Columbo debate has shown the difficulties for several Member States of accepting proposals far weaker and less extensive than those envisaged in the Spinelli resolution.



**President.** — I call Mr Pfennig.

**Mr Pfennig.** — (*DE*) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, when the first direct elections to the European Parliament began in 1979, many people expressed the fear that the newly elected Parliament would develop into a constituent assembly. Others called on the new Parliament to draw up a European constitution. The latter included the European Christian Democrats, who from the outset have seen the Community as the federalist way to achieve a European union. Those who intend to pursue this idea also need a European constitution. Everyone else will be content with ordinary international treaties among the Member States.

The Committee on Institutional Affairs has now submitted to the European Parliament a plan of work which calls on Parliament to approve the proposal that the committee should draw up a European constitution. The guidelines of this plan of work indicate the course to be followed in the Community as the Union of the future, in terms of the division of powers between the Union and the Member States and among the Union's institutions. The guidelines make it clear that, after its various proposals for institutional improvements under the present Treaties, Parliament should now provide a constitutional impulse for the further development of the Community.

If Parliament approves the course of action proposed by the Committee on Institutional Affairs, it must bear four factors in mind, so that the course adopted may lead to the goal.

Firstly, the peoples of the States brought together in the Community — to quote the Act concerning the direct election of the European Parliament by the 270 million people we represent — must understand why the Community needs to make constitutional progress.

Secondly, the product of the work done by the Committee on Institutional Affairs must not therefore be simply a description of how the European Community should function and continue to develop but above all state what specifically the Community should do in the future.

Thirdly, the national parliaments cannot reasonably be expected to transfer yet more of their sovereignty to the Community unless, on the one hand, they can see precisely how much sovereignty they are giving up and, on the other, it is ensured that the transfer of powers from national to Community level is not accompanied by a further loss of democratic legitimacy and an increase in bureaucratic, anonymous Council activity. In other words, further national renunciation of sovereignty is acceptable only if the interests of the citizens are jointly safeguarded in future, by the European Parliament, which is accountable to all the citizens of all the States of the Com-

munity, and by the Council of Ministers, representing the governments, who are accountable to the national parliaments, which, in turn, are accountable only to the citizens of their various countries.

The fourth and final point is very dear to my heart. Without what is often referred to as the fourth power in our democracies, the press, radio and television, Parliament's aims cannot be achieved. We must make a greater effort than in the past to convince them and to seek their assistance.

I should now like to say a few words about the four main points I have raised. Firstly, apart from a great deal else, such as the passport and the right of residence, freedom of movement without frontier checks, and so on, the individual is interested in the rights he will enjoy in the Community in its new form, in other words, in the prospective union. I consider it essential that we should at long last have a European charter of civil rights and civil freedoms, setting out as the minimum standard those rights and freedoms with which we have been familiar since the time of the French Revolution and the Declaration of Virginia: fundamental freedoms such as religious freedom, freedom of expression and freedom of the press, freedom of assembly and association, and also such basic rights as the right to life, freedom from bodily harm, freedom of movement, property, protection against unjustified prosecution and the right to a fair trial, electoral rights, language rights and, not least, equality before the law. I recommend that this charter be guided by a modern constitution, which also has the advantage of being bilingual, the Canadian constitution of 1981, which sets out everything very clearly.

Secondly, the question of what the Community should do in the future — the application of the subsidiarity principle to the sharing of tasks between the future union and the Member States — will undoubtedly require careful thought. It is certainly unacceptable for whole blocks of legislative and/or financial tasks to be transferred to the Union. An example will make this clear: in my opinion, it would not be right, for instance, for the whole question of environmental protection to be entrusted to the Union. Each case should be taken on its merits and a list compiled showing the environmental tasks for which the Union is responsible. I recommend the probably very laborious process of examining certain problem areas item by item. Like our proposals on the future of the European Community budget, this will at least have the advantage of involving discussions with the national parliaments. We shall after all have to come to an agreement with them at the end of the day. Such agreement is most likely to be reached if there is a list accurately defining the Union's powers, which can then be discussed.

If the Committee on Institutional Affairs considers the practical political tasks of the union in this way and

**Pfennig**

defines exactly what they are, we shall produce something we need not be ashamed of.

(Applause)

**President.** — I call Mr Johnson.

**Mr Johnson.** — I too, Mr President, would like to offer my congratulations to Mr Spinelli. I would like also to congratulate Mr Ferri, who is here and has been sitting here through our debate, and who, as the chairman of the Committee on Institutional Affairs, has steered our work to the conclusion which we have today. We are most grateful to him.

Last night I listened to Mr Hänsch, who spoke with passion just before 8 p.m. He said, 'Don't spin the prayer-wheel of the 1950s, let's look to the Year 2000'. I must say I had some sympathy with what he said, if only because of the passion with which he spoke. I think he is quite right to say to us we must be imaginative, we must be visionary, but you have to tread this narrow line between being visionary and Utopian, and I do not think the prescriptions with which Mr Hänsch ended do quite tread that narrow line. There is work to be done and we can be imaginative; but we can be realistic as well, and that really is the task this Committee on Institutional Affairs and this Parliament has between now and the end of 1983.

The key issue is what ought to be in the Treaties which is not now in the Treaties or inadequately set out in the Treaties. In this connection I was most impressed — I think we all were — by the speech which the President of the Commission, Mr Thorn, made at the meeting of the Committee on Institutional Affairs on 28 April, when he said rather clearly that there were two important things to do. First, the union's area of responsibility should include the powers which the Community currently exercises or could exercise. He said that some initiatives have been taken on the basis of powers which are imperfectly specified in the Treaties, but the job now is to spell these out in much greater detail. I think this is important.

It is important that we look now at those policies which the Community has with difficulty evolved on the basis of Article 100 or Article 235. They include certain social, environmental and regional policies. If we look at those, we shall see how actually to draft articles in the Treaty which will cover those policies, which will give us a much firmer legal basis for things we know we want to do, because we are doing them at Community level, but which will put beyond doubt the Community's competence in these fields. That, I think, is a major role for Parliament and for the committee now.

The next item is to look at two aspects of our work which are not covered at all in the Treaties, i.e., for

which there is no legal basis or where there are lacunae to be filled. Here, too, I think, we need to draft careful articles which will enable us to move beyond the present situation.

My own view is that, if we can get the substance right, if we can now, as it were, reframe and reformulate the Treaties, some of the problems which seem today most pressing and some of the issues which are the source of greatest contention between States, will fall away. If, for example, there were proper emphasis on regional, structural and environmental policies in the Treaties, I am absolutely sure that the budgetary problem which is now so acute would not be what it is. Countries like Britain, Greece and Portugal would not have the same difficulties, because the whole balance of the Community's spending would be different. Again, had we managed to write into the Treaties right from the start the kind of formula which Mr Lange suggested two or three years ago to this Parliament for an automatic corrective mechanism as far as budgetary contributions are concerned — a kind of mechanism based on gross *per capita* domestic product or perhaps just gross domestic product — the issues which divide us so much now would be much less important.

So the substance is crucial. I think that when we look at the points in paragraph 4 of the Spinelli resolution which refer to the tasks of the union — growing political, economic and social solidarity within a framework of respect for human rights, effective commitment to balanced and just economic and social development for all the countries of the world, a strong and responsible contribution to peace and security and, finally, responsible conservation and rehabilitation of natural environment — we recognize the guidelines which really ought to make it possible for us to look again at the substance of the Treaty and to come forward with intelligent ideas.

I do hope that the Commission, which is so much a repository of brains and imagination, will not neglect this opportunity to think very carefully and to give us the benefit of its thought as far as the suggestion of new ideas, new areas of work, or even new formulations for the Treaty are concerned. This does not have to be done formally by the Commission. I merely say, since Mr Andriessen is here, that I do very much look forward — I think we all do — to getting thoughts from them as well.

On the institutions — because that, if you like, is the second aspect of our work, the actual institutional relationships — of course there are a number of issues which are very much in our minds. It was, perhaps, extremely unfortunate that the farm-prices vote — the famous decision to fix farm prices by a majority vote in accordance with the Treaty — happened at exactly the time when the Council was also considering the Genscher-Columbo proposals; but I think we have a chance in our work on this institutional business to

**Johnson**

abstract from the immediate and give now some rather careful thought to those Treaty revisions which may improve the situation.

I am not going to go into details of the possibilities. I believe we need some kind of matrix which will indicate what sorts of decision can be taken by what kind of vote and indeed by what institutions. There may very well be some decisions which can only be taken unanimously, but there will be many which can be taken by a majority vote in the Council. There will be many decisions which the Commission itself should have the power to take. I think it is important that we look at those things in some detail. There is a chance now to move away from the present crisis in decision-making and to produce some long-term proposals which of course safeguard all the interests which need to be safeguarded.

As far as the Parliament is concerned, we need, I think, to make it quite clear that this institutional work, this 'crocodile' initiative, is not in any sense a grab for power by Parliament. It would be very wrong at this juncture to present it as that; probably we should not have public support for our work if it were to be presented as a grab for power by Parliament. The powers of Parliament are only one aspect of this issue, and they are probably not even the most important aspect by any means. Nevertheless, I do think there is one thing which we need to make fairly clear and that is this: when the European Parliament, by a clear decision, has asked the Commission to do something — I am not now talking about decisions taken late at night by twelve votes to ten, I am talking about a decision clearly expressed — then there is an obligation on the Commission to respond. If the Commission doesn't feel that now, then it is important that we manage somehow to write it into whatever we say on this subject in our draft Treaty revisions.

When we are looking at this section of our work, we need to consider how better the Parliament can ensure that its opinions, its advice, its amendments are taken into account by the Council. To speak frankly, at the moment we are walking in the dark. We vote amendments in this Parliament. We have very little control as to whether or not they are even discussed, let alone adopted, by the Council. Of course the Commission in a formal sense will make proposals under Article 149, paragraph 2, of the Treaty, but the reality may very well be that no full and proper consideration is given to Parliament's opinion by the Council.

There is a conciliation procedure in the budgetary field. It needs to be extended to other fields as well and needs to be made to work. This is something which we need to build into our draft revisions of the Treaty. The guidelines, of course, are well spelled out in the resolution.

I come very briefly to that aspect of the resolution which talks about the balance between Community

institutions. It is important that we achieve this new balance. One of the things which occur to me, almost *en passant*, is that the role of the Economic and Social Committee needs to be considered much more thoroughly and carefully than we have done so far. We were privileged last week to have at a meeting of the Committee on Institutional Affairs the President of the Economic and Social Committee, Mr Roseingrave, and we heard his views. I have here a booklet produced by a previous President of the Economic and Social Committee, Mr Basil de Ferranti, who is not unknown to this House — one man's view of how Europe really works. There are some good ideas here too. We need to build in our thoughts on how this institution can be brought in more effectively to the general work of the Community. If Parliament has difficulty in making its opinions heard, *a fortiori* that committee does. Yet that committee could be and should be a very important link between the Confederation of Trade Unions, between individual trade unions in the various countries, between industry and commerce.

If we look at the final section of this resolution, Mr President, we see that we are bound by a rather tight timetable. Our committee has to produce proposals by the end of the year, and Parliament is due to debate these draft amendments at the beginning of next year. By 1984, a new Treaty or draft amendments to the existing Treaty as adopted by this Parliament should provide the basis for all of our electoral campaigns in that year. It is a crucial and tight timetable, but merely for us to get through in time will not be enough. There is a real need now for us to prepare the ground and work with our own countrymen, our own national parliamentarians, and to do so really from the moment this debate is finished. If we don't, the worst situation of all will result. That will be this, that this Parliament will have adopted by the end of next year its own proposals for Treaty modifications or a new Treaty, we shall have campaigned on that basis in 1984 and then we shall reach a situation where the necessary ratification does not occur because we have not done the necessary ground work in our countries over these next few years and months to make sure ratification is achieved.

When I joined this Parliament in 1979, Mr President, as so many of us did, it was with the conviction that something would happen to justify the enthusiasm which we had. The 'crocodile initiative', if you like, was an idea whose time had come, and I would merely conclude, Mr President, by paraphrasing Voltaire and saying, if Mr Spinelli had not existed, it would have been necessary to invent him.

(Applause)

**President.** — I call Mr Chambeiron.

**Mr Chambeiron.** — (*FR*) Mr President, like all man's creations, the European institutions are subject to the general rule that they must move with the times.

We never thought for a moment that the Community rules had been laid down once and for all and virtually unalterably by the Treaties which prescribed how they should be applied. Quite the contrary, all societies must inevitably evolve, must inevitably change, because that is the law of life itself. We consider it entirely logical, therefore, that after decades of experience we should see fit to ask ourselves about the functioning of the Community mechanisms, their weaknesses, their inadequacies, their failures, and at the same time about the ways and means that might be used to correct any anomalies and make them work better.

It is accordingly with a totally open mind and without any thought of indulging in polemics that we French members of the Communist and Allies Group approach the discussion now in progress. The question we want to ask, however — and in our view it is a fundamental one — is whether the motives that inspired the authors of the motion for a resolution presently before us, the motives being to give a fresh impetus to the process of European integration through institutional reform, really do take present-day needs into account and whether they really are relevant at this time.

In other words, is there in our respective countries, both at government level and at the level of public opinion, a sufficient will to justify going beyond the present phase of integration, and if so, with what object in view? Is there not within this Parliament a tendency to exaggerate what public opinion feels about what is commonly called the European spirit? Let us admit it quite openly, however unpleasant it may be to hear: the fact is that the Community as an institution does not arouse universal and equal enthusiasm.

The promises that the Europe of the Six first of all, then of the Nine and finally of the Ten would offer a unique chance for workers both in industry and agriculture quickly gave way to anxiety and discontent as unemployment grew, inflation continued to rise, factories closed, thousands upon thousands of family holdings went under, and the Community showed itself unable to meet the challenges in the field of energy and raw materials. The failure to make a stand in the face of monetary upheavals brought on by the high-handed policies of the United States, sowed the seeds of doubt as to the common will to resist the prospect of a Europe playing a subordinate role and gradually being reduced to the level of a 'super-sub-contractor'. And I have not even touched upon the question of human rights, which is all too often alluded to, particularly in this House, with an evident selectivity.

Can it honestly be said that, in the search for Community solutions to the major problems that are facing

our countries, every avenue offered by the Treaties has been explored? Would not the fact of the Community assuming a new legal guise suggest that it attaches more importance to the form than to the content of an effective policy, hoping to find, through a change of tack, a way of evading its responsibilities? Generally speaking it is nationalism that is invoked to explain the paralysis of the institutions, as if there were countries that are entirely devoted to the European idea and others that are less so or not at all. That is perhaps to forget a little too readily that the social conflicts which characterize our respective countries are naturally enough mirrored at European level. Whether we like it or not, nationalism exists. It is not, as some are rather quick to claim, the expression of an egoism or even a detestable chauvinism. It is a living reality, firmly rooted in the history of our countries and one will never alter that reality, no matter what kind of legal niceties one may resort to.

In our societies the law has never been anything other than the reflection of our moral principles, the translation to the legal plane of carefully matured ideas. It is too easy to condemn the law on the grounds that the judge is applying it badly. We must have the ability to distinguish between dreams and reality. What the people in our countries expect from the Community is that it should come up with positive and tangible solutions to the major problems of the day. It is not the legal framework that is holding it back, but the lack of political will. There is unquestionably among the people of the Community a profound desire to see an expansion of cooperation between the countries of the Community. Whilst the rather cheerless celebration of the 25th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Rome may have shown up the failure of a particular policy in the context of a deep crisis, it should not however lead to its abandonment. We have to discover a way to bring about new and effective European cooperation and help to create a genuine European spirit. But let us beware of building cathedrals so long as the faith is not there.

**President.** — I call Mrs Spaak.

**Mrs Spaak.** — (*FR*) Mr President, as Mr Spinelli's explanatory statement points out, all the proposals made over the years to improve the functioning of the Community and to achieve closer integration have always become ensnared in what he calls 'diplomatic tangles'.

Today there are, however, five fundamental factors which oblige us to move ahead and strengthen European Political Union. I shall list them in no particular order: The economic crisis that has hit all ten countries of the European Community, none of which is capable of finding a way out of it alone without the help and support of the other nine; the forthcoming enlargement to include Spain and Portugal; the peace-

**Spaak**

making role which Europe is having to play in a world increasingly torn by conflict.

In the North-South dialogue we must pursue and step up a policy that has already brought results. Finally, in our relations with the United States, we must treat each other as equal partners, responsible for looking after the interests of our peoples.

I congratulate Mr Spinelli on his report and I agree with his analysis. Mr Spinelli has wide experience of the functioning of the Community and he is able, better than anyone else, to point to its weaknesses and indicate those areas where improvements are essential. He does so in clear and forceful terms, particularly where the limitations of the European Council are concerned.

I should like to say that I see no contradiction whatever in making the best of the possibilities offered by the existing Treaty during the remaining years of our parliamentary term and at the same time discussing in the House a programme for improving this same Treaty, particularly of course with the next elections in view. I also wish to stress the importance of the principle of subsidiarity. In the course of the campaign running up to the European elections we shall have to be able to present to the voters a programme that is coherent and promises a better future.

One final point, Mr President. There is increasing talk in political circles and in the press about what people call 'a variable-speed Europe'. I think that such a notion is a total distortion of the European idea and one which, if given credence, could do irreparable harm to the common ideal that a large majority of this House stands for. How absurd to suppose that one could conduct an industrial policy on the basis of 6 plus 4, or a monetary policy on the basis of 5 plus 5, or an agricultural policy on the basis of 9 plus 1 and expect to be able to coordinate all these actions in the context of a coherent political cooperation. We have to look at all the problems facing us, concentrate on those that most urgently need to be resolved — and unemployment seems to me to be one of those — and find solutions and measures that are applicable throughout the Community as a whole. And of course to do this we need an institutional structure that is more effective and more democratic, which is what Mr Spinelli's report is calling for.

**President.** — I call Mr Visentini.

**Mr Visentini.** — *(IT)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the direct election of this Parliament through universal suffrage in June of 1979 was the great hope of many citizens of the Community who held and continue to hold European integration as an ideal and a political goal and who see in it the condition for the survival of Europe's culture and civilization and for the defence of its social and economic levels.

Nevertheless, at the time of the 1979 elections we were aware of the narrowness of Parliament's field of action as laid down in the Treaties, and we explained this clearly to our electors. A definite appeal, however, came to us from precisely these same electors. It was not their intention to elect a Parliament disposed to submit passively to the crisis of the European Community and to the abandonment of the idea of integration. The electors, in performing their duty to elect a European Parliament, meant to act in such a way as to cause the spirit and the will and the ideals which inspired them to be translated into political action.

Immediately after the establishing of this elected Assembly it became clear that, if it were to limit itself to working in the context provided for in the Treaties, it would be both powerless and useless. This was grounds for satisfaction for those of anti-European leanings, one of whom, in this very chamber, described this Parliament as futile and stupid. On the other hand, it was grounds for deep dissatisfaction for us pro-Europeans.

I myself have frequently had occasion to stress in the strongest terms the contradiction of having called upon 250 million Europeans to elect an Assembly which does nothing but express advisory opinions on violations of free trade, adopt agendas which have no relevance — either practical or political — on Chile and Cambodia and Salvador, and which has no real power even in regard to the Community budget. I have several times invited the Assembly to organize itself so that it would not recreate within its groups the interests of the parties, of the relative internal currents and peculiarities of each individual country, calling upon it to function according to the European commitments, in conformity with the mandate received by each one of us. I have pointed out the need of initiatives directed at altering the critical situation of the Community, which is itself due to the inadequacy of the Community institutions, Parliament included.

The institutional system laid down in the existing Treaties is a system of reciprocal limitations and possible vetos; and the weakest among the Community bodies, the one which does not even possess real powers of limitation and veto in respect to the others, is precisely Parliament.

This institutional system could have had some justification in the initial phase of the Community, when there might still have been reasons for suspicion, or at least of caution, in the relationships among the individual States, and when it was a question of implementing the policies for agriculture and free trade, both provided for in the Treaties with specific and binding rules.

The institutions established in the Treaties as decision-making bodies have proved instead to be incapable of creating new forms and responding to the new demands of development, while problems of great pol-

**Visentini**

itical and economic importance have arisen for Europe which the individual States are unable to solve.

It is precisely the institutions and the decision-making mechanisms that must be modified. We have never held the illusion that free trade and close economic ties would in themselves, through a sort of self-propelling evolution, lead to political integration; and we will certainly not be so naive as to reiterate the banal affirmation that the citizens of Europe need jobs, a high standard of living, social tranquillity, and not institutions, for the solution of every economic and social problem presupposes institutions and decision-making processes capable of confronting these problems and dealing with them. And this is true also for the European Community, where the lack of institutions has led to the present crisis and to Community impotence in economic and social problems.

The Assembly has fully realized this, and, with the resolution of 9 July 1981, it drew up proposals for the reform of the Community institutions, charging the Committee on Institutional Affairs with their further elaboration. In this way an innovative step was taken in the direction of European integration, the only way in which Europe can be saved, and the opposing solution was rejected. This opposing solution goes by various names, from '2-speed Europe' to 'Europe à la carte', and it goes through the motions of recognizing the crisis in the Community but maintains that in consequence the process of integration must be halted and supports the concept of a Community rather like a club, offering services which each member can accept or decline.

The union and integration of all members of the Community is necessary in order to solve the problems which, in one form or another, affect all countries and demand a contribution on the part of each. The prevention of situations intolerable for certain individual States or their populations will then depend on the political equilibrium, on the wisdom of the decisions of all of them acting together.

The proposal drawn up by the Committee on Institutional Affairs lays down the basic guidelines as to principle and method. It rightly reaffirms that the goal is to modify the institutions. The essence of the resolution is, therefore, in my opinion, point 8, which asserts the basic principle that the various Community institutions should be regulated in such a way that each one collaborates, to the extent of its own competence, in the formulation of decisions. This is intended to modify the present situation, where the Community institutions are organized in such a way that they can eliminate one another from the decision-making process.

The plan for the future institutions is also presented in point 8. These, in my opinion — I repeat — are the most important problems. In point 9 follow indications concerning equally important problems of a financial nature. There it is stated that, within the limits of the

periodically determined apportionment of tax resources, the Union and the Member States shall independently assess their resources and draw up their budgets. The difficult and vital question concerning the procedures to be followed in apportioning tax resources between the Member States and the Union remains, however, to be resolved.

In conclusion, I refer to my opening remarks about the expectations cherished by many European electors in regard to this Parliament, expectations frustrated by the restricted nature of its institutional tasks and activities, too often limited to modest bureaucratic duties or futile oratory. We must prevent disappointment from becoming acquiescence, resignation, and inertia.

This Parliament wanted to go beyond the role laid down for it in the Treaties and take the initiative in the institutional reform of the Community, assuming in this way a task of a constitutional nature, and it will present its proposals directly to the parliaments of the individual States. Through this initiative the European Parliament can justify its existence as an elected Assembly whose sovereignty and duty to act, like the legitimacy of its action, transcend the Treaties and derive from the mandate received directly from the electors, who wanted to elect a political Assembly and not a bureaucratic body for administrative consultation.

**President.** — I call Mr Bøgh.

**Mr Bøgh.** — (DA) Mr President, the whole world is threatened by an inflation of money. But, in addition to that, the EEC is threatened by an inflation of words. The climax has presumably been reached by this orgy of words, mythology and the unrealistic visions of this report. Words carry people away and lure them into a religious, mysterious ecstasy, where daily life and its realities vanish into the clouds.

I shall have to be the spoil-sport in the midst of this word-orgy that has been put before us, and ask what is the real meaning of these war cries. Let me just ask two down-to-earth questions in relation to the foundations of this whole structure. The first question is: how have these busybodies discovered the expectations of the peoples of Europe? As far as I know, we have only two instruments that gauge the wishes and enthusiasm of the citizens in relation to the EEC. One is the result of the direct elections three years ago to the European Parliament. And as far as that is concerned it has happily been forgotten that the outcome in countries where the vote was non-obligatory quite clearly expressed indifference, indeed irritation. The other is the Eurobarometers compiled by the EEC, and, that in spite of all the cosmetic cover up, do not manage to hide the fact that the citizens, in particular those of the UK, Greece and Denmark, are — to put it mildly — reserved in their judgment of EEC projects.

**Bøgh**

My second question is this: from where do these people in their ecstasy know that the EEC has the task in this world to be a catalyst for peace and development? Have these fine people a special connection with the greater powers who govern the path of history? Or is it quite simply rhetoric without any rational content? It seems to have been forgotten in this intoxication of words that the power one wishes to grasp has to be ceded by those who have the legal right to it. Meanwhile, this is not forgotten by the electorate and the taxpayers. They know that it is their own national legislative and governmental power — the administration they themselves have elected — that have to cede power and influence to this large abstract superstructure, to this last pretentious reflection of the 1960's mania for the gigantic. They have had enough of this large impersonal animal that has taken spontaneity out of their lives and has made absolute their alienation and their distance from reality. When will the EEC ideologists discover that it is rapture to be a citizen in a super state. Not only will the rights and sovereignty of nations and citizens of today be removed, but a word has also been invented that can give one power over the future. From work-inflation a new concept called the principle of subsidiarity develops. I don't think anyone has heard of it before. But it quite simply means that one intends to obtain from the powers one usurps today the right to indefinable measures of convenience in the future — in other words a *carte blanche*.

I can tell this House that now squanders away a day and a half on these problems when it should have attended to its work, that this is wasted energy. No Danish government can accept this discussion, not only because it would be political suicide when one represents a people that have learned that the knife is up the sleeve, when EEC ideologists inflate themselves, but also that this discussion can not progress without obtaining a new referendum in Denmark, which would show that popular support for EEC policy has disintegrated. Maybe one should take this sand-pit game with a smile. But maybe it is not so harmless. It is not harmless when the President of the Commission, in his impatience, has lost his feel for what one may ask a Member State to put up with, that is legally committed, and who yesterday in this Chamber declared the following about Mr Spinelli's dreams: 'The Commission is ready to support you fully and unconditionally all the way'. Yes, but I am very interested to hear if Mr Thorn has remembered to seek support for his great words with the Danish Commissioner, Mr Poul Dalsager. I take the liberty to doubt that.

I am also interested to know if any Danish Member of this Parliament who knows the feeling in his own country dares to put his name to these dreams. My group shall therefore request a roll call at the voting tonight.

## IN THE CHAIR: MR GONELLA

*Vice-President*

**President.** — I call Mr Pesmazoglou.

**Mr Pesmazoglou.** — (GR) Mr President, I hope the European Parliament will adopt the resolution of the Committee on Institutional Affairs by an impressive majority. This would bear witness to the fact that the elected representatives of the European peoples are deeply convinced that notwithstanding all the existing weaknesses and difficulties, we can only face up to the economic crisis and protect the peace and security of our people by means of the concerted action of all the European governments within a framework of European political unity.

I would like to express my sincere congratulations to the Committee on Institutional Affairs as a whole, and particularly to my friend and colleague Mr Altiero Spinelli, for the persistence and enthusiasm with which he is devoted to this great task. His report on the guidelines for reforming the European Community is a very important document.

Mr President, I would like to make five specific comments. The first relates to the correct notion that we must make progress towards the reform of our institutions. This means that our starting point must be the existing Treaties, and that, in turn, means that the directives relating to majority vote remain in force and that we must turn away from the practice and the abuse of unanimity. I therefore disagree with those colleagues who, from various sides of the House, express a peculiar insistence on the principle of unanimity which is almost paralysing the European Community.

My second comment concerns the need to make it very clear that all the functions and organs of the Community must be directed towards serving the interests of the Community as a whole. This means that it is unacceptable to speak in terms of two or more rates of development, and I refer to what was said a little while ago by Mme Spaak, in condemning any such thoughts and notions. It is self-evident that in rejecting notions or methods involving two or more rates, we espouse a firm policy of balanced European growth, and strive to limit the inequalities within Europe and particularly in the Mediterranean South.

My third comment relates to the political collaboration which we all agree is necessary. However, if it is to have international credibility, European political collaboration must ensure that the European Community stands firm for the principles of human rights and political freedoms, but also of international legality and international justice, and this in every direction without exceptions, having particular regard to the

**Pesmazoglou**

countries that border on Europe and that are of special interest to Greece but also to all the European peoples.

My fourth comment concerns facing the problem of the great national interests, which has occupied us so much. There is a need to give serious consideration to the formation of a European Upper Chamber, a second body comprising equal numbers of representatives from each of the Member States. This body would be competent to judge and to control, with defined majority votes, whether the decisions taken corresponded to the national interests of each country, and this evaluation would take place objectively and not according to the subjective judgement of each Member State.

Mr President, my last comment is that if we are to face up to our political problems, to mobilize public opinion among all our peoples, and to convey the message that both the economic crisis and the political problems of our age can only be faced by a united Europe, there is a need, within the framework of the existing institutions, for a vigorous initiative by Europe to meet the problems of unemployment and inflation and to moderate the economic inequalities in Europe. This means that we need an overall political development in Europe, and I want to emphasize that the initiatives of Mr Thorn and the recent decisions of the European Council for a stimulation of productive investment are steps in the right direction, but categorically inadequate ones, weak and not integrated into an overall policy. If such a vigorous European initiative were forthcoming, then our peoples would gain the conviction and enthusiasm that their future, and with it the future of humanity, our progress and our security, and in large measure also, world-wide peace, depend upon our advance towards a European political union and upon its formation.

**President.** — I call Mr Jaquet.

**Mr Jaquet.** — (*FR*) Mr President, this debate on the preliminary work done by the Committee on Institutional Affairs raises once again the whole problem of European renewal, its shape, its importance and its urgency.

We have had occasion many times in the past to say, in this very House, how necessary such a European renewal had become. We believe in fact that only by progressing to the next phase of European integration can we offer the Community any hope of finding a way out of the crisis in which it has been languishing for all too long. It is essentially on this aspect of the problem that I wish to concentrate now.

The European crisis has in fact been with us for some considerable time now and since its start the Community has suffered periods of strain and conflict followed by periods of calm and tranquillity of varying

duration. Because the process of European integration has been such a slow and sometimes laborious one, the end result is hardly how we envisaged it at the outset.

So what did we set out to achieve, what were our hopes? Our aim, at any rate the aim for many of us, was to form a group of mutually dependent states that would agree to pool a part of their resources in order to be able to work out common policies in the essential sectors, or at the very least to undertake joint actions in their common interest. We have to admit that we are still far from having achieved our aim.

Apart from the agricultural policy, which, despite its imperfections and even, in certain sectors, its injustices, represents a positive element, nothing of any consequence has been done in the other areas: no social policy worthy of the name — in an era when there are ten million unemployed in the Community — negligible action on the regional front — despite the seriousness of the disparities — no industrial policy, even though entire sectors of our industries are in extreme jeopardy, nothing to speak of in the field of energy or research. Need I go on? The picture is depressing enough as it is.

I acknowledge that some progress has been made in the area of political cooperation — not an area, incidentally, that comes within the Community's sphere of activities strictly speaking — but political cooperation, useful as it may be, is still not being translated into fully effective measures which alone should enable us both to guarantee the independence of our Community and successfully meet the major challenges of our time.

If the problem of the British budget contribution at times appeared so disturbing, it is precisely because selfish considerations invariably override Community considerations and interests, in other words the interests of every one of our states in effect.

Faced with such a situation, and no one could dispute that that is indeed the situation, we have to ask ourselves the obvious question: are we to continue going the way we are? Because if we are, then compromise by compromise, shortsighted policy by shortsighted action, what is today no more than a customs union will, ultimately, end up simply as a free trade area.

Such a prospect may make some people secretly, or not so secretly, very happy. It does not make the Socialist Group happy. It is up to us therefore to do something about it, while there is still time.

But the question is how? Undoubtedly the first priority is to revitalize the European Community. Several governments have recently been studying this problem.

The French Government drafted a memorandum based on the notion of common policies. Mr Genscher and Mr Colombo, on behalf of the German and Italian



**Jaquet**

governments, put forward a proposal for revitalizing the institutions in anticipation of European Union and inspired essentially by the desire to bring about immediate improvements in the area of political cooperation. Lastly, the European Parliament took the decision to set up a Committee on Institutional Affairs which has just submitted its first report, which takes a longer-term view and is motivated by the desire to bring about a permanent transformation and improvement of our Community's institutions.

How are we to view these various proposals? With satisfaction, naturally, to the extent that they show that our concern is widely shared. And yet we are not entirely satisfied. European renewal of the kind envisaged by the French Government, based on the need to work out common policies or a common approach in the essential areas, is a clear necessity, since it is precisely the lack of such common policies that lies at the root of the Community's present difficulties. But if all the governments, responding to our hopes, were to accept the French memorandum, would we have institutions effective enough to be able fully and swiftly to achieve whatever objectives we might set ourselves? That is the question and it is one that deserves careful consideration.

The Genscher-Colombo proposal does provide a partial answer to this question. However, it is rather reticent about precisely what Community policies and measures need to be worked out.

The initial work of the Committee on Institutional Affairs, which has been so clearly reported by Mr Spinelli, concentrated naturally enough on the problems of the institutions; indeed, that is the task we had assigned to it. However, as I said just now, these proposals do not relate to the immediate future but rather to the longer term. Will events allow us to wait? And what might become of a programme for the future that has been carefully worked out in every detail if in the meantime the Community, through some default on our part, were to lose a part of its *raison d'être*? That is another question that needs to be asked.

The first thing to come out strongly from this debate is how urgently a revitalization of the Community is needed.

Let me make one final comment on the content of the various proposals, whether from the governments or, like the one we are looking at now, from Parliament.

I am of course entirely in favour of a radical reform of our Community institutions and, for many of us, that has been on our minds for some considerable time. But I have to add right away that revitalization, as we have to think of it today, cannot be limited to this aspect of it alone, however important it may be.

Yes, of course the functioning of the institutions must be improved — but to what end? Without a doubt to

be able more easily and under better conditions to implement whatever measures the present situation demands. Otherwise, what is the point? To have institutions that are more effective, better organized, more ambitious, but which, in the absence of a Community will, would be content to carry on — with greater freedom, to be sure — but carry on in a vacuum, that, for our peoples, would be a dangerous illusion followed by a grave disappointment. We would be running the risk of getting ourselves involved in a kind of headlong rush forward which might make us feel good but which would hardly do anything to advance the process of European integration.

That is why I firmly believe that Community renewal in whatever form has to include common policies and the institutions to implement them effectively. You have there two essential and inseparable elements, and in planning and pursuing our task we must always bear that fact in mind.

And it is from this standpoint that we intend to examine the report that Mr Spinelli has presented to us today.

In order that our thinking may be clearly put across, we have put down a number of amendments on behalf of the Socialist Group which will be explained to you in the course of this debate by Mr Moreau in particular. Our ultimate position on the report will depend on the answers we receive to the points we have raised.

**President.** — I call Mr Zecchino.

**Mr Zecchino.** — (*IT*) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the probable approval of the resolution we have under examination leads me to dwell more on the reasons which should urge this approval than on the content of the resolution itself.

In fact, apart from the near unanimity which has been recorded in its favour, I believe we should not overlook the existence of certain doubts relating to this resolution which are felt within our Parliament. These doubts may be only fleetingly apparent, but they threaten to undermine the force of this initiative, which should instead be seen as a central event in the first legislature of this directly elected Parliament.

We must not forget that our initiative is not aimed at other Community powers but rather and especially at the national parliaments, and that its chances of success are linked to the ability with which we can transmit in others outside, in the national parliaments, our own firm and carefully reasoned conviction.

At the level of discussion, I believe there is general agreement on the urgent need to make Europe advance along the road to integration. In contrast to what is advocated in this discussion, however, we can-

**Zecchino**

not fail to be aware that the present situation is characterized by a slow and laborious mode of progress which closely resembles paralysis. Our first duty is to seek out the reasons for this paralysis.

We cannot fail to assert firmly and clearly that the existing situation has developed because the institutional dispositions are objectively inadequate in relation to the reality confronting us. They have been inadequate ever since the signing of the treaties. The system provides for the concentration of most if not all powers in a single body governed by a monopolistic system, the Council, which, besides being the sole repository of real power, is the body most cut off from Community logic.

To this distortion born of the treaties was added a further impulse toward imbalance. The enlargement of the Community is certainly positive from a political viewpoint, but it has created problems for institutional functioning and efficiency. It also involves further distortions in respect of the original mechanisms.

In the face of this situation, I believe we must clearly pose the problem of the modification of the institutions, which should be the central aim of the activity of this Parliament.

We must realize that the institutional problem, at the moment when we are dealing with it, should not mean criticism of all that the Community has represented in the past. I believe that if today we are able to raise the problem of new acquisitions, we owe it to the existence of our Community. To make these criticisms is only to assert with realism that Community development cannot be entrusted to a sort of self-propelling quality within the system itself. We must realize that it is necessary to change the rules of the game; we must, in short, provide ourselves with new instruments of Community policy.

In the face of these simple truths, those who continue to envisage as a solution the so-called 'small-steps' policy, believing that at the level of political institutions there exists a sort of Darwinian law which permits the spontaneous evolution of political bodies, are either concealing a desire to maintain the status quo or merely repeating meaningless commonplaces. Twenty-five years after the signing of the treaties we cannot go on repeating that the treaties should first be applied in the areas where they have not yet been applied without bothering to find out why these instances of non-application still exist.

The facts teach us that we cannot brand the attempt to effect an institutional reform of the Community as an abstract and ahistorical initiative of a visionary nature. On the contrary, it is true that those who today subordinate the institutional problems to the so-called problems of content — the economic crisis and unemployment — are either practising demagoguery or simply refusing to understand that the solution of these prob-

lems calls for effective instruments, which means efficient institutions. Institutional efficiency in a democratic system can only come from two fundamental principles: that of the separation of powers and that of the balance of powers, both involving responsibility and reciprocal control.

Mr President, I conclude with the hope that we will be able to redesign an institutional model based on these principles. Above all I hope that we will be able to pursue our initiative in a double awareness: first, that there is no alternative, and second, that this parliament has a chance to justify its existence only if it is able to focus its efforts and its strength on this cause.

**President.** — I call Mr Patterson.

**Mr Patterson.** — Mr President, I want to address myself very briefly to what appears to be, on the face of it, a purely linguistic point but one which conceals important political arguments, namely, the principle of subsidiarity. Now this is a word the meaning of which is not readily apparent in English, and I notice that even Mr Spinelli says that it is a term the translation of which is difficult in some languages.

I was momentarily appalled when my colleague, Mr Jackson, who comes from a neighbouring constituency of mine, briefly seemed to claim paternity for this word. But I understand it is not the word but the concept which is in question — for which I am grateful — because I have to say it is an extremely unfortunate word, Mr Spinelli, and gives rise to the question: 'In this union who is going to be subsidiary to whom?' That is what it implies in English. And it does mean that we have to be extremely careful how we present what we are trying to achieve.

For example, let us consider another question. 'What is European union to be a union of?' If we take the model of the United States, which we all appear to be doing, and after all it is an institution's committee which has produced the report, we are talking about a union of states. But the EEC Treaty begins, not by talking about a union of states, but by talking about the ever-closer union of the *peoples* of Europe. And even if it is not legally true that we are talking about the peoples, it is certainly politically true. There will be no European union of any kind without the consent — and one could go even further and say without the enthusiasm of the people. I have to say, as far as my country, and I suspect most other Members' countries are concerned, at the moment they do not have that enthusiasm. Now what people do not want, in the first place, is to repeat the errors of the traditional nation state at a continental level. In particular what they do not want is to superimpose on top of large, growing and remote national state apparatuses, another even more remote European bureaucracy.

**Patterson**

Now I know that is not really what we intend, but I am afraid it is what most people think we intend. They think that what we are trying to do is to impose another layer of bureaucracy on them. In my country, opinion polls show wild overestimates of the current size of the European Community's staff in Brussels. That is because they fear precisely what we claim is an ideal. Hence the importance of the word 'subsidiarity'. I would suggest that three components of this word are essential.

One, as Mr Jackson pointed out, the reservation of powers in our union at the most local level, compatible with efficient government. That is something which must be written in right from the beginning. Secondly, the history of the United States tells us that unless we are careful we shall get ourselves into a problem of states' rights and in constitutional terms what we must do is to entrench the rights of states in any union which we create.

But finally, and here I return to the matter of people, we must recognize that the strength of European civilization lies in its variety. We are not talking just about a union of states, but a union of the components of the states and we must say something to the regions, to local cultures and, above all, to the desires of individuals and groups in our society. If we do not, if what we are attempting to do appears to be, or even worse is, merely putting more government on top of the superabundant government we have already got, then we shall not have a European union in our time, and justifiably so and we, Mr Spinelli, will have been wasting our time in this Parliament. I look to your committee to produce proposals which will actually, when we get back to our countries, be appealing to the peoples who elect us.

**President.** — I call Mr Boserup.

**Mr Boserup.** — *(DA)* Mr President, honourable colleagues, reality tends to cheat us in this Chamber. A fortnight ago it became clear that even such a moderate proposal as the Genscher-Colombo initiative could not be passed, and still we use time on this! That is what we call standing with our feet firmly planted in thin air.

Furthermore, I can say that it makes me happy, finally, to see clearly a crocodile. What indeed is that? Well, it is a peaceful animal, that lies quietly waiting, and suddenly it strikes. That is a crocodile. It is harmless and unassuming when it indulges itself in wishful thinking and matters of course, of which there is a lot in existence. Wishful thinking when it maintains that we can create a union that secures individual and collective rights, respect cultural and ethnic differences, and into the bargain can achieve full employment, and indeed also prevent regional imbalances. And on top of all that it shall also achieve economic and social justice in

all countries. That sort of talk has rightly been called 'European gush' by a minister in the present Danish government.

Matters of course are plentiful. The Court of Justice shall exercise its powers within the framework of a system based on the law. You know, we usually take it for granted that courts of justice do just that. But what does this law stand for? Today the findings of the Court appear to be in favour of integration. And I am certain it shall go on being so. There is a morsel of this matter of course in paragraph 10. It says that the existing laws shall remain in force until they are altered. That is what I call wise men's profound thoughts! But where does the crocodile strike? Well naturally it swallows up cultural policy, taxation, security and social policy. But then it invented something new: it has laid an egg. This is called the principle of subsidiarity and at least it has a nice sound to it. It states that the Union shall only undertake those tasks which are executed more effectively by the Community. But it does not say by whom or how one finds out the nature of the tasks. How shall that be decided? By majority vote, at worst by a qualified majority in the Council. Good heavens!

And furthermore, the tone is threatening as it writes about the inevitable evolution of the Union. Tell me, is this fatalism; is it religion; or is it just old-fashioned marxism? What is to be done is to be done by humans and naturally can be changed by humans, and thus free us from threats of the inevitable.

In paragraph 11 the crocodile really shows his teeth. It would like to differentiate between minor and major revisions to the Treaty. Evidently a system shall be created into which one can slip through minor revisions practically on the quiet. That will not work! That sort of thing is called salami-technique and is outrageous.

I can, however, say something positive. It says in paragraph 5b that the Union shall act only in clearly delineated areas. I think that is a fine thing and I think we should begin with that tomorrow. It would do away with a great deal of resentment in Denmark if one stopped using Article 235 to embark on all kinds of subjects one knows nothing about, and which are not mentioned in the Treaty.

The rapporteur is also of the opinion that persistent and presumably costly propaganda funded by the taxpayer can induce people to involve themselves in this. I would like very much to help the rapporteur with a good piece of advice. I will recommend him to write a new Treaty, starting thus: countries permitting the manufacture of, and trade with, nuclear weapons cannot become members. Countries permitting installation of nuclear weapons by other countries on their territory shall be expelled. Look, this gives a commitment, not least amongst the youth. This would add real subject matter to all this talk about peace and

**Boserup**

security. Yes, I even believe that my electorate would begin to reconsider the matter.

**President.** — I call Mr De Gucht.

**Mr De Gucht.** — *(NL)* Mr President, I would like to comment on what should be for us, as elected representatives of the people, our primary concern, namely the future of Europe and of this Parliament. I am doing so firstly as the second youngest member of this House and as representative of those for whom we have been entrusted with the construction of the second generation Europe. Secondly as a representative of that generation which is beginning to have serious misgivings about the usefulness of Europe and is awaiting a new impulse from the European integration process. These expectations have, to this day, been cruelly deceived.

Our generation expects Europe to provide a solution to unemployment, endemic amongst the young. We do not care for studious meditations but wish instead to see concrete measures; we consider debates on the institutional aspects of the Community to be, at least in part, purely academic. In this respect the question as to what should come first, concrete political action or a restructuring of the institutions is a good example of this. The simple answer is that the institutions must be reformed as soon as possible. There simply is not any other alternative.

Those who proclaim that priority should be given to the industrial, monetary, or scientific field seem to forget that the Community either does not possess or does not wish to possess the instruments needed to carry out these policies. As long as a viable institution is lacking such policy measures can best be forgotten and discussions on the subject will be no more than verbiage. How can one seriously expect to construct Europe without knowing how the necessary decisions for its achievement should be taken. One is putting the cart before the horse. The institutions of the Community, as constituted, most closely resemble a body endowed with absolute powers — is there not a concentration of legislative and executive powers in one organ — and should be capable of providing answers to the greatest single challenge with which a political entity has ever been confronted. The creation of one Community from ten so diverse national states some of whom have been in existence for no more than 150 years, is without precedent in historical terms but it will never be a success unless the Community is endowed with viable institutions.

Allow me to enumerate the characteristics essential to such institutions. They must, firstly, be democratic. It would be inconceivable to imagine national states transferring power to supra-national bodies whose commitment to democratic ideals was questionable. National democracies, however fragile, cannot be

abandoned for a supra-national but undemocratic Europe, however unified. Only a democratic Europe therefore can expect to have any kind of longevity, undemocratic bodies and states being irremediably doomed to collapse, sooner or later.

Secondly the institutions must be prepared to act. The present institutions are, at every level and by everyone, subject to the whims of those intent on preserving narrow vested interests, thus blocking all progress. In future the failure on the part of one institution to take action on certain matters within a specified time limit will automatically result in its powers being transferred to another institution. Thirdly, the institutions should have the merit of simplicity. Independently of the composition of the components the classical division into these parts would appear to be the most appropriate, being both simple as well as tried and trusted in the individual Member States and represents for most of us the most familiar political landscape. They comply with national realities and sensitivities which is a prerequisite. The Community and national aspects must be reflected and it is essential that the delicate equilibrium between them be maintained. This is best illustrated in democratic states having a two-house system. Despite the lip service paid by most to a 'European identity' and 'European unity' the reality is quite different, namely that we originate from very differing, and sometimes conflicting, national backgrounds and history. We should not allow the fact that some rare forward-thinking Europeans have no difficulty in rising above the narrow nationalistic confines to obscure the fact that these are a minority. The overwhelming majority thinks, to put it mildly, somewhat differently. I should like to close by thanking the rapporteur, my colleague Mr Spinelli and by extending him my congratulations and wishing his report success.

**President.** — I call Mr Romualdi.

**Mr Romualdi.** — *(IT)* Mr President, in the few minutes allotted to me I will not attempt to express a judgment on the merit of the Spinelli document, for this would be impossible in such a short space of time. This document, although drawn up in terms which are unavoidably vague, well reflects the first effort made by the Committee on Institutional Affairs. The forming of this committee represents an act of will and independence which does honour to our Parliament, although I cannot but regret that a representative of the non-attached members was not included. I simply wish to say that the non-attached members from the Italian right concur on the committee's first guidelines, although these must still be considered too vague. I hope that the committee can continue its work in this direction and proceed to the successive phases, which will obviously be as much more difficult as they will be more detailed and incisive.

We agree that under the new treaties we are advocating the Commission should assume the responsibilities

**Romualdi**

of a true executive, with increased powers of initiative and a broader overall viewpoint. We agree that the tasks of the Council, and of the European Council in particular, should be better defined, as well as the mechanisms for making decisions and commitments. Above all we agree that Parliament should have greater competences and powers in every area, with special regard to legislation and control.

At this point I would like to make it clear that even though the directives expressed by this Parliament are not binding, so that only in rare cases are the States obliged to put them into effect, neither can it be said, as one head of State did not scruple to do yesterday — and I am personally grieved and mortified at this as a citizen and politician of that State — that the European Parliament is an empty chamber whose debates have no echo in Europe or in the world. This statement is irresponsible, especially if we recognize that it is not Parliament's fault if the influence of its work is minimal or non-existent; it is rather the fault of the authorities of the various States, which — perhaps because of a misguided nationalistic egoism — never, or almost never succeed in overcoming the limitations of their individual interests. They do not realize, in their shortsightedness, that, if all of them do not contribute towards furthering Europe's advance along the road to the fusion of its policies and of its States, these same States, notwithstanding their great traditions and their economic weight, will never be great and influential powers in the dangerous and dramatic interplay of shifting international relations. Nor will they be able to solve their serious economic, social, political and institutional problems.

It has been said here that this Parliament is not a Constituent Assembly: agreed. But we must not forget that our electors, in sending us here, acted in the vague belief that it was. We must be aware of the responsibility that this implies and of our duty to make the present Community Europe into something more organic and more politically alive.

**President.** — I call Mrs Focke.

**Mrs Focke.** — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I imagine the citizens of Europe will not find it easy to understand what we are doing here today. I should like to try to explain in the following words.

Having ourselves decided a year ago to put forward proposals for reforms of the European Community with regard to the tasks it performs and therefore its institutions, we are now in the process of giving more practical shape to this vague mandate. That is as far as we have got. The real work has yet to be done. All we have done so far is to jot down the tasks which must be tackled better than in the past and in a different way, over and above what the present Treaties prescribe, for the future of the people in Europe.

Rather more is said about the institutions in the Spinnelli guidelines. This is because, for the sections that concern the institutions, old drawers have been reopened to reveal ideas that dominated the debate 25 years ago, a time which many of the older fighters for Europe who now sit on the Committee on Institutional Affairs like to recall.

But not only do they give an incorrect analysis of the European crisis: I am afraid they also overestimate how much these old ideas appeal to the new generation, who are asking what contribution we intend to make to ensure that everyone has work, a task, a subject which was not yet so topical 25 years ago. We know now what harm the overriding economic theories and practices of the common market can do us if left unchecked and how they widen rather than narrow the gap between the rich and poor regions of the Community. But if this is to be accurately described, what is needed is not old ideas but a new understanding of how the European Community must change to solve these problems.

I should therefore like to say to the citizens of Europe: regard these guidelines as no more than a provisional sign that we intend to perform the task we have set ourselves, but that our views on the subject are still very disparate. We have therefore suffered the same fate as the excessive number of cooks did with their broth. Although this broth has not been spoilt, it is vague, unclear and full of contradictions, particularly as regards ends and means, as happens when, for the sake of Europe's unity, something is taken from every proposal and everything is then mixed together. Future work will prove this is so and, it is hoped, lead to the necessary corrections being made, where they are not made now through the amendments tabled by the Socialist Group.

Our amendments open the door to a diverse Community close to the citizen rather than a central, bureaucratic coordinating agency so remote from the individual, which, moreover, has not been doing any coordinating since the downward economic trend began because it senses an absence of any common political will. Our amendments open the window onto a future European society which will determine and give political shape to its own European way of life or European identity, and this in a spirit of solidarity stemming from common needs, which have changed in the last 25 years, and geared to common values, to qualitative economic growth, to production methods, technology and energy that are acceptable to human beings and the environment, to careful treatment of nature and its riches, to the involvement in decision-making of those who will be affected by the decisions taken.

This means worker participation and also decentralization and the consistent application of the principle of subsidiarity. In very simple terms, this in turn means that it is unjust for the successful achievements of

**Focke**

smaller, subordinate communities to be claimed for the larger, superior Community. Similarly, it is an infringement of this principle for rules and standards *not* to be jointly adopted when needs cannot be satisfied without this joint line being taken in the necessary interplay of forces from local to European level.

The Commission's proposal for a directive concerning inspections to ensure compatibility with the environment is an interesting model for this new way of formulating objectives in the Community. Parliament should be considering this rather than old draft constitutions.

The European Parliament has set itself a task, and its credibility as it enters the campaign for the second direct elections will largely depend on its performing this task and its current, ordinary work satisfactorily. Also important are its powers and above all its role in the attempt to bring the European Community closer to the individual citizen and to make the present needs of the people the central theme even of an institutional reform. The European Parliament will be doing its original parliamentary duty and using the power it already has if at this time of crisis and radical change it points to new prospects, a practical, realistic Utopia for a future that we must face together, a future in which the prime need is for sufficient unity based on new driving forces and newly established common interests for Europe to play an active part in ensuring peace in the world. The guidelines we are being asked to adopt today have very little to do with this. Let us get them out of the way quickly so that we can tackle the real work.

**President.** — I call Mr Seitlinger.

**Mr Seitlinger.** — *(FR)* Mr President, in our debate today we should not forget the voice of the man in the street who says to us bluntly: 'Your discussions about the future of the Community are academic; they do not concern us. All we care about is unemployment, rising prices and material living conditions'.

We do realize, of course, that these political and institutional debates give public opinion the impression of being rather arid. Nevertheless they are necessary, indeed vital. Given the crisis, given the challenges with which we are faced, there is a question we have to ask ourselves: is the fact that the solutions we are coming up with are clearly inadequate due to there being too much Europe or not enough Europe? Those who, like me, feel that there is not enough Europe then we need to have more structured institutions. Without institutions — whether based on statute law, on customary law, as in the United Kingdom, or on international treaties — political life is exposed to the whims of men and pressure groups. We know that for the individual the law is the best safeguard, that it protects minorities.

According to Lacordaire, in confrontation between the powerful and the weak, it is liberty that oppresses and the law that liberates. Before him, Montesquieu and Tocqueville had already shown that institutions, like the law, offered freedom the best protection.

Since the birth of the European idea shortly after the Second World War, the founding fathers realized that the good intentions of Europe's protagonists, the longing for peace and the desire to build a Europe that was strong and prosperous, could not be fulfilled unless backed up by institutions. One cannot have democracy without institutions. The Community institutions are democratic: they provide for majority voting, for parliamentary control and for arbitration by the Court. 'Yes, we certainly do want the law to be democratic. To submit to the democratic law of majority, freely adopted on the basis of terms and procedures fixed in advance, of course, and restricted to essential problems of common interest, would ultimately be less humiliating than having to submit to decisions imposed by the strongest'. So said Robert Schuman 30 years ago. We want now to reinforce and perfect the institutional structure handed down to us by the Treaties because we know that there is no alternative to European integration. We also know that any attempt at European integration outside a strong and balanced institutional framework is doomed to failure. The experience of the League of Nations between the wars and of the United Nations Organization today is a cruel demonstration of the ineffectiveness of international groupings undertaken outside a structured institutional framework. 'No man's knowledge can go beyond his experience', said Jean Monnet, 'only institutions grow in wisdom; they represent an accumulation of collective experience, and from this experience and this wisdom, men subject to the same rules will see not their nature change, but their behaviour gradually transformed'.

We must steer the European vessel between the Scylla of unanimity, which leads to paralysis and ineffectiveness, and the Charybdis of laxism, that is to say the absence of rules, which ultimately encourages the law of the jungle to operate between nations. The Christian Democrats are striving to build a better, orderly and just international order. For us the European phase has top priority. All our efforts are coloured by this humanist view of international relations.

**President.** — I call Mr Alavanos.

**Mr Alavanos.** — *(GR)* Mr President, I too could repeat the view that in very many ways the report of the Committee on Institutional Affairs represents a Utopia, a view expressed yesterday by a German colleague from the Socialist Group. I could even quote Marx's well known saying that 'history repeats itself, with the difference that the first time round the events appear as tragedies, while the second time round they

### Alavanos

take on the aspect of a farce'. And is it not indeed farcical for us to be trying to resurrect the ghosts of the Europe of the 1950s, the decade of the cold war and the development of blocks for a European Union, at a time when today the peoples of capitalist Europe are struggling for peace, collaboration and *détente* in Europe? Unfortunately however, even though it is today not binding, we recognize that the report of the Committee on Institutional Affairs is not devoid of practical significance because it is not an isolated initiative. It stands alongside the Genscher-Colombo report with its well-known measures, among other things, for a common defence and internal policy. There is also the development of political collaboration outside the framework of the Treaties, and the abusive application of Articles 100 and 235 of the Treaty. And again, there is the abolition of the veto that we witnessed a few weeks ago in connection with Great Britain's position. In fact this is nothing short of a complex of measures without doubt directed towards a further undermining of the national sovereignties of Member States, and perhaps this constitutes a first practical application of the principle of subsidiarity mentioned in the Spinelli report.

Mr President, the report of the Committee on Institutional Affairs maintains that today's problems cannot be solved with today's institutions. With this we are in total agreement. Can it be said, however, that they would be solved, or are likely to be solved, by the measures proposed by the report of the Committee on Institutional Affairs? What can they do against unemployment? What can they do about the problems created by the American interest rates? What can they do about the enormous problems created in the Greek economy by our accession to the EEC?

The only thing they will achieve is to change today's European Communities into a kind of federal State organization that will again throttle the national independence of our countries. All they will achieve is a transfer of authority from the representative national organs to supranational organs and to the large monopolistic capital of Western Europe. In other words, from those who bear the weight of the crisis, to those who create the crisis with the aim of overcoming the resistances that have stood in the way of the promoters of Western European union.

For the Communist Party of Greece, the problem is not only, nor even mainly, an institutional one. However, we do not disagree that changes in the institutions are needed. But what institutional changes does Mr Spinelli's report offer? From the start, the competences of the European union are to hold sway over the general and to some extent the economic policy, the policies for trade, monetary affairs, social affairs, regional affairs, collaboration with the Third World, and finally the common policy in the fields of international relations and security. In other words, nearly every single prerogative of an independent State. The European union will be able to undertake new duties

and new competences, and to take decisions on behalf of the Member States. The decision-making competences of the European union are ceded to the two supranational organs, the Commission and Parliament, while the Council is deprived of any substantial authority while continuing, at least supposedly, to represent the Member States.

Finally, and this is fundamental, we are moving towards the abolition of the rule of unanimity, the sole guarantee, even if not always effective, of the protection of national interests. And here we would like to ask the Prime Minister of Greece, who said a few days ago that 'today an ideological revolution is taking place within the EEC', what sort of revolution is it, and what does it mean for our country? Perhaps that we will lose the right of veto? Perhaps that the Greek Prime Minister himself will become a sort of Governor appointed by Brussels? Perhaps that our Constitution will become a piece of paper worth less than the Community regulations, or perhaps that the roles will be reversed and our national parliament will play the kind of cosmetic part that is today played by the European Parliament? Of course, we understand that the procedures of European unification have an objective basis and we understand that many colleagues nowadays are sensitive to the impasses of European unification. But why do we not seek solutions elsewhere? Why not look at the constitution of Comecon, which guarantees sovereignty, independence, non-intervention in internal affairs, and full equality of its Member States? Why not study the constitution of Comecon which permits its Member States to abstain from participating in a common programme if this does not correspond to their national interests? Why not look at the constitution of Comecon, which grants the right of equal representation to the organs in all its Member States, and according to which all decisions are based on unanimity, and which in parallel forbids the creation of supranational organs? Of course we understand that the statutory framework of socialist unification does not suit the EEC. However, we think that it should be the target towards which all progressive forces struggle.

In conclusion, Mr President, I would like to make two comments: much has been said concerning democracy and the promotion of democratic control, democratic institutions, and the reform of these within the Community. However, what sort of democracy is offered by enhancing the authority of the European Parliament when this is to be done at the cost of undermining national sovereignty and the competences of the national parliaments? What we fear is this is not democracy but a deception of the people of Europe. Democracy in international relations means equality, voluntary participation, and unanimity. And only these principles can really provide a firm foundation for collaboration at an international level.

The second and last point I wish to mention concerns all that is said about national narrow-mindedness,

**Alavanos**

national chauvinism, and national isolation. With today's internationalization of the productive forces no such danger exists. The choice is a different one: a choice between a 'European union' which will divide Europe even more deeply, and a Europe of peace, of *détente*, of collaboration, not confined within the framework and the frontiers of NATO. In other words, a Europe that its own people desire. For us, for the Communist Party of Greece, it is more realistic to look for a bridge to, and for concerted action with, the present-day aspirations of the peoples of Europe, than with the various conservative and reactionary forces existing here, within the European Parliament, and which no doubt envisage other directions for Europe's future: directions that are dangerous and disconcerting.

**IN THE CHAIR: MR VANDEWIELE***Vice-President*

**President.** — I call Mr Cecovini.

**Mr Cecovini.** — (*IT*) Mr President, the motion for a resolution we are now discussing is especially important because it marks the beginning of the process of internal institutional evolution, which, this Parliament hopes, will lead to the attainment of the final goal of European union conceived of as a federation of States, or even better, as a federal State. It is but the first step in the right direction, the direction of federalism, which was indicated from the beginning by De Gasperi and Spaak and desired by the functionalists.

As we know, the functionalists prevailed, and we had the ECSC, the EEC, Euratom, and their institutional bodies, among them this Parliament, a Parliament which, after twenty-five years of Community existence, still does not legislate, is not sovereign in its own decisions, does not even draw from its own budget the compensations due to its members. The situation generates a feeling of mortification and moral dependence on the States of origin, when, on the contrary, the members of the European Parliament should proudly consider themselves to be primarily the representatives of all the people of Europe.

Much remains to be done, but for this first step we should be grateful to Mr Spinelli and praise his energy, his courage, his experience, his indestructible optimism.

I hope we will adopt this resolution unanimously, in order to show the world that Europe exists. We will also adopt it because of the basic principles it contains: solidarity among the peoples who make up the Com-

munity, as parts of a whole; subsidiarity in its function; the affirmation of its autonomous and primordial right to evolve; the assumption that when a better Europe has been built we must think of building a better world, since our cultural heritage sees this as an unavoidable responsibility. Utopia? No, ladies and gentlemen: clear awareness of our duty as thinking men, responsible and free, as citizens of Europe and of the world. If we were to lose this awareness we would no longer have any right to raise our voices in this chamber, but we will not lose it. With the adoption of the principle contained in this fundamental resolution we make a solemn commitment to this effect.

**President.** — I call Mr Spencer.

**Mr Spencer.** — Mr President, may I start by echoing those splendid words by Mr Cecovini of congratulation to the rapporteur. I personally believe that we should not be here discussing the work of the Committee on Institutional Affairs if it were not for the presence amongst us of someone with the distinguished record of Mr Spinelli. I, too, pay tribute to his unflagging insistence that we must not be deterred by detail or lost in the byways of parliamentary practice but must come back occasionally to the central vision that generated the whole European idea. I still believe that that vision is possible — not only possible but necessary if Europe is not to relapse into a series of shifting alliances, with all the instabilities — social, economic and, ultimately, defence — that would come from a loose and unsettled polity.

But it would be naïve of us to suppose that the citizens of Europe share that conviction in its full glory. All the opinion polls tell us that, by and large, individual Europeans, particularly the young, have come to doubt our ability to achieve that to which we have so long aspired. We have an increasingly educated, sophisticated electorate, an electorate with a lesser propensity to believe in panaceas, in instant answers, an electorate — if I might say so — increasingly unimpressed by distinguished men telling each other anecdotes about how they started the great idea of Europe.

For the young, we are not talking about yesterday. We are talking about history, not a new and tender plant but a boring — and it has to be admitted — rather complex reality that is so often taken for granted. History moves on, and far from being an idea whose time has come, Europe is in grave danger of being an idea whose time never came, an idea which failed because it was never fully tried, because the politicians of Europe ultimately lacked the guts to back up their perorations with real decisions.

If we wish our electorates to support us in the push towards European union, we have to persuade them that it provides real answers to the real problems that they face daily. At the time of the Treaty of Paris, a



**Spencer**

genuine fear of renewed European civil war haunted this continent, and the threat from the East remained fresh and vivid. Those two pressures played the classic role of an external federalizer in pushing us together. By the time of the signature of the Treaty of Rome, things had moved on and those fears had been transmuted into what was almost a lust for economic growth and economic bonanza that was going to sweep us via the federalist escalator towards a closer union fuelled by economic growth.

Now, however, we have neither the push of a clear external federator nor the pull of effortless economic growth. We have to respond to the pressure of a great unresolved problem which is internal in nature. I refer to the ten million and more unemployed in Europe, a figure that is not going to decline significantly in the foreseeable future. The key question facing us today is what Europe is going to do for a living, and it is to that question that Europe must provide an answer. This problem is no longer soluble on the national level by the Member States alone. I think the failure of the Mitterrand experiment in isolated, go-it-alone deflation is probably the last instance of a nationally-based break for economic resurgence that we shall see in Europe. The next break for growth must be a joint European effort.

Thirty years ago, Europeans wanted peace. Twenty years ago, they wanted a better standard of living. Today, what worries them, what motivates them is the security of their jobs, and it is there that we must concentrate our arguments. Institutional reform and improvement in the Community's decision-taking mechanisms are the key to that problem, because we cannot have job security and economic stability unless we can work together. At the moment we cannot work together, we do not have decision-making mechanisms refined enough to enable us to take the decisions when they are needed.

European union will be possible if, and only if, it is seen as ultimately necessary for the good of Europe — not just by us — come on, we are a biased audience, we live with it every day! — but by MPs, by governments and perhaps above all by national civil services. It will be their failures, their failures to respond to great challenges, that will fuel the next great leap forward. Our job is to provide them with a blueprint that they can take up and make their own. Nobody likes a second-hand idea, and it seems to me that our role in this debate in Parliament is to suggest ideas and feed them into the bloodstream of Europe, because we cannot impose in this Parliament, we can only coax. We cannot instruct or order, we can only teach. Ultimately it is better to pose questions to people and let them provide the answers than to preach. When, during the next year, we pose questions, questions to which the answer, the only answer, the unavoidable answer is a closer European union, let us ensure that we are asking the right question and that these questions are debated across the Continent. If we do that, I have a

profound belief that the answer will come back loud and clear and it will be: 'European union'.

**President.** — I call Mr Paisley.

**Mr Paisley.** — Mr President, we have heard much in this debate of the great dream of European unity, with the goal of full political and economic unity being achieved through a federal or even a unitary Europe. That is a dream which I do not share and which those who elected me to this House do not, and never will, share.

We have a different dream and aspiration, a dream whereby a nation such as my own, the United Kingdom, would take back to itself the sovereignty and essential independence which it lost when it joined the EEC. We aspire to being once again able as a nation to be masters of our own destiny, to determine and pass our own laws, free from the indignity of abject subjection to the whim of external powers, able to decide and follow our own policy without having to scrape or bow to faceless bureaucrats in Brussels. That is the dream and aspiration which I and my people hold. Therefore this resolution and report is one to which we can give no encouragement or support.

Our experience as a nation and Northern Ireland's experience as a region in the EEC has, I believe, strengthened the desire of my people to be no part of the organic European unity which this report would lead us to. A much-lauded European dream has even, though still in its early stages, proved to us more of a nightmare, and an expensive nightmare at that.

However, forthright opposition to European unity in the form of a United States of Europe does not make one an isolationist. There is all the difference in the world between sensible and considered cooperation between neighbouring States for their mutual benefit and blind, contrived cooperation for the sole purpose of enforced fusion between the States concerned. My objection is only to the latter, and that is why I am happy to encourage the essential cooperation which exists within the Council of Europe and NATO and also that which we previously enjoyed through EFTA. This type of mutually beneficial cooperation between equal and sovereign nations is possible and desirable and can be obtained without prejudice to what to me is all important, the sovereign independence of those cooperating.

The collective economic and security needs of the nations of Europe can be more than adequately catered for through associations which do not prejudice our sovereignty. For example, it does not take a United States of Europe to give security and protection to Europe. The security of Europe is catered for through NATO, not the EEC, and therefore this argument that the security of Europe demands politi-

### Paisley

cal unity is utterly spurious. It is cooperation without surrender of national sovereignty that is, I believe, the right way forward for us all today.

**President.** — I call Mr Rogers.

**Mr Rogers.** — Mr President, I am very glad I am speaking at this point in the debate in order to follow the remarks of the British nationalist that we have just heard. If ever there was an argument for European union, it would be clear from listening to the blind dogma that Mr Paisley preaches in this Chamber and outside. That blind nationalism which unfortunately comes into many people's minds and into their arguments is the mentality of the cavemen, a ghetto mentality which prevents evolution. It prevents development. Whereas I may well land up on the same side of the fence in voting with Mr Paisley, I certainly would not want it to be assumed that I am there for the same motives. I have not fought the nationalists in Wales, which, perhaps more than Northern Ireland, has claim to be a separate country with its own customs, traditions and language, to come to Europe and preach British nationalism.

Having said that, Mr President, I would now like to address myself to Mr Spinelli's report and to state my reservations about it. The Spinelli report is an important document, and I congratulate him on the work he has done in committee with his many revisions of the original draft that he was forced to make. It was indeed a complete and total revision of his new testament, and unfortunately the last version is just as pious as the first.

The chairman, Mr Ferri, referred to me in committee as the devil's advocate, and quite rightly so, because I think I was often the only one to question the basic assumptions made by other members of the committee. But may I suggest very humbly that there is a slight possibility that I may be right and everybody else on the committee was wrong?

I found the composition of the committee very interesting in that I often felt that members were talking to their mirror images, talking to the converted. As Mrs Boserup said quite rightly a little earlier, there was this underlying presumption of inevitability that went through all discussions, that European union was inevitable and, indeed, the only step forward. Underlying most contributions was an assumption — may I say kindly, an arrogant assumption — that the people of Europe were crying out for European union. Indeed, the report in one of its paragraphs states that public opinion is crying out for progress towards political union. My feeling, from the contacts which I have with people, is that the people of Europe are probably thinking the opposite, that they want government to come closer to them, to become more relevant to them, that they want to be more involved in these pro-

cesses that are gradually becoming more and more remote. We can see it in our own countries. We see it particularly in the United Kingdom, with the gradual erosion, the transfer of powers from local authorities to the central government.

People are becoming increasingly disenchanted with the processes of government. They want it to come closer, and I am not quite sure whether the institutional emphasis which is part of this report would bring government closer to the people and allow them to become more involved. The demand for greater power for the European institutions condemns the report in my eyes. I believe, as Mrs Focke quite rightly pointed out, that the Socialist amendments are an improvement on Mr Spinelli's original report in that they attempt to recognize the needs of the peoples of Europe.

If I may refer to my country again, we had, as they say, a nationalist movement that painted signs on bridges and beside roads saying 'Free Wales', and then someone a little more intelligent came along and painted underneath, 'From what, for whom?' I would suggest to Mr Spinelli that what we may need to do, if not now then at the next stage, is to add a few more graffiti to this debate: when people paint up 'European union', then someone underneath has to write, 'For what, for whom?'

*(Applause)*

Mr Patterson asked in his speech what it was to be a union of. I would ask, what is it to be a union for? That is the big difference between some Members of this House and those of us on the Socialist benches. Will the so-called reforms lead to a perpetuation of the present chaotic, unjust system that does not work — maybe, as Mr Spencer said, because there is no political will for it to work? The general framework of the Treaty does not create a Europe that is for ordinary people. We see examples when Member States such as Italy — and I say this only as an example — can make arrangements in the last day or so with coal-mine groupings in South Africa who are producing coal on the basis of cheap labour to use energy from South Africa while there are European miners unemployed. What is the union to be for? Is it to stay a capitalist club? Is it to be a Europe of the rich? Or is that side of the House saying that they want genuine reform, not just of institutions but also of ideals? If it is to be a Europe for the people, if it is to be a Europe for the deprived, if it is to be a Europe that is clean and fit for people to live in, then we can support it. If it is to be a Europe with freedom from fear of poverty, sickness and old age, then that too is a Europe we could support.

But I fear that what is being proposed in this debate is simply an extension of what presently exists — a Europe based on profit, a Europe based on pollution

**Rogers**

and greed, a Europe based on the principle of extending capitalist economies.

There is a Welsh saying, Mr Spinelli: he who would be a leader, let him first be a bridge. If your bridge, if your path, if your ultimate report is to be for the people of Europe and not for profit and greed, then possibly I will give you help to lay the stones. But I am afraid that the report as it presently stands does not do this. I believe the Socialist amendments to help, but unfortunately even they are trapped in the conventional system that we are all bound in.

Mr President, I would like to conclude by thanking Mr Spinelli. I think his basic motives are very much more in line with mine than those of many other Members of this House. And I would like to congratulate him on his report, although I disagree with the contents.

**Mr President.** — I call Mr Croux.

**Mr Croux.** — (NL) Mr President, colleagues, in the course of this debate which began yesterday I could not help reflecting on the opening of another embryonic parliament some 200 years ago, that of the Third Estate of the States General which, at its inaugural convention, had the temerity to endow itself with constituent powers, becoming in the process the constitutional assembly of France. More particularly I am referring to the memorable passage in the *Jeu de Paume* speech, the oath in the bowling court. I would not be so pretentious as to compare our institutional courage with that of those long-lost European forefathers. This notwithstanding, the present debate is one of considerable importance as I shall endeavour to illustrate from the point of view of the citizens of Europe, the kernel of the whole debate in the final analysis.

Of the four points I intend to make, the first is a legal one: it is undeniable that the Community is a political and legal body where decisions have a direct effect on its citizens, a source of rights and obligations. A citizen of a Member State is therefore a citizen of Europe. One cannot repeat this often enough. A new political dimension has been bestowed upon its community life. Secondly, from a political point of view, in the light of the results of the Eurobarometer public opinion survey, conducted in the spring of this year, and which revealed a staggering 70% approval rate for European union we cannot ignore the ramifications, not least in a national context. Despite a certain degree of scepticism expressed about European unity the fact remains that successive public opinions surveys reveal that 40% of the citizens of Europe are simply not interested in politics. Furthermore by order of appreciation of various institutions, national parliaments invariably come off badly. Seen in this context the Eurobarometer on European integration takes on a

special significance. However, when we subsequently come to realize that there is a total absence of any kind of political answer to these aspirations and lamentations of Europe's citizens then the matter has reached critical proportions. Such an alarming state of affairs has no place in a democracy and, as such, cannot be allowed to continue. The Community Treaties have lost all relevance to present day circumstances and in addition are not correctly applied, but that is a long story and one on which much has already been said.

My third point concerns the socio-economic aspects of Europe and the desire expressed by its citizens to see it extended. National Member State governments have heretofore refused to go along with this. Unemployment and a perilous international situation are the realities of everyday life for each one of us as elected representatives of the Community's citizens and such is the stuff of the Spinelli report. My fourth and final point has an institutional significance. I was pleased with the emphasis placed by Mr Seitlinger on the human factor which is of primary concern in the shaping of Community institutions reflecting our civilization. We cannot dismiss this as being of no interest to our citizens but must rather extend the Community making it in the process a viable instrument meeting their aspirations and desires. That is the daunting task. Our history demonstrates that we must proceed with the necessary patience but also far-sightedness and courage dictated by a rapidly changing world to attain as quickly as is realistically possible a Europe of the people. Such must be the overriding concern of the directly elected representatives of Europe's citizens — a great honour but a heavy burden. We may not let up in our efforts to further extend the European edifice.

**6. Welcome**

**President.** — Colleagues, it is my pleasure to welcome to the House today a member of the United States Senate, Mr Chris Dodd, who has taken his place in the official tribune. Mr Dodd is a member of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee. Welcome, Mr Dodd.

(Applause)

We are particularly pleased to welcome him as the first American senator in this House. We are privileged and extend to him our best wishes. We trust that the meetings he is scheduled to have in the course of his working visit will be fruitful. We would like him to extend on behalf of all of the members of this House our best wishes to the United States Senate and our thanks for the warm welcome given by them to a delegation from this House during a recent visit to the United States.

(Applause)

### 7. Reform of the Treaties and European union

(Continuation)

**President.** — We shall now continue with the debate and I call Mr Kyrkos.

**Mr Kyrkos.** — (GR) Mr President, our party, the Communist Party of Homeland Greece will vote in favour of the proposed resolution at this stage in order to encourage the efforts of the Committee on Institutional Affairs.

I would also like to take this opportunity to commend Mr Spinelli's steadfast enthusiasm for the future of Europe, and the momentum with which he attracts us to these visions. However, it is only natural that we reserve the right to judge the specific measures and the specific solutions proposed for the problems arising out of today's general trends.

I would like to pose a general question. Do the crises and the impasses observed in the Communities' fortunes arise out of institutional discords and the lack of suitable institutions, or are they due to the policies exercised by the leading powers of the Community? And if the latter is the case, as we know it to be, in what way will the proposed institutional changes be able to alter the situation and extend the scope for the participation of the people in the reform of Community policy?

The report places weight upon the democratization of relations between the institutional organs, on overcoming the bureaucratic and technocratic structures, on strengthening the role of Parliament, and on broadening the idea of subsidiarity. And these are all positive factors. However, we must guide them in a certain direction.

So far as Parliament is concerned, since the report lays a great deal of weight on its initiative, and rightly so, we must state clearly that in our opinion Parliament has found itself lagging behind on a whole series of issues; behind the European Council, behind the Council of Foreign Ministers, and we need look no further than the resolution adopted on Israel's invasion of Lebanon, concerning which, if I judge from my own country, wider public opinion throughout Europe was deeply disappointed. Moreover, what was our contribution, even within the limited scope of our responsibility, to the social problems besetting the Community, such as the problem of unemployment, or to the political problems affecting our continent, such as the intensification of nuclear rivalry?

Fellow Members, a few days ago, in Brussels, there was a European Conference of movements for peace; where did the European Parliament make its presence felt then? However, the battle for Europe's future is

taking place in the context of just such problems. There is here an opportunity for the European Parliament and the other institutions to associate themselves with the feelings and aspirations of our people, and I think that the new institutional measures should envisage a very effective association of the European Parliament with the social organizations and the social movements of workers, youth, and women, so that the great contributions made by these groups may be reflected in its decisions.

The crisis faced by the Community, and the means of overcoming it are, in our opinion, connected with the institutions themselves and with their democratization, in particular however, they are linked to the Community's autonomy within the world of today. And this should be safeguarded constitutionally in an even more categorical way. The need for this autonomy has been demonstrated most clearly by the commercial and economic war declared by the Reagan administration upon Europe, and this is now being recognized even among the more conservative circles.

Thus, it is no exaggeration to say that from one point of view the future of the proposals by the Committee on Institutional Affairs will be judged in terms of their ability to generate active Community intervention, either in relation to the problems of *détente* and peace, or to the social problems such as unemployment or the development of the less-developed regions.

For how otherwise could either the people or the national parliaments come to accept the notion of subsidiarity if they had not in the meantime built up a certain faith that the European Parliament and the other institutions could indeed be more effective in dealing with the great social problems? Thus, the guidelines laid down in the Spinelli report can give a new impetus to the course of Europe, even though the European ideal is meanwhile continually gaining ground with unceasing initiatives of a democratic and peace-loving nature. And I would like to lay special emphasis on the provision contained in the report that the ideas we may ultimately develop will emerge from the widest possible consultation with the national parliaments and with social, trade union and other organizations, and that the new measures will be open to the social developments that are the fruit of the efforts of the working people in Europe.

**President.** — I call Mr Petersen.

**Mr Petersen.** — (DA) Mr President, the Danish Social Democratic Party does not agree with the majority in the Socialist Group. We shall vote against the Spinelli report.

First of all we are against the very concept of the union. We want the EEC to remain what it is in reality, an international cooperation between equal coun-

**Petersen**

tries based on the unlimited right of veto. We want a Europe of countries and not the European union, because of the fear of what has been seen in the Soviet Union and the North American Union. What is large may well be smart. But what is small is beautiful. We Danish Social Democrats are also European Confederals. And even if we do not take up much space in this Chamber we do believe that we express the will of Europe to a larger extent than those unionists led by Mr Spinelli and other crocodiles who grasp any opportunity to monopolize what they call the European concept. Let us reject this attempt to monopolize European cooperation. There is not only one European model, the one that is expressed in the Spinelli report. There are others, and our model is the confederal sector-specified cooperative model that I have brought forward in the committee and that is mentioned by Mr Spinelli in his explanatory statement on page 5.

We have EEC cooperation in which 10 countries take part. We have EMS cooperation in which 8 countries take part. We have European political cooperation in which 10 countries take part, maybe soon 12. For even if Portugal and Spain possibly, nay regrettably, do not join the EEC for the moment, they may well join the European political cooperation if we show our solidarity with these new democracies. And maybe Norway can also be associated with the European political cooperation in one way or another. The Norwegians, at any rate, have started to orientate themselves towards European political cooperation for the simple reason that they feel somewhat alone and consequently powerless towards the USA within NATO. In addition to the EEC, the European Political Cooperation and EMS there is also the research cooperation between 15 countries in COST, and cooperation between the 21 countries in the Council of Europe.

This flexible pragmatic framework and pragmatically functioning European cooperation organization — yes, I call the totality of this cooperation an actual organization, even if it does not constitute a traditional Roman system — this European cooperation has a strength that formalists like Mr Spinelli cannot grasp: a strength that could grow even more, if the will to cooperate existed to a greater extent, in particular in the larger European countries. In particular the European political cooperation and preferably a European political cooperation extended towards the north and south, can be and ought to be strengthened considerably. Because it has become an obvious necessity that Europe speaks with one voice faced with the two super-powers to east and west, the USA and the USSR, who each in their own way, but in a mutual deadly embrace, threaten us all. But the EMS can also be strengthened considerably by including more European or non-European countries. Because it has also become extremely clear that with Reagan's high-interest policy and the rising market rate of the dollar, the USA can no longer maintain its monopoly of the world's reserve currency, a monopoly that is being

abused by Reagan for the benefit of the established-rich in the USA and to the detriment of the rest of the world, which includes the 10 million unemployed in the EEC.

Finally a few words on the economic cooperation of the Community, the EEC. Naturally this can be extended and improved upon. Naturally we can acquire economic growth again. But only if we understand that a crisis is there to be utilized! Utilized in a constructive manner! Utilized to alter growth in a qualitative way, thus achieving an energy-saving production, a pollution-free production, including agricultural production, resulting in a recycling society based on the law of rotation and not on the consume-and-throw-away principle. That way we shall again have a society which in the course of the next decade shall be self-sufficient in energy thanks to hundreds of thousands of incessant energy-producing machines.

The European union will not further such a development. On the contrary it will bind those conservative powers who believe that we can get out of the crisis with the same strategy, the same method, the same sort of economic growth that brought us into the crisis. Likewise the union will bind the world of yesterday with regard to both technology and life style. The third industrial revolution — microtechnology — certainly does not point towards new social macrostructures like the European union, but towards social microstructures such as small States or regions within national States. These small social units will not be directed by large social dinosaurs be it the Soviet, the American, or the European union. But they will approve of a firmly defined sectors-specified cooperation — strictly controlled by States and regions — in a modern European confederation, a modern Hanseatic League.

The Danish Social Democrats therefore reject the Spinelli report. Firstly, because we want a confederal European cooperation in keeping with the times. Secondly, because the thought of a union consisting of the present 10 States is so unrealistic that it borders on naivety. Even a Genscher-Colombo proposal has now been put *ad acta*. Thirdly, because the union concept, being the illusion it is, after 30 years still hasn't got anywhere. It takes our attention from the essentials, namely to revise our own thoughts, our politics, our production apparatus, our life style, and also the global economic system which is the prerequisite for getting out of the crisis and getting rid of unemployment. Therefore we will vote against this report and ask anyone in this Chamber who is in doubt about the Spinelli report to do likewise.

**President.** — I call Mr Antoniozzi.

**Mr Antoniozzi.** — (IT) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, among the many exacting and eventful part-

**Antoniozzi**

sessions held by our directly elected Parliament, I believe this one to be the most important. It is not by chance that I mention the new electoral procedure with its broad democratic base. Our Parliament is legally placed in the same interesting but limited position as the old European Parliament, whose members were for more than twenty years designated by the national parliaments. Notwithstanding this fact, we must respond to the true motives which led the Council to call for its election, several years ago now, according to new procedures.

This Parliament does have the legal basis and competences of the previous ones, but at its origin there is a different and fundamental political motive. Those who decided upon its election evidently realized that Europe, in order to resume its progress on the road to European Union, would have to undertake a political initiative based on approbation and encouragement directly expressed by the citizens. This expression was clearly formulated in 1979. At that time the citizens of Europe may have believed that we were further advanced than was in fact the case, influenced as they were more by the strength and suggestion of the European idea than by a precise knowledge of the treaties and the functions and competences of the institutions. This lack of knowledge, moreover, is still widespread in Europe, and is shared by the press, the authorities, the politicians. Our basic function, therefore, is to translate the political will expressed by the citizens of Europe into a proposal for the further expansion of the European design, with particular reference to the institutions and their tasks. Our proposal calls for the new and better balance indispensable for the revitalization of the European idea, and furnishes the necessary concrete guidelines to be submitted to those who from now on must take the responsibility of saying yes or no to further progress towards union.

Ours, therefore, is a task of great political significance which must take the form of a modification of the legal instruments necessary for progress. In the initial stage of its work, the European Parliament, through the political committee and its institutional sub-committee, adopted seven resolutions: the Hänsch resolution on the relationship between the European Parliament and the Council; the Diligent resolution on the relationship between Parliament and the national parliaments; the Baduel-Glorioso resolution on the relationship with the Economic and Social Committee; the Blumenfeld resolution on the role of Parliament in the ratification and negotiation of the treaties. These resolutions deal with matters related to the implementation of the treaties, and, although more than a year has passed since their adoption, almost none of them has had a concrete effect on the Community process.

There is evidently opposition, more from the Council than from the Commission. We will now attempt to establish direct bilateral or multilateral discussions, trying to see what direct confrontation can achieve. In the succeeding stage of its work Parliament under-

stood that we would not get past the point of hesitations and purely verbal expressions of willingness to promote the development of Europe. When in July of 1981 we decided to establish the new Committee on Institutional Affairs and charge it with the task of defining a draft treaty for European union, we chose to carry out our basic function in the most direct and politically expedient way.

The resolution submitted today for our examination is a political document of great importance for Europe and for the world. It should not be amended, for it is a statement of policy which will have a better chance of success if supported by a broad majority demonstrating the true political will of our Parliament. Later, when the reports on the six related issues are being discussed, we can carry out a detailed examination of this proposal, with particular reference to the competences of the union in matters of economic and foreign policy, social policy, political cooperation, security, aid to development, finance, law, and institutions.

The conclusions reached in this important initiative will show more clearly what is the effective will of the political groups present here and that of the corresponding parties present at the national level. In the course of the many speeches made here, we have heard words of encouragement and general remarks of a positive nature from the representatives of the Commission and the Council. These same institutions, however, have in other circumstances nearly always behaved in a different manner. Certainly, it is their direct derivation from the national institutions which influences their actions, often in a contradictory way. Commissioners appointed by the governments and ministers authorized solely by the national parliaments cannot but conform in general to the demands of their national political base. This is why Europe must find a way to entrust its management to institutions directly and autonomously responsible for the performance of this task, attenuating national influences and, while naturally taking into account the political requirements of each country, relying upon a system of balanced guarantees to allow more rapid progress towards the union which is the real political objective of all those who consider themselves true partisans of Europe.

This is clearly stated in the preambles to the various treaties approved in the course of twenty-five years by all the countries of the Community, treaties which constitute a legal and political commitment — I say this to the members who spoke critically of them a moment ago — to go beyond the initial forms of agricultural, commercial, and customs integration, which were only the first, the introductory steps, and to move towards the application of the many Community political principles which alone can constitute the structural, organic framework of a new type of European society. If we are obliged to continue under existing conditions, we might just as well transform our system into a guaranteed free trade zone, or

**Antonozzi**

something close to it. But our plan is more ambitious: it stems from the experience and the intuition of those who, after the Second World War — Schuman, De Gasperi, Adenauer, and Spaak — believed that this political proposal could guarantee peace for Europe and for the world, progress, liberty, democracy, human rights, the development of the most needy areas.

The enlargement of our Community from six to nine, to ten, and soon to twelve countries demonstrates the validity of this proposal. The acquiescence to Europe expressed by parties once dubious or openly opposed to it confirms that the intuition was correct. Peace in Europe is already a fact: for nearly forty years now peace has reigned over our continent.

It is a question now of having the strength, the coherence, the will to continue in this direction: to adopt the resolution presented by Mr Spinelli, to whom we offer our thanks; to make contact with the national parliaments, with the local democratic bodies, the regions, the townships, the citizens. An appeal should also be made to the press, which is sometimes severe with us but which is very eager for news of true political interest: it too should make a qualitative change. It should give more attention to our problems, putting less emphasis on us as individuals and as members of different parties. We will move on, but the needs of the people will abide. This is the reason our initiative can provide a new impulse, that it represents the solution of so many problems. I believe in this, and I will direct all my efforts of political action towards this end.

We have a very difficult task, ladies and gentlemen. Three years ago now, in her speech at the installation of this Parliament, Mrs Weiss aptly pointed out that we, the 434 members of the European Parliament, were not alone in bearing the heavy burden of the European commitment, and she urged us, in a marvellous and richly evocative rhetorical vision, to remember that behind us stand the culture, the civilization, and the faith of the countless thousands who made our history. If we are able to do our full duty, we can be sure that history will judge us to have acted aright.

**President.** — The last to speak this morning will be Mr Ruffolo, after which the debate will resume this afternoon.

I call Mr Ruffolo.

**Mr Ruffolo.** — *(IT)* Mr President, the motion for a resolution drawn up by the Committee on Institutional Affairs represents a responsible act of concrete political wisdom aimed at extricating the Community from the impasse of impotence in which it finds itself, and it offers the European Parliament a chance to recover a function and a prestige which have recently dimin-

ished to an alarming extent. It reflects the qualities of its sponsor: generosity and farsightedness, two gifts not possessed by others who, although often calling for concreteness, subsequently take refuge in demagoguery.

We have so often spoken of the whys and the hows of the Community's finding itself in this impasse that it is certainly unnecessary here to repeat the liturgy of lamentation. It is certain that the prospect of a united Europe, which was formerly a guiding principle, has never seemed so distant and so degraded by the vicious circle of reciprocal vetoes, and that the priority of national, sectoral, and circumstantial interests is growing. This circle can be broken only by a superior political will. And, since the governments seem incapable of expressing this will, it is up to Parliament to do it with a political initiative which will re-establish the meaning and scope of the Community undertaking.

The meaning and the scope: the motion for a resolution, in its simplicity, clearly reaffirms both. The meaning lies in the renewal of the proposal, in the face of the reality of the 'Euromarket', of a political union possessing a plan and a power of its own. The extension of the competences of the union, the increase of its resources, the strengthening and rebalancing of its institutions are the terms of the response Parliament is preparing to make to the threats which loom both from within and from without. It is a European answer to the question of Europe destined to make our Community a political power capable of peaceful mediation in international relations, and an economic power capable of dealing effectively with the problems of the social crisis. The profound meaning of this initiative lies in the development of the European pact governing the existing economic and commercial 'joint venture' into political union.

Those who criticize this initiative, as if it were but an exercise in constitutional engineering, and oppose it with the notion of so-called 'concrete content' give proof of a disarming superficiality, for the content of democratic policy is precisely the strength of the consensus, which is incarnated in the institutions, for there are no predicates without subjects in either linguistic or political structure. There is no need, I believe, to evoke the shade of Niccolò Machiavelli.

As for the scope of the initiative, Parliament, in an act of responsible daring, will decide — if the resolution is adopted — to make itself the promoter of reform and to appeal directly to the national parliaments. This is without doubt an innovation which will allow us to break out of the circle of bureaucratic and diplomatic mediation which has immobilized the Community enterprise between the terms of an exhausting process of negotiation.

Thus, I repeat, our Parliament has a chance to redeem itself, and it sorely needs to do so. An acute observer like Stanley Hoffmann was a good prophet at the time

**Ruffolo**

of its election: the real risk presented by the European Parliament, he said, was not the unexpected emergence of a supranational biblical leviathan, but, on the contrary, a striking demonstration of the persistence of collective impotence.

The election of the European Parliament was destined, in fact, to highlight the disparity between the great political potential represented by a European election with universal suffrage and the futility of the powers our Assembly was to enjoy. In recent years, unfortunately, this disparity, far from decreasing, has grown, for the crisis of the Community has jeopardized the exercise of even these limited powers. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if the promising image briefly projected by Parliament, that of a great new democratic force, born in the heart of Europe, rapidly began to blur. It is natural that public opinion now questions the utility of the European Parliament — if and when it does question — and that the prestige of this institution is undermined by its growing attention to petty details of day-to-day administration.

The initiative of Community reform restores Parliament to its proper role, which is not to give technical opinions on regulations but rather to interpret the needs and desires of Europe.

There are adequate grounds, Mr President, for adopting this resolution as it stands.

Allow me, as a Socialist, to add an observation from a party standpoint. This resolution should be the focus of a broadly-based democratic will: no one group can attempt to appropriate it without damaging both it and themselves. It is legitimate, however, I believe, for a Socialist to recognize in the objectives of this initiative a large share of the cultural, political and militant tradition in which he was raised. I am not unaware that in my own political world there are different opinions in this regard. My own view, deep and sincere, is that for us Socialists the establishing of a great European political force is the necessary condition for the pursuit of our objectives in a political and economic context which stresses their advantages and reduces their cost. Only in this way can we avoid two dangers: that of diluting our ideals in a philosophy of growth linked to the world market, and the opposite one of imprisoning them within the narrow limits of a national protectionism without meaning and without prospects, destined to bear the severe reproaches of history.

Europe represents for me — and, I believe, for the majority of my fellow Socialists — the ideal context for the concrete pursuit of our ends, ends which are not only to be affirmed in pompous declarations but which are to be attained by means of concrete powers. A broad and deep-flowing current of traditions, memories and struggles carries us from our past history towards this Europe, and a lucid evaluation of the

present leads us to confirm it as the only concrete alternative to dispersal, subordination and disorder.

*(Applause from the Socialist Group — The sitting was suspended at 1 p.m. and resumed at 3 p.m.)*

## IN THE CHAIR: MR LALOR

*Vice-President*

8. *Decision on urgency*

**President.** — The next item is the decision on the urgency of *the report by Mrs Baduel Glorioso (doc. 1-435/82)*:

*Products falling within subheading 07.06 A of the Common Customs Tariff.*

This request for urgency is justified by the fact that the adoption of this regulation is essential to enable the provisions of the agreements concluded with certain third countries, on which Parliament was consulted in June under the Luns-Westerterp procedure, to enter into force.

I call the Committee on External Economic Relations.

**Sir Fred Catherwood, chairman of the committee.** — Mr President, I have not actually been able to consult my committee because of the time. I simply speak as the chairman. I have consulted the rapporteur and individual members of the committee. I have not been able to consult them collectively.

First of all we have not had an opinion from the Committee on Development and Cooperation. As things stand these regulations will bar further imports from a small developing country, and we will take those imports from the United States instead. So we are simply transferring our business from Thailand, which is small and weak, and giving it to the United States. That is as things stand. Therefore what we have done is put in a recommendation that we must proceed to a deal with the United States.

But in order to limit imports of animal feed from the United States we will really have to add two tremendous arguments in our current arguments with the United States. Arguments on agricultural trade, whether we can do this in the GATT and on the price of sales of our grain. And we will have to add those to the existing very hot arguments on steel and on the pipeline, where we have an immensely strong case.



### Fred Catherwood

There is bound to be linkage between these arguments. I would have thought that it would be much better to delay this until we have the other arguments out of the way, then we can have a more reasonable discussion. But as soon as Parliament passes this the whole thing will then proceed, including, as I understand it, an attempt to argue this with the United States.

Now it may well be that we can decide all these things in a couple of days, but I would have thought it was better, and this is my recommendation to the House, that we delay this till September, even though I know that the Commission want to get on with it. The fact of the matter is that it is dated from 1 January and I do not think that a six weeks delay will make all that much difference. So I strongly recommend the House, in the absence of an opinion from the Committee on Development and Cooperation, not to be jumped on this by the Commission request and not to vote in favour of urgency.

**President.** — I call Mrs Baduel Glorioso. Do you wish to speak for or against urgent debate?

**Mrs Baduel Glorioso, rapporteur.** — Mr President, I don't know.

*(Laughter)*

Let me explain, that is why I asked for the floor.

*(IT)* Mr President, my report is certainly ready. This report was born in May under the banner of urgency: urgency because the Committee on External Economic Relations presented a report to the Council of Ministers which deals with a regulation affecting the period from 1 January to 31 December of this year. Since it was already May, the report was necessarily late, but the Committee on External Economic Relations and I, as rapporteur, tried to work quickly in response to this urgency.

Today, the report of the Committee on External Economic Relations is ready and has been approved. As Chairman Catherwood said, we have not yet received the opinion of the Committee on Development, but the opinions of the Committee on Budgets and the Committee on Agriculture have already been made public.

Therefore, in the face of this situation, I defer to the Assembly, while reminding it that the Council and the Commission have both told us that a decision is urgently needed. Certainly, the decision was already overdue in May, considering that the regulation was to be applied from 1 January until 31 December; in July or September it will come later still.

I leave it to the Assembly to decide when the question should be dealt with, pointing out however that in the

resolution approved by the committee it is stated that we should review this regulation for the following year. I repeat that I prefer not to take a position, but I will state that the report of the Committee on External Economic Relations is ready.

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

**Mr Andriessen, Member of the Commission.** — *(NL)* Mr President, for a number of years now individual Member States as well as this House have requested the Commission to take measures to stem the flow of manioc exports to the Community. Some time ago the Commission took up the matter with Thailand, one of the most important exporters of the product, and not a member of GATT, with a view to achieving voluntary restrictions. In April of this year an agreement was reached with that country in which the Commission gave an undertaking that existing exporters of the product to the Community would be restrained from filling the gap. Following negotiations with these countries the Commission elaborated a proposal which stipulates for each exporting country the permissible quantities of manioc for the period 1 January to 31 December 1982.

In conjunction with this regulation the Commission must, before 1 August 1982 — a matter of weeks away — apply a regulation governing its practical application and specifying that quantities in excess of the quotas set for 1982 will be subject to a levy equal to 100% of the barley levy. In these circumstances, Mr President, one can understand the Commission's anxiety to meet the deadline and why it has stressed the urgency of the matter. No one can be expected to work miracles but we would ask the House to do its utmost to take up the matter this week.

**President.** — I call Mr Louwes to speak in favour of urgent procedure.

**Mr Louwes.** — *(NL)* Mr President, a refusal by the House of the urgent procedure in this matter would call its credibility into question. I am afraid I shall have to take issue with my honourable colleague and president of our Committee on External Economic Relations and with his desire to await an opinion from the Committee on Development and Cooperation. They have certainly had sufficient time to provide it and one must assume therefore that they have not considered the matter to be of paramount importance. Were Parliament to postpone decisions pending presentation of all-embracing opinions it would never get through its workload.

I consider the Commission's proposal to be a preamble to the eventual amendment of the GATT provisions resulting in a more equitable flow of food to those regions of the globe where it is most urgently needed,

**Louwes**

that is, to alleviate hunger rather than for economic gain. This is the top priority, Mr President and I feel that the House must decide now on a decision taken in April and which should have come into force on 1 January. That is why I am in favour of the urgent procedure, Mr President.

**President.** — I call Mr Cohen to speak against urgent procedure.

**Mr Cohen.** — (NL) Mr President, I feel that the arguments presented by the Commission, and reiterated by Mr Louwes, do not really hold water.

This regulation should have come into force on 1 January of this year, that is, some six months ago and now we are being asked to approve the urgent procedure. Quite frankly I fail to see what difference it would make at this stage that a regulation be approved eight months after it should have been. Furthermore, and this is one of the strangest aspects of this whole affair, it was the Council, not the Commission, which first requested the urgent procedure in this matter. The Council did not repeat its request and now it is being taken up by the Commission. Why? Does the Commission believe that if the House approves the urgent procedure and adopts the regulation in this part-session Council will sanction it before the summer recess? According to the information at my disposal — and that, by the way, is one of the reasons why Council did not reiterate its request for the urgent procedure — there is no question of Council dealing with the matter before the recess. Consequently the formal side of the argument, namely the urgent procedure, simply does not hold up, because even if the House goes ahead and ultimately adopts both the urgent procedure and the regulation itself, the matter will be held in abeyance until the reconvening of Council after the summer recess.

Secondly, it is not true to say that the Committee on Development and Cooperation has not considered it necessary to come up with its own opinion. It exists, but in the form of an alternative resolution which has not yet been distributed. It is currently with the secretariat and should we have to deal with this matter then I can foresee a situation where we shall be dealing with two motions for a resolution shortly before two p.m. on Friday, one from the Committee on External Economic Relations and the other from the Committee on Development and Cooperation.

It is conceivable that both committees could reach agreement on the presentation of a joint motion for a resolution. All of the reasons I have enumerated, but particularly the first, Mr President argue for the rejection of the urgent procedure.

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

**Mr Seeler.** — (DE) Mr President, I asked to speak immediately after Sir Fred Catherwood so that I might express my views on this question in my capacity as the coordinator of the largest group in this House. Those sitting beside you saw this. I would be grateful if in future Members were given the floor in the order in which they ask to speak and not in an order dictated by likes and dislikes. As coordinator of the Committee on External Economic Relations I surely have the authority to speak for or against this request. That is what I am asking for.

(Parliament adopted urgent procedure)

### 9. Agenda

**President.** — The reports by Mr Adonnino and Mrs Barbarella have not yet been distributed. Parliament will therefore be consulted this afternoon after the vote on the Spinelli report as to their inclusion.

The report by Mr Van Minnen on visas for Turkish workers has now been distributed. I shall therefore consult the House on whether it shall be taken jointly with the report by Mr von Hassel on Turkey.

I call Mr von Hassel.

**Mr von Hassel.** — (DE) Mr President, I have no objection to this report being considered during the debate provided that it does not take up any of the speaking time that has been allocated for the other, main reports. If it is taken without debate and does not consume any of the speaking time allocated, I am in favour of its being considered. Otherwise, additional speaking time should be set aside for it.

**President.** — I call Mr Van Minnen.

**Mr Van Minnen.** — (NL) Well, Mr President, I think I can dispel the anticipatory fear. The matter hardly calls for a debate as such. We are dealing here with a report which has already received the unanimous approval of the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment. As rapporteur I only need a few minutes to give a short account of the salient points and as such I agree with Mr von Hassel that it should only be allowed to take up a limited amount of the House's time. It would however be most regrettable if I, as rapporteur of a report, were not allocated any speaking time at all even though I accept that its subject matter is not in any way connected with the von Hassel report. I propose therefore to limit my remarks to a short introduction so that the House will be at least aware of the measure to which it lent such unanimous and unequivocal support.

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

**Mrs Maij-Weggen.** — (NL) Mr President, as Mr Van Minnen himself admits, the two subjects are fundamentally different and I fail to see any valid reason for coupling them by including them in the same decision. Whilst I am not opposed to Mr Van Minnen's report being dealt with later this week I fear the House will lose some of the essential clarity of the debate by coupling in the same decision a report by the Political Affairs Committee on the political situation in Turkey with a report by the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment on compulsory visas for Turkish workers, and I really must take issue with this.

*(It was decided to include the Van Minnen report)*

**President.** — I propose that the deadline for tabling amendments to all the requests for urgent procedure adopted today and to the Van Minnen report which we have decided to enter on the agenda be set at 12 noon tomorrow.

#### 10. Question Time

**President.** — The next item on the agenda is the first part of Question Time (Doc. 1-415/82).

We begin with the questions to the Commission.

I call Mrs Ewing on a point of order.

**Mrs Ewing.** — First of all on the timing could the President please tell us the new timing?

Secondly, could I refer to my point of order at the last part-session about points of order during Question Time when I asked the President if points of order during Question Time could be taken at the end of Question Time so that Question Time would not be used up with people on points of order.

Now I was promised by the President in the chair that a decision would be taken on my proposal. Could I have news of that decision, please?

**President.** — Mrs Ewing, you put two questions. The first was how long Question Time will last. It will last 1½ hours, as from now.

In answer to the second question, I do not know anything about your discussion with the President on the last occasion but I will endeavour to rule as best I can in the chair on this occasion in relation to points of order and, of course, in conjunction with the Rules of Procedure.

**Mrs Ewing.** — I sympathize with you because obviously someone has not acquainted you with the situation. But we have on the record a promise that a decision would be taken on this matter and reported to Parliament. I cannot do better than to say that it is not your fault, Mr President. Someone, somewhere has let you down and I think that it is disgraceful that statements are made from the chair which have no meaning. The promise was made that this matter would be looked at in time for Question Time today.

**President.** — Question No 1, by Mr Seligman (H-663/81):

Did each Member State succeed in reducing the demand for oil in its total energy consumption during 1981?

**Mr Davignon, Vice-President of the Commission.** — (FR) I think the only way to answer Mr Seligman is to quote him a few statistics so that he can understand the situation.

The share taken by oil in the Community's total primary energy demand fell to 51% in 1981 from 54% in 1980 and 62% in 1973. If we look at quantities rather than percentages, the figures are 520 million tonnes for 1980 and 477 million tonnes for 1981, which represents a net reduction of a little over 8%, coming on top of a similar reduction from 1979 to 1980.

It has to be said, if one wants to make a judgment, that this reduction is greater than the reduction in the consumption of primary energy as a whole, which in the Community fell by only 3.9% in 1981 and by 4.2% in 1980, which means to say that there has been a net reduction in the Community's demand for oil over this period.

If we look at imports, there is another figure we need to take into consideration, since domestic oil production rose by 11.3%. As a result our oil imports fell by 18.3%. One should not, on the basis of these figures, draw any excessively optimistic conclusions. In point of fact, the cost of oil imports rose to 80 000 million EUA in 1981 from only 69 000 million EUA in 1980. In other words, the rise in the dollar has more than absorbed the benefits of the reduction in our imports. I believe it is important to understand what that means. Imports have fallen by 18% and yet their cost has increased by 10 000 million ECU. It follows, therefore, that whilst there has been a quantitative improvement in our situation the pressures building up on us require us to make still greater efforts, and if there were to be any reversal of the trend towards lower imports we could very quickly find ourselves in a situation of great uncertainty, from the point of view both of balance of payments and of our dependence on oil.

**Mr Seligman.** — I would like to thank the Commissioner for that very 'successful' reply, but my question

**Seligman**

was more detailed than that. If he looks at the text of my question he will see that it reads, 'Did each Member State succeed in reducing the demand for oil', not the Community as a whole. I would have liked him to go into more depth to see which Member States are failing to reduce their oil consumption and are still severely dependent on imported oil. I believe this is the case in Greece, Ireland, and Italy and whilst these countries are dependent on imported oil, the Community as a whole is still weak and those countries cannot be truly prosperous. Therefore, I think we are on borrowed time because North Sea oil is not going to hold the Community together for more than another 8 years.

So my question is what new steps will the Commission take to intensify the measures to discourage importation of oil in all Member States and, secondly, to intensify the development of alternative renewable energies, particularly by those Member States who are still the big oil importers?

**Mr Davignon.** — (FR) Next week we shall be having a Council of Energy Ministers, and one of the items on its agenda is precisely to determine what is the best procedure to adopt to enable the Commission to assess the extent to which each Member State is discharging the undertakings it gave in relation to Community objectives.

The reason why I did not quote figures by individual Member States is that there are still doubts about some of the definitions used in drawing up the statistics, and before passing a negative judgment on someone it is necessary to give him an opportunity to put his case. That is what is happening at the moment.

We have agreed that we shall this year develop a working method that will enable us, at any given time, to make an assessment of what has actually been achieved, and we shall make recommendations as to what we should like to see happen in the various Member States or put forward alternative formulas that they could adopt in relation to the objective being pursued.

As for the other part of the question; and I shall be brief, the honourable Member knows that we have up to now put forward two fundamental proposals — to be discussed at the Council on 14 July — designed to help the Community attain the objective it has set itself, on the one hand, to raise the level of investment in the area of rational energy utilization, to include measures covering the Community as a whole and, on the other hand, to develop research and also pilot projects in order to translate the change of attitude to oil imports that we are going to have to adopt into industrial reality.

**Mr Rogalla.** — (DE) I should like to ask Mr Davignon if the Commission is going it alone with its com-

mendable attempts to limit oil imports as a proportion of total energy consumed or if it considers it right to cooperate with other international organizations, such as the International Energy Agency? Secondly, on the question of objectives, I should like to know if the Commission is abiding by the aims of the policy of 'away from oil' with a view to generally reducing oil imports in the interests of importing fewer expensive goods and of consolidating the Member States' and Community's balance of payments. Finally, I would ask the Commission whether it is prepared to step up its financial efforts under the Community budget to develop alternative energies.

**Mr Davignon.** — (FR) The Commission feels that the target of reducing the Community's dependence on imported oil to 40% by 1999 is within reach and it is quite probable that we shall be able to improve on that figure.

It is important that we consider how we can improve on that figure, in the light of the results of our initial efforts. We put the target at 40% because we thought it realistic and not because it seemed a good figure to go for. Should we find that we are able to better the figure of 40% — and this is the point I was making in my answer to Mr Seligman — it would be absurd, would it not, Mr Rogalla, if we were not to aim for the lower figure simply because we had set ourselves a target of 40% three years ago?

These studies are being conducted in close cooperation between the Commission and the International Energy Agency, for it is manifestly obvious that what we are doing must be matched by a comparable effort on the part of Japan, for the problem is one that affects all industrialized countries.

It is also extremely important for us that the United States should give their backing to this policy as they are both a major producer and a very important consumer, and besides there are a number of regulations over there with which we disagree and which we should like to see changed.

The same can be said in relation to Canada, whose way of calculating prices we find unsatisfactory in that it gives their producers an unfair advantage and results in a distortion of competition in their favour.

There was a third part to your question which concerns the budget for 1983. You will find that the 1983 draft budget provides for an increased Community contribution to assist the rational utilization of energy and more intensive research. As you can see, therefore, one of the Commission's priorities — which, incidentally, is described in the document introducing the budget — is to increase investment and the level of Community contributions in this essential sector of our economy.

**Mr Gautier.** — (DE) Mr Commissioner, I have a question concerning the very impressive figures you have quoted in connection with the decline in energy consumption. Do you have figures that show the specific proportion of energy consumed per unit of gross product? In other words, has this dropped very substantially or is the decline in energy consumption largely due to reduced economic activity?

**Mr Davignon.** — (FR) We do not yet have data that are as precise as we would wish. There are discussions in progress both within the Commission and in association with the OECD's International Energy Agency which are aimed at being able to furnish certain statistics showing the reduction in energy requirements per unit produced. These figures are not available yet, but as soon as we have them we shall publish them.

But what does come out clearly from the figures I have quoted is that the fall in the demand for primary energy is significantly greater than the fall in the Community's production. This shows that there has been a real effort to economize both by individuals and by companies through a greater accent being placed on energy recovery and recycling. We feel that it is vital to put accurate figures to these savings in order to be able to see in which areas we need to redouble our efforts and, if need be, increase investment. However, these data are still being processed.

**Mr Petersen.** — (DA) I would like to ask Mr Davignon if it is not the time to set a definite goal for the development of renewable energies. I noted with satisfaction that this year the Commission has augmented its research expenditure for renewable energies. But the technological stage is now such that one should be able to embark upon a real and massive development of the renewable energies. Yet I do not think one will succeed until we — in the same way as for oil, coal and electricity — arrive at a concrete percentage of the existing quantity of renewable energies in the years 1990 and 2000. I would be grateful to have the Commissioner's comment on this matter.

**Mr Davignon.** — (FR) I see the point of Mr Petersen's question, but at the moment we are not sure that we should put an actual figure to the target for the production of energy from what are called 'alternative sources'.

Ant that for two reasons. The first is that a part of the investment and research we have in mind is intended to be applied to developing new technologies that have a good chance of being used and that might possibly give better results than present viability studies suggest we have a right to expect. The second is that some of these technologies are liable to turn out to be uncompetitive inside the Community but absolutely indispensable outside it. That is one of the reasons why, in the context of the energy strategy, the Commission

has suggested to the Member States, and submitted proposals to Parliament, that they should as a matter of priority establish links with the developing countries and particularly as regards the development of alternative technologies which might offer better prospects in those countries than here in Europe. Under these circumstances, it would appear to me to be premature at this stage to put a figure on what should be the Community's energy production from these sources in the year 2000.

**President.** — Question No 2, by Mr Johnson (H-77/82)<sup>1</sup>:

On 11 March 1982, the European Parliament adopted by an overwhelming majority (160 votes to 10) a motion for a resolution which called upon the Commission, following the example of the United States, the Netherlands and Italy and taking into account the action of retail traders in France, to introduce, by means of a regulation, a ban on Community imports of all skins and products derived from young hooded and harp seals and on these and other products coming from seals whose stocks are depleted, threatened or endangered.

Bearing in mind the need for the Council to be able to adopt this regulation in time for it to be put into effect before next year's 'seal hunt', can the Commission now indicate the precise timetable for the presentation of the draft regulation to the Parliament and Council?

**Mr Narjes, Member of the Commission.** — (DE) The Commission confirms its intention, announced here on 11 March and 19 April 1982, of taking action in good time before the hunting of young seals begins in 1983 to give effect to the resolution adopted by the European Parliament on 11 March 1982.

The most important world-wide instrument for the protection of endangered species is the Washington Agreement. One of the things the Commission did immediately after the resolution of 11 March 1982 had been adopted was to ask the British Nature Conservancy Council to make a rapid study of the threat to hooded and harp seals. You will be familiar with the report this respected British institution has now produced. It contains more detailed information on the Nature Conservancy Council's earlier general statements on the subject we are now discussing.

As the Community itself has not yet acceded to the Washington Agreement, the Commission will in the next few days be asking the Member States which have acceded to apply to the secretariat of the agreement for the necessary investigations and procedures to be

<sup>1</sup> Former oral question without debate (O-4/82), converted into a question for Question Time.

### Narjes

initiated so that hooded seals may be included in Annex I and harp seals in Annex II of the Washington Agreement.

The Commission is asking the Canadian and Norwegian Governments to take similar action.

The Commission is asking the Canadian and Norwegian Governments to impose a general ban on the hunting of young hooded seals — known as bluebacks — and young harp seals — known as whitecoats — before the next hunting season begins.

The Commission is thus exceeding the terms of the European Parliament's resolution of 11 March, which called for a ban on imports. A ban on hunting might anticipate the effectiveness of the Washington Agreement and so facilitate the preservation of the species. It would also take account of the serious moral objections raised throughout Europe and so persistently in the debates of this House in March and April to the hunting of young seals and to the method used to kill them, objections which the Commission has fully endorsed.

The Commission is convinced that the moral outrage at the way in which these young animals are hunted has grown and will continue to grow throughout the world. The Commission hopes to receive a positive response from the Canadian and Norwegian Governments by the end of September. It asked for initial reactions to its request by the end of July. A Norwegian delegation is thus expected in Brussels this month.

The Commission expects third countries which also hunt bluebacks and whitecoats and with which we do not have formal relations similarly to stop hunting these animals before the next season, if only out of consideration for the world-wide objections I have mentioned.

If our partners fear a more rapid increase in the numbers of these species of seal and hence an adverse effect on fish stocks off the Canadian coast and around Jan Mayen Island, for example, a view which is disputed by the report of the Nature Conservancy Council, the Commission will suggest that they concentrate the culling of seal herds to adult animals.

The Commission reiterates its view that no action taken may be such as to obstruct the Inuit population of Canada and Greenland in their hunting of seals.

The Commission's position was endorsed during a policy debate of the Council of Environment Ministers, when all the delegations advocated measures to stop the killing of young seals and to help preserve these species.

The Commission intends to complete this second and last phase of consultations in late September or early October. It will then waste no time in taking the

necessary decisions in October and, in view of the unanimously positive view taken by the European Parliament and the Council of Environment Ministers, it is convinced that the February 1983 deadline can be respected.

**Mr Johnson.** — I am most grateful for the full reply. It was so full and it was read out so rapidly that I am not sure I got all the points.

*(Laughter)*

My actual question to the Commission was really quite a simple one. It simply said, can the Commission now indicate the precise timetable for the presentation of the draft regulation? Actually it was a very simple question and I would ask the Commissioner, as a supplementary, whether he is aware that the continued procrastination — and forgive me for using this word, it is a word that is used in the *New Scientist* this week — can only serve to bring the Community institutions into disrepute. Is he aware that it is not only the Parliament but also the Council which actually expects the Commission to come forward with the draft regulation for an import ban? Because that is what we are talking about. The Council does expect that, and I have in front of me the British Minister's statement reporting on the results of the Environment Council, where he says the Council agreed to support Community action for the protection of seals. Is the Commissioner aware —

*(Cries of 'Question, Question!')*

He refers to results of the Nature Conservancy Council — it is a question: I am beginning with the words, 'Is the Commission aware?' and if you begin with the words 'Is the Commission aware?' then that is a question: it stands to reason . . .

*(Laughter)*

The fact of the matter is that the Nature Conservancy Council asked the Commission to take action within its competence, and, with great respect to the Commissioner, to ask the Member States to make proposals to a meeting of the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species which is to take place in Botswana next year is not within the Commission's competence. Please will he now indicate a precise timetable?

**Mr Narjes.** — *(DE)* The Commission's timetable depends on the nature of the measures that are taken. This in turn depends on the outcome of our consultations. I will repeat what I said here in April: the Community has friendly consultation agreements with Norway and Canada, and it is not the Commission's intention to apply to these two countries unilateral methods which it has every reason to criticize at this

**Narjes**

very moment with respect to other partner countries in the field of trade policy.

In addition, the Council is principally calling for preservation measures, that being the conclusion reached during the policy debate. Our impression is that it would be prepared to impose import bans only when every means of implementing preservation measures in agreement with our partners had been exhausted. But we shall not have any information on this before late September or early October.

**Lord Douro.** — I wonder if I could press the Commissioner on this point. The Parliament voted very decisively earlier this year that there should be a ban on imports into the Community of products from hooded and harp seals. The question simply is this — and it does seem to me that the Commissioner is not completely answering that point: is the Commissioner prepared to bring forward a proposal, and if so when, which would have the effect of banning such imports?

**Mr Narjes.** — (*DE*) The Commission has already explained to the House on several occasions that the question of a ban on imports arises only if and insofar as further-reaching general measures to preserve the species taken in compliance with the Washington Agreement do not have the desired effect.

Should these consultations not produce adequate results, the Commission will not, as I have already made clear, hesitate to take the necessary action, such as the imposition of a ban on imports.

**President.** — I would just like to say that there is a stack of hands going up, and we are not going to get through Question Time if everyone is called. I am trying to stick to one from each group.

*(Interruption by Mrs Buchan)*

I have three names from the Socialist Group, Mrs Buchan.

**Mrs Maij-Weggen.** — (*NL*) I have to confess that the Commissioner has given a very complete answer indeed, but one which can be summarized in two points as follows: we would be grateful to the Canadians were they to desist from these practices and secondly, we are not in favour of a ban on imports. That is what the Commissioner's answer boils down to. But let me assure you, Commissioner, that if more than twenty years of intense pressure on the Canadian Government have failed to bring about an end to the slaughter of baby seals it is doubtful that you will succeed. The Canadians continue this practice in the knowledge that their products find a ready market in the Community, as has been confirmed by the United States authorities. Following the imposition of an

import embargo by the United States seal hunting diminished considerably for a period of three years only to be started up again in the wake of a persistent and ever-increasing demand from the Community. The only effective means of extinguishing this dreadful practice is through a total import embargo and if you intend to wait for Canadian acquiescence in the matter then you will probably have to be prepared for a further twenty-year period. I fully appreciate that the Community must try to avoid alienating friends like Canada and Norway but I must point out that many of my personal friends have remained so even after I had taken measures which were not always to their liking. I have managed to remain good friends with my own children even after a forceful intervention to eliminate what I considered to be antisocial or otherwise undesirable behaviour. Commissioner, you really ought to elaborate an ...

*(Cries of 'Question, Question!')*

... initiative on behalf of the Community with a view to the introduction of a Community-wide total embargo on such commerce. That is the first measure which ought to be taken, Mr President, to eliminate such practices. To wait a further twenty years is just not on and I would dearly like to know ...

*(Cries of 'Question, Question!')*

... whether the Commission is prepared to ...

*(Cries of 'Question, Question!')*

... Mr President, may I please be allowed to continue. I would like to know whether the Commission is prepared — that is my question — I would like to know whether the Commission is prepared ...

*(Cries of 'Question, Question!')*

Mr President, I shall repeat my question yet again. I would like to know whether the Commission, in the event ...

... Mr President, would you be kind enough to protect me from these extraneous interruptions? Mr President, I shall try, once more, to phrase my question to the Commissioner, for the last time. I would like to know whether the Commission, in the event of Canada refusing to desist from these practices, is prepared to impose a total Community import embargo. That is precisely what I want to know.

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

**Mr Normanton.** — Mr President, may I respectfully draw to your attention the fact that it is Question Time that is now taking place, not a debate and would

### Normanton

you please from the Chair direct Members to this fact? It is Question Time, and we are losing valuable time if we turn it into debating time.

*(Applause)*

**President.** — I agree fully. Everybody seems to appreciate that fact except the person who is supposed to be putting the question.

I call Mr Fergusson on a point of order.

**Mr Fergusson.** — It is very difficult from the floor of the House to know how many people have asked for the floor. It must be entirely up to you, Mr President, to decide how many supplementary questions shall be taken. We could all put up our hands and it could go on for hours and hours of one thing. We must entirely rely on you to cut down the number of questions asked, and we will accept that.

**President.** — You say that, Mr Fergusson, but that is where I got the big problem from the last time I was in the Chair. I think at this stage there might be no harm for me to say that the names I have in front of me are Mrs Weber, Mr Muntingh, Mr Gautier, who has already asked a supplementary on Question No 1, Mrs Castle and Mr Moreland, who has been putting up his hand from the word go. I should be grateful if we could adhere to what I endeavoured to introduce here the last time following the example of my colleague Lady Elles, and that was to confine supplementary questions to not more than one from each group. In addition, each Member of this House has the right to ask a supplementary question, and the Chair cannot possibly deprive any Member of this right . . .

**Mrs Kellett-Bowman.** — Mr President, with respect, you could protect the rest of this Chamber by not allowing people to ask more than a brief supplementary question instead of going on with a harangue like Mrs Maij-Weggen.

**President.** — I am going to ask your cooperation and I am not going to call any more than one person from a group and that is a maximum.

**Mr Narjes.** — *(DE)* I will endeavour to answer Mrs Maij-Weggen's question very briefly.

The situation today is fundamentally different from that of the last 20 years. Firstly, Canada is prepared to apply the Washington Agreement to any species of seal provided the necessary evidence is produced.

The Commission has undertaken to respect the deadlines set by this House, that is, to take the action

required before the 1983 seal-hunting season begins. The consultations this entails have reached their final stage. But the Commission cannot conduct them in the paternalistic manner the honourable Member seemed to be suggesting with her reference to her children.

**Mrs Weber.** — *(DE)* I was very pleased to hear that the Commission intends to ensure that the Inuit people are not placed at a disadvantage. How does the Commission intend to prevent this? Perhaps by insisting that the skins of seals caught by the Inuit people are marked? Or what other methods has it in mind?

To what extent is the Commission including a possible import ban in its negotiations with the Canadian Government to show that its threat is meant seriously?

**Mr Narjes.** — *(DE)* Requiring the marking of skins is the least appropriate method. We would prefer the exporting countries, North-West Canada and Greenland, to take the necessary measures themselves. That is what our negotiations are about.

The Canadian and Norwegian Governments are aware of this Parliament's resolution and of the Commission's determination to implement it. You have been notified of both these factors in all due form.

**President.** — I call Mrs Castle on a point of order.

**Mrs Castle.** — Mr President, the European Democrats have been monopolizing the time through the whole of this question with their points of order. They have had two answers already. Now you say you will take only one from the Socialists and you have called another European Democrat. It is just not fair.

**Mr Moreland.** — Quite simply, is it the case that the Commission has agreed with the Canadian Government on a survey of the seal population in the Atlantic and assuming that in order to get seal species onto the Washington Convention, one has to provide proof that they are endangered, would he assure us that he would take action following the result of such surveys?

**Mr Narjes.** — *(DE)* The discussions with the Canadian Government do indeed concern the threat to the two species of seal. It is not certain that agreement on the assessment of the available evidence will be reached in the negotiations and discussions with the Canadian Government. In the interests of both sides, however, the Commission attaches considerable importance to the scientific surveys as a means of preventing Canada from suffering unduly as a result of unilateral measures.

**Mr Muntingh.** — *(NL)* I have two questions for the Commission. Would the Commission agree with the



**Muntingh**

Nature Conservancy Council's evaluation that both species — hooded seals and harp seals — are so depleted as to be currently below the 'maximum sustainable yield', and as such, to qualify for the Commission's avowed policy of giving priority to endangered species over economic and commercial policies?

Secondly, is the Commissioner aware that any regulation in this matter before the opening of the seal hunting season in February of next year will have to go through the usual channels of submission to Parliament, parliamentary committee procedure, followed by debate in the House and ultimately discussion at the European Summit in December? In other words, is he leaving himself enough time and can he give an assurance that the proposal will be presented to Parliament in September? If not, his words are just pious intentions.

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

**Mrs Kellett-Bowman.** — Mr President, you ought to do us the goodness to look at page 75 of the Rules. It says quite clearly that each Member may put only one supplementary question to each question at Question Time. The last Member speaking prefaced his observations with the fact that he was actually going to ask two questions. It is quite clearly laid down in Annex 1 that each Member may put only one supplementary question. He states he is going to make two, makes two, and you do not stop him.

**President.** — Thank you for your assessment.

*(Laughter)*

**Mr Narjes.** — *(DE)* In reply to Mr Muntingh's question about the maximum sustainable yield, I must first say that, according to our interpretation of the Nature Conservancy Council's report, hooded seals are assessed and evaluated differently from harp seals in this respect. In the case of hooded seals the provisions permit an application under Annex I of the Washington Agreement, whereas the uncertainty is greater with harp seals and, giving the species the benefit of the doubt, an application would seem justifiable under Annex II. That is why we are making it.

As for the deadlines, I would point out that the adoption of the regulation is not a subject for a summit meeting. A decision on this can be taken at the Council's meetings in January and February.

**Mrs Castle.** — Is the Commissioner aware that the lengthier his replies, the clearer it becomes that he is trying to evade the will of Parliament?

Has not the Parliament already made clear the kind of measures it wants to see adopted in order to protect these seals, namely an import ban? That import ban requires no consultation with anyone else because it is a unilateral action by the Members of the European Community. So will he stop waffling and start to act.

**Mr Narjes.** — *(DE)* Unlike the honourable lady, I believe that this Community must above all honour the agreements it has entered into and that it must therefore fully observe the spirit and the letter of the consultation agreements which associate it with EFTA countries and with Canada and not adopt the unilateral positions towards these countries which the honourable lady feels the Community should adopt and which are causing us grave concern in our relations with other countries. I believe that the majority of this House takes the view that we would infringe existing agreements by taking unilateral measures.

**Mr Gautier.** — *(DE)* Mr Commissioner, after your last answer, I should like to ask whether you feel or the Commission feels this Parliament and especially the agricultural lobby in the Christian-Democratic Group would be so prepared for conflict if the countries concerned were to react with countermeasures, such as a ban on imports of poultrymeat on the grounds that poultry are treated cruelly in the Community.

**Mr Narjes.** — *(DE)* It is not the Commission's practice to give speculative answers regarding the attitude certain groups in this Parliament might adopt.

**President.** — As the authors are not present, questions Nos 3 and 4 will be answered in writing.<sup>1</sup>

Question No 5, by Mr Petersen (H-127/82):

Denmark has one of the best returnable bottles systems in the world. The ministerial regulations which underlie this system prohibit the selling of beer in cans. The Commission sees these regulations as a technical obstacle to trade in violation of Article 30 of the Treaty of Rome for which reason, according to reports received in Denmark, it is therefore now considering taking Denmark to the Court of Justice. Can the Commission not see that, on the contrary, this system, with the respect it shows for the environment and natural resources, the money it saves and the employment it provides, is in keeping with the general aims and spirit of the Treaty of Rome and with Member States' repeated undertakings to improve the quality of life at the same time as economic growth and, furthermore, does the Commission feel that a purely quantitative interpretation of

<sup>1</sup> See Annex of 7. 7. 1982.

**President**

Article 30 of the Treaty of Rome, an interpretation which ignores qualitative aspects, is in the interests of the Community?

**Mr Narjes.** — (DE) Danish Regulation No 397, which prohibits the use of other than returnable bottles, serves a purpose of general interest, the legitimacy of which is not questioned by the Commission: the protection of the environment. Article 30 does not explicitly mention environmental protection. But the Commission is prepared to take due account of the conflicting aims of the Community through its interpretation of Article 30.

With regard to the new Danish regulation, the Commission must, however, point out the following: to safeguard the interests of environmental protection the Danish authorities have selected a means which prevents a product lawfully manufactured and freely circulated in another Member State from being marketed in their territory. In the Commission's opinion, it would have been quite possible to achieve the same end by other, less drastic means, less drastic as regards the goal of a single internal market.

The Commission therefore feels that the arrangement chosen by the Danish authorities, which prohibits virtually all types of packaging other than returnable bottles, can in no way be regarded as essential to the achievement of the goal being pursued. It believes in fact that this is a measure whose effect is equivalent to that of a quantitative import restriction as referred to in Article 30 of the EEC Treaty. It has therefore initiated proceedings against Denmark for infringement of the Treaty pursuant to Article 169 of the EEC Treaty.

In justification of the arrangement it has introduced, the Danish Government has advanced a number of arguments, which are now being examined by the Commission. If the Commission should conclude from its examination that there is no reason for it to change its present attitude, it will submit an opinion backed by reasons. Only if the Danish Government should fail to comply with this opinion within the period stipulated by the Commission, could the Commission feel justified in bringing an action before the Court of Justice.

**Mr Petersen.** — (DA) I do not find the answer satisfactory, because I note that the Commission continuously and exclusively applies traditional quantitative criteria in relation to a case like this. Again I ask the Commission: what happened to all those words the Commission has used again and again in this Chamber about our having a qualitative new growth? What do they mean? Every time a concrete situation is arrived at we note that then the old fashioned growth from the 1960's is preferred instead of changing to the new growth of the 1980's.

**Mr Narjes.** — (DE) Firstly, it must be remembered that I am being asked to give information on a possible legal action. I would therefore ask you to understand that I cannot now commit myself as regards the decision the Commission will eventually take.

As to the matter itself, Mr Petersen, what we have here is a conflict between the goals of environmental protection and an internal market. As long as the uniformity of the internal market can be preserved with different but equivalent methods of protecting the environment, the Commission maintains that all the Member States must agree to accept in their territory any goods from other Member States which have been manufactured and put into circulation in an environmentally acceptable way.

In the specific case to which you refer, consideration should, of course, have been given not only to returnable bottles but also to the possibility of recycling non-returnable bottles to achieve the environmental objective which Denmark wants to achieve with returnable bottles alone. Recycling would show that, all environmental measures being equal, the internal market would not be endangered, as is at present the case.

**Sir Fred Warner.** — Is the Commissioner aware that the Alcoa Company of America have recently launched a major campaign in Europe for the recycling of beer cans and coca-cola cans, etc. — a very good process — and perhaps they could bear this in mind in their discussions with the Danish Government?

**Mr Narjes.** — (DE) The Commission is always willing to consider any reference to recycling involving, for example, the screening of domestic waste as a means of complying with the Alcoa Company's objective.

**Mrs Viehoff.** — (NL) Mr President, quite frankly I am somewhat alarmed at the way in which today's question time is being dealt with. The initial questions seemed to ramble on aimlessly without any adherence to a preordained order of political groups. As time was running out the Socialists were limited to one intervention. Had we known of this system in advance we could have coordinated four questions which is now rendered impossible given the necessity of assisting at the Commission's answers. I must, however, ask you to allow the Socialist Group two questions on this subject.

**President.** — I am sorry. There is a second element about this. I do not think that the question about returnable bottles is earth-shaking and that is why I decided it was a suitable question on which to move in with my sledge-hammer, as somebody described it.

**President**

I am sorry if that is an insult to Mr Petersen but I accept that. I am going to stick with this.

**Mrs Viehoff.** — (NL) Is the Commissioner aware of the results of a survey analysing the cost factor to society, in money and energy, between returnable bottles on which deposits have been paid, on the one hand, and the recycling of glass, on the other? If so, then he must realize that the solution to the bottle problem which he envisages is certainly not the optimum one.

**Mr Narjes.** — (DE) The Commission is familiar with most of the comparative studies that have been carried out in this field. We have the problem of weighing up objectives one against the other. If the effect they all have is approximately the same, we consider that environmental measures must take account of the goal of a single internal market.

**Mr Bonde.** — (DA) In my group we work scientifically, and when the question of the returning of bottles came up, we decided to send a colleague from Denmark to Strasbourg, by bicycle. He ascertained that in Denmark with its returnable bottles system, there was very little broken glass. But when he got to Mr Narjes's country it was full of broken glass. I would like to ask Mr Narjes if he would step out of his Commissioner's car and make the same bicycle trip to ascertain that it is advantageous to support a recycling system and get away from this narrow world of technical trade obstacles in which he apparently lives?

**Mr Narjes.** — (DE) Of course, I like walking. If, in so doing, I cross the Danish frontier, I will probably find that one product or another is not available because it is not permitted access to the Danish market on environmental grounds which the other Member States do not consider relevant.

**President.** — I apologize to the Members I have left out and thank them for their cooperation.

Might I also congratulate the eight Commissioners on being present today. I think that all of them should be given the opportunity, if possible, of replying to your questions.

I call Miss Hooper.

**Miss Hooper.** — You had implemented your new procedure, Mr President, before my group had even a chance to consult with each other to decide who should be the spokesman. I should therefore like to put a very short supplementary to the Commissioner because it is very important.

I am the rapporteur on the particular proposals before this Parliament and before this Parliament's committee and I would like the Commissioner to explain the apparent contradiction between the Commission's action against Denmark and the fact that its proposals are based on the Danish experiences.

**President.** — There is no reply from the Commission.

Question No 6, by Mr Gontikas (H-131/82):

On 3 May 1982 during an open discussion at the French Institute in Athens an official representing the Commission attacked the European Parliament, saying that it hindered the work of the Commission.

He then went on to state that the union of Cyprus with the EEC was directly bound up with Turkish accession.

Does the Commission agree with these remarks by its representative, can he be regarded as truly representing the Commission in view of his grade and experience, and what does the Commission intend to do to restore the authority of the European Parliament?

**Mr Haferkamp, Vice President of the Commission.** — (DE) The Commission has made a careful investigation of this incident. Having consulted participants in the discussion concerned, it has reached the conclusion that the remarks made by one of its officials were obviously distorted and reported incorrectly.

As to the matter itself, I hardly need emphasize, of course, that the Commission's attitude towards Parliament is positive and constructive. This is repeatedly reflected in our day-to-day cooperation.

As regards the Community's association agreement with Cyprus, there are a number of problems at present. Various arrangements in the trade sector have expired and need to be renewed.

The Commission forwarded proposals for a negotiating directive to the Council months ago. We very much hope that the Council will soon take a decision to enable us to continue our negotiations with Cyprus. This incident, which concerned Cyprus, has no connection whatever with the state of our relations with Turkey.

**Mr Gontikas.** — (GR) I am very pleased to hear the Commission's reply because it indeed represents the sad truth about the gentleman who came to Greece as its representative and said what he did. The impression created among the Greek and the foreign public who heard the speech in question will be described to you by my colleague Mrs Pantazi, at first hand. However,

**Gontikas**

the matter is still of concern to the Commission, for the following reason: how is it possible for the Commission to be represented in its relations with foreign countries by an indiscriminately chosen official particularly when a formal invitation for a representative of the Commission had been issued by another country, and how is it possible that no consideration was given to the past and to the personal record of the official sent to such a country?

I hope that the Commission is aware of the specific facts to which I refer in the past record of the gentleman whom it sent to Greece, and I hope this will not be repeated in the future.

**Mr Haferkamp.** — (DE) There are numerous events every day at which officials of the Commission give talks in one form or another or are available for discussions. Not all of them have any political significance. This was more in the nature of a technical seminar.

The Commission naturally makes sure that the officials who undertake these activities represent and respect the Commission's views, and we shall, of course, be even more careful in future to prevent a repetition of such misunderstandings.

**Mrs Pantazi.** — (GR) I am particularly pleased to hear that the official in question did not represent the Commission, and I am sorry that you were not present yourself, to register the sorry impression created by this official, who departed entirely from his text and ended up by advancing his own views concerning Turkey, informing the Greek people that Turkey was about to join the EEC in 1984, which perhaps you did not know yourself, nor yet the European Parliament, and also informing the Greek people that the progress of economic collaboration between Cyprus and Greece depended exclusively on the accession of Turkey to the EEC, and mentioning many other matters to which I shall not refer.

The question I want to ask is as follows:

What do you propose to do in order to restore the authority of the European Parliament in Greece, which suffered very badly all over our country and which has placed the Greek members of this Parliament in a very difficult position?

**Mr Haferkamp.** — (DE) There can be absolutely no doubt about the Commission's material and political position on either Turkey or Cyprus. We have repeatedly explained this position during the debates of this House, and we shall be able to reiterate our views when the report concerning Turkey that is on the agenda is debated. We shall leave nothing to be desired in the clarity of our statements.

As to the question of what the Commission intends to do or can do to restore Parliament's reputation, I do not know whether it would be right for the Commission to issue a denial or statement on the reports in the Greek press. I do not think that would accord with the dignity of this House.

The whole of the European public has known for years that the Commission attaches the greatest importance to ever closer cooperation with Parliament. We can and should, in my opinion, do no more than confirm this in this connection. If our colleagues from Greece feel that more must be done, they may rest assured that the Commission will do its utmost.

**Mr Cousté.** — (FR) I take due note of what Commissioner Haferkamp said about the association agreement between the EEC and Cyprus not being bound up with Turkish accession. What steps will the Commission be taking to reinforce the links between the Community and Cyprus, particularly from the financial point of view? Given that positive actions will be needed to help bury the past, what kind of actions are being contemplated?

**Mr Haferkamp.** — (DE) The difficulties specifically connected with the further development and strengthening of trade relations with Cyprus principally concern the import of agricultural products from Cyprus into the Community. It was in this context that the Commission submitted its proposals to the Council months ago, but it has unfortunately not yet been possible to obtain a Council negotiating directive.

The objections the Council and a number of Member States have relate, among other things, to quite small quantities of certain goods, an example being table grapes, for which the Commission proposes an annual import quota for Cyprus of 7 500 tonnes, while various Member States want only 7 000 tonnes. Progress is being held up by differences like these 500 tonnes, not by a politically negative attitude on our part. On this subject I should like to say that, despite all the difficulties, the Commission has done everything it can in recent years to ensure that the measures it takes benefit the whole of the island population by applying, for instance, the present financial protocol, examples being the installation of electricity and water supply and sewage disposal systems. The Commission feels that there should be no interruption in these activities and that another financial protocol should be introduced. We have put forward proposals to this end, but so far we have not received the Council's directive.

**Mr Spicer.** — I am grateful to the Commissioner for what he said about the feeling within the Commission on this point of aid for Cyprus. Will he, in particular, give an assurance to this House that when he talks about electricity, refuse disposal, and other services for installation and water, in Cyprus, he and the Commis-

**Spicer**

sion will make quite certain that any facilities that are made available through financial protocols provided by the Community are evenhanded to both communities in Cyprus?

**Mr Haferkamp.** — (DE) As I have just said, what we have done and will do is intended to benefit the whole of the island population.

**Mrs Buchan.** — Does the Commissioner realize that the longer he goes on and the wider-ranging his reply, the more we suspect that somebody somewhere has been somewhere and said something he ought not to? He is certainly not reassuring certain sections of this House. Instead of the cryptic replies, can we all be let in on the gossip? I mean, who is this man? What did he say? Why are we not all entitled to know what he did? Would the Commissioner not agree that, considering the mess in unemployment and everything else that the countries of the common market are in, and that the Commission has got a responsibility for, it might be a good role for this Parliament to steadily set about hindering the work of the Commission?

**Mr Haferkamp.** — (DE) I do not know whether I understand the question correctly. I can only say that the official concerned has a subordinate position and that he stepped in for another official at the last minute. I do not have his curriculum vitae before me.

**Mr Kallias.** — (GR) All this has raised the following matters:

Firstly, a provocation against an elected Parliament.

Secondly, a provocation against the Greek people, to whom the official in question was addressing himself when he stated that the Commission's position depended upon a non-member country.

Thirdly, there is the fundamental question itself, because he was talking about the means of Cyprus' affiliation.

I think the Commissioner should tell us whether the Commission intends to take any disciplinary action, because this would be the only way to restore the situation, and secondly, as for the matter of the association with Cyprus, whether the Commission intends to go back to the Council after Parliament's decision, which was unanimous and which calls for the resumption of negotiations and the issue of a directive from the Council.

**Mr Haferkamp.** — (DE) We await the Council's decision on the proposals that we made some considerable time ago, and I hope that it will be in a position in July to take this decision, which we have been calling for for a long time now.

The official who spoke on this occasion was a young man in a subordinate post. He stepped in at the last minute for another speaker, who was unable to attend.

**Mrs Ewing.** — The names!

**Mr Haferkamp.** — (DE) If you are interested, I can give you both names. The official who was unable to attend was Mr Di Carpegna and the official who took his place at the last moment was Mr Servantie. It has been made very clear to Mr Servantie that he should in future be careful to ensure that such misunderstandings do not recur.

I furthermore believe that the extremely clear statements I make here on Parliament and the Cyprus question carry more weight than what a subordinate official has said or perhaps has been wrongly understood to say.

**President.** — Question No 7, by Mr Price (H-137/82):

Will the Commission ensure, in future, that at least half its members will be present in Parliament to answer questions during Question Time and so end the present contempt of Parliament by Commissioners who are answering on behalf of absent colleagues and are therefore totally unable to respond meaningfully to supplementary questions?

**Mr Andriessen, Member of the Commission.** — (NL) The Commission is amazed at such a question and the implication behind it. We are especially surprised at the time chosen for the tabling of the question, namely in May, only several weeks after the then officiating President of Parliament had, in the course of the April part-session, singled out the Commission for its exemplary attitude in sending no less than ten Commissioners to assist at Question Time. You have seen today that eight Commissioners are present in the House, seven seated and Commissioner Davignon, having answered the opening question, is now visiting various Members on the floor. I feel that such a question is really uncalled for and I would be more than a little amazed if statistics did not reveal a considerably high attendance by members of the College of Commissioners in the period after the transferral of Question Time from Mondays to Tuesdays. Surely it is carrying matters a little far to say that almost every Commission answer is given by a fellow commissioner deputizing for the one to whom the question was addressed. Surely every answer given by a member of the College is made in the name of the College of Commissioners rather than of the individual absent member. Indeed how could it be otherwise?

The fact that not all members of the College can be present at every Question Time can be attributed to

**Andriessen**

the pressure of work elsewhere, not least with Council and I consider it useful and expedient that the institutional rules have made provision, in such cases, for one member of the College deputizing for an absent colleague to provide the House with the College's answer to a specific question. I fully appreciate that this can give rise in some cases to a less satisfactory and/or incomplete answer. But, if I may be somewhat irreverent for a moment, it may be that the inability of certain members of the College to provide comprehensive and correct answers can be traced to the manner in which these questions are set down. Finally may I point out that the regular absence of members of the House who have tabled questions to the Commission does not exactly make for a successful Question Time.

**Mr Price.** — May I invite the Commissioner to keep some records of the number of times when questions are answered by members of the Commission within their field of responsibility and the number of times when substitute Commissioners give replies. If I may question the validity of what he said a second ago as to the time when this question was put down when the ten Commissioners were complimented in the April session, would he not agree that the reason for the compliment was the very unusual nature of the attendance on that occasion, and would he accept a further compliment today on the number of Commissioners present, which again is unusual, and would he accept that it is very important that Parliament should exercise this function of questioning in an adequate manner and that that requires the presence of somebody who knows the subject well in order to afford us an answer to whatever questions may crop up by way of supplementaries?

**Mr Andriessen, Member of the Commission.** — (NL) I really feel that if a large delegation of members of the College of Commissioners has been present at the past three or four part-sessions then talk of an exception is quite uncalled for. I should like to inform the House that the Commission has always endeavoured to free as many Commissioners for attendance at Question Time as is realistically possible, given their responsibilities elsewhere. I have also hinted that the nature of the questions which are sometimes set is such as to make more for a debate than the kind of rapid question and answer forum which I had always understood to be the objective of Question Time, a system with which the British have had many years of successful experience.

Mr President, I cannot agree that the Commission's attitude shows the beginnings of a contempt of Parliament, implicit in the question, and which gave rise to my initial rather sharp reaction. Allow me to put it this way; the Commission is doing everything humanly possible and, in the course of the past months, partly as a result of the transferral of Question Time from Monday to Tuesday, which greatly facilitated the

attendance of the Commissioners, there has been a noticeable improvement in that attendance. The Commission will continue to direct its efforts towards making Question Time the exemplary forum the House envisaged.

**Mrs Ewing.** — Is the Commission aware that if the whole of the EEC is to wear a democratic face it must be because there is a Parliament, and if the Parliament is to wear a democratic face it must be partly because of Question Time, and will the Commission not accept that in the old Parliament, it was the position that a Commissioner was there to answer his specific questions as a matter of custom, at any rate for the four years that I was here at Question Time? Now we are apparently faced with the Commission's answer that it is a college and anyone can answer about anything, however unsatisfactory the answer may be. Does the Commission accept that we who are the guardians of these electors on whose backs we all live require proper answers to questions? In saying this, may I commend the Commission as compared to the Council of Ministers. But, Mr Commissioner, you who are answering my question today, will you not accept that those of us who are experienced questioners in this Parliament of many years standing notice a tendency to pride yourself if you are there, to look for points of credit? You seem to be suggesting that the norm is for some colleague to substitute for the specialist, whereas in the old Parliament we were used to getting the specialists answering the specialists. Is it accepted that there is a degeneration, what are the guidelines you see for yourselves?

**Mr Andriessen, Member of the Commission.** — (NL) I shall do my utmost to reply to this series of questions, I repeat, series of questions. Firstly, it would be regrettable if I were to infer from the honourable Member's question that Parliament apportioned a disproportionately large share of the Members' democratic salaries to Question Time. It goes without saying that Question Time makes an invaluable contribution to the democratic functioning of Parliament but, if I may say so, it would, in my opinion, be totally unjustifiable to present it as a sort of barometer of the democratic functioning of this institution.

The second answer: the question . . .

(Interruption by Mrs Ewing)

**President.** — Actually, Mrs Ewing herself suggested that each Member be allowed only one supplementary.

**Mr Andriessen, Member of the Commission.** — (NL) . . . no, the remainder of the question was really rather interesting, but as you are invoking the *ad hoc* rule on the number of questions asked by any Mem-

**Andriessen**

ber, I can only bow to your request and stop at this point.

**Miss Quin.** — I am glad to see that there are so many Commissioners here today but I must say that I often find myself in the position of putting down a question or supplementary which is not answered by the appropriate Commissioner. I would like to press the Commission in my supplementary today to tell us exactly what criteria are used within the Commission for deciding who comes to Question Time. Is it a system of willing or not so willing volunteers, or a system of Buggin's turn, or is it a system whereby the majority of questions that fall within a subject area are supposed to be answered by the relevant Commissioner? A few more details on this would be enlightening.

**Mrs Ewing.** — A point of order. Would the Commissioner answer my question?

**Mr Andriessen, Member of the Commission.** — (NL) I am always willing. Firstly allow me to answer the foregoing Member's question on the criteria applied by the Commission to determine the presence of specific Commissioners at Question Time in the House. The answer is really quite simple. The first criterion is that of establishing which member of the College considers a particular question to lie within his responsibilities. The second criterion is that of establishing, in the event of a Commissioner having valid reasons for not attending Question Time, which of the other members is most qualified to deputize for him. For the latter determination numerous factors may be taken into account; the fact that it is a related field, that certain members of the College have to be present in any event, or alternatively, because of the inability of some members of the College to free themselves from their duties in order to deputize for a colleague. You will appreciate that the Commission does not possess an ultra-sophisticated system for the regulation of these rather simple matters. On the whole I feel that the manner in which they are dealt with is generally satisfactory while at the same time conceding that a Commissioner deputizing for another — no offence is meant and I am thinking rather of the technical nature of some of the questions — is not always capable of providing answers on the spur of the moment. For the rest the Commission has always declared its readiness to provide written or other answers to the House or the individual Member in such cases.

I trust this explains why the preceding speaker finds the Commission's answers to be often less than satisfactory. The Commissioner, being apprized well in advance, of a Member's question has a competent back-up staff enabling him to provide the House with a thorough answer. Indeed the quality of the Commission's answer to prepared questions has not, so far as I am aware, come in for criticism. So much for the procedure as envisaged. The problems begin to arise when

supplementaries of an obviously technical nature are asked. The Commissioner in question then has to listen attentively to the question being asked, often in a language other than his mother tongue, while simultaneously rummaging through his notes to come up with an answer to which the Members have a democratic right. This proves, more often than not, to be simply too much for him whereupon he is forced to beat a hasty retreat by invoking the written answer procedure.

Let me reiterate to the House that the Commission is doing its utmost to assure the presence at Question Time of, if not a full complement, then at least as many Commissioners as can reasonably be expected. I cannot believe that, in cases where the relevant Commissioner is unable to provide a suitable, or indeed any, answer on the spur of the moment, whether through absence, or the technical nature of a question or supplementary, the subsequent provision of a written answer at a later date could be in any way detrimental to the democratic functioning of the House.

**President.** — As the author is not present, Question No 8 will be answered in writing<sup>1</sup> Question No 9, by Mrs Ewing (H-145/82):

In view of the benefits which could be derived from the harmonization of road classifications — notably in tourism, road haulage and regional planning at Community level — what action, if any, has the Commission taken in this sector?

**Mr Contogeorgis, Member of the Commission** — (GR) The question put by Mrs Ewing regarding the classification of roads is indeed very opportune, mainly because of the benefits which would be derived from the harmonization of road classification and correct signposting.

I would like to bring the European Parliament up to date by informing you that the UN Economic and Social Commission which sits in Geneva, but also the Conference of European Ministers of Transport, which sits in Paris, have commenced systematic efforts to harmonize the classification of the main roads in Europe.

The classification of the E roads is a task in which these organizations were successful, with the European Agreement on Main Internal Traffic Arteries, the AGR agreement. This work is still continuing.

The opinion of the Commission is that since the matter is being dealt with in a wider European framework with the participation, cooperation and collaboration of the European Community, its own involvement would add no substantial benefits. In any case, the net-

<sup>1</sup> See Annex of 7. 7. 1982.

**Contogeorgis**

work of E roads as defined by the agreement to which I referred was used by the Commission itself as the basic network for the definition of the bottlenecks in the study it prepared, which was submitted to the Council and is now before Parliament.

So much for the classification of the E roads.

As for the other, secondary roads, their classification follows basically from the statutory and legislative regulations within each Member State, and from the way in which the economic responsibility for road building and maintenance is divided among the central, regional, provincial or local authorities.

The role of the Commission in this sector is to strive for and to facilitate the realization of the aims of the Community's regional policies, without becoming involved in detailed measures for the classification of secondary roads, which is a matter for the respective national governments.

**Mrs Ewing.** — May I ask the Commissioner what he would say of a classification in a Member State as an A road of a road such as the A9 which is not a dual carriageway, which goes throughout the north of Scotland, where tourists coming from Germany, the Netherlands and all the other Member States keep leaving this road to look for the A road. They go off to right and left to look for it because they assume that the road they are on cannot be the A road because the Member State classified it as an A road, although it is nothing but a second-rate, secondary road.

Can I hope that the Commissioner's very interesting answer will perhaps bring some rebuke on my Member State for classifying the A9 as an A road, in the interests of all you tourists who, I hope, will come to my constituency for their summer holidays?

(Applause)

**Mr Contogeorgis.** — (GR) As I said earlier, the classification of the E roads, in other words the main European arterial roads, the motorways, is done by the UN Commission in Social Affairs with the collaboration of the European Communities. The implementation of the agreement signed by the Member States is monitored by the Committee on Economic and Social Affairs.

So far as the less important roads are concerned, Mrs Ewing is indeed right, because in nearly every European country there are omissions on defects as regards proper classification. We take note of Mrs Ewing's comments, many of which we are in any case aware of, and I would like to repeat that at this stage the Commission does not consider, or at any rate did not up to now consider, that it should become involved in the classification of secondary roads

because it considers this to be a matter for the national governments.

However, we take note of these comments and shall see what can be done.

**President.** — The first part of Question Time is closed.<sup>1</sup>

I call Mr Boyes on a point of order.

**Mr Boyes.** — I bow to Mrs Ewing's request that there should be no points of order during Question Time, but I must say that I was very frustrated and wish to raise one because this Question Time has been nothing but disgraceful. I have been keeping statistics of what has gone on. You managed to get through only 6 questions in 1½ hours and one of those questions only merited one supplementary. You spent more than 25 minutes — that is almost one-third of Question Time on one question — on seals.

Now I believe that anybody who asks a question thinks that the subject is very important, but you must take into consideration the fact that a number of other people whose questions have not been reached also consider their topics to be very important too. After one hour of Question Time you had only completed three questions. Now, Mr President, I do not know whether you are aiming for the Guinness Book of Records to have the smallest number of questions asked in Question Time and only the officials will be able to say whether six is the smallest number ever and whether or not you have reached the target. But it is terribly unfair in Question Time only to allow six questions. I must say that, while some of the responsibility lies with the Members for asking more than one question in their supplementary, or even making speeches and some of the responsibility lies with the Commission, the basic responsibility falls on the President of the sitting who should cut people off even if it necessitates cutting them off at the microphone. So I must protest. I am one of the many people whose question has not been reached. It was No 16. I really expected it to be reached because Lady Elles, who is not a member of my group, has managed to get through Question Time pretty rapidly by inventing *ad hoc* rules as she goes along. I hope that an occurrence such as we have had today will not happen at the next Question Time.

**President.** — Thank you, Mr Boyes. I am inclined to say 'hear, hear' to that and I accept the full reprimand because it will help me if I am in the chair again.

I call Mr Radoux.

<sup>1</sup> See Annex of 7. 7. 1982.



**Mr Radoux.** — (*FR*) Mr President, do you not think, in view of the fact that Question Time has been nothing short of a disgrace, the problem should be referred to the Bureau?

As a Member of this Parliament I find it quite deplorable that the many Commissioners who have made their way down here should have wasted their time listening to us for 90 minutes. I therefore feel ashamed at the questions put to the Commissioners who are here when I see that it is they who have come and it is we, through our fault, who have them waste their time.

Question Time should not be spent on points of order and listening to speeches. Question Time is for questions and it is up to the person in the chair to deny the floor to any Member who does not put a concrete question. I strongly urge that this matter be raised in the Bureau.

(*Applause*)

**President.** — Mr Radoux, I think I can give the assurance that this matter will be raised in the Bureau.

#### 11. *Welcome*

**President.** — May I say at this stage that we are honoured to welcome as our distinguished visitors Mr Guilberto Avila Bottia, President of the Latin American Parliament, and the members of the parliamentary delegation from the Republic of Colombia who have taken their seats in our official gallery.

(*Applause*)

May I say that their presence in Strasbourg is a sign of our mutual determination to strengthen the links between Europe and Latin America. We can hope that this meeting with Members of the European Parliament will form the basis for a new and more fruitful relationship of friendship between our two continents.

(*Applause*)

I am sure that they will have learned from the lack of progress at Question Time.

(*Laughter*)

#### 12. *Reform of the Treaties and European union* (*continuation*)

**President.** — The next item is the continuation of the debate on the report (Doc. 1-305/82) by Mr Spinelli.

I call Mr Moreau.

**Mr Moreau.** — (*FR*) Mr President, one year ago Parliament passed a resolution setting up the Committee on Institutional Affairs, and in doing so its intention was clearly to bring itself forcibly to the notice of public opinion and to signal its will to act within its prerogatives in order to help strengthen and improve the functioning of the Community.

The purpose of our debate then is to spell out both where our Parliament stands on this question and the terms of reference of our committee. I must first of all pay tribute to the excellent work and tireless devotion of our coordinating rapporteur, Mr Spinelli. However, there are, it seems to me, a number of points that require clarification, which have already been raised by some of my colleagues. I imagine that in his reply Mr Spinelli will be able to throw more light on some of these points.

We are all of us in the habit of saying that Europe is in crisis, that our Community is experiencing real difficulties in tackling its problems and in formulating and implementing the necessary policies. For some of us, Europe's paralysis would seem to be due either to a defective functioning of the institutions or to their having seized up entirely; for others, its origins lie in the lack of genuine agreement on the solutions and the lack of will to work together.

In some ways, to be discussing the Community's present inadequacies and its non-functioning might be to encourage the belief — or is it only my impression? — that the problem lies in the fact that our institutions are out of date. This, to my mind, is a narrow view, even if there is an element of truth in it. Parliament would be committing a grave error in concentrating on this aspect of things to the exclusion of all else. For, as the proverb goes, there is a danger of not being able to see the wood for the trees. Our operation must take in all the various areas of activity covered by the Community. The institutions are there to serve whatever ends the peoples of Europe may have decided upon in asserting, during the past decades, their will to live together.

The question that has to be answered now, however, is how this objective fits into the context of present-day Europe and of the world as it is.

If I have understood correctly, what we want is a Europe able to act, that is to say free to do as it pleases, able also to control its own development, in short, an independent Europe. We know that this independence hinges on the capacity of the Community to respond to the needs and aspirations of the peoples of which it is composed. The need for economic security, the aspiration for justice and solidarity, the search for a political and cultural identity. How can this goal be achieved? In my view, not by creating a superstate. The national states have the capacity today to find an answer to some of the problems which they face. But experience has shown us that in

**Moreau**

certain instances the national context was far too narrow and made it necessary to move out of it in order to attain the desired objective.

We feel that the concept of 'subsidiarity' that Mr Spinnelli introduces in his report may lend itself to misinterpretation, even though, to him, the concept is a quite unambiguous one. The Community that we are creating, as we want it to be in the future, cannot be worked out except on the basis of the existing reality. And the way it has to come about is through a kind of 'exchange of contracts' between the states and the Community. The Community cannot act in place of the states. All it can do is propose certain policies by virtue of the powers delegated to it by the states and the peoples of the Community. This, to us, seems to be the only realistic road, the only possible road to follow. Within this framework, it falls to Parliament to take the initiative and to be unafraid of being ambitious, while at the same time retaining a sense of responsibility. We are elected by the peoples of Europe, we have an indisputable popular legitimacy under the existing Treaties. However, in the context of the future union, this legitimacy cannot afford not to take account of that other legitimacy, the legitimacy of the states. All progress will in consequence spring from action initiated by the states and by Parliament. Once again cooperation and joint action are at the heart of our positive and realistic démarche. By that I mean that the European constitution could never be left for Parliament alone to draw up: it is and will be the outcome of a complex undertaking shared by the various institutions.

We believe that this point must be very clearly understood if we want to achieve anything worthwhile. We have to improve the present working and the rules governing relations between the various institutions. Parliament has an obligation to do what the peoples expect of it on this point. But should we go as far as a new treaty? The really important thing now is to concentrate our efforts on improving the institutions to enable them to carry out the necessary policies. To this end it is necessary to spell out exactly the mutual responsibilities of the Council and of Parliament in the area of legislation. Conciliation procedures along the lines I indicated earlier must be brought into operation with the object of resolving stalemate situations rather than serving as an excuse for intransigence.

The amendments put down by the Socialist Group — or at least some of them — express these same views. A number of speakers have stressed the need to establish European union, but, in our eyes, European union is merely an instrument serving certain objectives and a certain undertaking. The Socialists have a clear view of what has to be achieved. All they want is to see this independent Europe of which I spoke right at the beginning attained in a context of clarity and responsibility. We shall need to go right to the limits of what is

possible but we must never lose sight of reality or of our goal.

*(Applause)*

**IN THE CHAIR: MR NIKOLAOU**

*Vice-President*

**President.** — I call Mr Pflimlin.

**Mr Pflimlin.** — *(FR)* Mr President, for a man of my generation it is just not possible to take part in a debate like this without thinking back to the 1950's, even if some of you might regard such thoughts as irrelevant.

The birth shortly after the Second World War of the movement towards European unity has something of the miraculous about it. The millions of dead, the widespread destruction, the justifiable resentment at the collective crimes without historical precedent seemed to have erected insurmountable barriers between the peoples of Europe. I have to admit that in 1945 I felt that it would take many, many years to reconcile peoples that had fought against each other. Then, in 1948, a conference was held at The Hague to call for the construction of a united Europe. The following year, in 1949, a treaty was signed in London setting up the Council of Europe. In 1950, Robert Schuman, on behalf of a government of which I was then a member, proposed the creation of the first Community, that of coal and steel.

This marked the opening of a new chapter in Europe's turbulent history. It was no longer a case of concluding a peace treaty — a formula that past experience had repeatedly shown to be rather fragile — or of contracting alliances in the conventional sense of the word. The new idea, at the time, of the Community was to assure peace by forging links of fraternal solidarity between the peoples of the Community.

Today, thirty years later, the prevailing feelings about the European Community seem to be disenchantment and scepticism. Even those who work for the European Communities occasionally remind one of priests who have lost their faith.

And yet the record of Europe as a Community is by and large a positive one. The main objective of the founding fathers has been achieved. Western Europe is in a state of peace and even the most pessimistic cannot see any likelihood of a war breaking out that would set the peoples united in the Community against each other. Never before has Europe known

**Pflimlin**

such a long period of total peace. On the economic front, our countries have been able, due largely, it has to be said, to the Marshall Plan, to reconstruct their ruins and enjoy a rapid rate of growth which has led to an unprecedented rise in living standards.

Of course, all that is in the past. The young generations who had experienced neither the war nor its aftermath only know that the European Community has not succeeded up to now in resolving the problems that concern them. The eleven million unemployed and the continuing inflation are laid at Europe's door. Yet we know very well that what we are seeing are in fact the effects of a worldwide crisis, and if we have to put the blame anywhere, it is to the national states that we need to turn our eyes, who either did not know how to exploit all the opportunities that Europe offered, or simply did not want to.

The crisis that the European Community is currently going through is not the first. The failure of the proposed European Defence Community was felt by those who, like me, lived through the drama in 1954, as a mortal blow. But the Europeans pulled themselves together and convened the Conference of Messina, which gave the Community a fresh boost and led to the signing of the Treaties of Rome in 1957.

Today there is talk of another Messina, at the same time, incidentally, as the national governments are being denounced for their inability to rescue the Community from its crippling paralysis. Let us not forget that Messina was the achievement of a few statesmen, like Paul-Henri Spaak, to name only one.

I understand full well how difficult it is for men in government to rise above purely national interests and to place the authority and influence they enjoy in their own countries in the service of the common good of Europe. Having for seven years been a member of the government in my own country, I know how difficult it is to avoid taking the narrow view of national interest. We should not imagine, therefore, that the task of Europe's founders was an easy one. I can tell you that Robert Schuman was showered with insults and abuse. Some people even went so far as to accuse him of treason.

I cannot believe that there are not among the members of governments today men clear-sighted enough to appreciate that they cannot serve their own country's interests better than by building Europe, by engaging in a great struggle to give a fresh boost to the process of European integration, even though the struggle may be an uphill one.

There is vast scope for their imagination and spirit of initiative under the Treaties as they stand.

The very crisis which we are going through would normally have been enough to spur the governments to set about formulating new common policies. Future

historians will no doubt record with surprise that the oil crises, which have rocked the foundations of the European economy, failed to provoke the natural response, which might have been to formulate and implement a common energy policy.

The appearance on the world markets, where European industries had in the past occupied a dominant position, of new industrial nations which are now beginning to compete with us in our own markets has not yet produced in the Community, despite Parliament's recommendations and Mr Travaglini's recent resolution, a common industrial policy, based on a common policy of applied scientific research, which would give us some new cards to play with.

On that basis it is understandable that a considerable number of our colleagues, whilst acknowledging the value of the work done by the subcommittee chaired by André Diligent, should have found it necessary to alter the institutional structures in order to give the Community a decision-making capability which at present it lacks. It would appear, in fact, that concerted action alone, the principle of which has been accepted by the governments since 1975, cannot give the Community the new stimulus that it needs.

One of the essential ideas contained in Mr Spinelli's quite remarkable report, which was adopted virtually unanimously by the Committee on Institutional Affairs, is the idea of strengthening the powers of the European Parliament. Why is it desirable that our powers should be strengthened? There are those who would suspect us of acting out of ambition or pride, of thinking only of ourselves. I can assure them, on behalf of us all, that there is no element of truth in it. We do not pretend to be more intelligent or more competent than the Council of Ministers or the European Council. It is the fact that we are elected by the people of the Community that gives us, apart from democratic legitimacy, a keener sense of the solidarity that unites our peoples. The good sense of the people can see better than many technocrats can the need to unite our efforts to fight the scourges with which we are presently afflicted, provided, of course, that we remember to explain all the choices that have to be made, and I doubt that we are in a position to do that as yet.

It is not a case, as I see it, of using our increased powers against the Council of Ministers or the European Council. The new inter-institutional balance must not be the outcome of a battle in which some are the winners and others the losers. Rather is it a case of bringing to the governments and the European Council the support of enlightened public opinion. The major changes of the past were invariably shaped, for better and occasionally for worse, by irresistible shifts of public opinion.

Let all of us here try to bring about such a shift by proposing to our peoples the most noble of ambitions,

**Pflimlin**

the ambition of building a Europe which, having at last laid aside its national self-interests in favour of a sense of solidarity, having assured our security by strengthening our alliances, will find a way to play on the world scene the role to which our cultural heritage, our economic potential and the spiritual values for which we stand entitle us.

Federalists like myself remain firmly attached to their native land, but they also wish to encourage the gradual blossoming of a European patriotism. In 1870, on the eve of one of the most serious crises ever to have hit Europe, the Franco-German war, a great historian who at the time was teaching at the University of Strasbourg, Fustel de Coulanges, wrote: 'What distinguishes one nation from another is neither race nor language. Men feel in their hearts that they belong to the same people when they have a community of ideas, interests, affections, memories and hopes. The nation is that which one loves'.

I do not know if the proposed treaty that we are going to be working out has any chance of being adopted in the immediate future. All that matters is that we should be able to offer our fellow citizens the prospect of one day seeing the emergence of a European nation founded on friendship between the free peoples of Europe.

*(Applause)*

**President.** — I call Mr Macario.

**Mr Macario.** — *(IT)* Mr President, I wish to praise the work of Messrs Spinelli and Ferri, whose efforts made possible the initiation of a very important discussion: a discussion in which it is high time to make clear to public opinion to what extent the Council of Ministers, the European Council, and the Commission are failing to respond to the serious and dramatic challenges now facing Europe. For some time now the most knowledgeable citizens of Europe have been calling for an adequate and responsible European authority, one equal to the role Europe is called upon to play in the Community and in the world.

Due to the blindness and pettiness of those in office, due to the unfortunate predominance of the nationalistic interests which hide behind the inadequacy of the treaties, due to an unforgivable surrender to a logic of decadence, the disappointing result is apparent to all of us and to the world. The very expectation that the theory of 'small steps' would transform the increasingly negative prospect before us ended in disappointment and defeat. The collapse of the EMS is only the most recent demonstration of how the 'small steps', amid the persistent lack of operative overall international, economic, and social policies, become steps of non-progress and regression.

It is extremely probable that the complex and highly acclaimed legal construction laid down in the Rome Treaties would function well in periods of calm but in stormy times — and what we are going through now is precisely a long and disastrous storm — something quite different is needed if we do not want to go towards a prospect of progressive disintegration.

This is why we propose to the European Parliament a clear move beyond the traditional European and parliamentary political strategy to effect a reform of the treaties and to extend our relationships with other institutions, giving first place among them not to the Council of Ministers, not to the Commission, but to the national parliaments, the most direct expression of public opinion in the Community countries.

We call for a reform of the treaties to be directed towards the construction of a true, effective European authority founded — in the Commission and in Parliament — on a political and programmatic majority which, within the limits of its allotted tasks, will know what it wants and possess the democratic means to accomplish it. Only in this way can we avoid the predetermined 'leadership' of some nations, on the one hand, and on the other, a paralyzing series of political contradictions like those to which the Europe of Mrs Thatcher, Mitterand, Papandreou and Schmidt, etc., is now exposed. The constitutive guarantees of this authority should reside both in the separation of powers and in the formation of a political consensus through proportional representation, now a fundamental choice of this Parliament. This consensus would be based, therefore, on coalition majorities, and include a certain representative role for the States, which should be neither exclusive nor ruinously abusive, as occurs at present.

In Europe there is a need for this authority. We wish to encourage it, to restore political dignity — at both the Community and international levels — to the citizens of this part of Europe which, though already large, is and will remain open to the accession of all the other peoples of Europe. We want a Europe neither sluggish nor impotent, a Europe possessing, though within limits, a full and effective political significance.

We want to carry out this reform of the treaties on our own responsibility, but in the context of a true dialectic with the national parliaments. Indeed, these parliaments cannot later be expected to ratify something they have had no hand in creating. Nor would it be possible without them to attain the specific consensus of public opinion which is needed in order to transform an aspiration into law, a law into concrete political power in the service of Europe. Finally, without them we would not be able to discover the real dimension of the consensus in the countries or areas less oriented towards Europe, in order to draw the strategic conclusions necessary to prevent the few from

**Macario**

triumphing over the many and reducing the idea of Europe to a systematic renunciation.

The parliamentarians of the historic or the more recent European capitals — from Paris to London, from Rome to Bonn, from Brussels to Athens, from Copenhagen to Madrid, from the Hague to Luxembourg, from Dublin to Lisbon — must become members of the Bureau of the European Parliament as of today, and they must continue throughout 1983 to participate in our discussions and discuss among themselves this great theme of a European authority which no governing body, no country and no parliament can affirm and express on its own. It is not so much a question here of provoking a loss of national sovereignty for the Community States; it is rather a question of winning for all the citizens of these states a much greater power which they do not have today and which they have the right to enjoy. Yielding little and gaining much, they will obtain a continental authority, the necessary foundation for a different, competitive, and more peaceful development and equilibrium of Europe and the world. We must recognize that the old treaties, on this question of a real and effective European authority, have misfired with their compromises and their ambiguous constitutional engineering, and in so doing they have weakened the great potentialities for development present in the declarations of plan and principle.

This is why I say that in a year's time, at the end of these debates, we will be able to hold a joint meeting of the European Parliament with qualified representatives of the national parliaments to determine the further development of our initiative. This is my proposal.

We must also have faith, if we wish to attain this great strategic objective, in the ability of European public opinion to understand the importance of the institutional battle we are preparing to fight. We must not weary of explaining that victory here is the premise, the cornerstone on which can be built structural and lasting solutions to the problems of economic and social crisis, to unemployment, to inflation, to divergencies existing in our development, to the low level of technological, scientific, and productive competitiveness of our economies, to the need of peace and security now threatened as never before, to collaboration for the development of the Third and Fourth worlds. We must state clearly that we want, and we must demand, for our own survival and for the attainment of the position which should be ours, a real and effective European political authority. The components of his authority — whether Christian Democrats, Liberals, Socialists, or members of a coalition — will then be decided upon by the peoples of Europe. The essential for everyone is to provide as soon as possible the political means to overcome resignation, impotence, subordination, and a decadence which could prove fatal.

The day of the European Parliament could dawn from this moment if we back to the utmost the strategic

choice we are now preparing to make. As for what concerns myself and ourselves, we assure you, modestly but with great determination, of our unceasing efforts.

**President.** — I call Mr Blumenfeld.

**Mr Blumenfeld.** — *(DE)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I will put aside my prepared speech and say what I intend to say in two minutes.

It must be remembered that the report of the Committee on Institutional Affairs seeks the approval of the House to continue its work. That is what our interesting debate is really about. This debate shows that every single Member of this House and the various groups have very definite views, even though each may place the accent very differently. The real work is only now beginning. The six reports will tell the Committee on Institutional Affairs to what extent we can propose to the House that the Treaties of Rome should be added to or amended or, as many of us hope, that a new treaty should be put forward. The rapporteur Altiero Spinelli is to be congratulated on resisting temptation by leaving aside visions or even ideologies and giving the report a historical dimension. Nevertheless, great courage and strong conviction, which he undoubtedly possesses, will be needed if progress is to be made in future work.

Mr President, the European Parliament must fight for new authority and new powers. A parliament without democratic parliamentary responsibility is useless in the eyes of the public and will decline into a state where it has no responsibility at all. Our work is only beginning, and the national governments and parliaments must be involved in this work. They must be convinced, as must the younger generation. I too — as Mr Pflimlin has just recalled — was a very young delegate to the Hague Conference in 1948. We have made a great deal of practical progress since that time. The younger generation must realize that the older ones, the older generation have something to tell them as regards the course we must adopt in Europe and that Europe is more than just an idea, that it has a great historical and cultural past and that it will have no future without new political, economic and institutional developments to ensure that we play our proper role in the world in freedom and peace.

**President.** — I call Mr Seeler.

**Mr Seeler.** — *(DE)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I should like to begin by saying a few words to those Members who oppose any reform, any further development of the European Community.

They have advanced three arguments during the debate. Firstly, they totally oppose any kind of Euro-

## Seeler

pean cooperation, since they attach the greatest value to the nation states. Anyone who takes this view has, in my opinion, failed to learn anything from European history. Secondly, it is felt that there must be no weakening of national sovereignty and thus of the power of the national parliaments as the ultimate decision-making authorities. Here it must be said that from its very beginnings the European Community has been exercising sovereign rights of its own, transferred to it by the Member States. The Member States do not therefore have unlimited national sovereignty. Nor do the national parliaments any longer have decision-making powers which might be weakened.

Thirdly, it is feared that the national identity, the independence of the Member States will suffer if the powers of the European Community are allowed to grow. I feel the reverse argument can be advanced if a very realistic look is taken at the situation in the world today. In this world of the superpowers the states and peoples of Europe can preserve their individuality, their cultural and also their national independence only with the effective protection of a European union. Ladies and gentlemen, there have been and there are still states and peoples in Europe who are today paying for their past conviction that they could remain entirely independent.

I turn now to the critics of the report drawn up by Mr Spinelli. They too must admit that many political, social and economic problems in Europe can be really successfully tackled and solved only if the Member States join forces. Job security, the fight against unemployment, the protection of the environment, industrial restructuring, safeguarding energy supplies, the fight against hunger in the world and much else besides are problems which can really be solved only if the Member States work together within the European Community. Only the Community can produce satisfactory results, but it cannot meet the demands made on it because it does not yet have adequate powers or workable decision-making structures. Those who are opposed to the further development of the European Community — and our Danish colleagues in all the groups have expressed their opposition — must therefore ensure that reforms are made so that the European Community in its present form can perform the tasks it faces reasonably and successfully and at last cease to be the butt of media derision and the source of nothing but indifference among the citizens of the Community.

I conclude with a few words on the European Community's financial system. If the Community is to perform its tasks better, it will need more money, and this apart from the real need for the reform of the agricultural policy. The volume of the Community budget, which is the same as that of the German *Land* of North Rhine-Westphalia is not large enough for an effective social policy and an effective regional policy and certainly not for an effective industrial policy — to name but a few. Without effective revenue appor-

tionment there will be no European economic union. To achieve this goal, the present volume of the Community's budget — and this is something I wish to make clear and have considered carefully — must be increased three- to fourfold. The Community should have sufficient tax revenue of its own to perform its tasks. It should also have more right to harmonize those of the Member States' taxes which have an effect on competitiveness as a further means of making progress towards economic union.

The first feasible step towards the improvement of the Community's budgetary and financial rights must be to abandon the present arrangement under which the Community receives no more than 1% of value added tax. This is after all one of the fundamental causes of the perennial dispute with the Member States over the budget. Any decision taken by this Parliament that affects expenditure at present has repercussions for the budgets of all ten Member States and, of course, immediately annoys or at least increases the burden on the Finance Ministers. A clearly defined level of revenue for the Community of at least 1% would reduce the tension considerably in this respect.

Ladies and gentlemen, with the few remarks I have made I have tried to make it clear that reforms of the European financial system are an important and necessary part of the general reform and may make a substantial contribution to improving the work and effectiveness of the Community.

**President.** — I call Mr Giavazzi.

**Mr Giavazzi.** — *(IT)* Mr President, I yield the floor to Mr Van Aerssen, since it would make no sense to divide the small amount of time remaining.

**President.** — I call the Committee on Institutional Affairs.

**Mr Ferri, chairman of the committee.** — *(IT)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, as chairman of the Committee on Institutional Affairs which presented this motion for a resolution to Parliament, I take the floor at the conclusion of this debate. Varying opinions have been expressed, but in general the discussion has been of a quality to honour our Parliament.

I cannot and I do not wish to refer to the individual speeches, for this will eventually be done by the rapporteur in his response; permit me, however, to express my appreciation and approval of the spirited and lucid discourse pronounced this morning by Mrs Simone Veil, who presided so skilfully over this Parliament in the first half of its legislature.

This resolution, as has several times been said, serves as a general guideline. The idea of a parliamentary ini-

## Ferri

tative, in the face of the crisis of the Community and the inadequacy of other proposals and solutions, was already approved by a large majority with the vote of 9 July of last year: it is therefore an approval which cannot and should not be questioned. Moreover, our committee could not have performed its task without the Assembly's having chosen the guiding principles to be followed in the future.

I believe, therefore, that the criticisms made of the text of the motion for a resolution arise from divergent and contrasting interpretations. Some have defined this proposal as inspired by illusions and Utopianism; others considered it as a 'mouse brought forth by a mountain'. In my opinion, these criticisms are unjust and unfounded. We are not dealing with illusions and Utopianism: we are engaged in a terrain full of difficulties but we are convinced that we must advance courageously, inspired by the ideals which to a great extent unite us. Courage and loyalty to ideals is still the best form of realism.

This proposal presents ideas which are general and yet sufficiently clear to orient the subsequent work of the committee. I do not intend to make a comprehensive examination, for this has already been amply done, and my colleagues are by now quite familiar with the issues. I would however like to underline one of the central points of the proposal which should remove the doubts of those who fear that we want to go too far along the road to European union. I am referring to the notion of subsidiarity understood as a fundamental principle, and owing to which, it is very clearly stated the European union will assume only the tasks and functions which it can perform more effectively than can the individual Member States.

The other essential point concerns the outlines for a new institutional balance, of whose importance no one can fail to be aware. There is a need to define the role of the European Council, to maintain, and, if necessary, further strengthen the role of the Court of Justice — which, we must once again acknowledge, has been the institution to work most and best in the direction of European integration — to strengthen the role of the Commission, understood as the executive of the union, and, above all, ladies and gentlemen, to strengthen the role of Parliament.

Parliament is at the centre of our debate, for every day we are increasingly aware of the disparity between the nature of an Assembly elected by universal suffrage and the powers granted to it by the treaties; powers which are not only insufficient, but — permit me these harsh words — in some cases simply ridiculous. We were all struck today by the statement of a highly-placed personage whom we greatly respect, the President of the Italian Republic, Sandro Pertini, a man who, in the course of a long life, has battled heroically and personally suffered for the cause of liberty, democracy, and justice. In an interview with 'Le Monde' during his official visit to Paris he said, with

the characteristic frankness which is sometimes disconcerting: 'The European Parliament is an empty chamber, whose debates have no echo either in Europe or in the world.'

Although reaffirming our respect for the President of the Italian Republic, I feel that it is my duty to reject this statement. An Assembly elected by universal suffrage can never be defined as an empty chamber.

Having said this, we will adopt the same brutal frankness employed by President Pertini and admit that we have often agonized over the futility of our debates and the absolute powerlessness in which we find ourselves obliged to operate. This situation has frequently led us, in the absence of institutional tasks worthy of an Assembly, to digress into areas of little importance with a multitude of resolutions which, for the most part, are purely academic.

There is therefore an objective need, which we should be the first to recognize — and to declare to our electors — to grant to the European Parliament the minimum powers suitable for an Assembly elected by universal suffrage: an effective participation in the exercise of legislative power and a power of political control over the executive. Without these powers a parliament cannot exist! Without these powers we will truly be obliged to ask ourselves if it is worthwhile to call upon 200 million electors in the ten countries of the Community — and, tomorrow, in the twelve countries — to elect an Assembly whose total impotence is enough to bring discredit on the very idea of democratic representation.

Ladies and gentlemen, there are those who say that the institutional questions are of no interest to public opinion. We have heard this argument more than once: our electors speak to us only of unemployment, of the standard of living, of the crisis, and do not care about institutions. Certainly, social and economic problems are of primary importance, but I do not accept the thesis which holds that institutional problems do not interest the electors. We cannot consider the peoples of Europe, our electors, as primitives! The institutional problems are of interest because they involve questions of liberty and democracy.

It is therefore with a full knowledge of the facts that we have put the institutional questions on the agenda for this debate and given them a prominent place in this resolution. Certainly, there is also the indication of the new areas of responsibility which must be gradually entrusted to the European union so that it can meet the new challenges of our times, but I have heard it said that here as well we should outline solutions and methods of approach. It is not for the Committee on Institutional Affairs nor for this Parliament to make such indications, however; they will come later, in the dialectical confrontation of the various political forces of the European and national institutions.

Ferri

Mr President, you gave me the floor as the chairman of the Committee on Institutional Affairs, and until now I have tried to sustain this role. I cannot, however, ignore my membership in the Socialist Group, a membership of which I am proud, and, with the candour I believe we should all employ and which I myself have always practised, I will say that it is with regret that I heard many critical and hostile voices raised in this debate precisely from the Socialist Group. There have been, it is true — and this comforts me — excellent speeches of approval by Mr Radoux, Mr Ruffolo, Mr Seeler, but there have also been dissenting voices from groups which are known to have a preconceived or deliberate anti-European bias, and this does not surprise us. Further efforts will be made. I hope, for example, that the friends of Pasok — and for them it will be a very important step — will abstain from the vote on this resolution. But, alongside these prejudiced positions, there have been, I repeat, dissents which I believe are unmotivated and unfair. I refuse to believe, Mr President, that the Socialists and the Social Democrats cannot and will not lead the way in this battle for the construction of a Europe better suited to the demands of our era, of a more representative and more democratic Europe.

The Italian Socialist Party and the Italian Social Democratic Party are determined to do their duty fully in this regard, and for this reason they will defend this motion for a resolution. I would also like to say, without depriving anyone of the credit they deserve, that this resolution is before Parliament now owing principally to the merit of Altiero Spinelli, the rapporteur of this committee. Mr Spinelli has truly set an example for all of us in his determined, tenacious, and impassioned battle for Europe, an idea for which he has personally suffered. In praising him, allow me to extend my thanks to all of the members of the Committee on Institutional Affairs for their constructive contribution to the attainment of a nearly unanimous consensus on this motion for a resolution.

Now comes the most difficult part of our task. We can accomplish it if we are encouraged by your support. We are convinced that our work is valid and courageous, based on idealism and realism combined. It will be a conclusion worthy of our mandate, allowing us to invite political parties, social and cultural groups, national governments and parliaments, and, finally, our own electors to decide on the proposal of the European Parliament to contribute to the construction, through European union, of a prosperous, peaceful, and just future for the peoples of Europe.

*(Applause)*

**President.** — I call Mr van Aerssen.

**Mr van Aerssen.** — *(DE)* Mr President, as a member of the younger generation I should first like to say that

this debate is an important stage in our work since the first direct elections, the first internationally organized direct elections in the world. This is a subject of great interest to us. We see it as a historic mission.

For one who comes from a family which has repeatedly lost loved ones in the wars of the past and who now belongs to a generation which has lived in peace, freedom and justice for thirty years it is an important event that our directly elected Parliament should now be marching on and developing this model that is the European Community.

We have succeeded in turning confrontation into cooperation. We have become the largest trading power in the world. We have become a strong force for peace. We have become a great economic power, and we provide more development aid than anyone else in the world. What we now need — and this thanks to all those who have worked with commitment on this new model, even though no one knows how it will turn out — is consistent and decisive further development, because there is no alternative. In my view, the nation states have not produced any solutions, and the only alternative is for us to act as a Community and not to depend on other powers in any way.

Whether it is known as the Europe of the fatherlands or the Europe of the federalists is not important. All that is important is that we learn — and the report we are now discussing also points this out — to speak with one voice on the major issues. No one wants this European Community to be a Europe of centralism, a Europe of bureaucracy, trying to influence its citizens from above. We want a decentralized Europe, where we speak with one voice on foreign, economic and monetary policy issues, while leaving all other matters for the national governments and parliaments to settle, using their creativity and the competition which there has always been in Europe and which has led to the great achievements of our peoples.

We should concentrate on a strategy which results in joint action being taken. Today we are discussing how the European Community can actually develop on the basis of new treaties. But as the Commission and Council are present, we should also emphasize once again in the strongest possible terms that practical steps must be taken before the 1984 direct elections to give Europe credibility. We must initiate the conciliation procedure that has been referred to here. We must also call on the Commission to keep its promise to conclude an interinstitutional agreement which attempts to make progress towards strengthening the European Parliament under the provisions of the Treaties of Rome.

We must also be extremely emphatic in recalling the ideas that have come from Parliament and have been taken up by Emilio Colombo and Federal Foreign Minister Genscher. They culminate in the call for a



van Aerssen

new Council conference in the near future to discuss these ideas further. We need parallel actions, and I believe Mr Spinelli is also prepared to endorse a strategy of this kind.

My group is in favour of many aspects of the amendments that have been tabled, but as this is an important debate on the principles involved, we should not approve these amendments. After lengthy and careful discussion in committee we adopted a motion for a resolution by a convincing majority. We are concerned with a question of principle. We should not weaken it with amendments. We should approve the motion as it stands. The suggestions made in these amendments can be considered by the members of the Committee on Institutional Affairs later.

I sincerely hope that a large and decisive majority will vote for this new European idea, this decisive breakthrough, as we see it. I ask those who have expressed doubts and are not yet prepared to take this course to ask themselves without any emotion whether they know of an alternative to European union. I cannot see one, and if you cannot see one, you should vote for this idea.

(Applause)

**President.** — I call Mrs Van Hemeldock.

**Mrs Van Hemeldock.** — (NL) Mr President, earlier speakers on behalf of my group, the Socialists, have already indicated our unequivocal support for the Spinelli report. I shall therefore confine my remarks to illustrating the areas in which changes should be made to the Treaties and the institutions.

Mr President, colleagues, we feel that the Community Treaties were born of the distorted economic order of the fifties with its inherent social injustices. The Spinelli report correctly calls into question the conspiracy of bureaucrats, technocrats and diplomats. In trying to reveal the manipulative power behind the scenes we discover in the nineteen eighties that which was ever-present in the fifties, big business embodied by anonymous holdings, monopolies and multinationals-shady financial organizations for whom products have more importance than the human element employed to produce them. European big business had a free rein in fashioning the Community institutions after their *laissez-faire* philosophy. Some 25 years after its inception the economic and social order fortunately bears little resemblance to the original lopsided model. A constant struggle in the social sphere finally culminated in an element of social and civil justice being introduced which helped to modify the more extreme financial and economic provisions of the Treaties. The objective now is to embody these social acquisitions in the revised Treaties. I believe that economic democracy should have priority. In practical terms this means giv-

ing form to the democratic right to work of the Community's eleven million unemployed. It means, further, the exercise of control over the multinationals. It means resisting the economic and financial threats to which the Community is subject from outside powers who wish to draw her into a disastrous arms race.

We wish to see the European union develop in an economically democratic way through a real codetermination of all Community citizens in the policy- and decision-making process. Whether they be, in an economic sense, excluded from Community life — the unemployed. Whether they be marginalized, although accounting for half of the Community's population — women. Finally whether they be deprived of all political rights in a Community whose wealth is enhanced by their labour and in which, were they to join forces, they could constitute an eleventh Member State — immigrant workers. Mr President, colleagues, let us join forces in an effort to evolve for the elections of 1984 a blueprint for the approval of our citizens for a humane, just and economically democratic Community.

**President.** — I call Mr Kallias.

**Mr Kallias.** — (GR) Mr President, before I refer to the content of the resolution we are debating, I must point out that I do not consider the disappointment that is frequently expressed to be justified. We must not forget that entirely objective difficulties and critical problems have arisen, which we must solve by facing them with sincerity, good faith, and an open heart.

The proposed resolution is a synthesis of the proposals made and of the opinions expressed in the deliberations of the Committee on Institutional Affairs.

The resolution is of greater value in that it draws attention to the need for a radical reform of the established situation within the Community, and as a stage in the journey towards the political unification of Europe, than from the standpoint of its actual content.

The conviction that small steps do not suffice has now matured. Procedural reforms and improvements cannot yield substantial results.

Today, we look towards two aims, one short-term and the other more permanent.

The first of these is to improve the functioning of the Community's organs, on the basis of the existing conditions.

The second aim is to achieve a radical reform, the reorganization of the institutions, the formulation of a constitution for a united Europe.

The institutional framework for reform is as follows:

**Kallias**

- a) Greater, but specially defined powers for the Community.
- b) A substantial reinforcement of the powers of the European Parliament, which will enhance the democratic character of the system because of the direct election of Parliament by the peoples of Europe.
- c) A more clear definition of the powers of each organ, and a harmonization of these spheres of competence so as to improve productivity.
- d) And finally, the enhancement of the Community's political image.

Mr President, fellow Members, today the question of Europe's political unity finds itself at a new turning point. This is why we need a new impetus, new breath, and a new spirit for a fresh start. We need greater optimism. Our optimism must be combined with bold thinking, courageous initiatives, and creative imagination so that we may grasp the notion and put into political and legislative practice the viable form of a politically united Europe.

Political union will increase the solidarity we share, both in substance and psychologically. With the union of Europe there will begin a new and long period in her history, but also in the history of the world, with every positive prospect that Europe will lead the way along the path of world history.

**President.** — I call Mr McCartin.

**Mr McCartin.** — Mr President, the most remarkable thing about this debate is the degree of unity with which speakers support the motion for a resolution before us. Of course, we all recognize that if this House were a supreme body and we were debating the legislation required to put this motion for a resolution into law, the diverging interests which we here represent might call for the making of concessions and sacrifices which would be, for all our idealism and enthusiasm, very, very, difficult. But this House is not a supreme legislature nor, because of the very nature of our situation, can we ourselves make it into such. Supremacy for the moment is vested in the Council, and only through a change of attitude at the level of national governments can progress be resumed. That is why the debate here today must not be seen as the climax of our efforts, but only as the beginning. If this work is not carried on through our various groups to our national political parties and into all the different parliaments we shall fail.

The message we need to put across is that a unified Europe is not contradictory to the democratic system we know, but complementary to it. What we want is not to reduce the powers of the governments of the individual states, of government of the people by the people, but to extend it.

What we need to show is that we are not trying to take away from national governments, functions that they can effectively discharge but are seeking to give the peoples of Europe, through an extension of democracy, powers which national governments are losing as a result of international development and which they cannot regain. Those of us who have observed the scene more closely can see that national governments do not have the power to control international economic and monetary developments nor can they control international political events which affect their lives. Indeed, they cannot even maintain the safety of the environment in which our people live, and they can definitely not guarantee the security and peace of their citizens individually. But we must seek to minimize tensions and contradictions between national and European institutions and between the role of European institutions and national governments.

From here on we must seek to ensure that progress is made in a balanced way. Political cooperation in itself is a means of influencing world development and the internal harmonization of law will quickly run aground because of diverging interests if economic convergence does not progress further and if regional disparities are not rectified.

Of course this will mean readjustment for all our countries. Some countries will have to concede their economic and political prominence, other countries their proud nationalism. A Prime Minister of one country will not be able to say in the future 'we will solve this in our own way' and then seek the cooperation of other countries. We must have full cooperation.

Mr President, we must take these proposals back to our national parliaments, to our national people. We must ask the European press to cooperate with us. Only in this way can we fulfil the objectives about which all of us spoke today.

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

**Mr Andriessen, Member of the Commission.** — (NL) Mr President, following Commission President Thorn's wishes of yesterday, I too would like to take the opportunity of congratulating the rapporteur-coordinator, Mr Spinelli, and to wish his committee's motion for a resolution, now before the House, every success.

In concluding this debate on behalf of the Commission I would like to deal with a number of questions and remarks which featured earlier on in this debate. Given the time restrictions I shall have to make a subjective selection of some of the more important aspects as they appear to me.

Mr President, my own feeling on this exciting institutional debate is that we are engaged in expanding the

### Andriessen

role of the Community at three different levels and speeds, the small steps approach, which has already been evoked, a transitional stage, and finally, European union. The point of departure for this debate was, needless to say, the summit — European union, and its achievement through a revision of the existing Treaties.

I am of the same opinion as the Member State governments, which repeatedly stressed that reform of the existing structures is the best method. In directly electing this Parliament the citizens of Europe clearly expect Europe to take on a more tangible form through the proper institutions and I note with satisfaction that you have made this aspect one of the key issues for the 1984 elections. From this point of view the idea evoked by Mr Barbi and others of coordinating with national Member State parliaments is a good one. As Mr Nord indicated, contacts must also be sought with the various European political party functionaries. The inclusion of European and national political parties in discussions in this sphere can only enhance our chances of success at the later stage of implementation by national governments of the reforms emanating from these deliberations. At that stage we shall desperately need all the help we can get.

History has revealed to us that institutional reform, democratization of decision-making, division of responsibilities, are all things which are never granted as presents but which have to be fought for. Indeed we are presiding here over the breaking down of traditional power structures and I am not just thinking of the division of power between the three main institutions of the Community as laid down in the Treaty. No, I am thinking rather of the Europe so lacking in solidarity, the Europe of the persistent and chronic discrepancies between regions, the Europe of poverty, because we would be more than a little naive to believe it has been eliminated. For these reasons it is clear that some very fundamental progress will have to be made in the elimination of inequalities arising from existing power structures.

However, Mr President, as quite a few Members pointed out, in seeking to attain the third step, European union, we must not lose track of the intermediary ones. Numerous Members have drawn an obvious parallel between policy content, on the one hand, and institutional reform, on the other. They are quite obviously inseparable and we cannot put Community extension on the back burner whilst awaiting institutional reform. We must be prepared to lend a hand ourselves and that means, in the first place, the formulation at last of a European policy starting from scratch.

We must at once set about improving our decision — making machinery and introducing specific institutional adjustments. In other words, we must at least continue the small steps approach, that is, of seeking to achieve improvements within the framework of the

existing Treaties. We must likewise resist the temptation of postponing treaty amendments whilst hoping for the advent of the third step — the global reform of the Treaties.

In other words I feel it is vital to link the two issues of current dissatisfaction with the institutional functioning of the Community and the ultimate goal of European union. And in this respect let me emphasize in the strongest terms that the Commission is not sitting on the sidelines in this institutional debate. We certainly have not relinquished our responsibility and put the ball in Parliament's court. I would remind Mr Jonker that the Commission made some very concrete proposals on European union not a very long time ago. Some three years ago, in the overall framework of Community enlargement the Commission presented specific proposals on treaty amendments in the institutional field. Mr Jonker himself pointed out the Commission's proposals on institutional agreements within the framework of the existing Treaties. I can assure him and the other honourable Members that the Commission is resolutely committed to achieving further institutional improvements which do not necessitate treaty amendments. Once the budget is out of the way, we should, I feel, reach inter-institutional agreements on concertation in the legal field and on the position of Parliament in relation to international agreements. This should be done before the end of 1982. For its part, the Commission will keep a sharp eye on Council to ensure that there is no letting up. I need hardly mention that Parliament itself must take up these suggestions. There can be no doubt that it is of far greater importance to Parliament that it obtain some of the responsibilities currently being exercised by Council than that it try to win points at the expense of the Commission.

It is clear, Mr President, that the Commission accepts its responsibility of seeing to it that Parliament be allowed to exercise its influence to the full in the decision-making process. I feel this to be less a matter of inter-institutional agreements than of political arrangement. This, however, does not mean that we should fight shy of such political arrangements. I think it will be unavoidable in the transitional stage to create a link which will ultimately lead to the desired objective of a radical reform of the Treaties. I feel that it would be well nigh impossible to achieve a further enlargement of the Community without simultaneously seizing the opportunity afforded by such enlargement to amend the Treaties in several areas. If, as Mr Prag put it so appropriately this morning, there is already talk of a 'decision avoiding machinery' in the Community of ten, then a Community of twelve would surely inherit no more than a pile of rust. Whilst awaiting a new and more viable engine the least we can do is to submit the one we already have to a thorough revision. In this respect, Mr President, the Commission has no intention of abandoning its prerogatives under Article 236 of the Treaty.

**Andriessen**

Furthermore, I believe that the enlargement of the Community and the institutional adjustments which it will necessitate cannot be seen in isolation but rather form part and parcel of the other Community problems of the moment, general revision of Member State budgetary contributions and of Britain's in particular, extension of Community policy areas and, last but not least, the whole matter of own resources. These are all matters which are closely related and so crucial to the attainment of the next of the three steps mentioned earlier that the call for a new Messina conference is, in the Commission's opinion, certainly not out of place.

Mr President, various speakers drew a parallel between Community policy and political cooperation. Indeed the Genscher-Colombo initiative was mentioned in this context. Mrs Veil, pursuing a very interesting line of argument, situated the role of Europe and the institutional reform in a wider world context. Up to now the discussions which have taken place on the Genscher-Colombo initiative have not exactly been crowned with success. Following deliberations among Member State governments very little remains of the quite modest proposals contained in the initiative. But, Mr President, I would like to state clearly that, after Versailles and after the latest European Council there can be no doubt in my mind that the arbitrary artificial division between European political cooperation, on the one hand, and Community matters on the other, is both internally and externally less credible.

Europe has a more important role to play in world affairs than we sometimes realize. In this respect both Mrs Veil and Mr Nord quite justifiably called for it to be endowed with the necessary institutional means to fulfil its role and become the powerful voice in the world arena for peace, stability and cooperation which our friends throughout the world are awaiting of us. To fulfil this role we need, more than ever, a unified political strategy. Mr President, in conclusion I would like to say that Europe is about something more than political cooperation, which we must endeavour to attain at every level. The European Community is first and foremost a legal community endowed with its own legal system based on fundamental human and civil rights. Turning now to amendment 22 from the Socialist Group, may I remind the House that it was the Commission which suggested that the Community as such should attend the European Convention on Human Rights, and I consider the question of human rights to be central to every debate on European union. That, Mr President, is my modest contribution to this institutional debate. May I reiterate for the House the remark of Commission President Thorn in his address yesterday: you will find the Commission at your side at every stage of the debate. You may count on our active and unequivocal support and collaboration, not only in the framework of the institutional debate but in all others too. We may not rest on our laurels once we have drawn up the blueprint for Euro-

pean union, but must look forward, in the near future, to making progress on the basis of concrete proposals.

**President.** — I call the rapporteur.

**Mr Spinelli, rapporteur.** — (IT) Mr President, to all those who expressed appreciation of my work I would like to say that these compliments are due to the entire committee, for the work whose results I presented stems from many months' collective labour in which all the members of the committee participated.

Someone said here that we have been speaking without any contact with reality, that the issues are fantastic and therefore of little importance. I would like to say to those who expressed this opinion that because we have known each other for some time, because we are all involved with the problems of our citizens and the political forces of our countries, and because we closely follow the European problems we were elected to deal with, anything can be said except that this Assembly is made up of impractical theorists who run after fantasies. I will therefore urge these colleagues to ask themselves if perhaps we are the ones who fail to recognize the nature of the problems we are experiencing.

I was sure that in our discussion here we would arrive at the results we obtained even before the vote, which have emerged from the general tone of the opinions expressed. But I would like to recall the attention of all my colleagues to the fact that a year ago these results were far from certain; that we have been able to come thus far only because we held an exhaustive political debate where none of us said: I am speaking in the name of my country, but rather: I will be the spokesman of certain experiences among others which took place in my country. By speaking in this way we were able, gradually and painfully — for it was a long and laborious process — to find the means to formulate some broad common guidelines which constitute the beginning — as was said by many, and most lately by Mr Blumenfeld — of a task that must be performed, and at the same time serve to indicate the direction in which we must proceed. This is the way a European Parliament functions.

At the same time another initiative was being introduced by persons who perhaps have an even better right than we do to speak of the construction of Europe. This was the Genscher-Colombo plan; various discussions were held at Coreper, and the Danish presidency, which holds office for these six months, expressed its opinion on the conclusions reached in the Genscher-Colombo act and on how the act itself would develop:

'The Danish Presidency takes the view that the restructuring of the institutions and powers of the Community would not contribute towards the promotion

**Spinelli**

of cooperation or hasten the progress towards European integration.

The Presidency will therefore not grant priority to the proposals made in this area. It will emphasize instead the concentration of effort on central aspects of cooperation.'

This is what it comes to when the problems relating to the construction of Europe are left in the hands of the agents of the national diplomatic services instead of being entrusted to the representatives of the European citizens.

Therefore, I believe that the parallel development of these two experiments should reassure us and show us that we are going in the right direction.

I would like to make some brief and general observations concerning the amendments. I have already said, and I repeat, that a careful study of the amendments leads me to conclude that, whether adopted or rejected, they do not substantially modify the basic character of the text. In most cases I will ask the sponsors of the amendments to withdraw them, since they are often only repetitions of things already discussed in committee, or other variations on the same themes. To give an example particularly addressed to those who presented it, I will cite Amendment 13 of the French Socialists, which, according to its sponsors, is supposed to contain an indication of something substantially different than what we say in the resolution. I will dwell on it for a moment, omitting the rest because they deal with similar matters.

In Amendment 13, paragraph 1, it is urged that the text of the resolution, after the second hyphen, be rewritten in the following manner:

'... and declares that the realization of the union is indispensable, but that it should not be restricted to an institutional operation.'

Here follow various reproaches for our having restricted it 'to an institutional operation'.

'... convinced that reform of the institutions, indispensable though it is for improving the functioning of the Community, cannot replace joint action to meet the political, social, and economic challenges of today and tomorrow ...'

And what does the resolution say?

The amendment says: 'to favour its development.'

'... consequently, institutional progress should be linked to the definition of new common policies favouring advances in key areas — the fight against unemployment — social and industrial policies — the fight against imbalances — fiscal and regional policies

— the fight for peace and development — cooperation and the North-South policy ...'

It seems to me that my French colleagues have presented a different and less happy formulation of what is much more clearly expressed in the resolution. I would like to say to them that their idea, which they rightly value, is expressed with clarity and vigour in the text of the resolution.

There is stress laid on enabling Europe to respond to the new challenges of the crisis ...

'... the growing political, economic, and social solidarity of these peoples in the respect of individual and collective rights' ... etc. ... and that 'the objective of European union was fixed in the treaty. Advances made towards the objective of the union, although considerable, have been spasmodic and inadequate to meet the new economic and political challenges ...' etc.

It is asserted that evolution is favoured in the direction of the affirmation of identity, of a truly democratic 'maitrise' of economic and social life, while this concept, which calls for a democratic 'maitrise' of development in order to respond to the challenges of the crisis, is present in the resolution from the first line to the last.

'... the envisaged enlargement of the Community to include other Member States makes the need for reform even more urgent ...' while the resolution of the Italian Socialists says, '... the forthcoming enlargement of the Community to include other Member States makes the need for reform even more urgent ...'

The only difference is this: 'forthcoming' is much more precise than 'envisaged', for with 'forthcoming' we intend to say that this will soon take place. If we were in committee, I would suggest that the entire text be rewritten; but at this point, ladies and gentlemen, when we are all aware that everything is the result of discussions, agreements and formulations to allow for all the various requirements, do we really want to take a vote to decide whether to say 'envisaged' or 'forthcoming'?

I would therefore like to invite the sponsors of the amendment to withdraw it.

We are aware of your anxieties and your reservations. I will add that these anxieties are shared by many of us, for many of us — myself in particular — insisted on not speaking only of institutions, but rather of institutions intended for solving certain problems. This idea is vigorously defended here, and among its most lucid and authoritative supporters was our former president, Mrs Veil.

I urge therefore that we refrain from voting on this amendment and on the others as well. One of these

**Spinelli**

proposes that we drop the idea that Parliament should have something to say in Commission's appointment of the judges; another calls for us to omit the tentative schedule for our work and leave our calendar more open. Well, we do not vote on amendments that say the same thing, even if they are formulated in different ways!

In order to demonstrate that we intend to take our work seriously, it is necessary to give to the resolution a character of greater convergence, for we need a broad consensus in order to call this problem to the attention of public opinion, to whose judgment we must shortly submit. For this reason I appeal to everyone, and particularly to the French members from the Socialist Group, not to deny their support to this motion for a resolution only because here and there a sentence is not completely to their liking. This would be unfair.

*(The President urges the speaker to conclude)*

Mr President, I will conclude very rapidly, in the conviction that Parliament has gathered here to discuss, and not just to count the minutes. In any case, what I have left to say will take only a minute: it has been said that here the spectres of the 50's are reappearing. In the 50's, as Mr Pflimlin reminded us, important ideas were formulated and built on. These ideas, however, were limited and inadequate. The ideas we are formulating today are not these of the 50's, they are a response to the problems we face today, and not in the year 2000. I ask you to vote in favour of the resolution.

*(Applause)*

## IN THE CHAIR: MR DANKERT

*President*

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

*Voting*<sup>1</sup>

*Paragraph 8 (b) — Amendment No 25*

**Mr Spinelli, rapporteur.** — *(FR)* Mr President, as regards the last few words of Amendment No 25, this seems to be purely a linguistic problem in the German version, since the text in the other languages has not changed. Mr Seeler was right to make the correction.

<sup>1</sup> See Annex.

I am not in agreement with the passage where it talks of 'one of the union's various institutions', because it is not one of the various institutions. Indeed we wanted to underline that it was a pivotal institution, a central institution. I therefore abide by the term 'pivotal institution'. I call upon the translators to find a more appropriate term than the one they have chosen for the German text.

*(...)*

*Paragraph 12 — Amendments Nos 17, 30 and 12*

**Mr Spinelli, rapporteur.** — *(FR)* I am entitled under the Rules of Procedure — I forget exactly which rule — to submit a compromise amendment. This amendment uses the wording of the texts suggested by the Socialist Group and Mr Jackson, that is to say it is a case of encouraging a thorough debate, with the participation of the political forces in each Member State, and of making suggestions along these lines. This had been said in committee but it was turned down at the last minute. Mr Jackson did right to mention it. Accordingly, my text comprises part of the Socialist text and Mr Jackson's corrections.

I recommend acceptance.

*(...)*

*Voting on all amendments*

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

**Mr Rogers.** — Could you inform the Members how many explanations of vote there are, Mr President? We have had a day and a half of this debate. I think 200, out of the 287 Members, have already spoken. Is it just the 87 who have not spoken who are going to give explanations of vote? I think it would be very useful if you could let the Members know how many are on the list for explanations of vote.

**President.** — Group representatives and individual Members — we have still approximately ten minutes to go.

## 13. Agenda

**President.** — As I informed you this morning, the Committee on Budgets adopted yesterday evening the Adonnino report (Doc. 450/82) on the classification of budgetary expenditure and the Barbarella report (Doc. 1-477/82) on the preliminary draft amending budget for 1982.

**President**

The documents have now been distributed and I must now consult you on their inclusion in tomorrow's agenda so as to permit a joint debate with the Jackson report on the preliminary draft budget for 1983.

I shall first consult Parliament on the inclusion of the Barbarella report.

*(Parliament decided to include the Barbarella report)*

Next, I consult Parliament on the inclusion of the Adonnino report.

**President.** — I call Mr Irmer.

**Mr Irmer.** — *(DE)* Mr President, I wish to oppose this request for urgent procedure. This agreement between the Presidents concerns very important parliamentary matters. The Committee on Budgets has admittedly discussed it, but it is the only committee to have done so.

I believe it should also be considered by the Committee on Budgetary Control, the Legal Affairs Committee and the Committee on Institutional Affairs. We shall not have enough time tomorrow to discuss the subject in sufficient depth. The speaking time available has already been allocated for the many reports on the agenda, and everyone should realize that this report concerns elementary rights of this Parliament, some of which we have fought very hard for in the last three years.

The impressive outcome of the vote on the Spinelli report has itself shown what we can achieve if we take our institutional obligations seriously. It is unacceptable that we should decide tomorrow, in five minutes and without a debate, on something which this House has built up over the last three years. I appeal to you all, I implore you, ladies and gentlemen, to reject this request for urgency. We can take our time deciding on this in September. These questions are too important.

*(Applause)*

**President.** — I call Mr Saby.

**Mr Saby.** — *(FR)* Mr President, I have to say that this text really belongs in the budgetary procedure and, as such, it comes under the Committee on Budgets. That is the first point.

Second point. Throughout the negotiations, both the political groups and the parliamentary delegation accompanying the President have been consulted. Indeed, the President was authorized to sign on condition that the text was basically unchanged *ad referendum*.

Now it is for Parliament to assume its responsibilities. The Committee on Budgets, within whose terms of reference it falls, has assumed its own and approved the Adonnino report. As things are at the moment, I believe Parliament has no choice but to discharge its duty. That in no way prejudices the application of the contents, which will be discussed and examined in close detail by all the committees in the course of the 1983 budget procedure.

It is accordingly an important political act which Parliament cannot, under the circumstances, delay. Nor can it go back on it. That is why I wish to see this discussion placed on tomorrow's agenda.

*(Parliament decided to include the Adonnino report)*

**President.** — Both these reports are included, for joint debate with the R. Jackson report (Doc. 1-410/82) on the agenda for tomorrow's sitting. I propose that we set for tomorrow, 7 July, 5 p.m. the deadline for tabling amendments to both these reports.<sup>1</sup>

I would inform you that, with the agreement of the Staff Committee, the sitting for tomorrow, Wednesday 7 July 1982 will be extended until 8 p.m.

I sincerely thank the staff who, without prior agreement, have continued working today up to 7.35 p.m.

*(The sitting rose at 7.35 p.m.)*

<sup>1</sup> Topical and urgent debate (Communication) — agenda for the next sitting: See Minutes.

*ANNEX*

## Votes

**The verbatim report records in the Annex the rapporteur's opinion on the various amendments as well as explanations of vote. For details of voting, please refer to the Minutes.**

**Spinelli report (Doc. 1-305/82): adopted**

The rapporteur was:

For Amendments Nos 7, 14, 18, 27, 29, 30 and 31;

Against Amendments Nos 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 26, 28 and 30.

*Explanations of vote*

**Mr Glinne.** — *(FR)* Mr President, the Socialist Group has decided to vote in favour of this resolution. This decision, however, has nothing to do with the outcome of the voting on any given amendment, or at least not for the majority of us. Our group has always supported Parliament's initiative aimed at reforming the Treaties. The majority of the group, at any rate, did sign the Abens resolution and also voted for Parliament's resolution of 9 July 1981.

We have asked one of our particularly well-qualified members, Mr Ferri, to be chairman of the new and important committee that has been set up, and Mr Jacques Moreau will be one of the co-rapporteurs appointed to pursue the work for which the guidelines have been defined today. He and Mr Spinelli have an enormous task ahead of them and we hope that before the 1984 elections the European Parliament will be in a position to vote on its own proposals concerning the reform of the Treaties. Mr President, I wish to congratulate all those who helped to complete the difficult task of preparation for today's vote.

You will have noticed, incidentally, that the Socialist Group is not altogether unanimous. In our view, the committee of which Mr Ferri is chairman should have been named 'Committee for the Reform of the Treaties and the Development of European Union' and not simply 'Committee on Institutional Affairs', which gives a rather incomplete and sometimes even erroneous idea of what is involved.

Our entire group, on the other hand, is firmly convinced that the establishment of European union is much more than just a power-struggle between institutions. Our entire group is aware of the fact that the Community is presently undergoing a crisis. All Parliament should realize that when it comes to the 1984 European elections the electorate will want to know what we have done and what we want to do.

Mr President, fine ideas will no longer be enough if we want to restore credibility to our institution and to our whole Community.

It is with this in mind that the committee which I still call the Committee on Institutional Affairs, and Parliament, will have to resume their work after the vote has been taken.

**Mr de la Malène.** — *(FR)* Mr President, we are all agreed that Europe is in desperate need of a second wind. It is equally in need of a kind of examination of conscience. I think we all agree on that, too.



No doubt the drafting of a new treaty could provide this second wind, could be the occasion for such an examination of conscience and permit that vital clarity. It may also be a test of wills, as I believe the chairman of the Socialist Group said, quite apart from the whole business of structures, texts and institutions.

What is important is that there should emerge an accord, a political will and a feeling of solidarity. We are therefore not against the idea of trying to draw up a new treaty giving Europe the second wind that it needs, but we are fearful of any further setback which, if by some misfortune it should occur, would spell disaster for the European idea.

Moreover, those who are going to be responsible for drafting the new treaty would have to know where to draw the line. One has to have the courage to aim high so far as Europe is concerned, and we do, but one also has to be aware of what are the realities of our nations. We shall not make progress with the European idea or a new treaty by inveighing, however eloquently, against the nations of Europe. Visionaries, Mr President, do not make good builders.

The text proposed to us contains many things, some that we can accept and others that we cannot accept because we do not believe that, in their present frame of mind, the people of Europe will accept them either, and we want no setbacks.

We suggested some amendments which were not adopted; it is for these reasons that we will be participating in the work while expressing our reservations about a text which, as a whole, reminds us of what Spanish inns used to be like once. Our group will be abstaining.

**Mr Seitlinger.** — *(FR)* Mr President, the Group of the European People's Party will be giving its unanimous support to the present motion for a resolution. We shall be doing so because we subscribe to the framework as laid down and to the guidelines contained in it.

We should however, very briefly, give you a double explanation. The first is, why we did not table any amendments. The second, why we did not vote for any of the amendments put down.

We did not table any amendments — and we congratulate ourselves on the fact that, in a spontaneous show of discipline and with no break in the ranks, not a single member of this group tabled any amendments — because we wanted to preserve the coherence of a text that was put together on the basis of a broad consensus within the committee, which looked at 89 amendments.

The fact that we did not vote for the amendments put down, particularly when they concerned linguistic corrections or stylistic improvements, should not be regarded as indicating any hostility on our part to the intrinsic content of some of these amendments; we merely wished to make the point that there was no call for our getting ourselves involved in a second battle of amendments in plenary sitting on a text which is not a final text but simply an outline.

That is why we are pleased to see that its coherence was in fact preserved.

I hope it will shortly receive a broad consensus. We are well aware that its adoption does not mark a culmination, but only a stage in the evolution of European union.

**Mrs Gaiotti De Biase.** — *(IT)* Mr President, I wish to state publicly that, as one of the original members of the Crocodile Club, voting in favour of the Spinelli report — the first resolution from the Sub-Committee on Institutional Affairs — is a pleasure which I do not wish to forego.

From a small number of people sitting around a table two years ago, from the small circle of original signatories, has come the great majority vote, the wide consensus, which today will approve this policy resolution.

I wish to congratulate Mr Spinelli on his dynamism and on his skill in combining forcefulness with moderation and patience. But even Mr Spinelli will agree with us that this is more than just a personal victory; it is the triumph of an idea of the political awareness of a historical necessity, an awareness which has deep roots going beyond us as individuals and beyond our party and which has been built up over 40 years of European history.

As has already been mentioned, this initial victory will remain an empty dream if it is not followed up by vigorous collective effort on the part of the great European political forces. But this series of events which led from the tiny beginnings of the Crocodile Club right up to today should provide a lesson for everyone and in particular for the governments of Europe and the Council of Ministers. But this majority is still accompanied by hesitation, uncertainty and ambiguity. This has in fact been admitted in very general terms. But it is also true that it is no accident that, on the basis of these small and long-standing arguments, everyone in the House will state that they support it. This is because, in the middle of the current crises there is no other way of changing weakness into strength and making these difficult years years of renaissance for our Parliament.

**Mr Saby.** — (*FR*) Mr President, in introducing his report Mr Spinelli referred to Amendment No 13 tabled by the French members of the Socialist Group.

I acknowledge the fact that the ideas expressed in this amendment have indeed, for the most part, already been included in the motion for a resolution. We did feel, however, that this Amendment No 13 was more coherent and balanced as regards the new policies on institutional development.

I should also like to say that the French Socialists sitting on the committee will never go along with any move to turn Parliament into a constituent assembly. These things need to be spelt out clearly.

Furthermore, I have to say that this resolution poses many problems for us and that it is rather ambiguous.

Nevertheless, we believe in the need to be constructive. And it is for this reason that we feel inclined to give the green light to the idea of looking at relations between Parliament and the other institutions.

We also feel that all the discussions and proposals should be submitted to the Member States for their evaluation. It is with this in mind and to enable the European enterprise to advance that, despite our reservations, we French members of the Socialist Group will be voting for the Spinelli report.

**Mr Hänsch.** — (*DE*) The spokesmen for the German Social Democrats have been very clear yesterday and today in their criticism and reservations regarding these guidelines. Our amendments have shown where we feel the emphasis should be placed, and by that we do not mean alternative guidelines. I think it is right and a good thing in a parliamentary debate to say where one would place the emphasis.

We accept, however, that most of our ideas were effectively covered in the committee's work, and we shall therefore be able to pursue the ideas reflected in the amendments we have tabled today during the committee's future work. We shall thus continue to maintain that the European union can cope with the problems which the peoples of Europe must solve now and in the future if they are to survive.

The actual work on the reform of the Treaties is only now beginning. We have only just started out on this road. We feel that the guidelines do not state clearly what direction we must take, but they do not block the road to greater solidarity, greater effectiveness, greater justice and a secure peace either. The German Social Democrats will therefore vote for the guidelines.

**Mr Romualdi.** — *(IT)* Mr President, I feel that this morning I presented with sufficient clarity and rapidity the reasons why the Members of the Italian Right will vote in favour of the resolution drawn up by the Sub-Committee on Institutional Affairs and presented by Mr Spinelli. Not to waste the time of the House I shall confine myself to simply confirming this.

**Mr Kirk.** — *(DA)* As Danish Conservative members both Mr Poul Møller and I support the intensification of the cooperation between the European peoples on the tasks and principles mentioned today in the Spinelli report. In this respect we feel in agreement with the Danish prime minister Anker Jørgensen, who as early as 1972 at the Paris summit supported an extension of this cooperation. We do not see that the need has been diminished over the past 10 years. On the contrary we are of the opinion that the need has increased and therefore it is with astonishment that I have listened to the speeches of the Danish Social Democrats during today's debate. We have had to realize that they do not want to participate in the creation of the dynamic evolution of the European cooperation which is necessary.

I regard the Spinelli report as a necessary step to extend those ideas which we in Europe fortunately had statesmen to give birth to and to carry out in the 1950's, and which we must bring up to date in accordance with developments. We shall have to create the basis in accordance with the treaty for the political cooperation that is not opposed by our own electorate. We must try and create the correct equilibrium between the institutions, an equilibrium that safeguards the functioning of representative democracy, and we must restore the necessary dynamics in this cooperation. We must see to it that the European Parliament really gets a possibility to further the interests of our electorate.

We will vote for the Spinelli report, and recommend that everyone in favour of active cooperation do likewise.

**Mr Baillot.** — *(FR)* Mr President, in the opinion of the French members of the Communist and Allies Group the essential merit of the discussion has been to show up the gap there is between the actual preoccupations of the citizens of our countries and the institutional debates that we are so engrossed in these days.

As you know, and as my friend Mr Chambeiron said during the debate, we have more than just minor reservations concerning the legislative powers of the European Parliament, the desire to institutionalize discussions on matters of security and the inclination — to say the least — to increase the budget substantially beyond the 1% ceiling on VAT.

All these proposals are liable to give rise to considerable difficulties, if not tensions, between the Member States.

But I have to say that the most serious one of all I have not mentioned yet. The most serious danger is that in our discussions today we shall have failed to come up with anything that will help the Member States meet the challenges with which they are faced.

I say it quite plainly: institutional reforms, and controversial ones at that, will not equip us with the means to combat unemployment, or inflation, or the drop in productive investment.

Whatever the merits and the hopes of the authors of the resolution, we wish to make it quite clear, by voting against it, that what the Community lacks is not an institutional framework but the political will to tackle the real problems.

**Mr Haagerup.** — *(DA)* When Mrs Tove Nielsen and I have voted for the Spinelli report on the European Parliament's position concerning the reform of the Treaties and the achievement of European union, we will have voted principally on account of our positive attitude to the work done on these questions in the Committee on Institutional Affairs. When the final result of the Committee's work is agreed upon next year we will deal with it. At the moment we are involved only with preliminary guidelines. We are perfectly

aware of the fact that there is no possibility for the time being to have such relatively extensive amendments to the Treaties that are likely to be proposed by the Committee, accepted in several Member States — including Denmark. And we object to the fact that the work on these dreams for the future may overshadow, or merely delay the work with more current and urgent tasks. Meanwhile, we find it just that the European Parliament should be given possibilities to show its attitude to the further extension of this European cooperation which should include a strengthening of both the Commission's and the Parliament's position in relation to the Council. Due to a background of many years' development of EEC cooperation it is our view that there is no danger that progress will be rapid, but rather a danger that the work will come to a complete halt. Therefore we can agree that a goal and a vision be created for the further development of the Community.

## SITTING OF WEDNESDAY, 7 JULY 1982

### Contents

- |   |     |  |     |
|---|-----|--|-----|
| 1. Approval of minutes:<br>Mr Moreland . . . . .  | 100 | 6. 1983 preliminary draft budget — 1982 preliminary draft supplementary budget — Reports by Mr Robert Jackson (Doc. 1-410/82), Mrs Barbarella (Doc. 1-477/82) and Mr Adonnino (Doc. 1-450/82):<br>Mrs Barbarella; Mr Robert Jackson; Mr Irmer; Mr Arndt; Mr Rossi; Mr Adonnino; Mr Saby; Mr Adonnino; Mr Früh; Mr Giavazzi; Mrs Gaiotti de Biase; Mr Ghergo; Mrs Vayssade; Mr Enright; Ms Clwyd; Mr Galland; Mr Tugendhat (Commission); Mr Robert Jackson; Mr Tugendhat; Ms Clwyd; Mr Tugendhat; Mr Griffiths; Mrs Kellett-Bowman; Mr Tugendhat; Mrs Scrivener; Mrs Fullet; Mr Tugendhat . . . . . | 148 |
| 2. Council and Commission statements on the European Council — Council statement on the Danish Presidency — Delorozoy report (Doc. 1-421/82) — Oral questions with debate by Mr de la Malène and others to the Commission (Doc. 1-467/82) and Mr Penders to the Foreign Ministers (Doc. 1-468/82):<br>Mr Olesen (Council); Mr Thorn (Commission); Mr Olesen; Mr Delorozoy; Mr Ortoli (Commission); Mr Nyborg; Mr Glinne; Mr Rumor; Mr Møller; Mr Carossino; Mr Haagerup; Mr Nyborg; Mrs Hammerich; Mr Pesmazoglou; Mr Papantoniou; Mr Jakobsen; Lord Douro; Mrs De March; Mrs Nielsen; Mr Israël; Mr De Goede; Mrs Gredal; Mrs Cassanmagnago Cerretti; Mr Purvois; Mr Romualdi; Mr Olesen . . . . . | 100 | 7. Welcome . . . . .   | 163 |
| 3. Topical and urgent debate (objections):<br>Mr Denis; Mr Chambeiron; Mrs Squarcialupi; Mr von der Vring; Mr Glinne; Mr D'Angelosante; Mr Beazley . . . . .  | 134 | 8. Question Time (Doc. 1-415/82) (continuation):<br>Questions to the Council<br>Question No 39, by Mr Berkhouwer: Frontier checks:<br>Mr Olesen (Council); Mr Berkhouwer; Mr Olesen; Mr Habsburg; Mr Olesen; Mr Rogalla; Mr Olesen; Mr Pearce; Mr Olesen; Mr Van Minnen; Mr Olesen . . . . .   | 163 |
| 4. Tourniquet system (Doc. 1-398/82) (continuation):<br>Mr Fergusson; Mr Patterson; Mr Siegler-schmidt; Mr Fergusson; Mr Malangré . . . . .   | 135 | Questions No 40, by Mr Eisma: Action programme on the position of women; and No 51, by Mrs Cinciari Rodano: Action programme in favour of equal opportunities for women:<br>Mr Olesen; Mr Eisma . . . . .  | 164 |
| 5. Political situation in Turkey — Visa requirements for Turkish workers — Reports by Mr von Hassel (Doc. 1-304/82) and Mr Van Minnen (Doc. 1-387/82) and oral questions with debate to the Foreign Ministers by Mr Papaefstratiou (Doc. 1-394/82) and Mr Gremetz and others (Doc. 1-395/82):<br>Mr von Hassel; Mr Van Minnen; Mr Olesen (Council); Mr Brandt; Mr Papaefstratiou; Sir James Scott-Hopkins; Mr Gontikas; Mr Denis; Mr Pintat; Mr Junot; Mr Romualdi; Mr Fich; Mr Bourmias; Lord Bethell; Mrs Boserup; Mr Pesmazoglou; Mr Plaskovitis; Mr Adamou; Mr Kyrkos; Mr Haferkamp (Commission); Mr Van Minnen; Mr Olesen; Mr Haferkamp; Mr Papaefstratiou . . . . .                           | 136 | Question No 41, by Mr Moreland: Connection between agricultural prices and the Community budget:<br>Mr Olesen; Mr Moreland; Mr Olesen; Mr Eisma . . . . .  | 165 |
|   |     | Question No 42, by Mr Seligman: Convergence in educational syllabi:<br>Mr Olesen; Mr Seligman; Mr Olesen; Mr Israël; Mr Olesen; Mrs Hammerich; Mr Olesen; Mr Kirk; Mr Olesen; Mr Alavanos; Mr Olesen; Mr Petersen; Mr Olesen; Mrs Nielsen; Mr Olesen; Mr Chanterie; Mr Olesen . . . . .  | 166 |

Question No 43, by Mr Radoux: Resolutions tabled at Parliament's July 1981 part-session on the improvement of inter-institutional relations and their operation: Mr Olesen; Mr Radoux; Mr Olesen . . . . .	167	Questions to the Foreign Ministers: Question No 55, by Sir Fred Warner: Laos: Mr Olesen (Foreign Ministers); Sir Fred Warner; Mr Olesen; Mr Habsburg; Mr Olesen; Mr Fergusson; Mr Olesen; Mr Israël; Mr Olesen; Mr Alavanos; Mr Olesen; Mr Haagerup; Mr Olesen . . . . .	172
Question No 44, by Mr Hutton: Education in retirement: Mr Olesen; Mr Hutton; Mr Olesen . . . . .	168	Question No 56, by Mr Balfe: Plastic bullets used as a method of riot control: Mr Olesen; Mr Balfe; Mr Olesen; Mrs Boot; Mr Olesen; Mr Bonde; Mr Olesen; Mr J. D. Taylor; Mr Olesen . . . . .	173
Question No 45, by Mr Bøgh: Right of veto: Mr Olesen; Mr Bøgh; Mr Olesen; Mr Radoux; Mr Olesen; Sir James Scott-Hopkins; Mr Olesen; Mrs Boot; Mr Olesen; Mr Haagerup; Mr Olesen; Mr Skovmand; Mr Olesen; Mr von der Vring; Mr Olesen . . . . .	168	Question No 57, by Mrs Boot: Restrictions on Soviet Jewry: Mr Olesen; Mrs Boot; Mr Olesen; Mr Moreland; Mr Olesen; Mr Alavanos; Mr Olesen; Mr Israël; Mr Olesen . . . . .	174
Question No 46, by Mrs Hammerich: Elements contrary to the Treaty in Mr Fergusson's report on defence: Mr Olesen; Mrs Hammerich; Mr Olesen; Mr Fergusson; Mr Olesen; Mr von Hassel; Mr Olesen . . . . .	169	Question No 59, by Mr Haagerup: Cap Anamur: Mr Olesen; Mr Haagerup; Mr Olesen . . . . .	175
Question No 47, by Mrs Le Roux: Aid for the modernization of fishing fleets: Mr Olesen; Mrs Le Roux; Mr Olesen; Mr Kirk; Mr Olesen . . . . .	170	Question No 60, by Mrs Hammerich: Ignoring of the Haagerup report on security: Mr Olesen; Mrs Hammerich; Mr Olesen; Mr Møller; Mr Olesen; Mr Haagerup; Mr Olesen; Mr Bonde . . . . .	175
Question No 48, by Mr Bonde: Legality principle: Mr Olesen; Mr Bonde; Mr Olesen; Mr Newton Dunn; Mr Olesen . . . . .	171	Question No 61, by Mrs Lizin: South Africa: Mr Olesen; Mrs Lizin; Mr Olesen; Mr Marshall; Mr Olesen . . . . .	176
Question No 49, by Mrs Lizin: Nuclear power stations: Mr Olesen; Mrs Lizin; Mr Olesen; Mr Eisma; Mr Olesen . . . . .	171	Annex . . . . .	178

## IN THE CHAIR: MR DANKERT

*President*

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

## 1. Approval of minutes

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

Are there any comments?

I call Mr Moreland.

**Mr Moreland.** — Mr President, yesterday I put a supplementary question to the Commission on Question

No 2, by Mr Johnson. That supplementary does not seem to have been recorded. My name does not seem to be mentioned in the Minutes. I hope this will be altered, particularly, Mr President, as many might say that I was the only person who actually asked a question.

**President.** — Mr Moreland, your name will be mentioned.

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

## 2. Council and Commission statements on the European Council — Council statement on the Danish Presidency

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

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

**President**

- Council and Commission statements on the European Council in Brussels on 28 and 29 June;
- statement by the President-in-Office of the Council on the Danish Presidency's six-month term of office;
- report (Doc. 1-421/82), drawn up by Mr Delorozoy on behalf of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs, on economic trends in the Community during the first half of 1982 and the application of the Council decision on convergence.

The following oral questions will also be included in the debate:

- oral question (Doc. 1-467/82), tabled by Mr de la Malène and others on behalf of the Group of European Progressive Democrats, to the Commission:

Subject: Assessment of the European economic situation

How does the Commission view the harsh criticism of European policy made by the Bundesbank in its recently published annual report?

According to the Federal Bank, not only are there real divergencies in the economic situations of the countries belonging to the EMS but they are pursuing increasingly conflicting policies. In some countries efforts are being made to combat inflation in the long term, to achieve equilibrium in the balance of payments and to consolidate public finances while other countries have embarked upon expansionist policies which depend on a planned economy for their implementation.

Furthermore, while the devaluation of the lira in March 1981 and the adjustment of the EMS parities in October 1981 have apparently corrected the imbalances that have accumulated since the system was set up, they could also be the early signs of a renewed lack of confidence in the weak currencies of the EMS.

In addition, the major devaluation of the Belgian franc in February 1982 would seem to have marked the start of a policy difficult to reconcile with the objectives of the EMS and the interests of Belgium's partners.

The Bundesbank is therefore wondering what will become of the EMS given the apparent lack of internal cohesion among the countries belonging to the system.

What conclusions does the Commission draw from this analysis, particularly with regard to the future of the EMS and the use of excessive budget deficits to finance an expansionist policy?

- oral question (Doc. 1-468/82), tabled by Mr Penders on behalf of the Group of the Euro-

pean People's Party (CD Group), to the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation:

Subject: NATO meeting of heads of government in Bonn

1. What impact did the ideas on security contained in the Genscher/Colombo draft act have at the Bonn meeting?
2. How did the ministers meeting in political cooperation put into effect the section of the report on political cooperation drawn up in London on 13 October 1981 on the political aspects of the security situation with regard to Europe?
3. What effect has the Bonn meeting had as regards relations between the Community and the United States?

It is a great pleasure for me, Mr Olesen, to welcome you here as the new President-in-Office of the Council. I give you the floor.

*(Applause)*

**Mr Olesen, President-in-Office of the Council.** — *(DA)* Mr President, as a Member of this Assembly following the direct elections it gives me particular pleasure to be reporting to you on the deliberations in the European Council on 28 and 29 June of this year.

I should like, Mr President, first of all to express my great appreciation for the work done by the Belgian Presidency, since the Belgian Government was responsible for both the preparations and the conduct of the meeting itself. I am sure I speak for all those who took part in this meeting when I say that Belgium did this work with the skill for which it is renowned in its work for the Community.

The meeting of the European Council was preceded, on 4-6 June 1982, by a World Economic Summit in Versailles. We are acquainted with the results of this summit, which was also chaired by a Community Member State, i.e. France, from the communiqué which was issued. This in itself provided a good opportunity for the Community to put forward those viewpoints which the Community is pressing toward. This clearly also applied in that four of the seven participant countries were Community Member States. It was also the first time that the Community Presidency was held by a country which was not one of those which normally takes part in World Economic Summits.

The results achieved at this summit, and the views put forward by the various participants naturally contributed to the preparations for and discussions at the meeting of the European Council on 28 and 29 June. As the European Parliament will be aware from Mr

## Olesen

Martens' speech of 21 April this year, the European Council in March agreed to make a special effort regarding investment and employment. At that meeting, agreement had already been reached on a procedure involving preliminary discussion at the June European Council meeting with a view to taking stock subsequently of the work done on these questions at the European Council's meeting at the end of the year. The discussion of the economic and social situation, including investment policy, was marked by the seriousness which present economic conditions dictate. It is no secret that the economic outlook is bleak. It would appear that the current economic recession has become firmly entrenched and that it will be very difficult to get the economy back on its feet again. Certain limited results have been achieved in the fight against inflation. On the other hand, the national budgets and balances of payments continue to show major deficits. The international monetary situation continues to be very unsettled, partly as a result of high and fluctuating American interest rates. It is encouraging, however, that the European Monetary system continues to work entirely satisfactorily.

The European Council agreed at its meeting to confirm the conclusions that had been adopted at the March meeting regarding both a coordinated policy for combatting unemployment by promoting productive investment and increasing productivity and the development of a Community industrial strategy based on a technology and innovation policy. This shows the understanding that exists in all the Member States of the European Community regarding the need to make an effort to reduce unemployment.

At the meeting, three main areas for action were singled out. Firstly, the modernization of European economic structures, which will only be possible by means of increased investments. In order to avoid misunderstandings, I should like to stress that we are not thinking in terms of investment aimed at directly creating jobs, but of introducing a new structure in the Member States which will make it possible for them to solve the major problems which the rapid and radical developments in technology have brought with them.

Before the meeting, the Commission submitted a communication regarding investment policy which will be discussed by the Council of Ministers of Finance and Economic Affairs and will form a good basis for further discussions.

The European Council also expressed its wish that proposals for the development of a new technology should be drawn up. The Commission submitted a communication in this field too, which may serve as a basis for the necessary proposals.

Secondly, there is the question of economic convergence within the Community. We all realize the need for improved harmonization of economic development in the Member States. If we are to achieve this con-

vergence, there must be an increase in investments, which will mean that a serious effort will have to be made to convince public opinion, economic circles and both sides of industry of the need to transfer resources in favour of both public and private productive investment.

There can be doubt that economic and social development will be jeopardized if the people of our countries lose heart and capitulate in the face of the economic and social difficulties. We, as politicians, have a responsibility to live up to here.

Thirdly, the European Council recommended that the Council should, at a special meeting which the Ministers of Finance and Economic Affairs and Social Affairs would attend, adopt firm proposals for the combating of unemployment, particularly among young people. The special meeting is envisaged for November of this year.

In addition to the economic and social situation, the European Council devoted considerable attention to the question of the relations between the Community and the United States. The Member States of the European Community have for a long time taken the view that American economic policy has implications for the international interest rate which will, in the long term, cause considerable harm not only to the economies of the countries of Europe, but to the world economy as a whole. On various occasions, the concern which we in Europe feel at the high and fluctuating interest rates has been made clear to the American administration. It was agreed at the European Council to stress the fact that a reduction in the interest rate was absolutely vital for the recovery of the world economy. At the same time, the hope was expressed that the American Government and Congress would take the necessary measures with a view to solving the problem of the budgetary deficit.

As regards trade policy, a number of serious problems have arisen recently which have made it necessary for the Community to react to US policy.

At the meeting of the Foreign Ministers on 21 and 22 June, criticism and deep concern was expressed regarding the American attitude and the steps taken by America in connection with three questions, i.e. the steel market, export and licensing of equipment for laying the gas pipeline, and the Common Agricultural Policy.

The European Council confirmed this position at its meeting.

The European Council also emphasized its view that the maintenance of the open world trade system would be seriously jeopardized by unilateral and retroactive decisions on international trade, by attempts to exercise extra-territorial legal powers and by measures preventing the fulfilment of existing trade contracts. It



## Olesen

was, however, clearly agreed at the meeting of the European Council that the specific trade policy problems should not be allowed to develop into a real trade policy confrontation. There was need for dialogue and negotiation. Moreover, there had to be a willingness on all sides.

Against this background, the European Council agreed firstly, to defend vigorously the Community's legitimate interests in the appropriate bodies, particularly GATT, secondly, to take the necessary steps to deal swiftly and effectively with trade questions and thirdly, to establish a genuine and effective dialogue between the United States and the Community in those areas where there was risk of disagreement.

The European Council also discussed the enlargement of negotiations with Spain and Portugal and reaffirmed its earlier statements — particularly the declaration made at the London meeting in November 1981 — to the effect that the Member States were in favour of progress in these negotiations. However, the Commission was at the same time requested to draw up an overview of the difficult problems which would result from the enlargement for the Community as a whole and the various Member States. As I understand, the Commission intends to submit a proposal for a solution to these problems for consideration by the Council.

Political matters discussed included the situation in the Middle East, the conflict between Iraq and Iran and relations with Latin America.

As regards the situation in the Middle East, the Ten upheld their firm condemnation of the Israeli invasion of the Lebanon and said that the present ceasefire must be maintained at all costs. The ceasefire should be accompanied by the immediate withdrawal of the Israeli troops from their positions around Beirut as an initial step towards total withdrawal from the Lebanon. At the same time the Palestinian forces should withdraw from West Beirut. The conditions for withdrawal should be agreed between the parties involved.

The European Council stressed that it was vital that all foreign troops including the Israelis should withdraw from the country. The only exceptions should be those forces which had received special permission from the Lebanese Government to stay in the country. The Ten decided to continue their humanitarian aid to the people of the Lebanon and expressed their willingness to help in the subsequent reconstruction of the country.

The Ten also pointed out that the restoration of peace and security in the region would have to be achieved through negotiations based on the principles of security for all states and justice for all peoples in the region. All the parties concerned should take part in these negotiations and accept one another's existence. The Ten stressed in this connection that Israel would not obtain the security which it sought by using force.

It could find this security only by satisfying the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people, who should have the opportunity to exercise their right to self-determination with all that that implied.

The Ten considered that for the negotiations to lead to a result the Palestinian people would have to be actively associated with them. It continued to be the Ten's position that the PLO should take part in these negotiations.

Finally, it was the Ten's wish that the Palestinian people should be put in a position to pursue their demands through political channels and that this should be done with respect for and in recognition of the existence and security of all.

The conflict between Iran and Iraq is also a serious threat to the security and stability of the Middle East. The European Council therefore appealed for an end to hostilities and that a negotiated settlement be found, as advocated by the Ten's Foreign Ministers on 24 May of this year. The European Council also called for an intensification of current peace efforts and declared itself ready to allow the Ten to lend their assistance in these.

In the wake of the cessation of hostilities over the Falkland Islands, the European Council also discussed the Ten's relations with the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. The Ten attach great importance to the development of their relations with the peoples of this part of the world, which enjoys so many links with Europe. They feel that this part of the world has an expanding international role to play. The European Council therefore instructed the Foreign Ministers to study appropriate means of strengthening cooperation between the Ten and Latin America. At the same time the European Council asked the Community bodies actively to pursue the study which was already under way on the problem of aid to Central America. In this connection, it also discussed how the Ten, with the agreement of the countries concerned, could help to reduce tension and promote peace in the region.

Mr President, these were the points I wanted to make regarding the meeting of the European Council.

*(Applause)*

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

**Mr Thorn, President of the Commission.** — *(FR)* Mr President, the statement made by the Danish President-in-Office of the Council has both facilitated and complicated my task. It has facilitated it in that the essential points have of course been made. It has complicated it in that I shall have to content myself with a few glosses or clarifications if I do not wish merely to repeat what my friend Mr Olesen has said.

### Thorn

My first remark will concern the nature and organization of the European Council. For my part, I am pleased that the Belgian Presidency took advantage of the circumstances to revive the original inspiration of the European Council meetings and promote free and frank discussion of a very limited number of subjects — of major topical problems — without drawing up excessively voluminous draft communiqués and without too much bureaucratic preparation.

I am convinced that this is indeed the right way to enable this Parliament, which claims to be the supreme institution of the Community, to live up to its vocation; it is the right way to restore depth to the debates and to give them, or enable them to keep, a certain freshness, and also to retain the interest which they must have for each of the participants and all the credibility which they must have in the eyes of public opinion.

Moreover, I have the feeling that this return to basics has perhaps come at an opportune moment, since summit meetings may be greeted with a certain weariness after all those which have already taken place since the beginning of this year, whether at the European level or among the industrialized countries.

Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, you are familiar with the three major subjects to which the European Council devoted its time.

I shall dwell for a moment on a remark which some observers made — that this European Council devoted more time to external questions than to the internal problems of the Community.

It is clear that the centre of gravity of European Council meetings should quite naturally be internal problems, and God knows that there are, alas, plenty of those at the moment. For the European Council to reverse this emphasis 'systematically' or 'frequently' would undoubtedly be a way of avoiding the difficulties and shirking its responsibilities — something which I would certainly not wish it to do. But let us say frankly that we have fortunately not yet reached that point, if one looks beyond the last Council meeting. In addition, in this particular case, the agenda was really dictated by circumstances, as the President-in-Office of the Council has just reminded you. I can hardly see how it could have been significantly different, unless one of the major immediate subjects had been neglected. I therefore think that the concern about this to which I referred, is for the time being unfounded.

The Council's conclusions are known to you. Without going into an analysis of the final statements, I would like to make a few comments which may, I hope, help you to form your opinion.

First, there are the relations between the Community and the United States. Mr President, the discussions of

the European Council have perhaps never before revealed to such an extent the vital need for our Community to act as a cohesive unit if it wishes to be heard both in Washington and in the Middle East, whether on political or on economic matters, or on an interwoven combination of the two categories, as is usually the case.

*(Applause)*

It is true, as the first sentence of the European Council's conclusions on Community/United States relations indicates, that the European Council had a thorough discussion on the development of economic relations between Europe and the United States. But it is no less true that economic relations cannot be isolated from their context. If economic and trade relations between Europe and America deteriorate, that will inevitably have repercussions on the political cohesion among allies. I think that all the Member States must be aware of this in dealing with this problem. All the dimensions, all the components — political, economic, commercial, monetary, even military — of Euro-American relations are interdependent and inseparable, although it is necessary to distinguish them in analysis in order to deal correctly with each in the appropriate forum. This is what the European Council did, being careful not to amalgamate them or to over-dramatize current trends politically.

There are three reasons for grave concern about the American attitude on the part of the Commission and the European Council. Allow me to enumerate them.

Firstly, the meaning of the American move: the American policy is defined or has been defined unilaterally and has been imposed on Europe through national legislative provisions, independent interpretations of multilateral agreements or new techniques in the implementation of existing rules. Secondly, the increasingly aggressive trade behaviour of the United States has just crossed a new threshold which brings us too dangerously close to the point beyond which there is a risk that the process may elude the control of the two partners and thus constitute a serious threat to the maintenance of the open system of world trade. By acting in this way, particularly so soon after the Versailles Summit, our American friends have delivered a severe blow to the credibility of Western summit meetings, and indeed of their leadership.

The guiding principles of the European strategy follow from this. Firstly, and I wish to stress this, we want at all costs to avoid a trade war, and to this end to get an authentic and effective dialogue going as a matter of urgency — a dialogue in which each party intends to take into account the views of the other. It is not for lack of communication that commercial tension has built up. A large number of meetings have taken place at all levels over the past few months. One must therefore assume that there have been conversations, but, alas, no real dialogue. Our aim is to defend

### Thorn

the legitimate interests of the Community tooth and nail, by all available legal means and in all appropriate fora. On 15 July the GATT Subsidies Committee and on 21 July the Steel Committee of the OECD will meet at our request.

Another aim is to maintain the cohesion of the Community intact. Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, any disunity — even any suspicion that it is possible to exploit the different conditions in our Member States — would be fatal to our negotiating capacity *vis-à-vis* the United States.

The second subject is the situation of the Community and its prospects. As Mr Olesen reminded you, the discussions centred on two major topics. Firstly, the policy of revival of productive investment in order to stimulate economic activity and employment and allow the Member States to strengthen their position in the gigantic technological battle in which the three poles of the industrialized free world are engaged.

The examination of the economic and social situation in the Community on the basis of the report presented by the Commission has confirmed the vital need for investment promotion and for the implementation of a Community industrial policy based on technology and innovation. The Commission will prepare practical proposals in these fields as soon as possible. The governments of the Member States, like the two sides of industry and public opinion, must therefore be fully aware of the imperative need to ensure better convergence of our economies and economic policies within the Community, since only this will make it possible to revive growth.

On the fight against unemployment, particularly among young people, the Commission will make practical proposals, as called for by the European Council, in time for the November meeting of the joint Council.

Now a word about enlargement. As he had done in Madrid a few days earlier, the President of the French Republic raised in the European Council the problem of the difficulties which would result for the Member States and the Community as a whole from the accession of Spain. He expressed the wish that solutions to all these problems should be found simultaneously. At the end of its discussions, the European Council confirmed its earlier statements, and particularly that made in London in November 1981, on the desire of the Member States to make progress in the membership negotiations with Spain and Portugal. At the same time, the European Council asked the Commission to draw up an inventory of the problems posed by enlargement for Community policies and for each of the Member States. It will make appropriate proposals. The European Council has agreed that these proposals will be examined with all due diligence.

Mr President, I can assure you that the Commission also will carry out this task with all due diligence — as

it has done up to now — and do so in parallel with the normal progress of the current negotiations so that they are not held up by us.

That, Mr President, is the essence of what I wanted to say, and which I believe perhaps supplements to some extent the statement made by Mr Olesen.

*(Applause)*

**President.** — I call the Council for a statement on the Danish Presidency.

**Mr Olesen, President-in-Office of the Council.** — *(DA)* Mr President, for many years the European Parliament has been a forum for necessary and stimulating debate on the development of European cooperation. The opinions and recommendations emanating from the European Parliament regarding the development of cooperation with common policies other than the common agricultural policy have in particular proved a welcome encouragement to the Council. The work of the European Parliament's committees, not always known to the public, bears witness to the great commitment and wisdom of Members.

The European Parliament accordingly has a definite role to play in the functioning of Community cooperation and its further development in a great number of areas.

I look forward to positive, constructive and fruitful collaboration. My aim as President of the Council in the next six months is that we can work together to achieve practical results in a number of areas.

But we also realize that the outlook for European cooperation is one of significant problems and considerable uncertainty.

The economic and social situation in all industrialized countries gives cause for concern. The economic recession is also manifested in the growing economic difficulties of the developing countries. We are experiencing an economic recession which started in the mid-70s and is gradually developing into a global crisis. In the short term, the costs of the economic recession are not hard to assess. They consist of lower production, which means a lower level of material prosperity for all our people. In the slightly longer term, the social consequences begin to make themselves felt. Unemployment comes to the fore. Young people coming to the employment market are unable to understand that the society which educated them has no need of them. Older people, who have served the community for many years, suddenly become superfluous. This situation is bound to lead to a questioning of the traditional values and rightness of the society we have created in the last 20-30 years.

## Olesen

We are running the risk of allowing discontent to develop into a threat to the very democracy which is so natural and valuable to the countries of western Europe. In the longer term there is a danger that not only will there be increasing economic and commercial pressures among nations exposed to the effects of the economic crisis, but also that a chauvinistic attitude will develop and individual countries will attempt to foist their burden onto one another. This will result in the international economic and trading system, which has been built up at such great pains since 1945, being discarded in favour of blind national egotism which will inevitably make all countries poorer. Another part of this picture are the often unheeded disastrous economic shockwaves which convulse large parts of the third world. History is unfortunately full of examples of economic and commercial antagonisms developing into security and military conflicts.

International cooperation must be the key to these problems and the Community has a vital role to play here. This is of predominant concern to relations between our own countries, but it also affects relations with the third world and other industrialized countries, not least the USA and Japan.

These are the political and economic reasons why the Danish Presidency is giving the highest priority to the improvement of the economic and social situation in the Community.

Unemployment in the Community has reached about 10 million or approximately 9% of the work force.

The Community's main task is therefore to give impetus to economic growth, production and employment. At the same time there must be no serious adverse effects on the fight against inflation and the balance of payments. We are fully aware of the difficulties but we cannot continue to remain passive.

A greater effort must be made in three priority areas.

The first is the improvement of industrial competitiveness. This would have two advantages: a positive effect on the balance of payments through increased exports, and the use of modern technology, which in the longer term will strengthen the competitiveness of European industry *vis-à-vis* the USA and Japan. In the long run it is not reasonable to try to maintain a high level of employment in Europe if the result is that industry lags behind its most important competitors. The point is to manufacture the industrial products of the future before our competitors do.

Consequently we need a higher level of investment, from both the private and the public sectors. Within the public sector there are major and obvious tasks. The infrastructure of our society is in urgent need of renewal. There are major tasks in the field of transport. The energy sector is an obvious example, along with greater protection of the environment against

pollution. In the private sector, it is clear that our production machinery is gradually wearing down and is not being adequately renewed as it becomes obsolete. The Commission recently forwarded a communication, which gives clear evidence of the unsatisfactory state of the European production apparatus.

Thirdly, the constant effort to reduce oil imports must continue despite the results already achieved. We must not hide from ourselves the fact that the decrease in demand for oil is partly due to the economic recession. Therefore if we succeed in our efforts to achieve an economic upturn, demand for oil will inevitably rise. In order to avoid the adverse effects of further price rises, we must keep reducing the amount of oil used in our society.

The most vital problem in the labour and social policy sector is to try and relieve the unemployment situation, especially with regard to young people. Some progress has been made in this respect. I refer to the Resolution adopted at the meeting of the Labour and Social Affairs Ministers on 27 May 1982. This constitutes a basis for further discussion by the Council, on this question. The Presidency also appreciates that the European Council last week recommended that the Council, at its joint meeting scheduled for November, take specific decisions on the Commission proposal. The Danish Presidency will pay special attention to the possibility of achieving a common approach to annual working time and a common policy on improving job or training opportunities for young people. The ongoing dialogue with both sides of industry will be continued with a view to helping resolve the unemployment problem.

Joint efforts call for imagination and coordination. Here I would first mention the Council meeting of Ministers for Economic Affairs and Finance to discuss economic policy; the Council meeting of Ministers for Labour and Social Affairs to decide what direction labour market policy should take; the Council meeting of Ministers for Industry to discuss industrial and technological policy as well as the Council meeting of Energy Ministers for questions of energy policy.

We have no plans to implement a form of the 'locomotive theory', whereby individual Member States stimulate their economies and thereby induce a general economic upswing. This line of action was tried in the late 1970s. The Danish Presidency assumes that all Member States will make an effort commensurate with their requirements and the conditions obtaining in respect of their economic situation and economic policy. If all sides play their part, it should be possible to foster in certain specific spheres a revival in the economy to the benefit of all Member States. Thus our watchword should be consultation, coordination and integration. But this will not in itself resolve the underlying problem.

What we really need is some different form of close cooperation with the other industrialized countries,

## Olesen

especially in the fields of foreign exchange and interest rates. The Community countries saw it as a positive development when the USA declared at the world economic summit that it was prepared to embark on an investigation of the possibilities for intervention on the exchange markets. The assessment today would probably be the more modest one of hope that there is in the USA a growing understanding of the harm which the United States' interest rate and foreign exchange policy has caused on all sides.

It is perfectly clear that it will be impossible to maintain any economic upturn over a longer period if the present considerable anxiety over the dollar and the low rate of the yen continues. The yen rate is unfairly competitive and the policy applied by the USA is forcing our interest rates to rise, to the detriment of the investment climate. But for the time being we can do nothing else to avoid the drain of capital which is likely to create even greater problems for us. Solutions to these problems thus lie in a worldwide reorganization of the monetary system capable of creating the necessary stability and stimulating sorely needed investment.

Our own European Monetary System has set a good example in creating a stable exchange situation. It has demonstrated both its soundness and its flexibility. It has enabled stable exchange rates to be maintained in a situation where the international foreign exchange markets have been beset by sharp fluctuations. The Danish Presidency will be on the look-out for any opportunity to bring about or preserve improvements to the EMS, wherever such improvements are possible.

During the second half of 1982, the Community's institutions will have to take decisions on the draft budget for 1983. The Danish Presidency will make every effort to ensure that the discussions on the size of the budget and its breakdown among the various items of expenditure are consistent with the policy underlying the development of cooperation. We feel that the budget authorities, that is to say the three institutions, in adopting their positions on the budget should take as their starting point the scope and structure of the cooperative effort, so that the budget can follow on logically therefrom. The Presidency is alive to the fact that the very cautious line followed by a number of Member States with regard to the size of public budgets and the deficit in the public sector will inevitably have repercussions on the positions adopted on the budget. It is hardly realistic to expect Member States which at home are carrying out the painful process of cutting back public spending to accept significant increases in the Community budget. As regards the non-compulsory expenditure, which is naturally of special interest to the European Parliament, the Presidency hopes that the discussions between the Parliament and the Council and the Council's subsequent debate on the budget will concentrate more on the breakdown of the various items of expenditure than on the absolute size of such expenditure.

Only a few days ago, agreement was reached on a joint declaration by the Presidents of the three institutions concerning a number of current budgetary problems, arising out of a disagreement over the classification of expenditure. The joint declaration will now constitute an important basis for the discussions on the draft budget for 1983.

I would now like — as agreed in the Council — to look at the latest developments in discussions by the Member States of the proposals for the European Act, which was tabled in November 1981. The European Parliament is acquainted with the proposal, not least because it was discussed in this same chamber on 19 November 1981.

The matter has been discussed at several meetings of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs, the last of which took place on 20 June 1982. The outcome of their deliberations was that the special working party of officials should continue its work. The wish was expressed that the Presidency should report on progress to the European Parliament. The authors of the initiative have, moreover, reserved the right to return to the question when and if it should be desired.

I am hardly giving away any secrets in stating that the discussions on the proposal for a European Act have revealed disagreements and differences of opinion among the Member States on a number of questions concerning the institutions, their working methods and relations between them. Some will think this regrettable. On the other hand it is an aspect of international cooperation that the individual member countries do not necessarily share the same views on the various issues. Some may want changes in the balance between the institutions. Other consider that the institutions function well on the basis of the present rules. Nevertheless, there is one thing on which there is agreement among the Member States, and that is that there is a need to give cooperation fresh impetus and new buoyancy, and that is an aim which I know the European Parliament shares. But the question is how best to go about it. Here I would say to those who are disappointed at the rate of progress to date that cooperation does in fact function on the existing basis. You may be dissatisfied with the results, but the fact remains that each year a number of decisions are taken to the benefit of the Member States and the Community. We have large and glaring problems, but cooperation in the Community has nonetheless been maintained and extended, and that is no mean achievement by the yardstick of history. I doubt whether institutional changes would have led to a better result for the Member States and the Community. There is a risk in forcing progress without perhaps the necessary political backing. If we are to build houses — and we shall and must — then we must start with the cellar and not with the roof.

This was expressed, *inter alia*, in the Luxembourg Compromise in January 1966, which I should like to

**Olesen**

mention here particularly because it was the question of voting procedure which occupied the major part of the discussions at the Foreign Ministers' meeting on 20 June. Just as in 1966, it was found that there was disagreement between the Member States. Some Member States consider that voting should in all cases be postponed when a Member State claims that its vital interests are at stake. Others agree with this, but consider that there should also be some clarification and interpretation of what constitutes a vital interest. A third group of countries considers that a vote should only be postponed once, and that the plea of vital interest should be accompanied by a written justification.

*(Applause from the right)*

A fourth group of countries feels that the voting rules in the Treaty should be used on all occasions. There is nothing new in the Member States disagreeing on this question. The main feature of the Luxembourg Compromise was indeed the agreement to disagree. It is my personal judgment that there is no possibility of achieving agreement between the Member States on this question. I therefore think that the Community would be best advised to accept the situation as it stands and refrain from increasing antagonism.

With regard to the institutional framework for the respective Communities and political cooperation there seems — as part of a comprehensive solution — to be agreement on defining the practice which has grown up over the past few years.

With regard to cooperation on foreign policy among the Ten, including security policy, I can say that we seem to be very close to a text acceptable to all countries.

In conclusion I can say that that part of the German-Italian proposal which concerns relations with the European Parliament has not yet been discussed by the Foreign Ministers, but that the entire proposal, with the progress made to date, has now been referred for further examination to the special working party.

I would now like to turn to the content of cooperation and the priorities the Presidency is setting. We must strengthen the position of Community industry by improving our competitiveness. Development of the free market for industrial goods within the Community is an essential precondition for this. Duties and quantitative restrictions have been dismantled. The problems now on the agenda concern other forms of intervention used to protect national markets. As examples I can cite technical barriers to trade — including indirect barriers and national credit arrangements — and public purchasing. The same applies to state subsidies, which can hamper technological development and the necessary structural adaption of industry. The Presidency will lay considerable stress on efforts to achieve a further reduction in existing

barriers to free trade. For some years now the Community has been attempting to establish a common fisheries policy, but has got nowhere. The Danish Presidency will make an effort to achieve this goal. It is an unsatisfactory situation for an industry which plays an important role in various Member States that the discussions on the common fisheries policy should have been bogged down for such a long period. The need for a common fisheries policy is increasing, given that the interim arrangements laid down in the 1972 Act of Accession expire on 31 December 1982. This means that special rights for inshore fishing will lapse. The Commission has submitted a set of proposals to the Council for the discussions on a common fisheries policy. These proposals, which have only been on the table a short while, were the subject of initial substantive debate at the last Council meeting under the Belgian Presidency. The proposals are unacceptable to several Member States as they stand. The Presidency attaches importance to proper preparation of the forthcoming discussions and has therefore ordered a break until 20 July 1982 before the Council meets again. The Presidency hopes that the foundations can be laid for a positive outcome to the negotiations.

The Community has the capacity, by using the European Social Fund and the European Regional Fund, to strengthen solidarity with, and assistance for, the economic development of the most disadvantaged regions. The Commission has put forward proposals for a revision of the European Regional Fund. The Presidency wishes to continue efforts to reach agreement on such a revision, if possible by the end of the year. The Commission will shortly be putting forward proposals on revision of the European Social Fund. It is the intention of the Presidency to seek to achieve the best possible coordination between the two Funds and the greatest possible effectiveness of the resources thus made available.

As you know, the Greek Government has submitted a memorandum on Greece's relations with the Community. In this connection the Commission has prepared a communication to the Council. The Presidency will give attention to this matter and its treatment in the second half of 1982.

The Presidency attaches great importance to Community cooperation on environmental matters, especially in those cases where cooperation contributes to initiatives whose effectiveness depends on broad agreement between the industrialized countries. The Community's third environmental programme will be prepared under the Danish Presidency. There will also be a need to translate the general programmes into specific legal acts in various areas. One that can be cited is the Community's water policy, under which several directives are in preparation.

The Council has adopted two action programmes on consumer protection, but the number of legal instruments adopted in this sphere has been far too modest.

## Olesen

The Presidency will therefore make an effort to see that discussion of the Commission proposals now before the Council is brought to a conclusion.

The question of Greenland's relations with the Communities will appear on the agenda during the second half of 1982. The Presidency hopes that the Member States and the various institutions will show understanding for the special problems underlying the position adopted by Greenland and the desire for continued association with the Communities which the people of Greenland have expressed. The Greenlanders have made it clear that the desire for a different status in relation to the Communities should in no way be regarded as a slight to the Community. They feel a strong need to cultivate their own identity and believe that autonomous government can best be further developed outside actual membership. In order to emphasize Greenland's wish for positive cooperation with the Communities, the head of the Greenland Autonomous Government has been so kind as to accompany me here to my first meeting in the European Parliament as President of the Council.

(Applause)

The negotiations with Spain and Portugal on accession to the Communities are nearing the decisive stage. A number of the less significant problems have been satisfactorily resolved. However, a number of vital issues are still outstanding, especially in the agricultural sector. The Presidency in no way underestimates the problems which Spanish and Portuguese membership of the Communities will entail as regards the agricultural policy for Mediterranean products. Nevertheless, the problems can be resolved if the required political will is there. We owe it to ourselves, and to the two applicant countries, to make every effort to ensure that these and other important questions — at least as regards the principles — are settled during the coming Danish Presidency. The Presidency regards this as an important task. The accession of these two countries to the Communities is a natural consequence of the fact that the Community is open to all democratic countries in Europe wishing to be members. Despite our own difficulties the Community must not appear to be a closed shop of self-sufficient members.

In accordance with the conclusions of the European Council, the Danish Presidency will endeavour to avoid any worsening of relations with the United States. We must state our opinion but at the same time we must show determination to solve the existing problems in order to avert any development leading to a generalized trade confrontation. There is no need for any further bitter exchanges across the Atlantic. We should now concentrate on giving the dialogue a concrete, positive content so that the problem can be resolved.

It is my hope that the basic problems *vis-à-vis* the United States will be resolved before the scheduled

GATT ministerial meeting is held in November 1982. This meeting must above all serve to consolidate the results of the Tokyo Round and solve the problems outstanding from that Round as regards the developing countries. The Presidency will do its utmost to ensure that the meeting does not provide the setting for a clash between the United States and the Community.

There are also trade problems in relation to Japan, mainly in the form of a very large Japanese trade surplus with Europe. This is not acceptable in the longer term. We should not of course aim at achieving balance with all our trading partners, but on the other hand we cannot tolerate any individual country having a colossal, permanent trade surplus with Europe. This problem is not merely one of trade policy but is also of an economic and monetary nature. There is therefore only one solution: not only an ostensible but also a genuine prospect of an expansive economic policy in Japan.

As regards the EFTA countries the Danish Presidency will be attentive to ways of improving the technical rules and procedures forming the basis for free trade in industrial goods. It should also be pointed out in this connection that the EFTA countries must show greater discipline regarding State aid to industry.

The North-South Dialogue has been at a standstill for some considerable time. In keeping with the Community's constructive role to date in this area, the Danish Presidency will endeavour to impart new impetus to the Dialogue with a view to achieving practical results.

With reference to the developing countries, particular attention will have to be devoted to the following points, which will appear on the agenda under the Danish Presidency. As regards the Community's generalized system of preferences for 1983, the Presidency will attempt to bring about the greatest possible improvements in accordance with the Community's international commitments. A start will be made during the Danish Presidency on the initial discussions on Lomé III, to follow on from the present Lomé Convention. The Danish Presidency will press to achieve sufficient progress for the negotiating brief to be established in the first half of 1983, with the essential points being refined and brought up to date. Finally, the Presidency will deal with the Commission's initiative to combat world hunger, which is directed specifically towards increasing food production in the least-developed countries and improving the security of their food supplies.

Before leaving the question of Community cooperation, I should like to mention one item which has figured high on the Council's agenda in recent years. I am referring to the follow-up to the Mandate of 30 May 1980, or the United Kingdom budget issue. Following lengthy and extremely difficult negotia-

## Olesen

tions, the Foreign Ministers managed on 24 and 25 May 1982 to agree on a solution for 1982 only. In addition, the Member States have undertaken to decide on the arrangement for 1983 and beyond by the end of November 1982. The Danish Presidency is of course keeping a very close eye on this deadline and will do its utmost to ensure that it is met. It is important that Member States comply with the deadlines and procedures which they themselves adopt.

In my address I have not touched on the common agricultural policy. Together with the customs union and the financing system, the common agricultural policy is one of the cornerstones of the Community. The fact that I have not so far made any specific mention of agricultural policy is no judgment on its importance to cooperation. It is because the main questions concerning agricultural policy over the next six months will relate to Mediterranean products and relations with the outside world, which I referred to when I spoke about the accession negotiations and relations with the outside world.

Foreign policy cooperation between the Ten is an important factor in efforts towards European unity. The very positive development of such cooperation is not attributable simply to a firm resolve to speak with a single voice wherever possible. The pragmatic cooperation machinery confirmed with the adoption of the London report has been very largely instrumental in achieving the progress made towards common positions and common action.

There is a need for European contribution to the international debate, not least in this period of serious political crises and threats to détente.

By the very nature of things it is possible to indicate precisely which questions will come to the fore over the next six months. However, it is already possible to make out a number of sectors in which developments may be of essential importance for European political cooperation.

East-West relations have occupied a very important place in EPC since its inception. Europe's, and hence the ten Community countries', security is directly linked to East-West developments. In the view of the many historical, commercial, cultural and human links between the Ten and East European countries, it is only natural that political cooperation should deal with relations with those countries.

After an encouraging period in the 1970s, East-West relations have seriously deteriorated over the last few years. We must contribute towards imparting new impetus to the process of détente. In dangerous times such as those we have now moved into, it is doubly important that the dialogue be kept alive and all means of communication kept open.

In recent times we have witnessed certain signs of a possibly more positive development in East-West rela-

tions. One of the more distinct indications of such a development is the idea of a United States-Soviet summit and the round of negotiations now in progress in the field of disarmament and arms control.

But despite these signs of a slightly more favourable development in East-West relations the importance of the setbacks which have unfortunately already occurred should obviously not be underestimated.

The Presidency views the situation in Poland with concern since the process of innovation was interrupted under pressure from the Soviet Union and other East European countries by the introduction of martial law. The situation in Poland is in clear conflict with the spirit and the letter of the Final Act of the Helsinki Agreement. We deplore the fact that there has been no real progress in Poland. The three demands which the ten Foreign Ministers put forward at their meeting in Brussels on 4 January 1982, namely the abolition of martial law, the release of detainees and the resumption of a genuine dialogue with Solidarity and the Catholic church are absolutely central issues. It must be admitted that the Polish authorities have recently somewhat eased martial law and released some detainees. However, they have suppressed public demonstrations and reintroduced restrictions affecting the population. In broad terms, it is my opinion that the situation in Poland is one of immobility. However, it is important that in the context of political cooperation we follow developments closely to ascertain whether there are signs that the Polish authorities are ready to push developments in the direction indicated in the Foreign Ministers' declaration of 4 January 1982.

Another issue in East-West relations which will require careful consideration in political cooperation in the coming months is the meeting in Madrid following up the Helsinki Final Act on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which is to be resumed on 9 November 1982. It is our hope that the signs over the last few months of a more positive development in East-West relations will enable real progress to be made in Madrid.

The state of East-West relations has naturally led to discussions within western cooperation organizations on such things as trade policy relations. It was our impression that, like the West European countries, the United States showed a positive desire during these talks for joint guidelines for East-West trade. Against this background, we deplore the fact that the United States has now unilaterally introduced new restrictions on the natural gas pipeline linking the Soviet Union with western Europe. East-West trade has a quite special significance for us Europeans and we ought to make this consistently clear to the United States.

The outcome of the UN's second extraordinary General Assembly on Disarmament will obviously have a decisive bearing on political cooperation under the



## Olesen

Danish Presidency, especially in the field of disarmament. We trust that, in the light of the outcome of that meeting and in cooperation with like-minded countries, the Ten will continue, and if possible further develop, a constructive dialogue on disarmament with both East European and non-aligned countries.

The serious situation in the Middle East must be a top priority issue for European political cooperation during the Danish Presidency.

Since political cooperation came into being, the Ten have devoted their attention to the situation in the Middle East with a view to finding the comprehensive, just and lasting peace which this badly afflicted area is entitled to.

The Ten's potential for making a constructive contribution depend here perhaps more than in any other context on their ability to adopt common positions and to act in unison.

Developments in Lebanon in the last month show only too clearly how easily the situation in that area can give rise to violent incidents producing a sequence of action and reprisal. The consequences for people living in that area are tragic and the threat of further consequences both in and outside the Middle East region are incalculable.

The Ten have clearly expressed their strong condemnation of Israel's invasion of Lebanon and have requested all parties concerned to act in accordance with the Security Council's Resolutions. The Ten's position with regard to terrorism is clearcut: we condemn it wherever it occurs. However, Israel's armed intervention in Lebanese territory has reached such proportions that it cannot be justified by the threat to Israel emanating from that territory.

Now that the situation in Lebanon continues to be totally unstable and its inhabitants have sustained such enormous and cruel losses, the international community has to meet the challenge of helping the Lebanese people overcome the immediate needs resulting from the war and restore lasting peace in that country. This presupposes that a broadly representative and legitimate Lebanese Government is allowed to establish its authority without interference from foreign military powers.

Even before the latest dramatic events in the Lebanon, the situation in the Middle East was characterized by tensions and hostilities.

The principles set out in the European Council's Venice Declaration of 13 June 1980 remain the basis for the Ten's efforts to find an overall solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. The European Council has just restated the Ten's desire for negotiations between all parties concerned on the basis of the principles of security for all states and justice for all nations. The

Ten recognize and support Israel's right to security. It must, however, be made clear to Israel that it cannot achieve such security by use of military strength but only within the framework of a negotiated solution which takes account of the Palestinian people's legitimate aspirations. The Palestinian people should be allowed to exercise its right of self-determination and pursue its objectives through political means.

The Danish Presidency will continue to work on that basis and will carry on the intensive dialogue with the parties in the area and with the US, whose fundamental role in the Middle East the Ten recognize and appreciate. The Ten must seek to contribute to a comprehensive, equitable and lasting peace by strengthening the negotiating will and opportunities of the parties concerned, to whom it falls — and whose duty it is — to negotiate a comprehensive peace settlement.

Events in Central America have over the past few years been of increasing significance in international politics. The current political revolutionary process in the area must be seen against the background of the considerable economic and social inequalities in these societies which, if they are not remedied, may entail a series of international tensions and conflicts. In the fight for political, economic and social justice, it is the obvious task of the European countries to side with the oppressed. At its meeting last week, the European Council emphasized the major importance attached by the Ten to the consolidation of their links and cooperation with peoples in that part of the world.

The Danish Presidency will consider it an essential task so to work that the policy of the Ten is directed at contributing to peaceful and socially just solutions to the considerable problems facing this area. The follow-up to the decision taken at the meeting of the European Council on 29 and 30 March, to the effect that the support which the Ten and the Community as such have given to the development of Central America and the Caribbean should be coordinated and increased as far as possible, will be of particular importance in that respect.

The situation in several areas of the African continent continues to be marked by serious crises, unrest and profound economic difficulties. Relations between the Ten and the African countries are, however, developing fruitfully in a climate of growing cooperation and increasing mutual trust.

The principles laid down in the Nine's statement of 18 April 1977 on relations with Africa continue to provide guidelines for the African policy of the Ten. The Ten will aim at further development of African-European cooperation, to the extent that the African States themselves wish, and will also support the OAU's endeavours to promote African cooperation. They will maintain the right to self-determination and independence of all the African peoples, particularly the peo-

## Olesen

ple of Namibia, who are still the victims of South Africa's unlawful occupation.

The Ten stand by their condemnation of the policy of apartheid pursued in South Africa, and will continue to oppose any form of racial discrimination. They will do all in their power to further democratic majority rule and a non-racist form of government for the people of Namibia and South Africa. Their policy also involves support for the principles of territorial integrity and non-interference in internal affairs which have always been upheld by the OAU.

One of the Member States of the European Community is taking part with the USA and Canada in the special contact group which is trying to achieve a peaceful solution to the Namibia problem on the basis of the Security Council Resolution 435. These efforts are entirely in accordance with the Ten's African policy, as I described just now. It is to be hoped that, if we do not see an independent Namibia in 1982, we shall surely see it in 1983.

The world community must maintain the pressure for an end to the loathsome system of apartheid. The Ten must make an especially strong contribution to this pressure if they are to be true to the principles on which their own society is based and which determine their political contribution in the world.

The right to self-determination must of course also hold good for the Asian countries. Unfortunately it is being violated at present in both Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

The Ten will extend the fruitful cooperation that already exists with the ASEAN Group, which is playing a significant role in favour of stability and progress in southeast Asia.

In addition, the friendly relations between the Ten and Japan and the Ten's good relationship with the People's Republic of China and with India should be further developed.

It is a general aim of the Community of Ten to develop its relations with all third world countries on the basis of mutual respect and cooperation to the benefit of both sides.

Many third world countries harbour continuing mistrust for the Western countries, and this has given the Soviet Union and its allies an influence extending beyond what would be warranted by mutual interest and constructive aid. Neither West nor East should seek other influence in the third world than that which can be gained by legitimate means, that is the kind of aid to and cooperation with these countries that will aid their development on their own terms.

In this connection we must show the third world nations that we fully respect their uncommittedness as

a factor influencing stability in the world, and that on the basis of this respect we wish to involve them in international cooperation to the benefit of all concerned — politically as well as economically. This basic position is also expressed in the line taken by the Ten at the UN.

As a link in the Ten's responsiveness to the outside world, the Danish Presidency will have a special role to play in maintaining close contact between European political cooperation and third countries, including in particular friends and allies in the Western hemisphere. Close consultations with the US are essential if political cooperation is to be effective and realistic. In addition, of course, regular consultations will continue to be held as before with the applicant countries Portugal and Spain on foreign policy issues, and close contacts maintained with countries such as Canada, Japan and Norway.

The fact that all these countries set great store by regular links with the EPC Presidency is a striking reminder of the great significance which European political cooperation has come to have. The Danish Presidency will work to extend these links, which are of great value to all sides. In conclusion, let me just say that Europe is faced with a number of difficult problems. Only through cooperation can we hope to reach a satisfactory solution. Such cooperation requires a political will amongst the member countries to hold on to the results achieved and extend cooperation in a situation in which the economic climate is chillier than it has been for many years. The difficulties are considerable, but one thing at least is certain: if we forsake cooperation in favour of a national, egotistical and shortsighted attitude, we shall not only all become poorer but we run the risk of undermining a process of European cooperation that is vitally important for all the Member States. The Danish Presidency is convinced that the Member State's association with European cooperation will persist and continue to provide the foundations on which, during the next six months, concrete results can be achieved to the benefit of the peoples of Europe.

*(Applause)*

**President.** — I thank the President-in-Office of the Council for his declaration on what the Danish Presidency intends to do in the coming six months.

*(Applause)*

I hope that they will succeed because experience shows that the programmes sometimes are ambitious and the Community slower.

I call the rapporteur.

**Mr Delorozoy, rapporteur.** — *(FR)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the report on economic trends

**Delorozoy**

during the first half of 1982, which I have the honour to present to you, aims to update the annual report on economic policy guidelines which was adopted by Parliament last November.

We note first that the economic situation in the European Community at the end of the first six months has, alas, changed little, and you will find in the first paragraph of the motion for a resolution a few indicative overall figures. But one must also take into account different national situations with widening gaps between some countries.

The external factors unfavourable to an improvement in the situation continue to prevail over recent favourable developments, such as the stabilization of the prices of oil products and certain raw materials. It is therefore in this context that the European Council of 28 and 29 June, about which the President-in-Office of the Council spoke to us this morning, confirmed the conclusions which it had reached in March on combating unemployment through a more coordinated policy of encouragement of productive investment and development of an industrial strategy.

The imperative need for increased convergence of the economies was mentioned once again this morning. But the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs, in the document before you, wanted to stress forcefully that in the face of the serious economic and social consequences which the continuance of this situation entails, the Community can no longer content itself with hopes of recovery regularly announced in forecasts and speeches but failing to materialize in practice.

Economic growth cannot be decreed. It must be organized. It must be undertaken. It is not enough to go around repeating that investments must be developed, one must know how and why, one must determinedly implement the joint policies and strategies which make them necessary, useful and possible. I must say I am disappointed to hear the Danish Presidency telling us that the situation will be examined once more by the Economic Ministers in November. Thus we go on from quarter to quarter, from half-year to half-year, and from year to year without achieving significant progress.

The motion for a resolution before you denounces this permanent inadequacy of Community action, the serious lack of unity, identity of view and solidarity in the convergent policies to be adopted, the gap which exists between words and actions, and stresses the fact that we now run the risk of a lasting recession in the European economy and a further decline in our capacity for international competition if we do not change our mode of action.

I am sure you will have the opportunity to read the report, and in the few minutes' speaking time allotted to me I do not want to go over in detail everything

which you will find mentioned in the document, which confirms our earlier views as to the conditions to be met, the measures to be decided on and applied, the progress which must be continued or made in following realistic convergent policies in the economic, social, fiscal, budgetary, financial, technical and technological fields — as was also mentioned this morning — and which does not differ in general from what has already been said many times in this Chamber.

In the present international context, the European Community is obliged to move closer to a true European Union. The next few months will be decisive for its success, and everyone here is aware of the serious consequences of failure, which would lead Europe to impoverishment and decline.

*(Applause)*

IN THE CHAIR: MR VANDEWIELE

*Vice-President*

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

**Mr Ortoli, Vice-President of the Commission.** — *(FR)* Mr President, Mr Delorozoy has set an example of restraint. For my part, I have to comment very briefly on two subjects — his report and the question tabled by Mr de la Malène.

I would like to say that the themes developed at the most recent Council meetings entirely reflect the preoccupations expressed by Mr Delorozoy, and that I find his report excellent, for it is both very succinct and very complete, and it clearly indicates — as his statement has also just done — the direction we must take.

What Mr Delorozoy said entirely reflects the Commission's preoccupations, but if you will allow me to depart from my text, I would say that the very way in which we have tried to work in the four major fields covered by the two reports to which I referred clearly expresses the desire — which is not merely verbal — to recall what we could achieve together — namely, very practical proposals some of which have been examined by Parliament and which I hope may be the subject of real discussion in the Council. In this connection, what Mr Olesen said just now confirms my belief that this is indeed the desire of the Danish Presidency.

For more than a year we have stressed insistently four problems to which we think solutions must be found,

**Ortoli**

for otherwise we shall not make any progress towards growth and the reduction of unemployment.

The first is the construction of an economic and monetary framework providing greater stability at both national and international levels. We have devoted much discussion to the problems of real interest rates in the United States and of a certain stabilization, or less irregularity, in dollar exchange rates, while respecting basic economic realities. The request for organized cooperation with the United States, which has been very clearly formulated by the Commission for over a year, and repeated many times here — i.e. the reminder of the need for us to bring about greater unity of the Community in monetary matters, which would give us strength in dealings with third countries as well as a stronger voice to express our interests — this is a request which we cannot but support, for it is something we have been calling for in increasingly precise and clear terms and, I would say, for much longer than anyone else.

Why? Because I am personally convinced that this problem of interest rates is not really just a fad. When one realizes that if you have some money today and you know that by investing you are taking a risk because you are obliged to make money in order to recoup your investment — whereas if you put it in a bank account you have a good chance of obtaining a high interest rate and a capital advantage — one should not be surprised that financial action is gradually replacing economic action, and that this imbalance within the international monetary system has an effect both for us and for the United States, in that productive investment may also be compromised there if interest rates are too high.

Well, what is the argument we all adopt? We agree that structures should be modernized, and this is the second point which I shall stress. Modernization of structures means that here too we must depart somewhat from ritual formulae and that we are faced with a series of extremely precise problems, which we have tried to set out in a communication addressed to the European Council and to the Council of Ministers of Finance. I hope these problems will be discussed here, for everyone acknowledges the need for investment.

What measures must be taken at national and Community levels to achieve this? On the one hand, we must act in the international framework, and as I have just reminded you, in terms of a common realization of the absolute need for investment; on the other hand, we must adjust budgets to give more scope for development investment, but also take action in the general fiscal and regulatory framework governing investment.

There is a whole range of measures inspired by a shared understanding of the problems at Community level but also by joint action in the three fields of industrial strategy, energy strategy and investment

through the mobilization of lending and borrowing capacity, on which we have said a great deal. I myself also hope that these questions will indeed be debated and that some conclusions will be drawn from them both at the European and at the national levels.

It is quite clear — and Mr de la Malène's oral question puts the problem very well — that if there is no convergence the European Monetary System will encounter increasing difficulties. I would merely like to say that, as Mr Olesen reminded us just now, although we have not yet achieved full convergence, it is perverse not to acknowledge what the monetary system has contributed, first and foremost in terms of internal stability — for I personally am convinced that it has saved the Common Market. If there had been no monetary system over the past three years, we would have had a monetary development of a kind which would have jeopardized the market itself. Everyone should be aware of that.

Secondly, we were reminded of some rather bitter comments on a devaluation — that of the Belgian franc — which was carried out by a central bank. These comments were indeed bitter, but it must be remembered that this devaluation was by a percentage on which a consensus had been reached — a lower percentage than that which had been envisaged. Consequently, a point of balance between the countries of the Community was reached and there were accompanying measures.

The monetary system has therefore surely the merit of avoiding, or at least limiting, competitive devaluations and of drawing attention to the need for an effort to achieve convergence. There is no need to tell me that the situation is not perfect. I am convinced that there is a risk of too many devaluations and that convergence is an indispensable, indeed fundamental factor in the development of our policy.

But in that case let those who talk about convergence help us to bring it about. Virtually none of the documents presented by the Commission and debated here has been discussed in anything other than very general terms. When we spoke of convergence in our monetary paper, we did not talk of it in general terms; we proposed a number of measures, we asked the central banks to discuss with one another their monetary policies and their compatibility with the development of the Common Market; we raised the whole question of budgetary convergence, and we raised it again in a recent document. We asked that the situations of some countries be examined, and we made recommendations. This is a real initiative — not a purely verbal one. We have committed ourselves and taken the necessary risks.

So let there be fundamental discussion on what we want to do and on the constraints which we are prepared to impose on ourselves for the sake of development and employment.

**Ortoli**

The last point I shall mention is that which was rightly stressed by Mr Delorozoy when he spoke of what is called in some countries an active employment policy, and the need, to tackle directly a whole range of problems at Community level, alongside the macro-economic considerations.

I would remind you that for our part we can only agree with what Mr Delorozoy said, since some of the ideas he mentioned are the very same as those which the Commission has defended. In July 1981 the Commission proposed a spectacular initiative to assist school-leavers, arguing that no young person leaving school should begin his adult life with a period of unemployment. This initiative resulted nine months later in a statement by the European Council, albeit a less forthright one. We shall examine the results of this initiative in November at a Social Affairs Council or a Joint Council, but having proposed it we can only support it. As you see, we are just as sensitive as Parliament is to this problem.

With regard to another aspect — the reorganization of working hours — we have said that we would submit our observations on this matter by the end of the year, and we envisage presenting in October or November a memorandum in which we shall examine the various aspects of this question and set out the Commission's position. Here, too, we think, we have taken every possible initiative both in terms of the general analysis and in terms of a range of problems which we have asked the Council of Ministers to discuss.

These, then, are the initiatives we have taken: the introduction to the medium-term policy programme; various specific recommendations; a monetary programme which not only contains a call for a strengthening of the monetary aspect but which also stresses convergence, international monetary cooperation and promotion of the ECU; documents on the budgets; various contributions to social policy. The Commission can only say that it agrees with Mr Delorozoy; it can only hope that what Mr Olesen outlined to us will come to fruition — i.e. that during the six months of the Danish Presidency there may not be new ideas on the development of economic policy, but that national needs and policies for common action will be studied with all the necessary political vigour.

*(Applause)*

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

**Mr Nyborg.** — *(DA)* Under Rule 42(4), second paragraph, Mr President, I ask to be given the floor so that I can comment on what the Commission has just told us.

**President.** — Ladies and gentlemen, the Chairman of the Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Peti-

tions is himself citing the Rules of Procedure. I find it difficult to refuse his request, but in the normal course of things he will soon be speaking in any case. I fail to understand why he wants to be given priority at this stage and will just see what Rule 42(2) says about the matter:

The President may propose directly that a question be placed on the agenda.

The President has certain powers.

Mr Nyborg, I beg you not to insist. You are down as the fifth speaker and will thus soon be able to make your statement.

**Mr Nyborg.** — *(DA)* Mr President, Rule 42(4), second paragraph, states quite clearly that I have a right to be given the floor now. It says:

One of the questioners may, at his request, comment for not more than five minutes on the answer given by the institution.

In this case the institution is the Commission. Under the same rule, same paragraph, I should in fact have been given the floor at an earlier stage before the Commission replied.

**President.** — Ladies and gentlemen, there is a possible interpretation.

The question is not included, it is entered on the agenda.

I shall exercise my powers as President and refuse to give Mr Nyborg the floor at this stage. The Committee on the Rules of Procedure can investigate whether the President has exceeded his powers.

I call the Socialist Group.

**Mr Glinne.** — Mr President, Mr President-in-Office of the Council, Mr Commissioner, dear colleagues, it gives me great pleasure to welcome the Danish Presidency and in particular the Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kjeld Olesen, who was for a considerable period a member of our group here in this Parliament.

The present economic recession has hit all industrialized countries and we agree that the economic and social situation in these countries should be the chief preoccupation of their governments. In the long term the social cost of such a recession will be intolerable. They are already indeed intolerable, threatening the very fabric of our democratic society.

The Socialist Group is very happy that the Danish Presidency will have as its main objective the promotion of economic growth, production and employ-

**Glinne**

ment. We also agree that the competitiveness of our industries should be greatly improved, that there should be an increase in the level of both public and private investments and that our dependence on imported oil should be diminished. But the Socialist Group sees it as its top priority to improve the employment situation and specifically that of women and young persons, and we are looking forward to the Jumbo Council which will take place in November this year and which will, hopefully, produce some very concrete results. In this context we stress the importance of the meeting which is going to take place on 13 July between representatives of several groups of this Parliament and a delegation of the European Confederation of Trade Unions.

Mr President, in order to improve the economic situation, consultation and coordination between our national governments on economic policy issues is of primary importance. Furthermore, we support the ideas expressed by the Danish Presidency regarding close cooperation between the industrialized countries on foreign exchange market policies and interest-rate policies. The declaration of the three presidents of the EEC institutions regarding recent budgetary problems has now been issued and we are happy that it will be an element in the 1983 budgetary process.

The review of the Regional Fund, which is now in progress, will hopefully be completed during the course of 1983 and we look forward to the review of the Social Fund and an effective coordination between those two funds.

On the energy question, we would like to underline once more that the Socialist Group has always been in favour of a European energy agency which would negotiate directly with the oil-producing countries.

With regard to environmental questions, the Socialist Group is looking forward to initiatives being taken by the Danish Presidency specifically on the third action programme on the environment. We have also noted that the Danish Presidency intends to work actively to put new life into the North-South Dialogue, and in this connection we give it our wholehearted support. Also the first discussion on the Lomé III Convention will be starting during this period. We attach great importance to the development of European political cooperation in which the Member States of the European Community have been seen by other countries to have achieved a considerable measure of coordination in their response to external crisis.

Finally, Mr President, we wish to underline the importance that we attach to the European Parliament's being associated in the decision-making procedure in order that it can play its full role in the Community's legislative process, and we hope that the Danish Presidency will help us consolidate the

achievements we have already made and ensure further advances.

*(Applause)*

**President.** — Ladies and gentlemen, I should just like to elucidate the President's attitude to the incident which occurred just now. Mr Nyborg claims a particular right in his capacity as co-tabler of a question together with Mr de la Malène. If you take a look at the agenda, you will see that item 3, the Delorozoy Report, appears as part of a joint debate. Mr Nyborg's interpretation is that, given that the oral questions are to form part of the debate, he can speak first in his capacity as co-tabler of a question. Having read Rule 42(4) of the Rules of Procedure and the commentaries thereon, the Bureau's interpretation is that he has no prior right to speak because his point is not a point on the agenda itself, but merely appears as a footnote on the agenda to be 'included in the debate'. It may be that the Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions will rule tomorrow that my interpretation was not correct, but I think I was right to follow the advice of the Bureau which, together with Mr Nyborg, did the preparatory work for this debate. I would ask Mr Nyborg not to press the point any further. Mr Nyborg, you will be given the floor before long in the general debate. Do you agree with this?

I call the Group of the European People's Party (Christian-Democratic Group).

**Mr Rumor.** — *(IT)* Mr President, Mr President of the Council, Mr President of the Commission, ladies and gentlemen, I thank the President of the Council for his programme statement and I am glad of the opportunity to greet the beginning of the Danish Presidency and offer every good wish for the fulfilment of what is undoubtedly a difficult task.

I think I speak for the whole of my group in expressing my gratitude to the Presidency which has just finished its term of office, and especially to my friend Mr Tindemans. He has carried out his task with exemplary dedication, bearing witness in action to his faith in Europe.

Mr President, we cannot but agree that — despite this generous commitment — what persists is growing fatigue, frequent reluctance to take decisions, and increasingly frequent shelving of initiatives, particularly by the Council, at a time when increasingly serious difficulties require instead rapid, timely and vigorous decision-making.

I would draw attention in particular to the most significant problem in terms of Community policy.

The Community is now weighed down by an unemployment level of 9.2%; 9.4% is predicted for 1983,

### Rumor

as against the 6% figure for 1980: in short, more than 10 million unemployed.

My group will support any serious initiative which seeks to tackle this problem — this crisis now confronting the Community — with realism and decisiveness.

It is precisely this which the European citizen wants; practical proof that Europe can identify the vital problems and tackle them.

Of course, it is only fair that each Community partner should have to correct the faults of its own economy. This is necessary, but it is not enough.

The Community is not merely a giver of wise advice. It has its own responsibility for taking initiatives. If we want to tackle unemployment at its roots, mere palliatives which create illusions and lead inevitably to disappointment are not enough. What we need is an organic and courageous Community policy. I am talking about the industrial, energy, social and regional policies which have been left to stagnate with limited prospects, means and resources, totally inadequate for the planning and development of a real organic Community.

Meanwhile the activity of the institutions continues to be disturbed and restricted by a senseless policy — a so-called 'budgetary' policy — which accepts too readily an undue emphasis on the idea of a 'fair return', or on a refusal to accept the duty to contribute.

This encourages the tendency towards a disastrous 'creeping renationalization'.

We are also grateful to Mr Tindemans for having broken free for once from the stranglehold of the Luxembourg agreement which the Council of Ministers favours.

So you will have understood, Mr President, that I totally disagree with your views on the Luxembourg compromise. We, Mr President, stand for rigorous respect for the terms of the Treaty.

The other stranglehold which must be broken if we want to create scope for a clear policy of Community development is that of the nationalistic refusal to increase the Community's own resources. You rightly pointed out the difficulties faced by individual nations in this respect, but I think that some effort — however gradual — should be made in this direction.

It is useless rhetoric to talk of European Union if we cannot overcome the selfishness and mistrust which prevent us from surmounting this fundamental obstacle.

And because of this same stubborn short-sightedness, the Community is now threatened by another form of

decline — that of its competitiveness. We run the risk not only of being overtaken by the United States and Japan but also of being caught up even by the newly industrializing countries.

This is not whimsical fantasizing on my part, Mr President. I am well aware that these are matters of enormous scale, but it is essential to understand that Europe cannot be allowed to sink into stagnation and procrastination.

Indeed, in what fields is Europe making progress? In none.

It is difficult now to persuade the tens of millions of Europeans who elected us that the vision of the future, the plan for which we called upon them to vote, is still viable.

For example, up to a fortnight ago it was reasonable to suppose that the Community would have been enlarged to include Spain and Portugal on time.

Today everything seems to be once more in the balance, because of the sceptical attitudes openly expressed about the possibility of completing the accession negotiations by the proposed and widely welcomed date for the signing of the agreement.

But were not the difficulties now being put forward known from the start? Could not solutions have been found by proper planning much earlier?

Mr President, I think it is the general will of Parliament that the date of 1 January 1984 be adhered to. What is at stake is solidarity with countries with a long European cultural tradition in which democracy has recently been restored and needs to be strengthened. This, even taking account of the vital interests at stake, requires of the Community an effort of imagination and will.

In terms of political planning, a response could have been made by implementing the Genscher-Colombo plan in the short term.

The 'European Act' certainly does not exhaust our aspirations for a united Europe. It can, however, be a formal expression of the political will to move towards a Community more united within itself and in its dealings with the outside world, a Community which does not shrink from taking steps towards the final aim of integration.

But the text of the Act, which the 'De Schoutheete committee' has already partly deprived of its original vigour, has been shelved, and a cloud of uncertainty is gathering over its possible date for signature. As far as we are concerned, however, the Political Affairs Committee will present a report on the 'European Act' which will be ready for the November part-session.

### Rumor

Since we are dealing with institutional matters, I must say that it is precisely in this area that we consider that change is vital.

Yesterday a debate of great potential and political content took place on an amendment to alter the Treaties, which we fully support, although we are aware that this will inevitably require considerable time.

But there is the present and the near future to be considered, Mr President. And we do not want relations between Parliament and the other institutions to go on at the present pace and in the present atmosphere of corrosive complacency.

Does the Council really believe that we were elected to draw up and adopt resolutions and proposals to which it attaches so little weight, which it casually disregards, which it frequently does not even look at or inform itself about?

No, Mr President, a number of decision-making powers have been taken from the national parliaments and transferred to the Community.

The initial pioneering situation which made it necessary to concentrate power in the Commission and the Council has ended.

Today there is an elected Parliament — a Parliament which offers a dynamic range of proposals, well thought out, timely and frequently commanding wide agreement.

We have no intention of tolerating any longer the considerable disregard shown in practice towards Parliament.

We are well aware that there is a need for balance and for joint participation in decision-making, that the institutions of this unique politico-legal structure which constitutes the Community cannot be equated with those of the nation-states. For that reason Parliament last year adopted a series of resolutions — tabled by the Political Affairs Committee, which I have the honour to chair — seeking to modify relations between Parliament and the other institutions while maintaining full respect for the Treaties.

We have responsibilities and a share in decision-making power. We are not prepared to give them up.

We regret that the Council has taken no initiative on this matter. Well, we are taking one ourselves through a proper and realistic dialogue, and we intend to fight through to a satisfactory conclusion.

I have confidence, Mr President, that your efforts can bring about significant progress.

In the absence of progress it is not only the process of evolution towards European Union which stagnates,

but the efficiency of the present Community itself — increasingly hindered, sluggish and diffident as it is — which gradually declines.

And its image in the outside world is tarnished; the hopes it once aroused are gradually being extinguished and the respect of the other partners, starting with the largest and politically closest — the United States — is being lost.

Amid this disappointing stagnation, how can the Community exert an influence proportional to its immense potential strength on the great and often dramatic challenges of our epoch?

The resolution on the tragedy of the Lebanon and the condemnation of the Israeli action were undoubtedly timely and consistent. But what does the Community now intend to do to help bring about its proposed solution through practical joint action, while the suffering of the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples continues? Will we return to the disjointed and autonomous initiatives of individual governments, which would once more show the unwillingness of the Community to act as a unit, or will we at last commit ourselves together to united and forceful action?

I also share the concern of the European Council not to begin a trade war with our major ally, but what understandings, what solutions will be sought together, and on what basis, to remove the distortions in the steel trade and the interferences in trade policy which have been denounced and deplored?

There is talk of a visit by Chancellor Schmidt to Washington. Good, but on whose behalf will he speak? Will he speak for Germany or for Europe?

After the bloody restoration of international law in the South Atlantic, do we realize what a deep gulf has opened between us and the countries of Latin America? Are we aware of the urgent need to bridge it, not only in economic and trading terms, but in political and cultural terms? This raises another problem of rights — whether historical or geographical rights should prevail.

We Europeans have all the qualifications — which we acquired through the deepest suffering — to urge the United Kingdom to reach a negotiated settlement with Argentina which would make it possible to overcome fairly a bitter conflict with a continent whose democratic destiny and cultural and economic future demand that the gulf opened between the two shores of a shared civilization be bridged.

Mr President, the prospect before us is undoubtedly sombre. But to be discouraged thereby would be tantamount to giving up.

We have behind us a past of great prestige and considerable influence on the world scene. The Lomé policy,



## Rumor

the spectacular recognition of the Community as a political entity by the Warsaw Pact countries at the Helsinki Conference, and the far from fruitless launching of the Euro-Arab dialogue. In other words, we have counted for something in the world and we can still contribute to a policy of peace and development.

Yes, it is true that the years of prosperity masked the difficulties and made it possible to aim at ambitious goals, but we cannot emerge from present difficulties by turning in on ourselves; we can emerge from them only through bold moves and courageous initiatives, by moving together in a single direction.

Although the functions and powers of the institutions are different, the responsibility is shared. It is up to us to express the will of the people, encouraging, suggesting, supporting constructive initiatives, fighting for our rights with strength and tenacity; it is up to you, who still have the greater decision-making responsibility, to break down, thanks to a clear vision of the future, the obstacles to progress — however slow — towards the aim of unity.

But we must all account for our actions to our historical conscience and to the peoples and citizens of Europe. Ambiguity and withdrawal are a luxury which we cannot allow ourselves.

I wish to believe in your commitment, Mr President of the Council; I wish to have confidence that the realism and dynamism characteristic of your nation will help us to overcome laziness and clear the fog surrounding the Community institutions.

You are well aware that in such a commitment Parliament will be right behind you.

*(Applause from the centre)*

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

**Mr Møller.** — *(DA)* Mr President, I should also like to welcome our Foreign Minister to this Parliament. We are, I think, all looking forward to the cooperation over the next six months between the current President of the Council and this Parliament. So much for the friendly remarks I can make in this connection. The rest of what I have to say is also meant in a friendly spirit, but, I hope, also contains some good advice.

It is, as I see it, quite correct that the Foreign Minister should, given his political background, regard unemployment and the economy as vital problems which should be solved and eliminated during the Danish Presidency. However, I also get the feeling that people do not really want to make use of the means, which are after all available throughout Europe, for us to

achieve European unity, and I think that what Mr Andersen said in the autumn of 1978 about the provincial mentality countries to be an all too appropriate description of the Danish Government and our Foreign Minister. We must try to overcome this provincial mentality. We must try to make a leap forward similar to the leap which the signing of the Treaty of Rome represented, and give these institutions certain powers. However, I get the impression that our Danish Foreign Minister is one of the most dilatory when it comes to making leaps of this kind, and if you are lazy about such things you tend to fall flat on your face. Only if we are united and if we have a decision-making authority will it be possible for the Community to get anything done. Obviously, we could straighten out a lot of things. We could perhaps coordinate our economic policies. But if only one country backs down, nothing will come of it and I should like to say for Mr Olesen's benefit, 'don't hesitate, don't lose courage'. As he said to us, let us get down to brass tacks and try to establish this unity by taking the necessary decisions. Let us give up this right of veto which sooner or later will mean that we are unable to solve the economic problems facing us as a Community; we will not be able to solve the problems of unemployment as long as any individual Member State can say 'no' to a solution. Let us return to the rules for voting laid down in the Treaty since this is the basis on which we have been elected and the Treaty to which we have given our support.

I should now like to move on to a different subject. The Foreign Minister touched on a wide range of subjects but in a pussy-footing manner, skipping lightly from one part of the world to another. There was nothing he did not touch on, and he dealt with everything with cautious diplomatic phrases which no one could basically disagree with. No one could have expected him to act any differently on this occasion, but we have no idea what he wanted to do about these things. He was in favour of cooperation and coordination in these areas, but if we consider, for example, the entire gloomy outlook as regards our relations with the USA, I get the impression that this is something which represents a considerable threat to Europe and where we virtually *do not want* to understand the American points of view. Can we not understand the American viewpoint to the extent of realizing that it would be lethal for Western Europe to make itself dependent on the Soviet Union for energy supplies and can we not understand that the major power in whose hands Europe's freedom and independence ultimately lies can be worried about us making ourselves dependent on the Soviet Union for our energy supply since it may cut off the supplies at any time?

I should like, therefore, to say to the Foreign Minister that it is not only America which should understand the European point of view, but we in Europe should understand America too. If we end up drifting too far apart, the drift which already exists will become a yawning chasm — the expression 'trade war' has

**Møller**

already been used this morning. If this trade war becomes a reality we do not know where we will end up — and our security policy in Europe is no exception in this respect.

I should therefore like to warn the Foreign Minister against an uncompromising approach to the United States. The future of Europe depends not only on Europe itself, but also, and above all, on cooperation with the United States. I think the Foreign Minister fully agrees with me on this point, but words alone are not enough and I would therefore urge the Foreign Minister to try and find the courage needed.

Yesterday, we adopted a resolution tabled by Mr Spinelli with which I am sure the Foreign Minister has been made familiar. This resolution has probably fallen on fairly barren ground with the new Presidency, but it gives us a chance to make a fresh start, to get things moving again. The reason for the major upswing in the 1960s was, to a great extent, the signing of the Treaty of Rome at the end of the 1950s and the fact that we had started to build something up, we had a Community and a complete plan of action which was laid in the Treaty we had acceded to, i.e. the customs union, free trade between the Member States and the agricultural arrangements. The fact that we really knew what we had undertaken to do was the reason for the economic upswing. This boom is now a thing of the past and we are faced with recession. Let us take the same course of action as we did at the end of the 50s. Let us endeavour jointly to update our Treaties so that in the future we can say that something was achieved during the Danish Presidency.

I should like to say to the Foreign Minister, Mr Kjeld Olesen, that he could achieve undying honour by being the father of a renewal of the Treaties and of the re-establishment of European unity and efforts to cooperate, so that we can make progress and in this way work out a programme which will enable Europe to make the new steps forward about which the Foreign Minister was so enthusiastic in his speech, but for which he could not find a solution except in the form of the American interest rate.

It is a little difficult for Denmark to talk about the interest rate since the Foreign Minister is a member of a government which has applied the highest interest rate in the world, including the USA, and for this reason it is hardly appropriate for us to object to the USA having a high interest rate too. This is simply the way things are going in the world economy and I would therefore put in a plea for making the unity we need a reality. I call on the Danish Foreign Minister, Mr Kjeld Olesen, to take the initiative, to take the lead, to raise the standard and lead Europe forward.

*(Applause)*

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

**Mr Carossino.** — *(IT)* Mr President, during the recent serious international political reactions to Israel's brutal aggression against Lebanon, which inflicted destruction, death, ruin and incalculable suffering upon the people of that country, and aroused so much emotion and indignation in world public opinion, the extreme weakness of the European Community became clearer than ever before.

The Community has responded this time — to an urgent request by the countries of the Middle East for a European initiative to halt the aggression and impose a negotiated settlement — with the expression of undoubted concern — concern which we also observed in the words spoken a short time ago by the Danish Foreign Minister — but without giving sufficient indication of its intended policy.

This attitude shows, better than any speech, the weakness of Europe in the face of the worsening of the situation in Lebanon, and this weakness is also a result of the inability, or rather the unwillingness, to pursue with determination the aims fixed by the European Council in Venice for a peace initiative in the Middle East, based on the acknowledgement of the right of the Palestinian people to a state of their own. Moreover, it is only through the simultaneous acknowledgement of these rights and of the Israeli right to existence within secure and recognized boundaries that the basis can be found for a peaceful solution and a stable and lasting peace in the region.

Mr President of the Council, you rightly said that it is necessary to make Israel understand that security cannot be achieved through military force, but only in the context of a negotiated settlement, with which the Palestinians must be associated. We, the Italian Communists and Allies would like to ask you what practical steps the Community intends to take to contribute to a negotiated political settlement of the Middle East problem. The Community's credibility has already suffered greatly from the fact that the Community gave way to United States pressure and failed to pursue the policies outlined in Venice.

Recently, authoritative European figures have once more presented proposals for a solution along these lines. We wonder whether the Community will be capable of developing — and have the will to develop — an independent initiative of its own to prevent the Lebanon situation from plunging into tragedy, with new victims and new grief? We would also ask you to argue the case for the presence and participation of the Community at the Geneva disarmament negotiations. Even the unanimous reaction, and the firm words which Member States of the Community addressed to the United States about the restrictive measures adopted by the latter with regard to Community steel exports to their market, and about the boycott of the Siberian gas pipeline, run the risk of appearing half-hearted if they are not backed up by suitable action, all the more so since shortly after the end of the Council

**Carossino**

of Ministers meeting the firmness and unanimity displayed were watered down by the varied interpretations given by the spokesmen of the Member States. It seemed that some were more concerned to pour oil on troubled waters than to stress the need for a united effort by the Community to define a clear trade policy which would safeguard the interests and independence of Europe while respecting the GATT agreements.

Beyond the legal problems raised by the United States decision, important though they are, it must be stressed that there is in this case a basic question of principle for the Community — that it cannot accept any limitation on its own commercial freedom — one could even say sovereignty — when this is imposed from outside. Of course it is not a question, as others have suggested, of exacerbating a conflict of interest between the United States and the Community, but of claiming the same rights which the Americans claim when they say that they cannot agree not to sell their grain to the Soviet Union. The need for independence and flexibility, respect for special situations and specific national interests, must be valid for all.

Moreover, the Community should adopt the same criterion if it wishes to free itself from the crushing subjection which the policy of high dollar interest rates imposes on the European economy.

In conclusion, I would say that we hope that the Danish Presidency will work for unity and consistency, continuing the initiatives already undertaken under the Belgian presidency, without indulging in affected optimism which would be entirely out of place. Moreover, the Delorozoy report has painted a disturbing picture of the situation. We agree with the general lines of this analysis, support the call for a Jumbo Council meeting in November devoted to employment questions, and ask that Parliament should have an opportunity to debate them.

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

**Mr Haagerup.** — (DA) Mr President, I shall be brief as I am not even pleased to see the Danish President of the Council. Otherwise, I would have been glad to welcome him on behalf of the Liberal Group and said that we too are obviously looking forward to cooperating with the Danish Presidency. However, I am certain that the many and excellent officials working under him will explain what he probably knows already, namely we simply do not expect much to come from the Danish Presidency and if I may say so, I am not sure that what the Foreign Minister had to say here today would have done anything to increase our expectations. However, it should be pointed out that if the Danish Presidency is saddled with a series of problems, some of them at any rate cannot be the fault of Denmark. Since the Versailles Summit certain events have taken place, particularly in connection

with our relations with the USA, which I would like to discuss for a moment and which have made it more difficult for the Danish Presidency to fulfil the duties arising from the Presidency.

As a Member of the parliamentary delegation, I had an opportunity to discuss the problems currently dividing us in our relations with the United States in very frank talks with American officials and politicians last week. However, our delegation visits are occasionally criticized for being both useless and too expensive. I make no claim that we managed to solve the problems currently dividing the United States and Western Europe in a number of predominantly economic but also political areas, but I nevertheless think that we managed to get a number of things into proper perspective. At any rate, it became apparent that on both sides of the Atlantic the controversial natural gas project is viewed in very different ways by different people.

It is, I think, worth devoting some attention to as it may become one of the difficult problems of the immediate future. What my colleague, Mr Poul Møller had to say, was, after all, evidence of the fact that people on this side of the Atlantic might also have their doubts regarding the project and the dependency on the Soviet Union which some people see as a possible consequence of it. It is the general view, which is also shared by my Group, that the restrictions and sanctions which the Americans have had recourse to in this matter have not been effective for the development of American-European relations. It is one of the tasks of the Danish Presidency, therefore, to play its part in finding a solution to this problem, preferably in a form which would involve a change in the attitude of the American Government.

Having said this, I should like to add one point concerning political cooperation, since this cooperation — which my Group views favourably and would like to see further developed under the Danish Presidency — creates certain problems *vis-à-vis* the USA, Canada and the NATO countries, which are not members of the European Community. Things have developed in such a way in this area that I should like to stress, on the basis of various discussions I have had with, among others, American officials and politicians, that the task will be different and more difficult for the Danish Presidency this time round than the last time Denmark held the Presidency. It must perform an important function which does not and should not involve any restriction whatsoever of this political cooperation, which should continue to develop, while at the same time we must ensure that there are no misunderstandings with our other allies, and in particular the United States. This, then must be one of the priority issues for the Danish Presidency.

## IN THE CHAIR: LADY ELEES

*Vice-President*

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

**Mr Nyborg.** — (*DA*) Madam President, we had a little interlude a few moments ago, when your predecessor, Mr Vandewiele, was in the Chair, regarding the possibility of being given the floor on the Oral Question pursuant to the second paragraph of Rule 42 (4). Mr Vandewiele made a decision, which he at any rate subsequently regretted to some extent in that he took the view that these Oral Questions were not included on the agenda, whereas in reality they are. I should like, therefore, to begin by commenting on the answer we have received from the Commission and on the subject of which I have also, incidentally, had an opportunity of exchanging a few brief words with Mr Ortoli.

In his statement on the European Council meeting of 28 and 29 June 1982, the Danish Foreign Minister said.

It is encouraging, however, that the European Monetary System continues to work entirely satisfactorily.

I am afraid the Council of Ministers have set their sights far too low in this respect. The German Central Bank painted a quite different picture of the situation in its most recent activities report. I would be very interested to know how the Commission views the situation in the light of this. It was originally thought that the European Monetary System would fulfil a number of purposes and I should like to draw your attention to the four most important of these. Firstly, monetary stability, secondly, economic convergence, thirdly, Community solidarity and fourthly, influence at world level.

There is really hardly any point in talking about stability, since the frequent adjustments tell their own story. I cannot see much sign of Community solidarity either, if only as a result of the fact that such an important currency as the pound sterling is outside the system. As regards a world-level effect, this is unfortunately virtually non-existent since it is still the dollar which rules the roost.

Quite simply, the European Monetary System cannot be functioning well enough as long as we are unable to establish economic convergence, since monetary and economic policy cannot be divorced from each other. I do not know how the Commission feels when the Member States continue to pursue a budgetary deficit policy, which is flying in the face of the guidelines the Commission has drawn up. However, the problem is not only that there are differences in the economic

situations in the various countries within the EMS, but the economic policies in these countries have been drifting further and further apart in recent years. I also tend to think that the Commission must be left with a strange taste in its mouth when, after exchange rate adjustments, we have to accept new monetary compensatory amounts for agricultural products which run directly counter to the objective of both Parliament and the Commission.

I must say, unfortunately, that I find the German Central Bank's assessment of the EMS distinctly more realistic than that of the Council of Ministers, and I might add that the report of the Deutsche Bundesbank was published before the last adjustment was made.

The small countries are often in a very difficult situation because their currencies have to move with the German Mark when it strengthens, since fluctuations in the Mark depend, among other things, on developments in the American dollar, which means that American interest policy also has a decisive effect on interest rates in Europe. We must come to terms with these inter-relationships, and if we wish to influence them, we can only do so by developing a stable monetary system here in Europe.

I should now like to welcome the Danish Foreign Minister and discuss a few of the points he made. I fully agree with Mr Kjeld Olesen that the fight against unemployment is one of the most vital problems currently facing Europe. In the ten Member States, unemployment is running around the 11 million mark.

Mr President, we agree about the objective, but we do not agree to quite the same extent about the means. We cannot agree with Mr Kjeld Olesen when he proposes combating unemployment by cutting down working hours and increasing public investment. In my view, completely different means are called for if Europe is to work its way out of the current economic situation and hence the unemployment problem.

Industrial production fell drastically in 1980 and has remained fairly constant since then. The only way in which we can combat unemployment is creating more jobs, and this can only be done by increasing exports and hence industrial activity. We must make European industry competitive by lowering costs, so that the heads of industry will again feel inclined and confident enough to make investments. I would even go so far as to say that we cannot blame the high level of unemployment in the European Community on the energy crisis and unfair competition from third countries alone. No, we have ourselves to thank for the fact that the hourly wage has become too high in relation to the amount of goods we can produce.

Wage costs in industry must not rise but be stabilized, which can be done without reducing the workers' net income if taxes are reduced at the same time. Obviously, this can only be done if there are substan-

**Nyborg**

tial cuts in the public budget and these cuts must be made. Our experience of the last few years has, I think, clearly demonstrated that unemployment rises as public expenditure increases. I am pleased therefore that Mr Olesen feels that Europe needs a higher level of investment. I should like to sound the warning against an uncritical increase in public investment. It is industry and trade which must be encouraged to increase their level of investment. The public budgets in several Member States are already showing a completely unacceptable deficit as I think you are aware, Mr Olesen. Only by creating an economic climate in which undertakings can have confidence in their future prospects will we be able to bring about the necessary investment.

I should also like to say that there is another important thing we must see to during the Danish Presidency and you yourself, Mr President-in-Office, mentioned it previously, i.e. the question of technical barriers to trade and the implementation of the customs union. It is vital, if we are to compete with third countries, the USA and Japan etc., that we should have a smooth-running internal market.

I would therefore urge you, Mr President-in-Office, to give these things high priority together with the question of transport policy which, I know, is one of the points in which you have taken great interest in your career, and where you may be able to do a great deal.

I will not make any further demands on your attention, but merely wish you all success with the various aspects of the Danish Presidency, including the forthcoming negotiations with the United States on the steel question, pipelines and the failure to fulfil the promises made at Versailles.

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

**Mrs Hammerich.** — (DA) I too would like to welcome the new President of the Council. We must see to it now that in this foreign Parliament we disregard the fact that he is called Kjeld Olesen and that he is a Danish Social Democrat. For the next six months we must regard him as a multinational common denominator for ten countries and a number of conflicting political views — a sort of ghostly figure, more a flying Dutchman than a great Dane.

Many people think that a six months Presidency can enable even a small country to exert a greater influence, but it is in fact the other way round. During the Presidency, the Danish Government will be amenable so that things will start to slide and it will be more difficult to defend Danish interests, particularly the vulnerable economic interests such as agriculture and

fisheries, and it will be more difficult to stand our ground on controversial issues — for example, to maintain our standpoint that Community cooperation should be between equal partners and that the right of veto should therefore be maintained or, as would appear to be more appropriate at the present time, reinstated. Previous Danish Presidencies have left disturbing marks on the face of Europe. In 1978, for example, the decision to hold direct elections to the European Parliament was taken, which the Danish Foreign Ministry has had cause to bitterly regret.

This Parliament in which Mr Olesen must now spend his time yesterday decided by a wide majority in favour of setting up its own kind of union, which would involve standardization in most sectors of society and the Members of the European Parliament as legislators. A majority of the Danish present, including fellow members of Mr Olesen's party, voted against this, and rightly so, since only 13% of the people of Denmark are in favour of European union, ungrateful and lacking in a sense of perspective as we are. Our Minister expressed this opposition in his own unassuming way:

I said, in a conversation with Mr Pompidou and Mr Brandt: 'Political union — are you serious? There is no chance of that if we have anything to do with it'.

And here today, Mr Olesen spoke on the same question, but perhaps in slightly more diplomatic terms. We should like to make it quite clear to Mr Olesen that we support him in taking this independent line. And we know that the Danish Government will be in need of support since, on the one hand, it will be under considerable pressure and, on the other, because it does not always act in accordance with promises made at home in its actions here in Strasbourg.

We are concerned about what happens under this Presidency, and I should like to quote a few examples from last year to show that we have good reason to be concerned and that the government is in need of support: firstly, the London Declaration of last October marked the introduction of security policy into the scope of political cooperation and forged such a close link between the Commission and security policy that it is merely playing with words from now on to insist that the Community does not conduct foreign policy. The London Declaration was not enough for the Foreign Minister to be bothered about, but from the moral point of view it constituted a breaking of many promises, legally speaking it lay outside the scope of the Treaties and ran counter to the Danish constitution, from the national point of view it signified the surrender of independence, and democratically speaking the London Declaration meant a weakening of popular influence on foreign policy. The Foreign Minister, consoled us with the following words:

In European political cooperation, a small country with a mere 5 million inhabitants has an influence

**Hammerich**

corresponding to that of the biggest Member State.

However, when the Foreign Minister was criticized for the controversial sanctions on Argentina, he stated that Denmark was following a rule of thumb whereby if eight of the ten Member States were in favour of something, Denmark would go along with the others provided we had no particular objections. This statement is so offensive from any democratic point of view that one might have thought it was a slip of the tongue. However, it has not so far been denied and the President's speech today contained more than a suggestion that a new statement on political cooperation is in store for us, presumably as part of the Genscher-Colombo plan. We intend to keep a close eye on developments in this area.

However, there is nothing so bad that it cannot get much worse, as in the case of the use of Article 113 of the Treaty of Rome as a basis for trade sanctions *vis-à-vis* the USSR or when the supranational European Commission acquired greater power in matters of foreign policy. Mr Olesen was hesitant about giving his consent. He had no wish to create problems in a matter of such minor importance, i.e. the constitution. Later he made strikingly lengthy and woolly statement to the press, as indeed he had to, since as recently as September 1981 the Foreign Minister had said:

Political cooperation is cooperation between ten sovereign states and in no way comes under the Treaty of Rome.

Then there was the song and dance about the right of veto. One day, which has come to be known in Denmark as 'black Tuesday', our Minister of Agriculture sat twiddling his thumbs and abstaining from voting 69 times, while 7 countries disregarded the United Kingdom's right of veto. This is not a very effective way of protesting against the infringement of the right of veto, nor were things made any better by the fact that the government subsequently put up a smoke-screen of conflicting statements. This left us in a precarious position since if a country is no longer able to decide for itself what are its vital interests, anything is possible.

The defeat on the question of the so-called joint declaration on the budget procedure is just as important. This statement gives the Commission the right to spend money without a legal basis and entitles the European Parliament to insert amounts in the budget, thereby introducing a piece of legislation, and it introduces a dialogue between the Presidents of the Council, Commission and Parliament. The Danish Folketing has no say in this. It is not so strange that on 22 June Mr Olesen should have spoken out very strongly against the joint statement and said that a Danish Government could under no circumstances accept that the approval of funds retrospectively constituted a legal basis. A week later, however, the Dan-

ish Government gave in, under considerable pressure from Mr Tindemans. The reason for this was that the Danish Government did not dare embark on the Presidency when Denmark was the only country which had not signed the document. This is another example of how a small country is weaker rather than stronger when it holds the Presidency.

And the thing which was supposed to emerge from all these unfortunate developments, i.e. the Danish illusion that it was possible to combat unemployment at Community level, is fading from view, partly as a result of France redirecting its economic policy.

All this shows that we have good reason to keep a close eye on the Danish Presidency and support anything likely to protect or re-establish Danish democratic control. We hope this is the last time a Danish Foreign Minister will hold the Presidency. Five years hence we hope to be involved in a freer and more democratic development outside the European Community.

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

**Mr Pesmazoglou.** — (GR) Madam President, I think that most Members of the House listened to the statement by the President-in-Office of the Council of Ministers with attention and great interest. But I should like to stress that both his analysis of the decisions of the latest European Council and the forecast and programme of work for the second half of 1982 are far from adequate. I also think that, despite yesterday's broad and very positive debate in this House on the new institutions which must be set up in the European Community, we already have a great deal of scope with our existing institutions set up under the Treaties which are already in force. And in this connection I should like to refer to what I said recently, namely that there are serious shortcomings in political cooperation and in the Community's economic policy.

Political cooperation is an achievement of immense importance for all the peoples of Europe. Unless we have a common external policy and a common policy for the security of our peoples, it is impossible to secure our basic sovereign rights. But in its actions in the field of political cooperation, the European Community has so far suffered from two serious weaknesses.

The first weakness, which was recently apparent in the sound decisions adopted on the Lebanon, is the lack of an active, organized and strong presence in world affairs. While we represent about 300 million people and while the Community's percentage of international trade is the highest in the world, our influence is a great deal less than it could be.

I therefore think, Madam President, that in addition to the sound decisions such as those taken, I repeat, on

**Pesmazoglou**

the Lebanon, we need to have an active presence in international affairs, which is something we have so far not managed to do as well as we should have. Especially on the question of the Lebanon, I think that an initiative could be taken similar to the interesting moves made by the French Government. Our decisions will have more weight if they are accompanied by positive and specific actions.

The second weakness of political cooperation is that it lacks effect and credibility. In the first half of 1982 some particularly important decisions were taken. I would stress the importance of the Community's solidarity with the United Kingdom in the Falklands conflict. But such correct action does need to be accompanied by action in other directions, since without the basic requirement of credibility, Madam President, political cooperation and Community external policy cannot be effective.

Lastly I should like to comment on the third point in the statement, concerning economic policy.

On the initiative of the President of the Commission, Mr Thorn, certain proposals have been made by the Commission concerning the promotion of investments. These proposals were very positive and very interesting, but they were inadequate. Madam President, I think that the problem of unemployment and that of inflation cannot be dealt with by the marginal actions which have hitherto been taken and to which the new President of the Council referred. In addition to these marginal actions, namely the reduction of working time, the actions of the Social Fund and early retirement, what is required is a comprehensive and thorough policy for the activation of the Economic Community. Only then will we be able to deal seriously with the problem of unemployment and create the conditions necessary for a recovery of confidence, so that there can be productive investments. This also involves questions of monetary policy which I do not wish to go into now. Perhaps I shall have the opportunity of doing so during the budget debate.

I therefore think, Madam President, that both as regards economic and monetary problems and as regards external policy the Community's enormous power has not made itself felt, and I am afraid that both Mr Thorn's statement and the programme outlined by the President-in-Office of the Council are an inadequate basis for carrying out this very important mission, on which the fate of all our peoples depends.

**President.** — I call Mr Papantoniou.

**Mr Papantoniou.** — (GR) Madam President, the Delorozoy report on economic development in the Community in the first half of 1982 is extremely general and imprecise and lacks any notion of economic strategy.

The analysis of the reasons why the economic crisis persists is very weak, while the proposed policy measures lack cohesion and structure despite the constant reference to Community solidarity and to the identity and future of Europe.

Such references, Madam President, however fine they sound, are unfortunately not enough to solve today's economic problems.

To tackle these problems effectively it is necessary to devise and promote a practical action programme which is based on clear-cut economic principles, sets out the objectives according to their priority and specifies the means by which they are to be achieved. A programme of this kind must comprise the following basic elements. The first is the boosting of the productive investments necessary for adapting production structures to the changes in the economic environment, to the rise in the price of oil, to the toughening of international competition and to new technologies which have been developed in recent years with the ultimate aim of better adapting supply to demand.

The second element of such a strategy is a policy of demand which should be differentiated and take account of the position in which each Member State of the Community happens to be, particularly with regard to inflation and the balance of payments. Countries with low inflation and small balance of payments deficits are able to pursue a relatively expansionist financial and monetary policy, which is impossible for those countries with high inflation and large foreign debts. But the generalized application of a restrictive policy, which is what the Delorozoy report seems to be calling for, is bound to lead to even worse 'stagflation'.

The third element, Madam President, is an effective prices and incomes policy. It is essential that the inflationary pressure associated with increased demand should be curbed. The success of such a policy depends on its being devised with flexibility and imagination, since it can be organized and regulated in many different ways, as demonstrated by the extreme examples of France and Austria, and it also depends on a large measure of consensus between the main social and economic factors in each country.

These three basic elements are not to be found in the Delorozoy report, and for this reason the Socialist Group will abstain from voting.

For their part, the PASOK Socialists will vote against the Delorozoy report in order to stress their strong opposition to paragraph 5, which concerns the abolition of the unanimity principle, and to paragraph 19, which calls for the drachma to join the European Monetary System.

**President.** — I call Mr Jakobsen.

**Mr Jakobsen.** — (DA) Madam President, the fact that the presidency of the European Communities has now been taken over by the Danish Government, has put me personally into a rather strange situation since while, as a member of my national parliament I do everything I can at home to give the Foreign Minister a hard time and to get him replaced by someone else, here in Strasbourg I have for some time regarded it as one of my major tasks to defend the Danish Government in the Presidency and, not least, the Danish Foreign Ministers. Time and time again in this Parliament when, as Mr Haagerup has pointed out, there were both black looks and misgivings, I have said to my colleagues, 'Take it easy now! Things are not so bad. He is not so bad.'

I am very pleased that, in his remarks today, the Minister himself has stressed that neither Parliament nor the Community as a whole has anything to fear from a Danish Presidency, but can rather look forward to a leadership which will be able to get some practical and effective work done. I would particularly urge you to take note of how the Minister began and how he finished. He began with a warm declaration of sympathy, full of respect for Parliament, and he finished with a warm acknowledgment — and I take pleasure in saying this for the benefit of Mrs Hammerich and others — of his attachment to political cooperation.

Some people therefore can, I think, forget their misgivings about the possible effects of a Danish Presidency.

I hope that, during the short time available to him, the minister will indeed prove to be efficient, and I should like to draw your attention to three points where I particularly think something could be done, and where I know, from what the Minister has said in the Folketing during the debate on the Presidency, that he is ready and willing.

The first of these points concerns Community revenue. It is almost scandalous that after 25 years the Community has not even managed to obtain as much as 1% of the domestic product of the Member States. The Minister has been so bold as to say quite clearly in his own Parliament that the Danish Government was in favour of increasing Community revenue. I hope he can find some way of getting his colleagues used to the idea that the best way would, for example, be to strengthen the Regional Fund and the Social Fund and hence help to combat unemployment.

My second point concerns the question of the role of Parliament. On this point too, the Minister had the courage to say in the Danish Folketing that he was prepared to put formalities and traditions aside, and that the ministers would be prepared to agree to the holding of an open meeting with representatives of the members at which they could speak their minds about those problems where they had difficulties finding common ground. An unconventional Danish effort in

this area could, I think, have considerable influence, not least when we come to deal with the budget.

This brings me finally to my hobby horse, i.e. Spain. Together with Lord Douro and others I had the slightly dubious pleasure of conducting negotiations with Spanish politicians at the time when the French president, Mr Mitterrand, gave the people of Spain the most deflating experience they had had for some time. It was not a pleasant experience. It was not only the Spanish politicians, but also the Spanish taxi drivers who were deeply disappointed and felt that they might be kicked out. I strongly urge the Minister to live up to what he has also said today, i.e. that there should be no unnecessary delays in the negotiations with Spain. The Spanish politicians have asked why they have not received answers to the questions they have raised? Why have there been no answers? Is this to delay the negotiations? I am certain that a Danish Minister will extend a friendly hand to our Spanish colleagues and show them that Denmark at any rate wants to be in the vanguard when it is a question of Spain joining Europe as soon as possible. There are difficulties as we are all aware, including the Spaniards.

However, no one in Spain should have any doubts about the willingness of this Parliament and the Council of Ministers to welcome Spain into the club as soon as possible.

Naturally, as spokesman for my party, and as the spokesman for my group has already done, I should like to wish the Danish Presidency every success, and I can add my personal good wishes both for the Minister, the Minister of Agriculture who has also been present, and the representative for Greenland, which means that the only one missing is the Fisheries Minister, to make it clear that these are all the points which will be causing the Danish Presidency some headaches over the next six months.

**President.** — I call Lord Douro.

**Lord Douro.** — Madam President, the President-in-Office has told us about the discussion in the European Council on the subject of enlargement. He has also told us that the Danish presidency considers the negotiations with Spain and Portugal to be of paramount importance. I am naturally pleased to hear these statements.

Nevertheless, I do hope that the President-in-Office realizes the heavy responsibilities he will bear in this matter. Both Spain and Portugal applied to join the Community in 1977. There have been numerous meetings since then at ministerial and official levels, and yet we are only now, to use the Minister's own words, reaching the decisive stage. We cannot blame the Spaniards and the Portuguese if they doubt our political will to welcome them into our Community in 1984.



**Douro**

Given these doubts, the statements made by the President of France in Madrid two weeks ago — the statements which Mr Jakobsen has just referred to and which were made just before the Spanish delegation of this Parliament met our counterparts in Madrid — have naturally caused dismay in Spain.

The European Council's decision to ask the Commission to review the main problems of enlargement looks suspiciously like a further delaying tactic.

I realize that the French Government still claims to be in favour of Spanish accession. But they should realize that those of us who wish to see enlargement in 1984, and that includes a large majority of the European Parliament, find their present position most perplexing. France is a rich agricultural country. Spain and Portugal are comparatively poor agricultural countries. Why is it then that France is so fearful of competition from the Iberian Peninsula?

Members of this House from France, Italy and Greece have often claimed that the CAP is unfair to Mediterranean agriculture. If that is so — which I do not necessarily accept — there is a much greater chance of altering that balance once Spain and Portugal are inside the Community. So I hope that the French Government and the French farmers will look on Spain as an ally and not as an adversary.

In the meantime, the President-in-Office will, I am sure, be aware of the serious political consequences in Spain and Portugal of any further delay in accession. Spain has recently joined NATO, against the wishes of many of its people.

If the EEC appears to close the door on Spain, then it is quite possible that NATO membership could be reassessed. Spain might then start to drift away from its natural partners and allies who are the countries of western Europe.

If the accession is to take place during 1984, then the Danish presidency must increase the momentum of the negotiations and the frequency of the ministerial meetings. All the members of the Community welcomed the Portuguese and Spanish applications in 1977. All countries will experience some difficulties with the next enlargement. But the political commitment was given and must be honoured. The reservations of individual Member States must not be allowed to frustrate the important political act of bringing these two countries into our Community.

We therefore wish the President-in-Office success in his endeavours in the next six months, and we very much hope that in December he will be able to report to us on some important progress in this matter.

**President.** — We welcome Mrs De March back to the Parliament after her illness.

*(Applause)*

I call Mrs De March.

**Mrs De March.** — *(FR)* Mr President of the Council, I would like to question you about this European Council meeting simply in terms of the credibility of the work of the European institutions. Your work centred on three points — the Lebanese tragedy, European Community-United States relations, and the enlargement of the Common Market. Do you really believe that in these important fields the European Council has shown itself fully capable of dealing with the situation? We do take into account the worthy efforts and statements favouring a political solution to the Lebanese and Palestinian tragedy. Everyone here is now able to understand that there will be no lasting solution without a recognition of the PLO, which stands for the right of the Palestinian people to an independent state. The security of peoples cannot be based on violence and repression, or on the genocide of the peoples of this region, who must learn to live side by side. How can one fail to be distressed at the tragedy which the people of the Lebanon are living through, and particularly the tragedy of Beirut. When Israel is using fragmentation bombs against civilians, when there are tens of thousands of dead, torture being used on prisoners and a monstrous blockade of medical and food supplies? I wish to add a precise question, Mr President. Now that the Israeli blockade is complete for water, provisions and medical supplies, and humanitarian aid is no longer getting through, is not the most urgent problem to bring about the lifting of this blockade for the sake of the civilian population? What precisely do you intend to do to this end, Mr President of the Council? I hope you will understand the importance of a precise answer to my question, for every hour counts.

The second problem before the European Council was Community-USA relations. Attacks on the common agricultural policy, Community rules, steel problems, the gas pipeline contract and interest rates — you discussed all these questions, Mr President of the Council. As you said yourself, there are grounds there for vigorous representations to the Reagan Administration. At all events, the European Parliament delegation which has just come back from Washington will tell you that in order to be listened to in the White House one must speak much more loudly and much more firmly. What practical steps are you going to take to follow up the European Council communiqué on the American attacks which are directly aimed — we have no doubt of this — against the Member States' policies for economic revival?

A word about the enlargement of the Community, which we opposed. Here, the situation is totally contradictory. The problems are piling up every day. The consequences which would result from this would be serious not only for the applicant countries but also for the southern regions of the Community, the Mediterranean countries and the ACP countries linked to our

## De March

Community by various treaties and cooperation agreements. No response has been made to the anxiety which has been expressed in various quarters. The Portuguese Minister in charge of negotiations recently admitted at a meeting with a Parliament delegation that he was not in a position to foresee the effects which Portuguese accession to the Community would have on Portuguese industry. Moreover, I would add, in relation to the steps which have been taken, that, if difficulties arise and solutions are not found, nothing will have been done to explore the possibilities of cooperation with Spain and Portugal. I am astonished that at a time when everyone admits that European integration is stagnating, cooperation between Member States is developing in spite of everything outside the Community institutions, as shown by the remarkable successes of the Ariane rocket and the Airbus, in both of which projects, as it happens, Spain is participating.

In conclusion, Madam President, I would say that the approach to this problem is wrong. By trying to bring about enlargement at all costs, while sweeping aside the problems which are piling up, is not the basis being laid for new difficulties and new disappointments for the Community in future?

*(Applause from the Communist and Allies Group)*

**President.** — I call Mrs Nielsen.

**Mrs Nielsen** — *(DA)* Madam President, I should also like, on behalf of the Liberal Group, to welcome the Danish President of the Council to his work with us in Parliament. As a Dane, I have been able to follow the European policy of the Social Democrats at home, and I must say that I am one of those who are a little apprehensive about the enthusiasm of the Danish Government. However, we in Denmark follow the principle that one should not judge a government before it has really put its cards on the table and shown what it is capable of, and I shall therefore refrain from passing any judgement at this time, even if I can well remember a previous case in Denmark where at any rate one party passed judgement on a government before it had had a chance to show what it could do.

However, when I listen to or read what the President-in-Office of the Council has had to say today, I can nevertheless not help saying that I have become a little more anxious than I was before, since what he has said today could, I think, be summed up in the following phrase: 'We in the Council have agreed to continue disagreeing. We will accept the *status quo*.' However, if there is one thing the people of the Community need at the moment, it is to see results. We have done without results in practical terms for far too long, because people have agreed to disagree and hence postponed the solution of many of the problems

besetting us. I would therefore urge the Danish President to see to it that, during the Danish Presidency the Danish Government will act, as it were, as the engine pulling the whole train with all its waggons behind it, if I may borrow the President-in-Office's own metaphor. However, I am not thinking of a steam engine which chugs along at a very leisurely pace but we should rather, I think, make use of the new technology here too, so that we will really get things moving in those areas where the people of Europe are expecting to see results.

The Minister's speech was very far-ranging but one very important thing was, I think, missing and I should like to put a direct question on this point. The fact of the matter is that we in this European Parliament decided a few months ago in favour of common rules for the elections and there should be no doubt that we hope everything possible will be done so that standard rules may be introduced in all the Member States in time for the next direct elections in 1984. Thus, this Parliament has made its decision and if cooperation is to be taken seriously, I must strongly urge the Danish Government to see to it, during its Presidency, that something is done in this area, since I would remind you that there is no time to lose if people are to be able to go to the polls on the basis of the same principles in all the Member States by 1984. I would be very pleased to know what the Danish Presidency intends to do in this field.

As regards the priorities which have been selected, I fully realize that the employment situation must take pride of place for a Danish Social Democratic Government. However, I should like to add that the Social Democrats do not have a monopoly on improving the employment situation. We in Parliament have said many fine things about what we intend to do in order to get more people in jobs. So far, however, all that has happened is, unfortunately, that the number of unemployed has increased. Thus, we agree that something must be done, but as long as people are reluctant to use the means necessary, we will not achieve our objective. People must be able to count on the future and undertakings must feel that they can invest so as to be able to produce certain products which we can sell on the major markets and in this way create jobs. I should like to sound a warning against this Parliament trying to approach the problem in terms of the packages with which we are all too familiar in the Danish Folketing, with their disastrous results. I hope that, even in an economic crisis such as we are currently going through, we will have the reserves, courage, will and strength to have the vision which is so urgently needed. It was vision which formed the basis for the important European cooperation on the subject of which I am sure the President of the Council is in agreement with us Liberals.

**President.** — I call Mr Israël.

**Mr Israël.** — (FR) Madam President, Mr President of the Council, ladies and gentlemen, the situation in the Lebanon, because of its tragic character, the high number of civilian victims involved, and the general upheaval it has caused in the region, requires from us more than a mere commiserating protest and more than an attempt to salve our consciences by ascertaining the final responsibilities.

At its meeting on 28 and 29 June, the European Council went beyond the urgent problems facing the Lebanon and tried its hand at the dangerous exercise of outlining a future solution for the Middle East. That is all very well, but once again the European Council has been incautious. Following the Venice Declaration, it repeats that the PLO must be involved in the negotiations aiming to establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

It is of course clear that nothing can be usefully achieved if the Palestinians themselves are not involved in deciding their own future. And it is certain that the use of force or terrorism settles nothing. But the real question which the European Council carefully avoids raising is whether the PLO can in any case be admitted to the negotiations, regardless of its methods or its final aim, which is the disappearance of Israel as a Hebrew State.

It would have been preferable for the European Council not to content itself with a mere declaration of principle, but to go to the heart of the matter and say clearly that the PLO will be a possible partner only to the extent that — after its leaders have left Beirut and its military potential in the Lebanon has been reduced to nothing — its political programme is purged of any idea of destroying Israel by force or strangling it economically or in some other way, and above all to the extent that it accepts the principle — despite the injustices which the Palestinian people have suffered and still suffer — that the State of Israel can exist as a Hebrew State in a reconciled Middle East in which the Palestinian people will have found its proper place at last.

As a humble Member of Parliament, I am relying on you, Mr Olesen, as Danish Foreign Minister and current chairman for political cooperation, to ensure that the Ten are more rigorous in their approach to the Middle East problem, on which world peace perhaps depends.

(Applause)

**President.** — I call Mr De Goede.

**Mr De Goede.** — (NL) Madam President, Mr President of the Council, economic recovery and the fight against unemployment have so far been keywords, both in the final communiqués issued after meetings of

the European Council and in statements made at the start of new Council Presidencies. And yet there is practically no sign of an energetic approach at European level, to say nothing of tangible results. One gets the impression that no-one really knows anymore how to break out of the vicious circle, especially as regards young people, who are faced with the highest levels of unemployment. I rather fear that the 1984 European elections are looking shakier and shakier, and the size of the campaign funds is likely to make very little difference. The fact is that neither the Council nor the Commission nor the European Parliament are imbued with sufficient inspiration to do something to show the people of Europe that more can be done at European level.

Madam President, the Economist Intelligence Unit in London has published the results of economic studies relating to the Netherlands, Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy and the United Kingdom. These six countries are at present pursuing a low-key policy aimed at beating inflation and reducing the size of the government budget deficit. These may in themselves be perfectly reasonable aims, but what we should be asking ourselves is whether that kind of economic policy is likely to lead us out of the present slough of despond. After all, according to the Economist Intelligence Unit, unemployment is likely to jump from 8% to 11% in 1987. The only way of turning the tide is by giving a sharp boost to our economies to restore a degree of selective economic growth. The long-term solution is likely to be a drastic cut in taxation coupled with a very restrained wages policy. Of course, it remains essential to maintain our own people's purchasing power and to strengthen our competitive position *vis-à-vis* third countries. The main threats are coming from the USA and Japan in the field of advanced technology, and it therefore follows that we shall have to do more than we have so far in that particular field. We desperately need European cooperation.

Research institutes claim that, if we persevere with the present policy of restraint, we shall, within five years, have a situation where unemployment is at a similar level to that of the disastrous 1930s. To prevent this happening, we must energetically pursue the aim of a reduction in working time. Unfortunately, insufficient progress is being made in this respect because the trade unions and workers are against the resultant fall in income levels. I should like to hear what the Council and the Commission have to say on this point.

There are two other brief points I should like to make, Madam President, starting with the Middle East. I stated our position on the Israeli invasion of the Lebanon last month. We condemn this action, which we believe to be out of all proportion. Latest reports indicate that the Israeli army has now set up a blockade around West Beirut which is making it impossible to bring in any food and medical supplies. It is said that gas, water and electricity supplies are cut off for days

**De Goede**

on end. We should like to urge the Council and the Commission to do everything in their power to alleviate the sufferings of innocent people in Beirut, and if necessary, we must exert great pressure on the Israeli Government.

Allow me to conclude by commenting on relations between the European Community and the United States. I should like to associate myself with the view advanced by the European Council that the United States should comply with what was agreed at Versailles. We must make it clear to our major ally that the Americans cannot expect the Western world to act in unison only as regards a joint defence effort; the fact is that such things as the high level of interest rates in the United States, the measures just announced with regard to the iron and steel market, the export and licensing of components for the European gas pipeline and the threatened agricultural measures are all matters of common interest and should be treated as such.

**President.** — I call Mrs Gredal.

**Mrs Gredal.** — (DA) Madam President, before I come to the main points I intend to make, I should like to say that I have no doubt that the Danish Presidency will make practical attempts, in true Danish fashion, to solve the many problems facing the Community. However, I should also like to say to those who are dubious about the Danish Presidency, that there are nine other countries represented in the Council and I get the impression that many of them have their own separate points of view and I do not think, therefore, that we need to be quite so concerned.

The Danish Presidency must surely realize that the questions of our relations with the USA, particularly as regards trade, will come to take up some of its time. In his introduction, Mr Olesen said that throughout the world — and Europe is no exception — countries were becoming increasingly nationalistic in their attitudes as the result of the economic crisis. The USA is a case in point, and I had an opportunity during my recent trip to Washington together with other of my colleagues from this Parliament, to inform both the administration and the Congress of our deep concern at the increasing trend towards protectionism on the part of the USA — a concern which became suddenly more acute during this visit, when President Reagan announced the decision regarding the natural gas pipeline from the Soviet Union. There can be no doubt that this decision came as a shock to literally all the politicians and officials in Washington as well as to those representatives of the European Parliament who were in Washington at that time, particularly following the Paris Summit, since what we mainly expected of the Paris Summit was to find some joint guidelines. Nobody probably expected success in all fields, but the decision by President Reagan and his aides so soon afterwards I am sure came as a surprise to everyone.

There is no doubt that the United States regards its decision as a clearly political act *vis-à-vis* the Soviet Union, because the situation in Poland has remained unchanged and because there is dissatisfaction with the Community's sanctions policy in connection with the situation in Poland. In Europe, however, it is seen more as a question of trade policy, even although the political aspects may also be acknowledged. In all our negotiations it was stressed on the European side that our political, economic and cultural links with the United States were so strong that neither of the partners should break them, but we also stressed that the most recent decisions in Washington had given rise to considerable concern in Europe.

I should like to point out that it is my opinion, following a series of highest-level meetings in the United States, that the problem in the relations between the United States and Europe lies largely in the way we define things. We call for consultations. The United States says that they have already taken place. Europe says that those were just talks. One could give a whole string of examples.

There is absolutely no doubt that neither of the partners wishes this to be the parting of the ways, but it is also absolutely certain that both sides have been hard hit by the economic recession, the worst consequence of which has been enormous unemployment, so that each tries to defend his own interests in individual areas. This is incompatible with cooperation and I am therefore very pleased at the fact that the President of the Council takes an attitude based on the principle of continued attempts to establish positive cooperation with the United States. I should like to add that this would be cooperation between equal partners. If this does not prove possible, the western world may well ask: who are the winners and who are the losers?

Finally, I should like to add that disagreement between Europe and the United States on a whole series of practical questions also tends to draw our attention from the major responsibilities borne by these two parts of the world as regards solving the major world problems. I need only mention relations with the third world and disarmament, and I think this is where the greatest challenge facing the western world lies.

**President.** — I call Mrs Cassanmagnago Cerretti.

**Mrs Cassanmagnago Cerretti.** — (IT) Madam President, Mr President of the Council, I think it particularly important to speak in this debate on the conclusions of the European Council of 28 and 29 June in order to say that this umpteenth summit was profoundly disappointing to us. I say this not to provide a negative refrain to the general negative conclusions drawn by other political observers, but to deplore the lack of a firm will and determination to follow up every decision in a timely and consistent way.

### Cassanmagnago Cerretti

In general, the proposals drawn up by the Commission are presented to the Council, which examines them and sends them back to the Commission with a mandate to draw up new proposals. The European Council, for its part, delegates the formulation of practical proposals to the joint Finance, Economy and Social Affairs Councils or to the Commission. This way of proceeding is an accumulation of wasted time.

Let us turn now to the conclusions of the recent Brussels summit with regard to the economic and social fields. It reaffirmed the need for modernization of Europe's economic basis, for greater convergence of the economies, and for specific action by the Community to combat unemployment, particularly among young people. However, it seems to us that no new ideas emerged and that no workable proposals were put forward. The European Parliament, for its part, had already defined in its plenary sittings of September and October 1981 — and with greater coherence and vigour — the social priorities and the selective and urgent measures to combat unemployment, stressing the desirability of simultaneously strengthening investment and containing inflation. It had also indicated a range of complementary measures in the field of training and vocational retraining needed by large, small and medium-sized undertakings in order to cope with the rapid impact of new technologies.

Unfortunately, Mr President of the Council, the response which you make in your programme is to refer the matter to the Jumbo Council. You should know that the European Parliament and the social forces of the Community can wait no longer, since the demand and desire for employment is extremely strong, and produces disharmony and conflict within the Community. The European Parliament, while agreeing with the stress placed, not least in your speech, on the problem of employment and in particular of youth employment, has a duty to reaffirm that the idea of separating social policies from monetary, industrial and fiscal policies, and in particular from the key question of the decision-making capacity of the institutions, reduces the credibility of this stress and in fact makes it illusory. We greatly regret that you made only a negative reference to yesterday's institutional debate, saying that Community own resources will probably not be increased.

In particular, the close link between combating youth unemployment and the Community's education programme must be reaffirmed. An education policy cannot be pursued without more money. In order to correct the imbalances on the European labour markets, they must be tackled long before they appear — at the stage of basic schooling. The challenge facing our educational systems, which need to change, cannot be met in a disjointed way. All the European educational traditions are called upon on the one hand to solve the problem of mutual recognition of qualifications, and on the other to seek together a response to this challenge. Among them, the popular educational tradition

of Denmark can and must play an important part. To this end, a special appeal must be addressed to the Presidency of the Council not only to speed up the excessively slow progress towards effective political cooperation in this field, but to endow it with all the impetus which basic consistency and the quest for an effective policy require. The forthcoming Jumbo Council will then produce decisions which are really linked with values, and the values should be linked with the younger generation's demand for opportunities to work.

**President.** — I call Mr Purvis.

**Mr Purvis.** — Madam President, I should like to concern myself particularly with Mr Delorozoy's report and the short term and current economic aspects of the Community. The trouble with reports on short term trends and prospects is that they can over-concentrate on the short-term to the exclusion of the long-term implications. In this group we share the concern for unemployment, for low growth, for inflation, for financial instability and for protectionism. But there is no long-term solution in taking short-term measures.

Surely we have seen enough examples in our own Member States that the easy route does not work. Years of good management can be thrown away in months, and years of make-believe entail a painful drying-out process. Just look at our Member States, those that are getting worse and those that are getting better, and correlate that with the economic policies and priorities they are pursuing. I hope the recent EMS realignment shows signs of a greater realism, greater cooperation and a greater will to convergence of economic policy. We here can help put a bit of backbone into the economic managers of our countries and of the Community as a whole, not just to take the short view, but to secure our long term future. This means that above all we must get inflation and budget deficits under control as a necessary precondition for future growth and better employment prospects. It means that we must concentrate on realising the full potential of the common market. It means concentrating on preserving and fostering the open world trade system, and it means better cooperation on economic and monetary policy. Because with stable and predictable economic conditions, with inflation under control, with stable currencies, with a really free home market of 280 million people and with a world market open to us, then the commercial decisions will be taken, the investments will be made in research and technology and our industries will become competitive and vibrant. That is how to open up jobs. It is right now that we must keep our eye on the long term.

**President.** — I call Mr Romualdi.

**Mr Romualdi.** — (IT) Madam President, the problems of which the President-in-Office spoke remain more or less the same — many and difficult, passing unsolved from hand to hand at every beginning and end of a presidency. It is a rather melancholy ritual, relieved only by a few original initiatives.

I am referring particularly to the problem of relations among the institutions of the Community, recently highlighted again by the Genscher and Colombo 'European Act' and tackled yesterday by Parliament in the motion for a resolution tabled by the Committee on Institutional Affairs and presented by Mr Spinelli.

I am referring to the economic, social and monetary problems on which the Minister dwelt and which have occupied the Commission, Parliament and the Council for so long, without satisfactory solutions ever being found in recent times. On the contrary, it is becoming increasingly clear that there is a structural crisis which threatens to strike at the very vitality and capacity for response of the economic life of our countries, some of which are still grappling with serious monetary imbalances and disastrous inflation, and nearly all of which are afflicted by recession and 'galloping unemployment'.

It is in this context that the problem of the East-West dialogue should be understood — problems which the gas pipeline affair certainly does not help to place on a basis of greater responsibility and security for the Western world. I am also referring to the problems dealt with a short while ago by Mrs Gredal, concerning our relations with the USA and whether we have the capacity to respond to the great challenge thrown down by the American and Japanese economic world to the European economy. Finally, we must overcome every difficulty and every obstacle likely to delay the accession of Spain and Portugal to the Common Market.

Now that the tragic affair of the Falkland or Malvinas Islands is over — or almost over — with its repercussions not only for the Argentine Government but for the whole of Latin America, and now that our attention has been diverted from other problems such as Poland and Afghanistan, we would like the President of the Council to tell us, more clearly than he has done so far, what is his judgement on current events in the Lebanon and the Middle East as a whole.

As far as one can see, our position still rests on the UN declarations and the policy adopted by the European Council in Venice two years ago. On this urgent matter we want no more vagueness, and wish to hear whether we sincerely want the Palestinians to have a homeland of their own and how and where they can and must have that homeland.

We always all agree on things in general. *Generalia non sunt appiccatoria*, as an old macaronic proverb says. The things which really commit one are different

— precise and detailed — and it is to those that we must turn if we want to achieve anything.

For the moment, then, bearing in mind the good intentions expressed this morning and apart from a few specific reservations, upon which we shall expand on another occasion, it only remains for us to wish the new President of the Council, the Ministers and their officials success in their work for Europe.

**President.** — I call the Council.

**Mr Olesen, President of the Council.** — (DA) Madam President, I should first of all like to thank the Members of Parliament for a very interesting morning. I have listened with great interest to the many contributions and have noted that, as is usual in a Parliament, not everyone has the same point of view — indeed, I could see evidence of strongly opposing views.

In my concluding remarks, I should like to say a few words in connection with the Oral Question by Mr Penders, who asked me three questions. Unfortunately, for formal reasons, I must inform you that I am not authorized to answer the first and third question put by the honourable Member since they were discussed at a meeting which did not take place within the context of political cooperation. However, I should also point out that the Genscher-Colombo plan was not discussed in Bonn as the question maintained. I would also say that the atmosphere at the time of the Bonn meeting was very positive as regards the relations between the Community and the United States.

I should like, however, to answer the honourable Member's other question and inform you that since the adoption of the London Report, the practice which made it possible to discuss certain foreign policy questions connected with or relevant to the political aspects of security in the context of political cooperation has been continued. This practice has proved extremely fruitful in connection with the coordination of the Ten at the Madrid conference on security and cooperation in Europe and during the preparation of the Ten's position at the UN's second special disarmament meeting — a position which was put forward in the speech by the then President of the Ten at the meeting on 8 June this year.

I hope you will understand when I say that I cannot answer every individual one of the many interesting points raised by members of various groups here today. I will concentrate in my concluding remarks on a number of main topics I was very interested to hear what Mr Rumor and others had to say about the relations between the European Community and the United States. I think the way Mr Rumor put it was that there must not be a trade war between the European Community and the United States. Mr Poul Møller also made a few remarks which I took to mean

## Olesen

that we should also listen to our American friends and try to understand their points of view, for example, as regards the pipeline, which is such a heated topic at the moment.

I should like to stress that the Danish Presidency will do what he can to prevent escalation of the current trade situation between the United States and the European Community. However, this will only be possible if certain conditions are fulfilled. For example, we must present things to our American friends as we in Europe are obliged to see them. Unlike Mr Poul Møller, I think we in Europe have very good political judgement as regards the question of east-west relations. I think we can rightly say that we can obviously understand that the Americans have their own points of view as regards the pipeline, but that, in view of our geographical position, and our traditional trade with Eastern Europe and on the basis of our general political judgement we must take the line we have adopted. I also think that we should put our arguments concerning the steel situation to our American friends but — and this is the second important point I would like to stress — it is vital that we make clear that we want a constructive and positive dialogue with the United States. We do not want trench warfare, but rather to find a solution to the all too constricting and tense situation we are in. This will call for goodwill on both sides, and I should like to assure Parliament that the Danish Presidency will do what it can to show the United States that we in the European Community have this goodwill. In this way, I think — and this is not just what I hope, it is also my conviction — we will solve the problems currently facing us.

I should like to say to Mr Haagerup that I am very well aware of the aspect — I will not even call it a problem — of political cooperation in relations with other countries. It is vital, I think, that we should be open to contacts and consultation, which have indeed already begun. We know that Norway, for example, is very interested in maintaining close contact and we have also seen this in connection with other countries. We should be open to these things.

Many people mentioned the problem of unemployment. I should like to make one single comment on this question. The Presidency has stressed that we give very high priority to combating of unemployment, but I also understand from various remarks which have been made that people are thinking in terms of a traditional way of fighting unemployment, i.e. by giving a man a spade to dig a hole with and then letting the next man fill it in again. There is no question of this sort of approach. Firstly, the number of unemployed in the European Community is running around the 11 million mark and we have a duty to show that we intend to do whatever we possibly can to combat this unemployment. This was the point of the statement adopted by the European Council in March. It is on the basis of a decision adopted by this European Council that the Danish Presidency is now pressing

ahead and preparing the ground so that we will be able to reach final conclusions at the European Council meeting in December this year. This is a cooperation in which the Commission will play a decisive role along with other elements.

However, the second thing I should like to stress is that there is another major job for the European Community underlying the unemployment figures, i.e. the problem that at international level we are faced with the most exacting competition. I should like to repeat what I said off the cuff in my introductory remarks, i.e. that if we in Europe are not on our toes, if we are also in the technology race, we stand to lose a great deal. As I stressed before, we should not enter into a trade war, but we should keep on our toes and we should be realistic when we consider the developments in Japan or the United States. How are we to cope with competition? We must invest. There must be private and public investment for if we fail to adapt our training in the light of this competition and future prospects, we will be the losers. If we do not invest in a sufficiently flexible industry which can adapt itself to the market so that the countries of Europe will not be dependent on a few cumbersome key industries, we will also lose out. This is what the remarks I made as Danish President were all about. Finally, I should like to say that the Danish Presidency is very much aware of the problem of enlargement, i.e. the problem of Spain, as mentioned by Mr Jakobsen, and, let us not forget, of Portugal.

The Danish Presidency intends to continue with intensive further negotiations, in the full awareness that there are problems.

I should just like to make one final point regarding the Lebanon. This question has been raised by many speakers and I should just like to say very briefly that I take the view which is expressed in Resolution No 513 of the Security Council, which was adopted during the night between Sunday and Monday, and which simply calls for a discontinuation of the Israeli blockade of West Beirut. I should like to stress on this occasion that the Presidency firmly supports this approach and I will also take this opportunity to appeal to Israel to stop and think, to realize that it cannot achieve what would appear to be its political objectives by continuing behaving the way it has been recently, but that there is only one possibility open, and that is the option of finding a solution via negotiation.

**President.** — The joint debate is closed. The vote will take place at the next voting time.<sup>1</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> Deadline for tabling motions for resolutions and amendments: see Minutes.

IN THE CHAIR: MR KLEPSCH

*Vice-President*

3. *Topical and urgent debate (objections)*

**President.** — Pursuant to the second paragraph of Rule 48(2) of the Rules of Procedure, I have received the following reasoned objections in writing to the list of subjects approved for inclusion in the topical and urgent debate to be held at 10 a.m. tomorrow, 8 July 1982.

*(The President read out the list of objections)<sup>1</sup>*

The vote will be taken without debate.

*(Mr. Haagerup's objection was upheld)*

I call Mr Denis on a point of order.

*(The president decided to erase Mr Denis' remarks from the record since they did not constitute a point of order — Protests)*

*(Mrs Squarcialupi's objection was rejected)*

I call Mr Chambeiron on a point of order.

**Mr Chambeiron.** — *(FR)* Mr President, with regard to Mr Denis you have just taken a decision which is unprecedented in this Parliament. You could at least, as President, have remained neutral in this debate. I think it is shocking that you would not allow Mr Denis' remarks to be put on record, since he was simply voicing the feelings and the rage which our colleagues felt when they saw so many hanging their heads, because they are ashamed of the crime that is being perpetrated in Lebanon.

*(Applause from the centre and the left)*

**President.** — You ought to have a better idea of things, Mr Chambeiron, because like me you are a member of the Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions. There was no debate. It was a matter of the Rules of Procedure, which do not permit any debate on the matter.

*Mr Kirk's objection*

I call Mrs Squarcialupi on a point of order.

**Mrs Squarcialupi.** — *(IT)* This is a point of order, Mr President, because along with the motions on drought

we also ought to consider the motion on Lebanon — since people have got nothing to drink as well as nothing to eat in Beirut!

**President.** — I call Mr von der Vring on a point of order.

**Mr von der Vring.** — *(DE)* Mr President, is it possible to move that the urgent debate be taken off tomorrow's agenda because it is superfluous?

**President.** — That is of course impossible, Mr von der Vring, and you know it.

I call Mr Glinne.

**Mr Glinne.** — *(FR)* Mr President, apart from the rather disturbing fact what we can talk about foot-and-mouth disease but not about people dying in Lebanon, I should just like to comment on the uselessness of prior meetings by the group chairmen to attempt to establish priorities for the urgent matters to be discussed. This is not the first time I have had to say this.

*(Applause)*

This is what happens because some groups then come along to the Chamber and propose an agenda which is different from the one worked out on Monday morning. If you ask me, this is not the most polite way of working.

*(Applause)*

**President.** — I call Mr D'Angelosante.

**Mr D'Angelosante.** — *(IT)* Mr President, I am not going to say anything about the somewhat disgraceful behaviour of just now. I just want to ask you why you took first the objection by Mr Haagerup and 21 other Members of this Parliament.

**President.** — Mr D'Angelosante, the objections are put to the vote in the order in which they are tabled.

I call Mr Beazley.

**Mr Beazley.** — May I please point out that the texts of the debates put forward under Rule 48 for urgency are not available to Members of the House at the necessary time? In fact it is with great difficulty that those who have to help their group leaders to take decisions on this matter can obtain the texts. Could I ask through you, Sir, that these texts should be fully available to all Members of the House in good time so that

<sup>1</sup> See Minutes.



## Beazley

they can be properly discussed and voted on within the groups?

**President.** — We shall look into it. As far as we can ascertain, the distribution was properly carried out.

### 4. *Tourniquet system (continuation)*

**President.** — The next item is the continuation of the debate on the Sieglerschmidt report (Doc. 1-398/82).

I call Mr Fergusson.

**Mr Fergusson.** — Mr President, it was I who originally requested this debate, and the report who questioned the propriety of the 'tourniquet' and whose letters and texts form the annexes to the Sieglerschmidt report before you. But I must begin by declaring my deep disappointment with the way the Committee on the Verification of Credentials has handled my objections.

First, except in the very crudest way, the general question has not been answered and certainly not argued as to whether a Member may take his seat here knowing, or having agreed, that he must leave it before the end of the parliamentary term. This is a legal matter involving not just the rules of the Parliament but the act of 1976. Despite what Mr Sieglerschmidt claimed on Monday, no real legal arguments whatever have been adduced in his report. The House requires something better.

My letter in Annex 2 asked a specific question about the case of Mr Michel and the undertakings he may have made under the 'tourniquet'. It has not been answered. In the justification for my objection in Annex 3, I suggested that Mr Fanton's resignation, and hence that of others, was made under pressure or in consequence of a promise made under specific pressure. Mr Sieglerschmidt mentioned on Monday the highly dubious nature of the resignation letters signed in advance, apparently, of the taking of seats. It is all described in Section 8 of his explanation. But there is much more, highly relevant written evidence about the pressure exercised under the 'tourniquet', especially in the French press. I have it here. But the report has considered none of it and commented upon none of it. The House, I repeat, requires something better.

Mr President, my very serious objection that the practice of the tourniquet derides the Parliament, and in certain respects makes our work futile, has been overlooked entirely. But this is the burden of this business, and the burden of my complaints. The committee actually says it cannot judge on this matter. In that case, if the committee will not judge on whether this derides Parliament, then the House must do so itself.

I repeat, Mr President, there is no question of a campaign against any group or any party in this Parliament. All the Gaullist Members here have our greatest respect. The ones who are with us particularly and, of course, the ones, who if the system persists, are yet to join us. And if ever we have time to get to know them, we will respect them too. The ones who have left us we respect, whose names might have become, if they had stayed, household words: names like Messmer and Déboré and Fourcade and even Chirac — these are the names which I think, inspired the poetic question, a long time ago, if I may attempt the language: *'Où sont les sièges d'antan'?*

I hope, fervently, that all Members preparing to vote on this report will read it first and see what is in it. It is not just inept; it is not just that the resolution itself is an extended *non sequitur* — for specious convolution the explanatory statement, in my view at any rate, is unbeatable. I mean nothing personal about it, but it is a most remarkable document.

Look at Section 12 which speaks of Article 4, paragraph 1 of the 1975 Act and says that it means only that a Member may not be bound by instructions, but not that a Member may not accept them. Can anyone believe that if you accept instructions it is not the same as being bound by them? These are simply spurious semantics. The report, in effect, argues that the 'tourniquet' is lawful because it is not binding and that it is not binding because Members are free to break the promises which bought them their seats. Now politicians have broken promises before now but this Parliament can hardly go public in upholding the principle of breaking one's word — but that is what the report suggests.

There are other problems in the report. Look at, for example, the suggestion in Section 8 for a new resignation system, so as to conceal the scandal of resignations extorted in advance, and look how Section 9 argues that because the Council has not condemned the 'tourniquet' it must have condoned it. I plead once again for everybody before voting on this report to read this work and to see for themselves. That said, I should greatly prefer a proper opinion from the Legal Affairs Committee to be presented to the House before we vote.

If necessary, it ought to be referred back to the Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions and I formally ask you at the very least to suggest to the House that it is given to the Legal Affairs Committee. If we cannot have a legal opinion, then I hope we can simply rely on the House itself and its good sense to look after itself, because there is one single question — and with this I end — that we have got to decide. Are we really going to allow national political parties, to insert Members into this Chamber and withdraw them at will, at random or systematically, without any regard to the dignity or smooth working of this Parliament, and without any reference to the electorate

**Fergusson**

which, back in 1979, thought they had exercised some kind of preference as to who should represent them here?

**President.** — I call Mr Patterson.

**Mr Patterson.** — Mr President, I can be very brief, in that case, I entirely agree with what my colleague Mr Fergusson has said and, in particular, on two matters. One, that although I have read Mr Sieglerschmidt's report with great care, I think the fairest you could say about it, in terms of Scottish law, is that the case against or for the tourniquet is not proven. I have put down amendments which would state that very fact that we really do need a much more important legal opinion from the Legal Affairs Committee or even from the Court of Justice before we can pronounce on the 'tourniquet' and, in fact, the best thing that could be done to this report is to have it referred back, preferably to the Legal Affairs Committee for a legal opinion. I do not know whether I am going to be able to do that now, but that is what I think this House should sensibly do.

I formally move the reference back to the Legal Affairs Committee.

**President.** — I call the rapporteur.

**Mr Sieglerschmidt, rapporteur.** — (DE) Mr President, I should like to point out to everyone here that it is certainly no coincidence that five members of the Committee on the Verification of Credentials, who were involved in this decision, are also members of the Legal Affairs Committee, which means that of the four people who followed the proposal I made in my capacity as rapporteur three from quite different groups belong to the Legal Affairs Committee. I should also like to point out that there are other members of the Committee on the Verification of Credentials who took part in the initial discussions and who are members of the Legal Affairs Committee. Consequently, even if the criticism of my report finds support, which of course it does not get from me in my capacity as rapporteur or from most of the members of the Committee on the Verification on Credentials, it is quite superfluous to refer this report to the Legal Affairs Committee, because it is highly unlikely that the Legal Affairs Committee would come to a substantially different conclusion. I urge Parliament to spare us this unnecessary procedure and to get on with the vote. You know, some amendments have been tabled which would turn my report right upside down if they were to be adopted.

**President.** — After the rapporteur I can call only one speaker for and one against.

I call Mr Fergusson.

**Mr Fergusson.** — I will second the referral back and I am prepared to vote at once, Mr President.

**President.** — I call Mr Malangré.

**Mr Malangré.** — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I fully endorse what Mr Sieglerschmidt said. The matter was thoroughly discussed at several meetings of the Committee on the Verification of Credentials. Mr Sieglerschmidt is quite right in saying that the members of the Committee on the Verification of Credentials, most of whom are also members of the Legal Affairs Committee, considered all the legal aspects of the matter. I think it would be quite superfluous and would in no way help the business of the House if the matter now went to the Legal Affairs Committee. All aspects of the problem have been adequately discussed and the House can now vote on it.

(Parliament agreed to Mr Fergusson's request)

#### 5. Political situation in Turkey — Visa requirements for Turkish workers

**President.** — The next item is the joint debate on the following two reports:

- report (Doc. 1-304/82), drawn up by Mr von Hassel on behalf of the Political Affairs Committee, on the political situation in Turkey;
- report (Doc. 1-387/82), drawn up by Mr Van Minnen on behalf of the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment, on the introduction of compulsory visas for Turkish workers.

The following oral questions to the Foreign Ministers are also included in the debate:

- oral question without debate (Doc. 1-394/82) by Mr Papaefstratiou:

Subject: Visit by Turkish Prime Minister Ülüsü to the Turkish-held territories of Cyprus

1. Are the Ministers aware that on 20 May 1982 Mr Ülüsü, the Turkish Prime Minister, had the arrogance to visit that part of the Cypriot Republic illegally occupied by Turkish forces?
2. Are the Ministers aware that the visit took place without any invitation from the sole legitimate government of the Cypriot Republic, in flagrant disregard of all notions of international legality (UN resolutions) and morality, in an attempt to legitimate its occupation?
3. Are the Ministers aware that the Turkish Prime Minister declared that he was making

**President**

the visit as a guest of the President of the 'Turkish Cypriot Federated State', a concept in complete contradiction of the UN resolutions?

4. When and how, having regard to the strong representations made by Greece and Cyprus, do the Ministers intend to condemn this unprecedented international provocation and effrontery on the part of the Turkish Prime Minister, who is seeking to gain a legal basis for the illegally occupied part of Cyprus and to call in question the sole legitimate government in Nicosia?

— oral question with debate (Doc. 1-395/82) by Mr Gremetz and others:

Subject: 'Visit' by the Turkish Prime Minister to the area of Cyprus occupied by Turkish troops

On 20 May 1982 the Prime Minister of the Turkish military junta, Mr Ülsü, began a 'visit' to the northern part of Cyprus which is occupied by Turkish troops. In a declaration, the Government of Cyprus which is the only legitimate representative of the country, described this 'visit' as an 'intervention at the highest level against the Republic of Cyprus'.

Having regard to the fact that the Government of Cyprus has signed an association agreement with the EEC, will the Foreign Ministers indicate what measures they propose to take in face of this attitude by the Turkish junta which would lose no opportunity to exploit a tolerant attitude on the part of the Community to seek political legitimisation for the illegal military occupation of some 40% of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus?

I call Mr von Hassel.

**Mr von Hassel, rapporteur.** — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, it is my honour to present to you the Report on the situation in Turkey. The Report was adopted by a large majority by the Political Affairs Committee on 27 May and the Committee decided at the same time that the rapporteur should present the explanatory statement orally.

The Report is based on two visits I made to Ankara and extensive discussions in the Committee itself.

The reasons which led us to concern ourselves with Turkey may be summarized as follows: in 1980, the Turkish armed forces' Security Council decided to put a stop to the activities of the political parties, suspend parts of the constitution, dissolve Parliament and the Government and subject the whole country to its own control.

As a result, Groups in our Parliament tabled motions calling on us to respond to developments in Turkey,

since Turkey is a country with which we have an association agreement. We have appointed a delegation to maintain a link with Turkey and the Commission is continuing its financial aid with a Fourth Financial Protocol for 600 million ECU. Ultimately, we feel directly concerned by developments inside a country so closely connected with us and with which we have long-term relations.

The Committee first examined the situation which led to the events of 12 September 1980 and came up with the following findings.

5 000 people died and 10 000 were injured in terrorist attacks in the space of 24 months. Enough weapons — worth approximately 500 million dollars — have been found since to equip an army division. The legislative system was paralysed, without a single piece of legislation being passed in ten months; the Presidential elections, then due, produced 120 parliamentary ballots with no final result. The economy was in tatters, the Right and the Left were irreconcilably divided, each pinning responsibility for the situation on the other side.

Our debate in Committee and our deliberations can be summarized in three points. The majority of the Committee agreed that the situation prior to the military takeover of 12 September 1980 had become intolerable. Violence and intolerance reigned, the country was on the verge of civil war and fratricide, and democracy had collapsed. There are no major differences of opinion on the objective which we, the European Parliament, must help to achieve. We wish to restore the personal safety of all individuals, and fundamental and trade union rights, re-establish a representative and pluralistic democracy and overcome the economic, financial and social dangers; we want a stable association of Turkey with the West and the Alliance, in which it has a particularly important role.

There was violent disagreement as to the measures Europe should take to help Turkey return to democracy. Two approaches were advocated. The proponents of the first wondered whether the Generals had any real intention of reestablishing democracy or wished to retain their new powers permanently. There were no signs of any progress. Torture continued, human rights were still not respected, political parties were banned, politicians were excluded from participating in political decisions, Ecevit had been sentenced and imprisoned, and trade unionists risked the death penalty. Consequently, pressure had to be exerted on the regime to achieve a return to democracy. All cooperation had to be halted until democracy was restored, namely until April or May 1984. Bilateral aid, economic aid, political support, and particularly financial aid under the Fourth Financial Protocol, had therefore to be withdrawn, and perhaps even the Association Agreement suspended.

The proponents of the second approach argued that since the intervention the military had shown their

**von Hassel**

determination to create stable conditions for a return to democracy. They had so far kept to the schedule they had announced and there was therefore no reason to doubt that they would not implement the second part of the schedule as planned. This side thus showed greater trust in the intentions of the military. The military were doing everything possible to guarantee the safety of the public, effectively combat for the first time the long tradition of torture, restore the rule of law and establish a parliament which would represent the people and form the highest authority in the land. The military heads of the transitional government were still imbued with the ideas of Turkey's founder, Kemal Atatürk, they were democrats and had already proved this on two occasions. They were firmly committed to a secular and not an Islamic state, they were clearly looking to the West and were the guarantors of democracy. Moreover, the majority of the Committee argued that our security depended on the unity and efficiency of the North Atlantic Alliance, the most endangered region of which was southeast Europe, of which Turkey was the cornerstone, especially in the light of developments in Iran, Iraq, Syria and the Lebanon. Our freedom therefore also depended on that of Turkey. The majority believed that the democratization process would succeed only if the transitional government had enough time to build a stable foundation, which would include putting the economy, currency, finances and social system back on their feet. If this were done too quickly, the new foundation would again collapse.

The majority of the Committee endorsed the view expressed by Mr Tindemans, the former President of the Council, in his Report on Turkey that no new additional pressure should be exerted on the transitional government, since this would only lead to a renewed hardening of positions. However, the proponents of the two different approaches agreed that it should be emphatically pointed out to the transitional government that the European Parliament expected the timetable to be adhered to, fundamental and human rights to be reestablished, trade unions and political parties to be legalized and politicians allowed as soon as possible to participate in government.

The majority on both sides adopted the motion for a resolution which was felt to be a balanced synthesis.

The European Parliament expects Turkey to restore democracy; it is ready to help Turkey at this most difficult period in its history by providing bilateral and financial aids, for example, under the Fourth Financial Protocol, in the context of cooperation between Europe and Turkey. The majority view was that aid should be resumed when the constitution was in sight, and not postponed until Turkey has held elections and formed a government in one and a half year's time.

The process would be made easier if certain confidence-building measures were allowed, for example permitting a delegation of the Red Cross Committee

in Geneva to visit the prisons in Turkey and sending a European Parliament delegation to observe the referendum and parliamentary elections.

Discussions also centred on a whole series of fundamental questions. It is unfortunately impossible for me to go into all these questions in the ten minutes available to me. However, the central questions such as human rights, torture, trials, requests for the death penalty, the dissolution of political parties, the banning of public statements by politicians, the activities of trade unions and the earnestness of the appeals by Amnesty International, were dealt with in no uncertain terms by your rapporteur in numerous discussions in Ankara, and he also put forward the common view of this House.

The views presented by your rapporteur were shared in part by the leading members of the transitional government and the President, who also agreed, for example, to bring and continue to bring before the Courts all cases of torture that came to light. The President specifically assured your rapporteur that the death penalty would be imposed only in cases of murder. 13 death sentences had been passed to date, but were not related to the DISK trial which was discussed in this House some time ago.

Your rapporteur was equally critical — and continues to be so today — of the proceedings against Ecevit. He was told that not only had a decree been issued barring former politicians from making any statements during the transitional period but that Ecevit and Demirel had given a written undertaking that they would abstain from making such statements. Demirel had kept to the undertaking, Ecevit had not. The view of this House is unanimous on the question of parties and politicians. Meanwhile, the situation has improved; the ban has been confined to leading politicians and now affects only some 160 people.

But criticism of this ban must not let us forget that the previous parties were a total failure and that it was their failure that brought the country into crisis. They were unable to overcome the difficulties with which their country was faced, they spent their energy in mutual opposition, they did not link forces to combat the crisis together, they sank into rivalry and hatred.

As regards the future of the trade unions, your rapporteur is convinced that they will obtain rights approximating those in our own countries.

Finally, on the question of the constitution, the draft will be completed this month. The constituent assembly will consider it during the summer, the constitution will be passed by October and the referendum will take place on 7 or 14 November. The decisive first stage will thus be completed in four months from now.

From time to time there have been calls in this House — also reflected in the motions currently tabled — for us to examine the contents of this constitution.

**von Hassel**

Mr President, in order to be able to make any assessment of the constitution one must take into account the mentality of the Turks. They want democracy, but they do not want the forms of that democracy to be imposed upon them. They want to make their own choices and do not want to be told that this is good for Turkey, is in its best interests, and that is bad for Turkey.

The Committee's attention was drawn, in particular, to the Armenian question. I cannot deal with this now, but we shall return to it tomorrow.

In your rapporteur's opinion, Turkey will again have a parliament in 22 months time with all the rights to which a directly-elected parliament is entitled. Mr President, I should like to make one final comment. This question reminds me of the quite justified calls made, for example by you yourself, Mr President, three months ago on the 25th Anniversary of the Treaties of Rome, that we in this House should at long last enjoy the rights befitting a parliament.

I hope, Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, that the Council of the Ten Community States will one day grant us the rights which our future Turkish counterparts will obtain in 22 months time.

**President.** — I call Mr Van Minnen.

**Mr Van Minnen, rapporteur.** — (NL) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, to avoid any misunderstanding, allow me to point out that the motion for a resolution tabled by the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment is quite separate from that tabled by the Political Affairs Committee, which is the one Mr von Hassel was just referring to. The fact that both resolutions are nonetheless being dealt with at one and the same time is due to the similarity in nomenclature, the equal public importance, the logical structure of our agenda and, primarily, the need to get a decision taken before the summer recess.

The point at issue is not the visa requirements as such, so much as the way in which visas are issued to our Turkish fellow citizens who live and work within our Community, who have been granted residence and work permits and who should therefore be allowed to move freely within the Community without harassment, so long as there is obviously no prospect of the visa requirements being done away with.

Incidentally, the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment has not simply come up with the motion for a resolution out of the blue; the fact is that we have been forced to face the facts, which are that our Turkish fellow citizens, who in many cases have been living and working among us for many years, had their freedom of movement drastically restricted a few years ago by the introduction of the visa requirements.

Now, you can regard these requirements as essential or necessary or unnecessary — that is not the point at issue here today. By tabling this motion for a resolution, we simply want to ensure that the requirements are applied as flexibly as possible to minimize the obstacle element. That is why this motion for a resolution recommends that Turkish workers be granted a visa for those living in frontier regions and for holiday and weekend visits, to be valid for one year. A visa of this kind should be re-usable so that the holder does not have to make the long trek to a distant consulate before every trip and spend hours queuing up for his visa every time. In practice, the major obstacle is transit through the Federal Republic of Germany. The fact is that the FRG is the major country of transit and at the same time the country with the highest volume of trans-frontier commuter movements. It therefore follows that that is the main area in which existing obstacles have to be done away with. I am pleased to be able to report, Mr President, that, between the time the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment was confronted with this bureaucratic obstacle and now, when we have got round to debating the subject, we have received a letter from the West German Minister of the Interior, Mr Gerhard Baum, in which he tells us that the Federal German Government intends very largely to adopt the practice followed by the Benelux countries, which indeed boils down to a reusable visa being issued for a period of one year. Thus it is that this motion for a resolution has had an effect before it has been adopted, which seems to me to be the reverse of what Parliament manages to achieve with most of its resolutions.

I therefore hope that the European Parliament will be able to accept without any further ado the conclusion of the resolution, which is that a flexible visa arrangement will not jeopardize the factors which have led certain countries to introduce visa requirements in the first place; on the contrary, we feel that the proposed arrangements will be easily monitorable by the countries in question. It is precisely when — and this is perhaps the essential element in this joint debate — we come to distinguish the content of Mr von Hassel's report from that of this resolution tabled by the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment that we must point out that to be firmly opposed to a junta is entirely different from being opposed to our Turkish fellow citizens. It is precisely at this juncture that we, as a Parliament, must make the point that we have no intention of taking up an anti-Turkish position, that we as a Community wish to, and are able to, do something for our Turkish fellow citizens. I should therefore like to commend this motion for a resolution most sincerely to your attention, with the hope that it will be adopted by as large a majority as possible.

**President.** — I call the Council.

**Mr Olesen, President of the Council.** — (DA) Mr President, as you are aware, the ten Member

### Olesen

States of the European Community stated at the meeting of the European Council on 29 and 30 March, that the question of human rights in Turkey was a source of considerable concern within the Ten. They also stressed that the country must return to democracy as soon as possible, which means that those persons detained on account of their beliefs or trades union activities should be released and martial law should be discontinued.

As is apparent from the report and motion for resolution, the situation in Turkey continues to cause serious concern. As I am sure you are aware, the human rights situation in Turkey has been brought before the European Commission on Human rights in Strasbourg by five European countries, and, as I see it, the fact that the matter will now be considered objectively and confidentially, as is characteristic of the procedure in the Commission on Human Rights, will be in the interests of all concerned. I do not think it is appropriate, therefore, to go into the individual aspects of the Hassel report in greater detail at this present moment.

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

**Mr Brandt.** — (*DE*) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, there is every cause to protest with the utmost vigour following yesterday's renewed sentencing to prison in Ankara of the democrat and patriot Bulent Ecevit. And, in my view, Mr President, there is reason to be disappointed at the tendency towards appeasement which appears in this House whenever there is a need to be outspoken.

(*Applause*)

We must stop being mealy-mouthed and start showing that we have some bite. The resolution before us has been improved, that I must admit, and the Socialist Group hopes to improve it further in the course of this debate. We particularly support the amendment tabled for Paragraph 5 calling for non-discrimination against politicians and trade unionists who have engaged, each in his own way, in public life in the past. The way the Socialist Group will vote on the resolution as a whole will depend on the manner in which the amendments are dealt with.

Ecevit stood before his judges in Ankara yesterday and said — and my own experience endorses this — that administrations may come and go but the country is there to stay. What was unpopular with an administration was not always bad for the country and the State. He quite rightly said that democratic political parties are an integral part of democracy, and that like a bird, a democracy cannot take off with only one wing, in this case only the right wing.

I am aware — and my views on this point are perhaps not very different from those of Mr von Hassel — that

the parties in Turkey have proved themselves to be incapable of dealing with the tasks before them, but this does not justify the measures taken against politicians and trade unionists which, as we know, are far more serious in a whole series of cases than the sentences passed on Bulent Ecevit. and let me say this: the ridiculous pretext given for preventing our colleagues, Ludwig Fellermaier and Ove Fich, from seeing Ecevit and others in Ankara last week is in essence nothing but an insult to the Members of this House, and thus to us all. At any rate that is my feeling.

(*Applause*)

I am not speaking out of hostility, Mr President, for that I have no cause. I am speaking out of friendship for the Turkish people and respect for the traditions established by Ataturk, knowing the importance of Turkey for the Western Alliance and of its role as a link between Europe and the Middle East, and aware of the need to work towards the solution of difficult problems — and the Cyprus question is only one — by being ready to negotiate.

Events such as the sentencing of Ecevit to a second term of imprisonment and the more serious violations of human rights that have occurred unfortunately cannot fail to have negative effects on bilateral relations and the handling of the Association Agreement and special agreements between the European Community and Turkey. Let me say this to the authorities in Ankara. If you have more than the short-term interests of your country at heart, you will not treat lightly our concern over the situation. If you do not wish to impose further unnecessary strain on relations between Europe and Turkey, you must treat patriots and democrats properly.

Mr President, I send my greetings from this House to my friend, Bulent Ecevit, a democrat and social democrat and note that, in spite of the unfair treatment to which he is being subjected, he yesterday again — doing what he sees as his duty — proved himself a Turkish patriot before the court and, as in the past, pressed the case for preventing Turkey from falling into isolation and maintaining external links. I believe we must look beyond the contents of these resolutions and not abandon the people on whom Turkish democracy depends and who are essential for our cooperation with Turkey.

(*Applause*)

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

**Mr Papaefstratiou.** — (*GR*) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, we Greek Members of Parliament from the New Democracy Party, echoing the sentiments of the Greek people, consider it our duty, in our constant

### Papaefstratiou

belief in democratic principles, to state to our neighbours, the Turkish people, that we support the establishment and operation of true democratic institutions in that country.

My question, which is being debated with the report by Mr von Hassel, on the recent arbitrary and provocative visit by the Turkish Prime Minister, Mr Ülüsü, to the illegally conquered and occupied part of the territory of the independent Cypriot Republic, provides an opportunity for this House to take note once again of the fact that Turkey's military regime continues to violate every rule of international law. Furthermore, the mass arrests, sentencing and torture of citizens, which are daily occurrences in that country, are undoubtedly facts which cannot be refuted by the vague and inapplicable statements by the military regime that there will be a return to democracy.

For these reasons we cannot agree with the report by Mr von Hassel, which in some points is patently at variance with the resolutions adopted by the European Parliament on 10 April 1981 and 22 January 1982, and to the recent action brought jointly by five European countries, as the President of the Council of Ministers has stated, against Turkey before the European Commission of Human Rights. We are totally opposed to the attitude adopted by the dictatorial regime to the detriment of the Turkish people and we condemn that regime's provocative attitude, which has recently become more pronounced, and the expression of aggressive intentions in the Aegean region, an unacceptable activity which greatly threatens peace.

It is obvious that we deplore any dictatorial and totalitarian system in this House, of whatever model and political colouring, since all such systems violate the basic rules of liberty and democracy and create problems for peaceful coexistence between peoples. We are fully confident that all the institutions of the European Community and the ten free and democratic Member States realize that, for the sake of the human rights both of the Turkish people and of the suffering Cypriot people, they must see to it that Turkey's military dictatorship is made to understand that observance of the rules of international law and respect for human rights are fundamental principles with no room for compromise and self-interest.

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

**Sir James Scott-Hopkins.** — Mr President, I welcome the report by Mr von Hassel and the way he has presented it to this House, and I thank him for the enormous amount of work that has gone into it. It is, I think, a well-balanced report. I intend to say a few words about one or two sections of it with which I disagree, and I hope he will take kindly to what I have to say.

I join with Mr Brandt and others who have condemned the way that ex-Prime Minister Ecevit has been sentenced to a term of imprisonment in the very recent past. I gather it was six months. I do not know the exact circumstances, but of course actions of this kind by the Turkish authorities cannot be welcomed by anybody at all, and there is no doubt — and this House will of course accept — that there is at this moment in the Turkish Republic no democracy as we know it in the Community. But I think it would, as Mr von Hassel points out in his report, be unfair not to accept that after the extremely hazardous and dangerous circumstances that obtained before the military took over, progress has been and is being made towards a return to democracy. As has been said, the new constitution will be published on 10 July, and as I understand it, will be the subject of a referendum in November to see whether or not it is acceptable to the public. If it is, then there will be elections in 1983. This is a far cry from democracy, but, my God, at least it is a move towards it. Whilst condemning the fact that there is no democracy, I think one must accept that the government of the day is at least moving towards it, and one must also, I think, accept the fact that the incidence of killings, assassinations, murders within the Turkish Republic has been drastically reduced. But of course there is still a military dictatorship.

I hope that nobody in this House will go too far. The honourable gentleman who has just sat down and who was speaking for the EPP, went, I thought, perhaps a little too far in condemning the situation and asking for expulsion in the way that he did. In the motion for a resolution contained in the report by Mr von Hassel, I really do think that paragraph 6 is going a little too far. There he is dealing with, and asking the House to deal with, the internal matters of a State. We all of us have problems with minority ethnic groups within our States, and it is not for us to say how a State should deal with any ethnic minority within its borders. So they have problems in the Turkish Republic. There are even problems in Greece, there are problems in my country and in the honourable gentleman's country as well, in the Federal Republic, in France and other countries too. To try to lay down here, as has been done, a method of dealing with this is, I think, a mistake and I hope the House will remove that particular paragraph, because once we go along this path I really believe we are beginning to get into deep waters indeed. The kind of action we are asking for here is really interfering in the internal workings of a national State, which I do not think it falls within the purview of this Parliament to do.

One final small point, Mr President, concerning the wish to send a delegation to the Republic of Turkey. Surely it would be better to ask the Government of Turkey to request this Parliament to send a delegation. To ask them to ask us to send a delegation is, I think, the right way of approaching this subject.

I support the report.

**President.** — I call Mr Gontikas.

**Mr Gontikas.** — (*GR*) Mr President, I should like to point out that the Commission was not listening during Mr Papaefstratiou's speech in Greek. I would ask you to advise the Commission to listen carefully to all the speeches, since we are expecting to hear their views on them.

**President.** — The Commission has undoubtedly taken note of your point, as it has several representatives present.

I call the Communist and Allies Group.

**Mr Denis.** — (*FR*) While a number of the members of our Group are absent from the Chamber to organize our response to the Lebanese question, I should like to declare on behalf of the French and Italian Communists and Allies our solidarity with the Turkish people.

The facts are clear. The military junta which seized power by means of a coup has liquidated institutions, trampled on liberties and thrown democrats — and even those who dared to defend them — into jail by the thousand. Competent organizations have put the number of those tortured to death at 70; such torture, which is practised systematically, is the total responsibility of the fascist junta.

Unless this Assembly wishes to be selective in its approach to human rights, it has a duty to itself to condemn this barbaric regime and must do all it can to establish a genuine democracy. Note that I say establish and not return to, for even before the coup they already had a system under which progressives were the main victims of persecution and crime. We denounced these heinous crimes in this very House at the time. But I must say that Mr von Hassel's report appears to want to justify a coup which the majority of Members here condemned more than a year ago. How can he in all decency dare to say in the face of all the evidence that the situation has improved? In what way has it improved? Hardly with regard to purchasing power, since inflation is raging at 40% while wages are frozen and trade unions are outlawed — how can that help democracy? More and more militant workers of DISK, party leaders — such as Mr Ecevit — members of the peace movement, lawyers and a great many others are all being brought to trial and are even sometimes threatened with hanging. How can anyone talk about free elections when political parties are banned and their leaders outlawed? What improvements have there been with regard to peace? The prime minister of the junta even goes so far as to violate the sovereignty of Cyprus by strutting around on the island.

Mr von Hassel has appealed to the West to be understanding and has even suggested that a delegation should be sent to observe the farce of the elections,

which the junta is preparing on the basis of a constitution drawn up by its own stooges. But to do this would be to legitimize injustice at the very moment when five European countries are asking the Commission on Human Rights to look into the case of Turkey.

The proposal before us is a dishonourable one. We say that all political prisoners from trade union and other organizations must be freed, individual and collective freedoms must be guaranteed and the operations of democratic institutions must be safeguarded.

I hope, Mr President, that my speech will figure in the minutes and I protest against your censorship of what I said on Lebanon.

**President.** — I did not quite understand your last sentence. If I have followed the interpreters correctly, you are protesting against the fact that I deleted your remarks?

**Mr Denis.** — (*FR*) I am protesting against your censorship of what I said about Lebanon.

**President.** — I have made a note of that and will come back to it later.

I call the Liberal and Democratic Group.

**Mr Pintat.** — (*FR*) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, we in the Liberal Group are on the whole satisfied with this motion for a resolution. We worked very hard at helping to draw it up and I would like to say right away that we will be voting for it and that we duly congratulate Mr von Hassel.

Given the trying times which our Turkish friends are going through, it is the duty of their allies, particularly those in the Community, to try to understand and help them. It has to be recognized that before the intervention of the Armed Forces freedom was no longer viable in Turkey. There was no physical freedom because everyone's life was always in danger and there was no economic freedom because the economic situation was constantly deteriorating and inflation was rampant, whereas these problems are now being cleared up.

So those are indisputably positive points. What is more, Turkey has just demonstrated its loyalty to Europe and Europe's line of thinking by supporting the United Kingdom in the Falkland Islands dispute. However, our Group is very anxious to defend human rights; they are, after all, the cornerstone of liberalism. We earnestly hope that an International Red Cross delegation can make an objective report on the situation inside the country in order to determine whether torture does take place and to produce evidence that human rights are respected. The Turkish authorities owe it to themselves to respect the timetable fixed for



**Pintat**

the elections or even to bring them forward so that general elections, with universal suffrage and a secret ballot can take place as soon as possible.

The Liberal Group insists on the lifting of the ban against former trade unionists and politicians who have not been convicted of serious crimes — by which I mean proven and established crimes — from standing for election. We also disapprove of the conviction of Mr Ecevit. Although it would like to see the problem of ethnic minorities studied in a federalist spirit of true decentralization, the Liberal Group does not support paragraph 6 of this motion for a resolution and will in fact vote against it, since it marks a dangerous precedent of interference in the internal organization of a sovereign State and seeks to sow the seeds of national disintegration.

To turn to another sphere, the Liberal Group feels that it is very important for the Council of Ministers to adopt the Fourth Financial Protocol on Turkey as soon as definitive steps have been taken to return to democracy.

When I went on a trip to Turkey, I heard a desire for this expressed by several members of the present opposition to the Turkish government; they were well aware that the political isolation of Turkey would do them no good, far from it. Having had ten years' experience on the EEC-Turkey parliamentary delegation, I can go along with that. The current situation inside Turkey naturally causes us a great deal of concern, but in our own interest, and given the friendship we feel for this great people, we feel that we must give them our trust and hence adopt Mr von Hassel's motion for a resolution.

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

**Mr Junot.** — (*FR*) Anyone who wants to examine the current state of affairs in Turkey objectively is obliged to acknowledge certain facts, Mr President.

While we cannot deny that certain basic democratic rules are being flouted, neither can we forget the state of anarchy into which the country was plunged two years ago. No one can deny that efforts — however crude — have been made to restore order and to improve the economy. No one can contest the results that have been achieved, not just the disappearance of anarchy, but also improvements in the economy: instead of annual price rises of 98%, these have been brought down to 30% and GDP increased by 4% in 1981, whatever the Communist spokesman might say; I must say, I think he had a nerve to protest, before they even happened, that the elections were going to be rigged. Before he makes such assertions he would do well to remember the parable of the mote and the beam.

But these encouraging results have only been obtained at a cost: democratic and human rights have been put into cold storage. While we deplore this, we realize what people who wanted to save their country from chaos were up against at a time when — as the Chairman of our Group has just reminded us — the only freedom which existed in Turkey was that of killing, and not democracy.

We in this House — in so far as we are able and have the authority to do so — can only hope that the Turkish economy will continue to recover and the safety of the Turkish people be improved. At the same time, we must insist that the government's timetable for the return to democracy is respected, and that all acts of torture, violations of rights and threats to individuals are effectively suppressed.

Our Group approves of the measures and proposals in Mr von Hassel's report. We will show our support by voting for these measures.

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

**Mr Romualdi.** — (*IT*) I just want to say, Mr President, that I will be voting in favour of Mr von Hassel's motion for a resolution. On other occasions we have voiced our distaste for the regime of the colonels and we like that of the generals even less. Nevertheless, in Turkey's case, we do not want to force events since this could lead to the establishment of yet another dictatorship; it would not matter whether this was a dictatorship of the right or the left, but it would certainly be even less democratic and more harsh than the present one.

**President.** — I call Mr Fich.

**Mr Fich.** — (*DA*) Mr President, I should like to say to Mr Hassel that, as I feared, his report has a number of fundamental shortcomings. For example, there is nothing about the 30 000 people in prison, there is nothing about the systematic torture which has so far claimed 15 fatal victims — or perhaps even 77, according to Amnesty International — there is nothing about the execution of 16 persons, there is nothing about the request for the death sentence for over 4 000 persons and there is nothing about the trials against the trade unions, the freedom movement or the miners etc. It is not clear how the freedom of the press, the freedom of assembly and freedom of speech have been restricted. It is stated that a timetable has been drawn up for the return to democracy, but there is nothing about our requirements for this democracy and, if we are to believe the most recent rumours reported in the press regarding the new constitution, it would appear that what they are returning to is not what we have called true democracy.

**Fich**

It might be claimed — and I am sure Mr von Hassel would claim this — that the information being reported here is inaccurate. In order to check, the Socialist Group last week sent a delegation to Turkey. Every time we have criticized the Turkish Junta we have been told that we were being unreasonable, that we were sitting in Brussels or Strasbourg and making our criticisms whereas we should rather come and take a look for ourselves. We went to Turkey and what happened? What happened was that when we arrived, the military forbade the lawyers, trade unionists and politicians to see us. Speaking with us was made a criminal offence. Our conclusion is that the Junta is no longer behind its own actions and is not going to defend them any more. It has disclaimed independent control of the information it provides to, for example, our rapporteur here today.

I should like to say very briefly to the Commission in this connection that I was amazed when I discovered that the Commission had proposed 75 million units of account for the Fourth Financial Protocol in its draft budget for 1983. I should like to remind the Commission that it was on the initiative of the Socialist Group of this Parliament and with the support of the Council of Ministers that we took out the money for the Fourth Financial Protocol last year and put it in a blocked account. I should therefore like to ask the Commission how it can continue to take the view that it is reasonable to pay money to the current Turkish Junta? And if you have no wish to answer this question, you might at least answer the following: what has changed so much over the last year in Turkey that we should suddenly be willing to give this year what we would not give last year?

At the same time I should like to ask the Council whether, if it does not receive an assurance from the Commission that it will withdraw this amount from the budget by means of a letter of amendment, it will be prepared to join us once more in taking this money for the Fourth Financial Protocol out of the budget and blocking it — and I mean 'blocking it' because we will obviously be ready to pay this money as soon as Turkey returns to democracy. I hope — indeed, I expect — to get an answer here today.

Finally, Mr President, I should like to say that with the imprisonment of Mr Ecevit — and I should like to stress that Mr Ecevit is naturally only one of 30 000, but nevertheless a symbol — and with the stories we are now hearing about the new constitution in Turkey, there are, I think, good grounds for wondering whether Turkey is really on the way back towards democracy. Our patience is running out.

**President.** — I call Mr Bournias.

**Mr Bournias President.** — (GR) Mr President, in his speech rejecting the von Hassel report, Mr Willy

Brandt stated just now that he is a friend of the Turkish people. So are we, the Greek Members from the New Democratic Party, on whose behalf I should like to read you a statement on the subject, since unfortunately we have been allocated very little speaking time.

The undersigned Members of the New Democracy Party will vote against the motion for a resolution and the report by Mr von Hassel for the following three reasons.

Firstly, because the motion infringes the basic principles governing the European Parliament and deviates from the European Parliament's usual policy of condemning all dictatorships, and particularly from the resolution adopted by this House on 10 April 1981 and 22 January 1982 condemning the Turkish dictatorship.

Secondly, because any contacts with the military regime in Turkey and particularly the granting of economic aid and other facilities actually amount to rewarding and supporting a regime hostile to freedom and to encouraging the Turkish dictatorship to use violence at home and extend it, either actively or as a threat, abroad.

Thirdly, because our vote is in line with the action taken by five countries belonging to the Council of Europe — France, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, the first three of which are also members of the European Economic Community — in accusing Turkey before the European Commission of Human Rights for its persistent and blatant violation of such rights.

**President.** — I call Lord Bethell.

**Lord Bethell.** — Mr President, this question, like many others, boils down to a matter of trust. Do we or do we not believe the military rulers of Turkey when they say that they are going to restore democracy? As someone who fought very hard against the military régime of Greece, I think this is the kernel of the argument. Do we believe them?

I do not favour military *coups*. I do not favour non-democratic governments. We must deplore these things. We must all deplore the restrictions on political life, and I join with others in my disgust at the treatment of Mr Ecevit, who represents through his political activity in the past many millions of Turks.

I can think of only two or three things that would really improve relations between Turkey and the European Community. One is the release of Mr Ecevit, as this would symbolize a return to political life and the liberation of the Turkish community whom he represents.

A second would be the withdrawal of Turkish troops from Cyprus.

(Applause)

**Lord Bethell**

I am glad to see that this is covered by the report, and I very much hope that it will remain in the report. The withdrawal of Turkish troops from Cyprus would cure a serious disease in the Eastern Mediterranean and improve relations between Turkey and ourselves.

But when it comes to the point, I must say that I believe the Turkish military rulers will carry out their promises. I think it is absurd, for instance, for Mr Denis to speak of a masquerade of elections. Good Heavens, what does he think about the masquerade in Poland and the Soviet Union?

*(Mixed reactions)*

I believe . . .

*(The President urged the speaker to conclude)*

I am for the von Hassel report.

**President.** — I call Mrs Boserup.

**Mrs Boserup.** — *(DA)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I should like, to repeat and endorse, in perhaps less diplomatic terms, what the President of the Council has had to say. This report does not match the reality of the situation in Turkey. I am used to the childish inapt attempts of this assembly to involve itself in foreign policy, but it annoys me when an attempt of this kind gets in the way of the decision which has been taken by a number of countries, including my own, to bring Turkey before the Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg. It is damaging and lacking in credibility.

As regards the report itself I should like to say that if I was a Turkish trade union leader and was given this to read in prison, my blood would run cold and I would immediately give up hope of any help from this collection of countries which calls itself a Community.

People are taking consolation in the idea that democracy is on its way. A group of hand-picked men are getting together to draw up a constitution. They are sitting with the junta breathing down their necks and with guns in their backs. And what sort of constitution are they producing? They are producing a constitution which will forbid trade unions to take part in politics and which forbids so called political strikes. A decree has already been issued to the effect that public servants must not be involved in politics — which means that they will be second class citizens — and considerable restrictions have been placed on something as reasonable as the freedom of assembly.

There is no reason to believe that the Turkish Junta will take any notice of our friendly appeals. It is interested in maintaining the Association Agreement. Our only real weapon would be to deprive the Junta of

this, and we are not even doing that. It is not worried about the rest. The Junta is not on the right path. It is on the road to a pseudodemocracy and it is disgraceful that this assembly should support it. We should vote against the motion for resolution.

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

**Mr Pasmazoglou.** — *(GR)* Mr President, respect for political and human rights is undoubtedly one criterion. As for the situation and the events in Turkey, I would refer to what Mr Willy Brandt and other Members have said this evening. The other criterion is international law, and Turkey, Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, stands accused of a military invasion of Cyprus, a prolonged occupation, the violation of a number of United Nations resolutions and, Mr President, of refusing to participate in the international commission to investigate the situation of missing persons and of refusing to cooperate in the return of 200 000 refugees in the Greek part of Cyprus.

I should like, Mr President, to stress that the Greek people want genuine and lasting friendship and cooperation with the Turkish people and with its governments, but on the obvious condition that there will then be a lasting guarantee and respect of the sovereign rights of both the Greek and Cypriot peoples. These principles, Mr President, concern the peoples of Europe and the European Community not only from an ideological point of view. To a far greater extent they are an essential precondition for the defense of the interests of the peoples of Europe. It is inconceivable that geopolitical considerations, under the threat that a country will go over to the other camp, should lead to resolutions such as that before us this evening, which ultimately amount to forgiving the sins of a country which has most seriously violated international rules and continues to do so.

I think, Mr President, that a resolution such as that before us this evening is damaging to the standing and credibility of the Community, and if it happens to be adopted, it will cause serious harm to the peoples of Europe and the European Community.

**President.** — I call Mr Plaskovitis.

**Mr Plaskovitis.** — *(GR)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, on 22 January 1982 the European Parliament adopted a resolution condemning the military regime in Turkey and recommending that the fourth EEC-Turkey financial protocol be suspended until democracy was restored in that country. With that resolution the European Parliament wanted to deplore the abolition of democratic institutions and to demonstrate its solidarity with the thousands of persecuted Turkish democrats.

### Plaskovitis

So what has happened in the last six months or so to make it necessary to hold a new debate today and to demand a reversal of the previous resolution? Has martial law been lifted in Turkey and have the extraordinary military tribunals accordingly ceased to operate? Has the freedom of the press been even partially restored? Have the old political and trade union organizations been allowed to resume any activity whatsoever or have the elected trade union leaders been let out of prison? Have the arrests, the torturing and the hundreds of death sentences stopped at last? None of all these things has happened. Not only has the sombre reality remained unchanged but each month there are now horrors and new tragic accusations which are added to those already known. Newspapers of international standing, writers and artists who have managed to escape from Turkey, refugees who have secretly sought refuge in Greece, Amnesty International and, lastly, a group of Turkish lawyers have made harrowing accusations of the intolerable government terrorism and the violations of the most basic human rights which are continuing in that country as the military rulers try desperately to eliminate once and for all any possibility of their power being contested. But then, what is the basis for the request for us to adopt a resolution today that is different from the one we adopted six months ago? It is simply the wishes of Mr von Hassel and those who approve his oral report that we should tolerate what has happened, is happening and will continue to happen in Turkey in the name of a few promises which the Evren junta gave him and of his trust in the angelic intentions of the dictators. He finds all this logical and expedient, since it is all happening within NATO and not in the Warsaw Pact, and since he considers Turkey's geographical position to be more useful than the liberties of its people.

We experienced a similar situation in Greece between 1967 and 1974. Then, too, there were various people like Mr von Hassel who were invited to visit our country by the Greek junta. They readily accepted the honours shown them and believed even more readily the promises they were given. It is typical that Mr von Hassel, after paying a private visit to Turkey, drew up a report filling many pages in the Political Affairs Committee, where he was obliged subsequently to withdraw it on realizing that its contents could not be accepted by the Political Affairs Committee without disturbing even the most conservative of its members. With the same ill-considered haste and irresponsibility he also tries in the motion for a resolution before us to solve the problem of the occupation of the unfortunate island of Cyprus by Turkish forces and to include unacceptable recommendations for the future fate of its people, its independence and its government structure. These recommendations are nothing but echoes of the wishes of the Turkish junta, which is still seeking to divide Cyprus and to detach territory from the sovereignty of the independent Cypriot Republic. Once again today's debate is a matter of honour for the European Parliament, ladies and gentlemen.

No dictatorship has ever condemned itself to change into a democracy, and neither does the Turkish dictatorship intend to condemn itself to restore democracy.

**President.** — I call Mr Adamou.

**Mr Adamou.** — (GR) Mr President, Mr von Hassel is trying with his report to put glasses with distorting lenses on the European Parliament in order to make us believe that the illegal, anti-democratic and blood-stained regime of the Evren junta is a hotbed of the most genuine democracy. This attempt is really annoying since it clearly distorts the terrible reality in which the millions of people in Turkey live. A picture of this reality is given by a group of Turkish magistrates in a letter published ten days ago in the foreign press. Since 12 September 1980, when the junta's blood-stained rule was established in Turkey, 500 000 Turkish democrats have been tortured, 175 have died during interrogation, 380 have been driven mad by torture, 500 have been physically disabled, 200 000, among whom 1 580 magistrates, have been given prison sentences ranging from 1 to 20 years, 100 000 are awaiting trial and for 3 000 the prosecution has asked for death sentences. According to the Turkish magistrates, Turkey has been turned into an enormous prison.

Mr von Hassel is trying to convince us that the junta in Ankara saved Turkey from terrorism and has drawn up a time table for the return to democracy. But the Evren junta is nothing but a blind agent of foreign powers and foreign interests. Mr von Hassel's compatriot, the journalist Junker Roth, a specialist in Turkish affairs, has revealed in an American magazine that the fascist coup in Turkey was organized by the American secret services, since for a number of years it had financed the 'Grey Wolves' terrorist organization led by Turkes so that it could carry out assassinations unhindered in order to open up the way for the saviour Evren and his gang. He also alleged that John Williams, a senior State Department official, was in Ankara in September 1980 when the Evren junta seized power, just as in April 1967 he was in Athens when the Greek colonels' junta imposed a tyranny that was to last eight years, and again in July 1974 in Ankara when the hordes of Attila invaded the unfortunate island of Cyprus.

Nobody can deceive international public opinion, as regards either Washington's role or the crimes of the Evren gang. If the European Parliament really believes in and respects democratic principles, if it really wants to support the Turkish people in order to restore and secure its liberties and rights in its own country, then this house must unequivocally condemn the Ankara junta and its orgy of terror. It must ask the Council to break off all Community links with Turkey and to implement the resolution adopted last January by this House, and above all to deplore the policy of the Reagan government, which helps the Evren junta to

**Adamou**

trample cruelly on the basic rights of both the Turkish and the Cypriot peoples and thereby to threaten the peace of the region. If we take any other course, we will be helping the Ankara junta to continue its criminal work.

**President.** — I call Mr Kyrkos.

**Mr Kyrkos.** — (GR) Mr President, Mr von Hassel uses the bloodshed as an excuse to justify the suspension of liberties in Turkey. But in Greece, Mr von Hassel, we had open civil war between 1946 and 1949, with hundreds of thousands killed, but there was no military dictatorship. So the argument which has been invoked is spurious. You promise us a democratic constitution. But even the Greek colonels drew up a constitution. I wonder who is making fun of whom in this House.

At a time when Turkish democrats are being tortured and murdered because they defend the same ideals as ours, when Mr Ecevit is put on trial, when five European countries raise their voices against the violations of human rights in Turkey, the adoption of Mr von Hassel's motion for a resolution would, ladies and gentlemen, be a stab in the back for the Turkish people and would once again, after the latest decision on the Lebanon, considerably diminish the standing of the European Parliament.

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

**Mr Haferkamp, Vice-President of the Commission.** — (DE) Mr President, there have been numerous debates and resolutions in this House on our relations with Turkey, in response to specific events, particularly violations of human rights. The Commission welcomes today's comprehensive debate and expected resolution. This resolution will form the essential basis for the Commission's future attitude and actions.

Already on 12 September 1980, the Commission's central demands were the reestablishment of democracy in Turkey and the respect of human rights. But since then, the Commission has also endeavoured to implement some of the decisions taken at the July 1980 Association Council to help the Turkish people and the Turkish workers and their families who live in the Community. This Association Council at minister level was the first of its type for several years and was essentially the result of the efforts of Mr Ecevit, then Prime Minister, in 1978. His aim was to give a new impetus to the association link between Turkey and the European Community. I think it is essential, especially today, to remember Mr Ecevit's achievement in maintaining relations between his country and our Community.

The Association Council decisions which we have implemented concerned, for example, the reduction of

customs duties on agricultural products, social measures for Turkish workers and their families in the Community, and the financing of individual projects in Turkey, some of which were already being prepared at the time of the Ecevit Government. We have maintained our trade relations. We have not submitted the Fourth Financial Protocol to the Council for approval. In this context I should like to answer the question asked in connection with the 1983 draft budget regarding the treatment of the heading containing the Financial Protocol pending more favourable developments. If such developments are not forthcoming, the Commission will propose that this heading be dealt with as in the 1982 budget, that is placed in the reserve chapter.

Since the summer of last year we have not financed any projects from the cooperation fund. We have taken every opportunity to let the Turkish side know that we expect measures to be taken to restore democracy and ensure that human rights are respected. We are still calling for such measures today, for example for the 52 DISK trade-union leaders for whom the public prosecutor has demanded the death penalty, and if, as has happened, we are told that no sentences have yet been passed, we can only reply that it is an act of inhumanity to keep 52 people in prison for over 20 months with the awful threat of the death penalty hanging over them.

(Applause)

It is the Commission's sincere hope that developments in Turkey will allow the association and friendship relationship to be resumed as soon as possible, not least in the interests of the Turkish people.

(Applause)

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

**Mr Van Minnen.** — (NL) Mr President, Mr Haferkamp, with his characteristic modesty, was careful not to comment on the resolution of the Committee on Social Affairs. But, unfortunately, the Commissioner responsible for social affairs is elsewhere in the building and we have thus not heard the Commission's position on the second resolution, the second report under discussion here. I would, however, like to hear the Commission's opinion on this matter.

**President.** — Thank you for making this point. We shall first hear the President of the Council and then Mr Haferkamp.

I call the Council.

**Mr Olesen, President of the Council.** — (DA) Mr President, I should first like to deal with two questions

**Olesen**

put to me in connection with the visit of the Turkish Foreign Minister to the part of Cyprus which is occupied by Turkish troops. I should like to explain quite briefly that the question has not been discussed by the ten governments and that I am therefore not in a position to comment on it.

Then there was a specific question by Mr Fich concerning the budget. In this case too, I must point out that the Council has not so far had an opportunity of discussing the budget for 1983. However, I might add that no progress has been made as regards the conditions under which the Council followed Parliament's proposal in November 1981 to freeze aid to Turkey — indeed, the situation has, if anything, deteriorated. I assume, therefore, that the Council will not adopt a different attitude until these conditions are fulfilled.

I should like to add in my capacity as Danish Foreign Minister, that we have today received a communication regarding the imprisonment of Mr Ecevit. Who is he? A democrat. What has he done? He asserted his right to speak his mind, which we regard as a fundamental human right of which we take advantage, and I must therefore take this opportunity to make the following point. My government has, together with others, severely criticized the events in Poland and Afghanistan. If we are not to be guilty of applying double standards, we are quite simply obliged to disassociate ourselves unequivocally from a country which, while claiming to be on the road to democracy, imprisons a man such as Mr Ecevit who merely wished to voice his opinions and take advantage of a right which we take for granted.

*(Applause)*

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

**Mr Haferkamp, Vice President of the Commission.** — *(DE)* Mr President, the fact that I said nothing about the motion concerning visas should not be read as a sign of my reticence but simply as a sign of my agreement. Apart from that, the general thrust of the motion was directed solely at the Member States.

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

**Mr Papaefstratiou.** — *(GR)* Mr President, although the President-in-Office has only just assumed the Presidency of the Council, I should like to ask him to say something more about the totally arbitrary and insulting visit by the Turkish Prime Minister to the occupied part of the independent Republic of Cyprus and to inform Parliament in detail — and, I hope, with complete disapproval — about this action which is contrary to international law.

**President.** — Mr Papaefstratiou, that was unfortunately not a point of order. If you want any information you must address the President-in-Office directly.

The debate is closed.

The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

*6. 1983 preliminary draft budget — 1982 preliminary draft supplementary budget*

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

- report (Doc. 1-410/82), drawn up by Mr Robert Jackson on behalf of the Committee on Budgets, on the Preliminary Draft Budget in the light of the Parliament's Resolution on the Guidelines for the 1983 Budget;
- report (Doc. 1-477/82, drawn up by Mrs Barbarella on behalf of the Committee on Budgets, on the preliminary draft supplementary and amending budget No 1 for the 1982 financial year;
- report (Doc. 1-450/82), drawn up by Mr Adonino on behalf of the Committee on Budgets, on the Joint Declaration by the European Parliament, the Council and the Commission on various measures to improve the budgetary procedure.

I call Mrs Barbarella.

**Mrs Barbarella, rapporteur.** — *(IT)* I should like to begin, Mr President, by pointing out two important facts which lie behind the preliminary draft amending budget for 1982 drawn up by the Commission of the European Communities.

The first is the fact that this budget originates from various savings made on agricultural expenditure. Savings amounting to 500 million units of account — according to figures currently at our disposal, at least — have been made with respect to the initial forecasts for the 1982 budget. What is more, Mr President, this applies even when account has been taken of the effect of supplementary agricultural expenditure under the 1982 budget caused by the recent decision to increase common prices for the 1982-83 year.

The second important point that I wish to emphasize is the fact that — in comparison with what happened last year — the Commission is not proposing to reimburse Member States with the agricultural savings made. On the contrary, by submitting a supplementary and amending budget, the Commission has chosen to redeploy savings from the EAGGF Guarantee section on a series of structural measures. Such a choice on the part of the Commission has political significance which must not be underestimated, both in the light of what happened last year and of the decision which

### Barbarella

could still be taken by the Council this year, by which I mean the decision to return, once again, savings on the EAGGF to Member States.

The Committee on Budgets feels on the whole that this new approach by the Commission ought to be supported as a principle even though we are well aware that the amount involved is only small.

A further element of political significance must be taken into account where the content of the amending budget is concerned. The Commission has in fact decided to re-allocate most of the agricultural savings to two main areas of credit, namely the Social Fund and development aid. By so doing, it is taking a small step towards a better balance for the 1982 budget, which the European Parliament advocated on more than one occasion. To be more specific, I should like to point out that, where the Social Fund is concerned, the Commission is proposing to back up various direct action programmes and to tackle the problem of unemployment, particularly where it affects young people and in the most disadvantaged regions.

This decision, Mr President, is consistent with what Parliament has been saying, since we feel that it is vital to tackle this problem of hordes of young people coming on to the labour market and adding to the already enormous total of jobless people produced by the crisis in the Community.

It is of course obvious that a few savings on the agricultural front are not going to be enough to solve the fearful problem of unemployment in the Community. It is nevertheless significant that the Commission is trying — with its draft amending budget — to close the enormous gap between the requests for aid from the Social Fund and the money actually available in the kitty.

The second sector which the Commission intends to fund is that of development aid. I should like to emphasize that such aid is essentially emergency aid, but there will also be programmes to back up food policies. In other words, this is mainly a way of consolidating food aid, which means that this type of help can be put into a wider context, that of an overall policy of helping development in third countries. What is more, as a corollary to this strengthening of development policy, the Commission is proposing to strengthen its services so that they will be more effective in relation to the financial outlay on projects to be formulated and managed and the checks which have to be made on activities in this sector.

For these reasons, therefore, Mr President, the Committee on Budgets decided that it was politically opportune to submit a motion for a resolution to this House, with the aim, on the one hand, of supporting the Commission's broad line of approach and to back it up before the Council and, on the other hand, to attempt to dissuade the Council from trying to return to Mem-

ber States the savings made. In other words, it amounts to a vague commitment to incorporate in the 1983 budget the suggestions made by the Commission in its amending budget. The fact that we support the broad choices made by the Commission does not of course mean, Mr President, that we unreservedly support specific points in the draft preliminary amending budget or in the text which the Council will eventually approve. We do, of course, reserve the right to come back when the time is right on any concrete proposals made in the text submitted to this Parliament in its capacity as budgetary authority.

To sum Mr President, the outcome of the approach I have just outlined, including the reservation I have just made, is that the Committee on Budgets is submitting to this House a motion for a resolution whose three main points emphasize: (1) support for the Commission's proposal for a supplementary and amending budget; (2) acknowledgement that the Commission's decisions conform with parliament's guidelines with respect to consolidating the main areas of the budget; (3) an appeal to the Council to adopt the draft amending budget as soon as possible.

Those are the main points which we on the Committee on Budgets are asking this House to approve.

**President.** — I call Mr Jackson.

**Mr Robert Jackson, rapporteur.** — Mr President, I apologize for not being in my place when the debate started. Unusually, we were a little early beginning the debate.

Mr President, we stand today at a decisive point in the development of Parliament's strategy for the 1983 budget. In the Community's annual budget round, the first half of the year is given to the work of conception, to the development of themes and ideas, and the second half for the making of decisions through votes on specific lines in the budget. Our debate today and the vote tomorrow represent the final phase of Parliament's contribution to the work of conception. On 27 July, when the Council adopts the draft budget, the process of budgetary decision-making will begin.

As Parliament's rapporteur for the Commission section of the 1983 budget, I have tried this year to strengthen our voice in the way the budget is conceived and designed. The House has shown its support for this approach. It was reflected, for instance, in the number of amendments in May to the resolution on guidelines for the 1983 budget and in the work on the resolution which is before us today.

Up till now, there has been a tendency to leave this conceptual work almost entirely to the Commission in preparing the preliminary draft budget. Although in this House we all understand and respect the Commis-

**Jackson**

sion's right of initiative, I believe that the elected Parliament cannot leave the Commission unsupported in defining the basic framework of options within which Community decisions must be made, whether decisions reflected in the budget or indeed in the legislative field. Parliament owes it to the Commission to tell it what we want and what we expect, and the Commission owes it to the Community to take full account in its proposals of what the Community's elected representatives are seeking. Mr President, I wish that I could affirm that this had happened on the present occasion.

So, this was the rationale of Parliament's resolution on guidelines adopted at the April part-session, and it is the rationale of the resolution on the preliminary draft budget which comes before us today. The guidelines resolution was a full statement to the Commission and the Council of what Parliament wants to see in the 1983 budget. In the first instance, it was directed to the Commissioner's preliminary draft. The present resolution is a further indication of our ideas and priorities. It is based on the guidelines resolution, and while it is aimed both at the Council and at the Commission, it is directed in particular to the decisions the Council must take when it adopts the draft budget on 27 July, which is why I regret that the President-in-Office of the Council is not present in the Chamber to take part in this debate. Through these two resolutions Parliament is seeking to play its due part in the conceptual work which must underlie the decisions that lie ahead.

Mr President, I will not rehearse the contents of these resolutions, which I hope will be closely studied in both Council and Commission. The Council will no doubt have further opportunities than this afternoon, and I am sure that Mr Christofas will draw its attention to these resolutions. Certainly, Parliament's delegation to the conciliation meeting which precedes the Council on the draft budget will do its best to ensure that the Council's members are fully aware of Parliament's point of view.

Let me only say this: it is crucially important that Parliament should speak in these matters with a voice which is both clear and loud. The noise level in European politics is very high, sometimes also in this Chamber. The public opinion which we must both form and respond to is addressed by countless messages from all quarters, mostly national. The decibel level risks drowning our modest expressions of the European view. In Brussels, Parliament's is the voice of an outsider, sometimes speaking an unrecognized language amid the intimate babble of the corridors and the committee rooms. If we want to make ourselves heard, we cannot afford too much subtlety and elegance. We must cultivate the arts of simplicity and clarity.

This is why the Committee on Budgets proposed to the House in May and again proposes today that we

should not only insist on Community action against unemployment as the central theme for the 1983 budget, but that we should set a specific financial target for the growth of the Social Fund, which is, among others, one of the Community's prime instruments for fighting unemployment by direct means. If we want to make our priority heard amid the incestuous and interminable *va et vient* of the bureaucracies, we cannot merely use qualitative language. We must speak the hard, clear language of figures. When the Parliament in plenary sitting voted on the guidelines resolution in April, it preferred qualitative to quantitative language and so we muffled our voice and blurred our effect. We therefore have only ourselves to blame for the fact that in its preliminary draft budget the Commission failed to respond adequately to our central theme.

In dealing with the Council, we must not make the same mistake again. We must address them with the emphatic and specific challenge recommended by the Committee on Budgets to double the appropriations for the Social Fund during 1983 to 2 500 million ECU in commitments and to 2 000 million ECU in payments.

Mr President, there are always arguments against any bold and clear line of policy. I will not now restate the many considerations which favour our central theme and our choice of instruments; nor will I attempt to rebut the qualifications, the reservations, the complications which may be adduced. The fundamental point, as always, is really very simple; here we have an overwhelming problem — millions of our fellow Europeans out of work, millions of young people unable to find jobs. Here we have a Community instrument against this scourge, machinery of proven effectiveness which actually — and, it must be said, unusually — spends all the money appropriated to it on the purposes for which it was voted, which is overwhelmed with valid applications for help which it is unable to meet, and which has nevertheless been falling behind in the provisions accorded to it in our annual budgets. Mr President, colleagues, we have a duty to correct this situation; together with Council we have the power; let us use that power!

So, Mr President, all eyes turn to the Council — the embarrassingly empty benches opposite us. Will they respond to our appeal on behalf of the people who sent us and indeed them here? Will they even be consistent with their own innumerable past resolutions in favour of Community action against unemployment, resolutions which were reaffirmed in the Danish presidency's speech this morning?

Mr President, I have here a thick file of Council documents on this subject, including a summary of the communiqués of every meeting of the European Council since that institution was established. Every one of the texts I have here calls for a stepping up of the Community's efforts against unemployment. Let



**Jackson**

me quote only from the most recent of the series, the European Council meeting in Brussels on 29 and 30 March 1982:

En matière d'emploi, le Conseil reconnaît que, outre des efforts accrus d'investissement productif et de maîtrise des coûts de production, la gravité du chômage demande des actions spécifiques à effets rapides.

I repeat: 'des actions spécifiques à effets rapides'. In this context, the European Council particularly emphasized training for young workers. It called for a programme over the next five years to guarantee training opportunities for all young workers coming onto the job market; and it committed itself to a review at the end of this year, prepared by a special Council meeting, of the progress being made in that direction 'tant par les États membres que dans le cadre de la Communauté'. Well, gentlemen of the Budget Council — and I hope this message will be repeated to them — there are your marching orders! The Prime Ministers, the President of the French Republic, have spoken. Parliament is speaking. It is really very simple: you have willed the end, now join us in willing the means!

Mr President, one of the subjects we are debating today and probably voting on tomorrow is the joint declaration of the Council, Parliament and the Commission on the budgetary procedure. This is a text which could open up a new era of full-hearted cooperation between the two arms of the Community's budgetary authority. Certainly, I hope that this will be the case, starting with the 1983 budget. But if this joint declaration is not to be the signal for yet another false dawn in the Community, it behoves us all, both in Council and in Parliament, to recognize the essential basis upon which this agreement has been reached. Parliament has accepted, or will accept, certain definitions and mechanisms, notably the possible prolongation of the budgetary process from December into January. This implies that Parliament will not continue to strive for essentially symbolic victories over the Council at the margin in the final round. On the other hand the Council has signed a declaration the spirit of which is one of partnership and cooperation — cooperation and partnership not only in providing for expenditure at the margin but also in defining the overall structure, balance and development of the budget as a whole, with particular reference to non-obligatory expenditure.

We are all, Mr President, now on trial to see whether we can measure up to that spirit. The first test will come on 27 July, when Council must adopt the draft budget. I hope and pray that it will give due consideration to its own past statements and to the urgent appeals of the elected representatives of the citizens of Europe.

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

**Mr Irmer.** — (DE) Mr President, in accordance with Rule 85 of the Rules of Procedure I should like to move that the Adonnino report be referred back to the Committee on Budgets.

**President.** — I call Mr Arndt.

**Mr Arndt.** — (DE) Mr President, I intend to speak against the idea, and in doing so I have a few strong words to say to you, Mr Irmer. We had here in the House a debate as to whether the Adonnino report should be placed on the agenda or not. By a large majority the House decided to include it on the agenda. You now want to get round this majority decision by the House. It is about time we learned how to accept things when a vote goes against us here in this Parliament. I said 'we' but that includes you as well, Mr Irmer.

**President.** — Mr Rossi has asked to speak in favour of the motion. After him I shall again give the floor to the rapporteur, Mr Adonnino.

**Mr Rossi.** — (FR) Mr President, this is in no way a delaying tactic by our group and, in spite of what the honourable Member thinks, we are not trying to call into question a vote by the House. Nor, of course, are we trying to suggest that we have any reservations about the quality of Mr Adonnino's work, the excellence of which we acknowledge.

We are simply saying that this matter, which is one of the most important we have had to deal with in three years — in the sense that it involves fundamental powers, along with Parliament's budgetary powers — is being superficially dealt with because it will have been discussed for only a few hours in committee and for less than an hour here in the House. It is our view, Mr President, that from the time the document was signed subject to approval, which means of course that it has to be examined with the proper calm and consideration, we have been doing nothing at all by way of jeopardizing the agreement but, instead, we are trying to interpret it properly so that there will be no problems in the future. This means that we can easily wait until September or October without affecting in any way the smooth running of Parliament or the budgetary procedure.

Let me add that we find the classification inadequate. We feel that it is unfortunately not restricted to a single year but scheduled for several years without any expiry date. We also feel that this agreement — I am not making this up because it is there in the Council protocol — can be read in two different ways, depending on whether you are the Council or Parliament. And I suppose there could be a third version if the Commission decided to give its interpretation tomorrow.

**Rossi**

For all these reasons — and I want to say this again — we are as keen as anyone to improve the budgetary procedure or to classify non-compulsory expenditure which gives this Parliament powers in new areas. We do not think anything dramatic is likely to happen between 7 July and the middle of September, and that is why we are asking for this report to be referred back to committee.

**President.** — I call the rapporteur.

**Mr Adonnino, rapporteur.** — *(IT)* Mr President, I listened with a great deal of attention to what Mr Rossi had to say and I realize that the sole reason behind his request for referral to committee is that he would like more thought and attention given to this matter.

As a general rule, it is right that an esteemed Member should wish to consider a matter more thoroughly. I would point out, however, that although the declaration to be considered is of recent date it has been carefully considered by the Committee on Budgets for some time and, without doubt, the matter has been properly gone into. Secondly, we have procedural problems as the procedure for the 1983 budget is already under way. This means it is now up to Parliament to take the relevant decisions, even if they have to be taken during the summer, so that we can come to the first reading in October. Given the views which the Committee on Budgets will adopt — at the beginning of September — this agreement can be properly considered. I feel that any postponement, while we wait for a decision that may come in late September, will result in excessive delay and will to some extent deprive the 1983 budget procedure of meaning, and this would be extremely regrettable.

This is what I wanted to say to the House in urging the Members to take the right decision. In my view, the right decision is to deal with this matter at this part-session.

**President.** — I call Mr Saby.

**Mr Saby.** — *(FR)* Mr President, it hardly seems proper to want to send back to the Committee on Budgets a document which was adopted by the same committee by a considerable majority, by 17 votes to four with three abstentions. I am well aware that there are some honourable Members who suddenly wake up to things, but I should like to remind them that this matter has been going on for . . .

**President.** — We have already heard a speaker against, Mr Saby. The arguments you are putting forward have already been advanced.

*(Parliament rejected Mr Irmer's request)*

I call the rapporteur.

**Mr Adonnino, rapporteur.** — *(FR)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, we have been asked to take a decision on the joint declaration issued by the Community's three main institutions on various measures to improve budgetary procedure.

We are talking about an agreement which would be binding primarily on the Parliament and the Council and which would thus leave the way open for further improvements in this highly complex field. The document which we are examining must be included among the texts which, being capable of fostering relations between the institutions by specifying their relative powers, can in the short term help to build Europe. This requires the interpretation of the budgetary rules to evolve continuously, a process which cannot help but back up the just as necessary but rather more ambitious plan to modify such rules.

Now that the European Parliament is elected directly, it is all the more logical that it should have the major responsibility for managing European public money. It should be remembered that when the Treaties of Rome were formulated, they provided for Community funds to be obtained through Member States' contributions and the funds were therefore controlled by the national parliaments.

With the switchover to the system of own resources, this control diminished, but since the Council and Parliament continued in fact to have ultimate responsibility for the budget on the basis of a division into compulsory and non-compulsory expenditure, a large section of European public money was actually removed from Parliament's purview.

That is why the institutions place so much importance on a more precise definition of compulsory expenditure and — conversely — on a more accurate delimitation of the scope of noncompulsory expenditure, as much as on the precise definitions of the other powers to be exercised. This is also borne out historically since, after the system of own resources was introduced, the distinction between compulsory and non-compulsory expenditure — which was devised as a means of limiting Parliament's powers — was in fact taken as a starting point for such powers to be increased.

So the Community has progressed by a policy of one short step at a time. We do of course need to make sure that the steps taken really have been steps forward so that we can state that the document signed by the three Presidents has been examined from this angle.

The first question which really must be answered concerns the feasibility of Parliament's defining its own powers and the possible widening of such powers in comparison with those exercised in the past.

### Adonnino

I think that we ought to remind ourselves that, unlike the national parliaments, we in the Community do not at the present time have any absolute legislative powers. To take the specific example of authority over the budget, the Treaties of Rome provided for powers to be shared with the Council. It follows that there is nothing strange about trying to regulate procedures governing the points which have given rise to the most disputes.

Of course, we are very far from being able to say that the declaration we are examining is a true reflection of Parliament's expectations. I do, however, feel that I ought to point out that this is due to omissions or possibly to a lack of precision in some points rather than to deliberate errors. What is more, I believe that a document of this kind could hardly avoid shortcomings of this sort.

I would suggest that we can make up for such shortcomings by clearly expressing the Parliament's interpretation of the various parts of the document in the motion for a resolution to be voted upon. This may be an unusual procedure, but it is certainly not an unacceptable one, given that the interpretation — which is not in conflict with the letter and spirit of the agreement — will also serve as an indication to Parliament of the stance it must adopt when it comes to actually implementing the agreement. What is more, a joint declaration by several institutions will only remain in force as long as the interested parties want it to, and this will certainly depend on each other's behaviour as well as on a periodic assessment of the agreement's application, which is specifically provided for in the agreement.

The document also provides for measures to improve existing cooperation as well as new measures to enable those concerned to tackle in good time and with due decisiveness any further problems which may arise. This means that changes, clarifications or anything else which might prove to be necessary, even for only one of the institutions, would be feasible.

The criteria for the definition of compulsory expenditure have been improved by the idea that such expenditure is that which is needed to meet any obligations entered into by the Community, both internally and externally. On the basis of this concept, the motion for a resolution classifies such compulsory expenditure as the public rights of third parties under the law.

There is also an Annex dealing with classification and existing budgetary items and giving examples of compulsory items being included in non-compulsory expenditure. These are often put forward by Parliament and supported by the Commission, for example, those relating to food aid and the EAGGF Guidance Section in part, while for the rest there is a precise commitment.

This classification has of course emerged from the present round of negotiations and is certainly not

immutable. There is provision for both arms of the budgetary authority to determine — by joint agreement and hence with equal power — the classification of any budgetary lines which need to be amended.

It must be pointed out that no solutions are proposed in the event of failure to reach an agreement, but that should not influence Parliament's deliberations on the matter unduly, as the situation is unchanged.

The discussion initiated as an attempt to solve classification problems has happily been expanded to include other topics, including some of those indicated by Parliament in its *ad hoc* motion for a resolution of 10 April 1981. If it should prove necessary to establish a new rate of increase for non-compulsory expenditure, there is provision for the Parliament and Council to do all they can to terminate the budgetary procedure by 31 December. If this should prove to be impossible, an agreement must be reached in good time for the budget to be adopted before the end of the following January.

The specific idea put before Parliament, namely that this new proposal for cooperation should ensure full compliance with Article 203 of the Treaty — which is moreover evoked in the preamble to the agreement — and that neither institution should be able unilaterally to block or delay the decision-making process or diminish the powers conferred by the Treaty on the President of Parliament, is a logical conclusion and ought therefore to be welcomed.

Members will no doubt remember that the controversy over the 1980 budget also concerned Parliament's margin for manoeuvre with regard to supplementary budgets. Well, Parliament's right to use this margin for manoeuvre is explicitly confirmed in the declaration, which I think is a very positive thing.

In addition, Parliament has rejected on several occasions the binding nature of the amounts of expenditure laid down in regulation adopted by the Council, on which Parliament has given only an opinion. We have always held the view that laying down figures in this way robs Parliament of its budgetary authority where non-compulsory expenditure is concerned. Now we have express acknowledgement that this practice will not be continued.

Furthermore Parliament has always maintained that the content of the budget is more important than the purely formal aspect of its adoption, which authorizes expenditure. Nevertheless, there may be particularly complex measures which require more specific regulations for their execution. In the agreement under discussion, there is provision for specific regulations to be laid down — but only in the case of significant new Community measures — following the entry in the budget of the relevant appropriations.

Of course, ladies and gentlemen, trying to decide whether a new measure is 'significant' will give rise to

**Adonnino**

complicated discussions. Nevertheless, I feel that it was essential to restrict the use of specific regulations to cases which really required them and in such cases there is provision for obligatory seeking of approval for such a regulation.

Should, in spite of everything, this procedure not be completed in time for the expenditure to be made, the agreement stipulates that the Commission should make an alternative proposal which should relate to the same sector of activity as that of the original appropriations.

As your rapporteur, ladies and gentlemen, I have been interested in these problems ever since I first had a seat in this Parliament and I am quite sure that, while the tripartite declaration will be ratified without enthusiasm, it nevertheless reflects a necessary political realism and I am convinced that we must accept it as such.

It is up to us to show — taking the regulations being discussed by the Council at the moment as our starting point — the document's worth and our committed attitude to it and I sincerely hope that we will.

I trust that you will reflect on and discuss these points that I have made to you, ladies and gentlemen, and that the vote which follows will constitute a significant contribution on Parliament's part to solving the thorny problems of improving the Community institutions.

*(Applause from the centre)*

**President.** — I call the Committee on Agriculture.

**Mr Früh, draftsman of an opinion.** — *(DE)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, agriculture obviously cannot be absent from a debate in which guidelines are to be worked out for the new budget. I should therefore like to draw your attention, on behalf of the Committee on Agriculture, to the special priorities we have set. When the budget is under discussion, agriculture is always a ready target of criticism because it seemingly swallows up too large a proportion of the funds available. But we can rebut this criticism by pointing to the fact that agricultural policy is the policy that has best achieved the objectives laid down in the Treaty, specifically in Article 39. I would therefore ask all those who believe that we are not an agricultural Community but a Community of more or less developed industrial nations to remember that the portion of the budget devoted to agriculture would long since have attained a proper level had energy policy, research policy, social policy and employment policy been brought under Community control, with appropriate funds.

We believe that measured against its objectives European agricultural policy has so far been a success. It has assured the availability of supplies. It has improved

the income and social status of farmers. It has served as an instrument in the fight against hunger in the world and, when bad harvests has caused critical situations, has helped to ease many political tensions without in the least endangering supplies of foodstuffs to consumers in the European Community.

We therefore again ask — and the work of this House has already produced results in this respect — that all expenditure in Titles 6 and 7 relating to agriculture but not directly caused by agriculture be shown separately. The general rapporteur is well aware that ultimately we are not responsible for monetary compensatory amounts, accession compensatory amounts, ACP sugar aid, food aid etc., but that all this expenditure has to be borne by the Common Agricultural Policy. Now we, in the Committee on Agriculture, would like to make a very important proposal consonant with your thinking, Mr Jackson. The appropriations in the Guidance Section of the EAGGF should go primarily to disadvantaged regions, not in order to raise agricultural production but to finance development programmes which help the economy as a whole and create jobs outside agriculture.

Since the Mandate of 30 May, agricultural policy has repeatedly come under criticism, and not without reason. It has already been possible to reduce the proportion of agricultural expenditure from 75 to 70, 65 and 62%, and taking into account the United Kingdom contribution this year, to below 60%. We have complied with the requirement in the Mandate that expenditure in the agricultural sector should rise more slowly than the Community's revenue. We have made every effort to avoid last year's debacle, when money not spent was unfortunately returned to the Member States and not used for European development, and our efforts are evident in today's supplementary budget, where money not used in agriculture is available for distribution.

Beware of the view that there will be enough money for other policies if the proportion of expenditure devoted to agricultural policy is reduced to 30%. This approach would merely increase national expenditure on agriculture and destroy our only policy, with disastrous repercussions for the whole future of Europe.

IN THE CHAIR: MR ESTGEN

*Vice-President*

**President.** — I call the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs.

**Mr Giavazzi, draftsman of an opinion.** — *(IT)* Mr President, I am speaking as the representative of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs.

**Giavazzi**

The Committee selected three main priority areas: observations on the way in which the budget is conceived, outlines of programmes, and thirdly, a plea for intervention in the money market. With regard to the first area, it was thought that existing instruments should quickly be reinforced and better coordinated. Secondly, a plea was made for the budgetary changes needed for the criteria laid down in the 30 May mandate to be put into practice. Thirdly, it was felt that priorities should be listed for the medium-term programme outlined by the Commission and fourthly, that such programmes should be implemented more effectively than they had been under previous budgets.

With respect to the second area, some budgetary priorities were outlined, particularly the actual implementation of programmes that had been launched. Attention was drawn again to the implementation of various ideas that Parliament had expressed more than once — and that the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs had also endorsed — such as that of setting up a fund for industrial innovation and development, measures to boost investment, aid for sectors in crisis and the strengthening of the internal market.

With regard to the third area of priority — the money market — we all realise of course that quite a large budget is needed if the programmes are to be implemented, yet we cannot ignore the present problems. We were hoping that swift action would be taken to facilitate access to the money market. This would of course have to take place within a climate of economic prudence which nevertheless left room for future manoeuvre. We also hoped that loans would be facilitated and that the New Community Instrument would be strengthened.

Unfortunately, I have to point out — and the report we are discussing today is ample evidence of this — that these broad lines of approach have not been incorporated into the programme submitted to us. The need for a general as opposed to a sectoral industrial policy is, unfortunately, an old chestnut. Everyone thinks that it is absolutely essential, urgent and indispensable. Devising worthy programmes — such as the excellent medium-term programmes conceived by the Commission — and then refusing at the last moment to release the funds needed to carry them out is inadmissible. It is difficult to see how, in such circumstances, anything could be done to right unemployment or inflation, which is supposed to be the top priority of this medium-term programme according to everyone, including the Commission.

It is therefore with regret that I note that the draft of this programme fails to meet our requirements with regard to the conception of items in accordance with programme directives, fails to meet requirements with respect to the size of funds and to the relaunching of Community policies in accordance with the mandate of 30 May; the question of guaranteeing loans and

interest rate subsidies is not settled and the promising proposals for increase in the New Community Instrument have disappeared without trace.

For all these reasons, and looking at the document quite dispassionately, as befits the draftsman of an opinion, I am obliged to conclude that the draft budget does not meet the requirements expressed by the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs in its opinion on priorities already approved by this Parliament.

**President.** — I call the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport.

**Mrs Gaiotti De Biase, draftsman of an opinion.** — (IT) I will not be availing myself, Mr President, of the entire five minutes I have been allotted: at this stage, I feel it is enough to give a quick assessment of the draft before us, partly because we on the Committee for Youth and Culture were not able to examine it in depth.

On the whole, we go along with what the rapporteur said. Despite the limitations of the budget, there is some sign — timid but positive — that expenditure on education will be increased. As is well known, the present level of spending is very low, so even a small increase has some merit if it denotes a change in trends.

Of course, this generally positive view of ours must be tempered by the realistic approach we are accustomed to adopting where the budget is concerned. The minimum that we must insist on is that we have absolutely no intention of allowing the Council to cut down on the expenditure on education and culture outlined in the Commission proposals. To do so would be to change radically the basic decision to fight against unemployment — particularly unemployment among young people — which, as we know, this budget is supposed to be tackling.

I should also like to explain why the Committee on Youth and Culture has to a certain extent accepted this small level of expenditure with such realism. This is because we have never thought that large increases in the budget were the sole or even a fundamental basis for launching a Community policy on education and culture. What we really want is for the budget appropriations to be large enough to relaunch the community actions designed to promote cultural cooperation between Member States. We will assess whether expenditure on education is appropriate to requirements on the basis of the effectiveness with which these actions promote cooperation between Member States.

We derived satisfaction from what the President of the Council said about the European Foundation, namely

**Gaiotti De Biase**

that the Council has decided to regard this as non-compulsory expenditure over which Parliament will continue to exercise its authority. With regard to the topic of information, we have submitted an amendment to Mr Jackson's report because the Committee on Youth and Culture wishes, with precise proposals, to supplement the token entry suggested by the Commission with regard to information on the 1984 elections. We regret the fact that the Commission has not exercised more initiative in this field and has left it up to Parliament to bridge the gap with its own suggestions. We will do so in our capacity as the Committee on Youth and Culture and we are counting on the backing of Parliament in this respect, but it would have been preferable for the Commission to have already submitted a formal proposal today.

**President.** — I call the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection.

**Mr Ghergo, draftsman of an opinion.** — (IT) As a Member of this Parliament, and as the spokesman of the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection, there are a great many things I have to say, Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, but since I am allowed only a little time I am obliged to be extremely brief. I cannot however refrain from saying once again — even though I am aware I am not saying anything new — that this preparatory work on the Community budget has little of substance to offer; on the contrary, it pays attention only to form, so that I am obliged to refer to it — as I often have in the past — as little more than a recurrent ritual.

We cannot, in fact talk about a budget — technically speaking — when we find ourselves confronted with a predetermined amount to be divided into items which are also predetermined, with only a small margin for manoeuvre, which is then used up by the Committee on Budgets.

In a situation like this, the question of priorities ought to be the magical concept which gives meaning to the way in which available resources are spent. Remember that each Committee draws up a list of priorities in its own field, but we have no mechanism or parameter by which to convert the choices made by the individual committees into a single scale of priorities. But we might go too far if we discussed this question; in fact, we might even end up grappling with the thorny problem of the Community's own resources, the increase of which is a vital prerequisite for the Community's further development.

Anyway, I should like to thank Mr Jackson for his willingness to listen to some of the requests made by my Committee and to which attention is given in paragraphs 35, 36 and 37 of the explanatory statement and paragraph 12 of the motion for a resolution in the

report before us. The upshot of these paragraphs is that the 1983 budget should reflect the development of and need for Community policies in these sectors, particularly with regard to action to protect the environment.

The particular emphasis placed on this sector is of course a reflection of its priority value, but does not mean that others such as public health and consumer protection are excluded.

With regard to public health, I feel bound to mention the growing interest within our society in the protection of workers at their place of work and the need to implement specific and well-planned action programmes, as well as to promote others for which provisions have already been made.

Where consumer protection is concerned, it must be said that economic problems in many Member States, as well as increases in unemployment, make this a particularly tricky sector. Personally, I feel that the most important thing is to alter the image of the consumer from being one where he is protected by others and therefore rather weak, to one where he is active and actually takes decisions which concern him.

Not much space or weight is given to the Committee on the Environment's areas of concern in Mr Jackson's report. I do not therefore want to keep harping on with demands which, however justified objectively, given the realities of today, run the risk of appearing as pie-in-the-sky.

I should however like to sound a note of optimism by emphasizing two aspects which, it seems to me, characterize the 1983 budget for the Committee on the Environment. When the general guidelines for the budget were drawn up, an amendment was approved to the effect that any policy on the environment should be coordinated in a reciprocal and harmonious manner with all other policies which interact with it. A second amendment was approved by the Committee on Budgets when it examined the draft preliminary budget for 1983. This amendment asked the Commission to submit, as quickly as it could, the necessary proposals — including appropriate regulations — to make it possible in the future to increase significantly items 6 610 to 6 614 inclusive. (Fund for the Environment).

As a matter of fact, this request was made in Mr Alber's report, which was recently adopted by this Parliament.

In my opinion, these two points give us grounds for optimism. They may not be much to go on, certainly, especially if we call to mind what the requirements of a rational and responsible environment policy ought to be. One of these points simply states an obvious principle while the other asks for regulations to establish

## Ghergo

precise spheres of operation which will at the same time eliminate problems of a legal character.

Nevertheless, I trust that these points constitute yet another prerequisite for the essential future development of a policy which will protect the environment, public health and consumers.

**President.** — I call the Committee of inquiry into the situation of women in Europe.

**Mrs Vayssade, draftsman of an opinion.** — (FR) When Parliament approved the motion for a resolution on the budget guidelines on 22 April 1982, Mr President, it focussed its concern on the problems of employment and the fight against unemployment. It also emphasized those categories of people particularly likely to suffer unemployment, including young people and women. Finally, it stressed the role that could be played by the European Social Fund and the reform of the Fund, with particular reference to its effects on young people. We should like a bit more to be said about women.

The April 1982 guidelines were supplemented — where women were concerned — on 12 May 1982, when the European Parliament — following the guidance of the Committee of inquiry into the situation of women in Europe — asked the Commission of the European Communities and the Council of Ministers to take all the necessary steps to implement the new action programme for 1982/1985. More specifically, Parliament decided that it would consider the appropriations proposed by the Commission and an increase in the staff of the two Commission departments concerning themselves with women, as featured in the financial sheet in the annex of the action programme, as minimum requirements.

I think that we can assess the draft preliminary budget of the Commission and plan any future action by Parliament in the light of these two votes.

Our examination of this document leads us to draw certain tentative conclusions which we feel ought to be taken up by this Parliament in its future work. First of all, information problems should be taken into account in a more autonomous way, efforts being made to determine the form to be taken by information aimed at women, which would make it possible to give the right amount of importance to any activities to be carried out as from now, particularly with the elections in view.

With regard to the European Social Fund, we were pleased to see the considerable increase made this year to Article 605, but this is to compensate for the scant appropriation awarded under the 1982 budget and the total lack of funds under this Article in the 1982 supplementary budget. This increase should permit the

delay to be made good and make it possible to propose more substantial projects.

Where the legal bases of the chapter on education and occupational training are concerned, that is to say Chapter 63, we should like to evoke the texts relating to the action programme, so that more can be done to promote new attitudes and to improve occupational training for women, their professional opportunities and their access to the new technologies.

Turning to Chapter 64, with special attention to information and studies on unemployment, we feel that the appropriations should be reviewed as they are increased and that the funds earmarked for the action programme should be itemized so that their use and the implementation of the action programme can be followed more closely.

We trust that the appropriations for the item 'Studies and projects on safety' will actually be granted and that they will therefore continue to be entered in the budget until it becomes final.

Finally, we should like to insist once again, on the Commission's giving top priority to doubling the number of people it employs in its departments devoted to women's problems.

We submitted two amendments to the Committee on Budgets, which has already incorporated one of them in paragraph 15 of Mr Jackson's motion for a resolution. I have resubmitted two amendments to this paragraph 15, which amount to precisions. I hope that Parliament will follow our lead and vote in favour of paragraph 15 and the amendments to it.

**President.** — I call the Committee on Development and Cooperation.

**Mr Enright, draftsman of an opinion.** — First of all, Mr President, everything that I say is quite clearly dominated by the fact that the funds allocated to development and cooperation are totally inadequate, and I would like to thank Mr Jackson for putting it quite unambiguously in paragraph 16.

Having said that, I would not like the Commission to go away weeping and thinking that it had not been praised in some ways. My committee approves unreservedly the increase in appropriations for non-governmental organizations and particularly for aid to non-associated countries, and we hope most sincerely that the Council in its empty seat does not take the same savage action that it has taken in previous years in cutting them back. We therefore urge that as a minimum and not as the beginning of a bargaining pointer.

We deplore absolutely, and Mr Jackson again has that in his resolution, the attempt of the Commission once

### Enright

more to put agricultural expenditure under the heading of development expenditure. It is one of few areas in which the Committee on Development and Cooperation and, indeed, this Parliament and the Council have been continuously in agreement, so that for a change I call upon the Council to ensure that it is put properly under the heading where it belongs.

We have tabled three amendments, and I would ask you to look at them very carefully. They were not accepted by the Committee on Budgets, but they are felt very strongly by the Committee on Development and Cooperation. I would remind this House that it voted well over a year ago for the Ferrero report; it voted in the last part session for the Michel report, and it is to be congratulated upon doing so; but it really is time that the House put its money where its mouth is and was prepared to say at the beginning that it is concerned with the fight against unemployment and equally with hunger in the world, because that is part of our external policy. So instead of signing resolutions put forward by Mr Pannella and not doing anything about those resolutions, for a change you must show that you are not whited sepulchres, that you are not hypocrites who say one thing and do another. Upon that you will, I think, be judged when it comes to paragraph 3, Amendment No 4, which seeks to introduce mention of unemployment within the Community and starvation outside. Similarly, in paragraph 25 we really must link our problems with the problems of the Third World.

The final amendment is, oddly enough, again in defence of the Commission. There has been criticism of the poor rate of expenditure of funds that we have voted for development and cooperation in previous years, and no one has been more forward in criticizing the rate of implementation than the Committee on Development and Cooperation. This year, however, we feel that criticism of the Commission would be totally unjustified. There are a whole variety of reasons why the implementation has not been what it should be, and therefore we would seek simply to recall what we have said in previous motions. Once more, we would not wish to criticize the Commission unjustly, and this we have never done.

So I urge this House very strongly to support the amendments put forward in the name of the committee. With those amendments, we shall have a fine Jackson resolution to back.

**President.** — I call the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment.

**Mrs Clwyd, draftsman of an opinion.** — Mr President, the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment is bitterly disappointed in the draft budget of the Commission. We in the Parliament, however, only have ourselves to blame, since we called for a considerable

increase in the Social Fund instead of putting a specific figure, and it is not surprising that the Commission, as a result, ducked the issue. The Commission has in fact suggested an increase which is pitifully inadequate for its task, a task which the Commission imposed upon itself and is spelt out in its introduction to the budget, where it claims to be taking a first step towards fulfilling the objectives of the mandate. The Commission says it shares with Parliament and the European Council the view that the fight against unemployment must be made the first priority of common action. It goes on to argue that to support this view, Community spending, particularly through the Social Fund, needs to be increased: sentiments which most of us would applaud, but they are worthless unless backed up by policies and money. The amount of increase the Commission is proposing for the Social Fund does not match either its declared aims or the volume of applications for Social Fund assistance, which have grown as the numbers of those out of work in the Community have soared.

Let me give you some examples of the volume of eligible applications in relation to the available funds in 1982. For vocational training of young people, applications exceeded by 231% the money available, yet the Commission is suggesting only an increase of 58% in commitments and 66% in payments. Special job-creation programmes for young people are only granted a token entry by the Commission. For women, allocations in 1982 exceeded by 406% the money available, yet the Commission only proposes increases in commitments of 40% and in payments of 102%. For handicapped people, for whom the Parliament has agreed the highest priority, the 1982 applications exceed by 57% the money available, and the Commission proposes only increases of 20% in commitments and 17% in payments.

In 1982 alone, 2 900 million ECU would be needed to satisfy eligible applications alone. Allowing for a 30% increase in the demand in 1983, the Committee on Budgets' request for 2 500 million ECU for the Social Fund is a very reasonable request indeed.

At the moment, nearly 10% of the Community's working population are without work. More than just a temporary aberration, unemployment is taking its toll on the young and the not-so-young alike. Joblessness among young people under 25 accounts for as much as 40% of all European unemployment, and many young people today despair of ever finding work. The middle-aged unemployed face a different but equally painful predicament: they are often regarded as too old to be re-hired, but too young to qualify for retirement benefits.

No society can afford to send 40% of school-leavers home with the message that there is no place for them; and no one can turn a blind eye to the fact that mass unemployment is fertile ground for political extre-



Clwyd

mism. We in the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment will be supporting the Jackson resolution.

**President.** — I call the Committee on Energy and Research.

**Mr Galland, draftsman of an opinion.** — (FR) As the representative of the Committee on Energy and Research, I can at least say that the funds earmarked for energy and research are not so disastrously small as under previous budgets, particularly that of 1982, which was a real step backwards.

Nevertheless, we have to be realistic. We are nowhere near reaching a Community energy policy. Let me remind you that — in the opinion of all the European institutions — energy and research are the most suitable candidates for planning and implementing what we in this Parliament are starting to call the CEP, i.e. the Community energy policy.

There are three reasons — due to the three institutions — for this failure to get things moving. First of all, there is the Council. Without doubt, the Council is the main culprit, because it has not tackled energy and research as such — quite the contrary. As with everything else, however, this reflects the financial problems — the 1% VAT ceiling — and the institutional problems, by which I mean the veto and the lack of political resolve. We are only too familiar with all these reasons and there is no need for me to harp on them.

Then there is the Commission. We can hardly rejoice over the achievements of the previous Commission with respect to its energy proposals, and we share the disappointment of those who rightly feel that the present Commission is now a year behind in its plans to relaunch the energy policy. It appears that the overall approach of the 1983 budget has on the whole been more carefully thought out and better structured, particularly thanks to the assessment carried out by the Commission in the ten Community Member States. This does not, however, prevent us from levelling two major criticisms at the Commission: firstly, in its overall way of thinking, the Commission remains trapped in the institutional straightjacket imposed on it by the Council; as a result, it is gradually losing its ability to be a driving, proposing and creative force. Secondly, and this is a logical outcome of what I have just said, no great new approach, giving at least the outline of a Community energy policy capable of justifying its existence because of its efficiency, emerges from the draft preliminary 1983 budget. We have to recognize the inadequate and timid character of the actions proposed in the selected sectors and approved unanimously by the Committee on Energy on 22 March 1982. I am, for example, referring to the grouping of research on new energy forms and new technologies or energy saving devices for developing countries. But naturally, the Commission clearly has a responsibility

to use the various appropriations approved in previous years as well as the implementation and management of future years.

So our Assembly, Mr President, must be firm when it assesses the Commission's demands wherever we lack the necessary guarantees that the sums earmarked will be put to use.

This requires us to adopt the following working method: where new actions or actions which require a new legal basis are concerned, we in our committee have very clearly asked the European Commission to approve these new draft regulations in June, so that Parliament can give its opinion in September and the Council can approve these new legal bases in November. In this way we hope that any reducing amendments — if the need is felt for them — can be made between the two readings of the budget.

Finally, I should like to say that the amendments drawn up by my committee provide the overall approach which has not been provided by the Commission, particularly as regards energy help to developing countries. It is quite futile for this House to discuss hunger in the world unless it wants to give a concrete example and offer practical help. As my contribution to help with energy problems in developing countries, I shall be submitting, as rapporteur, a project for installing one thousand sun pumps in developing countries close to the Equator, which should alleviate the problems both of drinking water and of irrigation for agricultural production. In this way, we in this Parliament can show the way which ought to be followed by those who wish to help developing countries.

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

**Mr Tugendhat, Vice-President of the Commission.** — Mr President, when we were preparing ourselves for these debates — we thought there would be more than one debate — we prepared two speeches. If I were to give both speeches in the fashion in which they were drawn up. I think each of them would last for 20 minutes and I would be able to give the House, I think, a full reply on the points concerning both the triologue and the Jackson amendment. On the other hand, I think that in view of the brevity of everybody else's speeches and the need to try to compress this debate, it would probably be more acceptable to the House if I were to compress my remarks and therefore I will seek to do that.

I begin with the triologue, with the Adonnino report, although this is not the subject that most people have spoken about. But it is in fact a rather important institutional landmark in the Commission's view; and it is one that we hope very much that this House will adopt.

### Tugendhat

Obviously, no one, neither the Council, nor the Parliament, nor the Commission has obtained all that they sought. Indeed, if any one institution had obtained all that it sought, the whole exercise would have been rendered futile from the beginning. And no doubt there are some — certainly there are in the Council, as those who are in the conciliation group from the Parliament will know — who would prefer things to have been done differently. They might have preferred certain items of expenditure to be classified differently; they might have wished for other things to be done differently, but in our view the classification now suggested is a dependable, workable and reasonable formula.

On the other equally important issues, such as financial ceilings and the question of a legal base, agreement has been reached which allows each institution to play its appropriate political role without in any way infringing treaty rights. We are particularly pleased that Parliament's right to use its margin is fully respected and in the event of the Council not acting, an appropriate use for the appropriations voted will be found.

Mr President, I can assure the House that the Commission will act in accordance with this agreement. I hope very much that the Council will. I have not the least doubt that the Parliament will and I would urge the Parliament to vote for this agreement when the matter comes before it tomorrow.

So far as Mr Jackson's remarks are concerned, I think I am to some extent excused for making a substantial speech because I have, of course, already presented the preliminary draft budget to the Parliament and this, as Mr Jackson said, is in a sense an additional stage in the proceedings in order to enable Parliament to clarify its mind rather than to hear yet again from the Commission. I will, of course, be participating fully in the debate after the Council's first reading.

I would, however, just like to make one or two remarks, and I am particularly stirred to do so by the comments of Mrs Clwyd a few moments ago. She produced a great battery of figures and I would like to begin with one figure. And that figure is that at the end of last year the Parliament voted a budget which involved increases in commitment relative to 1981 of under 15% and a number of new initiatives were very much cut back. 15% was roughly what Parliament voted for and when one looks at the problems that Mr Fabius for instance, the Socialist Budget Minister in France, is coping with and the way in which he has had to cut back on the French budget, and when one looks at the problems that are creating such difficulties between the coalition partners, the Socialist Party and the Liberal Party in Germany, and the way in which they have had to cut back, and when one looks at the problems that have already brought about one political crisis in Holland and the difficulties of the Danish Government, not to mention the country from which

Mrs Clwyd and I come, I wonder what world she is living in and what world people who support the phraseology she used, the figures she used, are living in . . .

**Mr Robert Jackson.** — Would the Commissioner not accept that in all the countries he mentioned there has been a very substantial increase in the budget appropriations for the type of activities financed by the Social Fund, in the United Kingdom, a five-fold increase since 1979? What we are looking for is the same sort of increase in the Community's provisions for these activities.

**Mr Tugendhat, Vice-President of the Commission.** — Mr President, I will try to deal with Mr Jackson's point.

The problem of unemployment is a terrible one, and I absolutely share the concern which Mr Jackson expressed and which Mrs Clwyd expressed and I would like to see the governments of the Member States and the European institutions do as much as possible to try to alleviate these problems. That is why I drew attention to the figure of 15%, which I remind Mr Jackson of, that Parliament voted last year. We have put forward proposals for an increase of the Social Fund to 45% in commitments and 39% in payments and if you take into account the proposals in the amending budget of 1982, one arrives at increases of 62% and 55%.

Now, I know Mrs Clwyd is Welsh, but even in Wales one cannot regard figures of that sort as pitiful. They may not be as much as one would like — they are not as much as we would like. They may not be as much as we will get. I am sure they are not as much as we will get but the English language simply does not encompass the use of the word 'pitiful' to describe increases of 62% and 55% and if she believes that ministers who are cutting back in all their Member States on budgetary programmes are going to be able even to agree to that much, then she is a more optimistic person than I am. I agree with her priorities; I agree with her desires, but what I have to say is that nobody using the language which she and I use — since I do not speak Welsh, unfortunately — can possibly describe increases of 62% and 55% as pitiful and to do so is simply living in a world that people like Mr Fabius and Sir Geoffrey Howe and Mr Lanhstein and anybody else she likes to mention would no more recognize than they would recognize a lunar landscape. This Commission certainly owes it to the Parliament to take seriously the proposals which the Parliament puts forward. But the Parliament owes it to itself to take account of the political and economic realities in which we live. Let me remind the Parliament of another figure as well . . .

**Mrs Clwyd.** — Mr President, the Commissioner made several references to Wales. He seems to think that

**Clwyd**

because I am Welsh, then perhaps I have a different outlook on figures to those that he has, coming from the southeast of England. Would he agree that the unemployment rate in Wales is the highest of almost every region in the United Kingdom except Northern Ireland? It is quite justified to make remarks of this kind because unemployment has reached frightening proportions in those regions and it is quite reasonable to say that the amount of money he is suggesting is pitiful and woefully inadequate and I repeat those comments, Commissioner.

**Mr Tugendhat, Vice-President of the Commission.** — Mr President, I agree with Mrs Clwyd about the extent and the horribleness, the terribleness, of unemployment and I said that I share her desire and the desire of Mr Jackson and of the whole House to be able to do more for it.

What I was saying was that increases of the order of 55% can in nobody's language — and certainly not in the English language — be described as pitiful. I said that perhaps in Wales the use of language is more exaggerated, but anybody who believes that a 55% increase is something small, is something minimal, has no conception, I believe, of the real world in which we are living, and I was about to draw her attention and that of Mr Jackson and the House to the maximum rate.

Now the Commission has never taken the view that our proposals should be governed by the maximum rate. We have always taken the view that we should be able to go above the maximum rate. But nonetheless one does have to take the maximum rate, to some extent, as a benchmark and the maximum rate on this occasion is 11.8%. Mr Jackson drew my attention to the budgets of Member States and he will be aware, because he is a considerable expert on the budget, that the maximum rate is, of course, related to the increase in national budgets and GNPs and so forth.

So the maximum rate is 11.8% and we are putting forward proposals — I should not perhaps say this with the Council sitting here because I am sure the Council will use my words against me when they discuss this matter in a fortnight's time — but for 1983 which are 3.8 times the maximum rate on the basis of the 1983 preliminary draft budget and 5.3 times the maximum rate if the amending budget for 1982 is ended.

I am not in the least doubt that a number of the Ministers of the Member States will be using those figures against me.

Now, in 1982 the Commission proposed an increase which was 2.8 times the maximum rate. I do ask the Parliament to bear in mind the fact that there are constraints in the real world and they ought to be in the real world and that when we are going five times

above the maximum rate, it is not surprising if we are accused of being lavish and it is unbelievable that we should be accused of being pitiful.

I wish, Mr President, that we could do more. I share the indignation of the Parliament and, indeed, of people outside the Parliament about the level of unemployment, but I ask the Parliament to bear in mind the scale of the effort we are making compared with what is possible in London, in Paris, in Bonn, in the Hague, in Copenhagen and anywhere else. I ask the Parliament too, to bear in mind when they give us all this sweet talk about cutting back the proportion of the budget on agriculture so that more can be spent on things which we have just heard about, that if we had followed Parliament's advice earlier this year on agriculture, the proportion of agriculture in the budget would not only be greater than it is, it would be much greater than even the Council would want it.

So, please, do retain a certain consistency with your previous votes and do please judge our figures by what is possible in the real world, with the availability of resources, and let us talk about what can be done as distinct from what ideally we might all of us wish could be done. Of course we would like to do more but don't let us pretend that money grows on trees.

**Mr Griffiths.** — Mr President, we of course welcome the proposal to increase the Social Fund, but the point we really want to make is that compared with the size of the problem, the efforts the Commission have made and the amount of money they have been able to make available is still pitiful. Whilst we recognize there are problems in the Parliament itself on agricultural matters, I think those of us who try to oppose those measures can still put a question like this for Mr Tugendhat to say whether he agrees or not with that particular view?

**Mrs Kellett-Bowman.** — Mr President, may I draw to the Commission's attention the vital necessity for keeping spending on the Social Fund high but keeping it in step with spending on the Regional Fund because it is no use merely training for the jobs if we have not got the infrastructure. He has said little, if anything indeed, about the Regional Fund. Now I regard the Regional Fund, as does the Committee on Regional Policy and Regional Planning, as the cement which binds this Community together, so let us spend on the Social Fund but let us also provide the infrastructure by means of an enhanced Regional Fund.

**Mr Tugendhat, Vice-President of the Commission.** — I agree very much with the importance that Mrs Kellett-Bowman attaches to the Regional Fund and she has done as much as anybody in this House to ensure that the Regional Fund gets its fair share. We are proposing an increase in the Regional Fund of 36%,

**Tugendhat**

which is three times the maximum rate, whereas last year the increase was 1.9 times the maximum rate.

As to Mr Griffiths' point, I agree with him that the amount of money available in the Community budget is not adequate to the needs. I would further say that whereas we have a common agricultural policy in the sense that the most important agricultural decisions are taken at Community level and a high proportion of the money spent on agricultural is spent through Community channels, we have not yet, I regret to say, developed Community policies of the same degree in the fields of social policy, regional policy, energy policy, and so forth.

I would like to say — and I do not wish to make a party point of this — I realize that Mr Griffiths, Mrs Clwyd, Mr Enright and others do their best in the somewhat difficult circumstances which they sometimes face in their domestic situations, but I hope that they will bring home to their colleagues in the Labour Party in Britain the need to develop these policies which was not always apparent in the policies pursued by Mr Benn and Mr Silkin and other distinguished gentlemen when they were in government.

As was said earlier by a Christian-Democrat, it will, of course, be necessary to have an increase and a diversification in the Community's own resources and I hope particularly that those of my compatriots, from whatever party they come, who speak so strongly in the European Parliament about the need for an expansion of policies, will be speaking equally strongly in the sometimes less welcoming atmosphere of their parties at home about the need to do something on the own-resources front as well.

**President.** — I call Mrs Scrivener on a point of order.

**Mrs Scrivener.** — (FR) Mr President, I just cannot follow what is going on here.

It seems that Question Time has come early since for a number of minutes — and long ones, too — questions and answers have been bouncing back and forth. Does Question Time begin at 6.15 or at 6.30 p.m., Mr President? I thought it was 6.30, but I see that the procedure is not being observed.

**President.** — You are quite right, Mrs Scrivener, it is not yet Question Time, but the Commissioner has been kind enough to reply to some extra questions.

I call the Committee on Regional Policy and Regional Planning.

**Mrs Fullet, draftsman of an opinion.** — (FR) Mr Tugendhat, you said that the Regional Fund has gone up by 36%. While I would not wish to dis-

pute the figure, I would point out that 36% of a meagre sum does not ultimately amount to much... I personally regret the fact that we in this House have voted to reform the ERDF, for instance, since the reform is not likely to have the impact we thought it would to judge by the appropriations earmarked for it. That is my first point.

While I certainly have no desire to quarrel with colleagues responsible for the Social Fund or to be regarded as a jealous mother hen by them because I have been driven to make comparisons, I must say that, while occupational training and particularly occupational training for women which I wholeheartedly approve — is one of the functions of the Social Fund, suite it is certainly not the function of the Social Fund to wage the war against unemployment.

It was Parliament's avowed intention for 1983 to fight unemployment but the appropriations for the Regional Fund will not enable us to breathe new life into small and medium-sized firms, nor will we be able to invest in the infrastructures which are the source of many jobs.

I hope, therefore, that Parliament will look at all sides of the question and that tomorrow, when the votes are taken, it will support the amendments tabled by the Committee on Regional Policy and Regional Planning, or at least those which I have tabled myself as, in the last analysis, it is Parliament alone which decides. Even if our pleas fell on deaf ears with the Committee on Budgets, I still hope, ladies and gentlemen, that the amendments tabled by the Committee on Regional Policy and by myself will be adopted by a majority vote in this Parliament tomorrow.

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

**Mr Tugendhat, Vice-President of the Commission.** — Mr President, one word. I forgot to mention amendments. All of the amendments refer to the Jackson resolution. Therefore I need not comment on them because they are concerned with a parliamentary proposal. With regard to the one by Mr Georgiadis concerning Turkey, we understand the political sentiment and we accept it.

**President.** — In view of the time I must now interrupt the debate, which will be resumed at 3 p.m. tomorrow. I also propose that the list of speakers on this item be closed.

## 7. Welcome

**President.** — I have pleasure in welcoming to the official gallery a delegation of CSU members from the German *Bundestag* led by Dr Fritz Zimmermann and including the President of the *Bundestag*, Mr Richard Stücklen, and also the Bavarian Minister for Federal Affairs, Mr Peter Schmidhuber.

(Applause)

8. *Question Time*

**President.** — The next item is the second part of Question Time (Doc. 1-415/82).

We start with questions to the Council.

I would ask Members to appreciate that I will accept only one supplementary question in each case so that, in view of the number of questions, we can get through as many as possible.

Only one supplementary then, but for each group of course. The groups must decide things internally.

I call Question No 39 by Mr Berkhouwer (H-181/82):

Does the Council consider it to be in keeping with the letter, the spirit and tenor of all the Benelux treaties, the completion of the customs union in 1978 etc., that — as happened in my own case on 17 May 1982 — the luggage of individuals travelling by car is still inspected at frontier posts between the Netherlands and Belgium, travellers being asked by the Belgian customs officials whether 'they have anything else to declare' (sic)?

**Mr Olesen, President-in-Office of the Council.** — (DA) With reference to the situation described by the honourable Member, I must point out that it is not for the Council to state whether the situation described is in keeping with the letter, spirit and scope of the Benelux agreement. Moreover, pursuant to the provisions of Article 7a of Directive 69/169/EEC and the subsequent amendments thereto on duty-free allowances in international travel, Member States may take the necessary steps to enable travellers to affirm tacitly or in the form of a simple verbal statement that they are complying with the limitations and conditions governing the allowances granted under that Directive.

**Mr Berkhouwer.** — (NL) I am sorry that it was not possible for my question to be answered by the Belgian Presidency, since it concerned checks on the Netherlands-Belgium frontier — but that is of course not the fault of the Danish Presidency. May I therefore put the following supplementary: can the President-in-Office accept that it would be ideal for the Community — which is after all a customs union — as well as for the Council if there were no more customs checks at all at the internal frontiers of the Community?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) I naturally regret that it is not my predecessor who is answering Mr Berkhouwer's question, and there is hardly any likelihood of a situation arising in which there are problems at the border crossing points between the Netherlands and Den-

mark. However, I must point out to the questioner that the large differences in duties make it impossible to satisfy the wishes expressed in the question.

**Mr Habsburg.** — (DE) Mr President-in-Office, do you not also feel that the situation at the frontiers is being made progressively worse through the ill will of the governments?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) There will always be problems at frontier crossing points. I can see this at home on the Danish-German frontier now that the holiday season has started. I would only add that the matter is too complicated for it to be solved by simple means, but I can agree with Mr Habsburg in that we shall try to have frontier procedures simplified.

**Mr Rogalla.** — (DE) It is not just the customs checks but also passport checks in general. Is the President-in-Office aware that the Council already had a working party which is discussing problems of security and drugs, and does he think that this is proceeding at a speed which will satisfy the wishes of Parliament, which raises this question in nearly every Question Time? If that is not yet the case, could the President-in-Office take up this suggestion that such a working party be set up as soon as possible?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) I am always interested in receiving new information, but I must concede that if the question implies that the Council is to set up a special committee to deal with such matters it is news to me — or, to put it another way, it is not the case.

**Mr Pearce.** — Would the President-in-Office accept that his initial reply and the reply that he gave to Mr von Habsburg are what one might expect from a bureaucratic institution and not really the sort of political leadership that we expect from the Council? Will he in fact go further than he did in his answer to Mr von Habsburg and not just investigate this problem but actually carry out with the Member State governments a whole new campaign to rid Europe of this bureaucratic nonsense and to create the common market that the citizens of Europe expect?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) As I indicated earlier in my reply, we are tackling this matter quite energetically, but I would ask Mr Pearce to appreciate that there are many elements involved in this problem which make it rather complicated. It is not simply a question of firing so and so many thousand customs or police officers; the difficulty is that there are different systems in the different Member States. However, we are working on it, and I can inform the honourable Member that Mr Tugendhat recently visited Copenhagen, where he had detailed talks on this and other problems with the Danish Minister for Fiscal Affairs.

**President.** — I have a slight problem. I announced — and the House agreed with me — that I would accept one supplementary question per political group. I am now in receipt of a request which had been put previously in writing by Mr van Minnen. I had already called Mr Rogalla by the time I received this written request.

Mr van Minnen, if you really are very, very brief, you have the floor, otherwise I shall interrupt you.

**Mr van Minnen.** — (NL) Yes, Mr President, there is one sad example after the other, but I think people will be interested to hear that on the German-Dutch border — and at its 'jewel', Aachen, into the bargain — a motorist was recently stopped because he was carrying 300 grams too much coffee, which works out at about thirty cups. For this infringement the motorist was fined DM 1.50 on forms completed in sextuplicate.

Half a unit of account for all this disappointment. In view of this absurdity, what does the Council really think of the mutual relationship between the European letter and the European spirit? I am willing to send the Council a copy of this fine, which was given to me by a European elector, so that they can use this specific case to investigate who was essentially at fault — the motorist or the customs officer.

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) I can only reply that the motorist in question should have drunk the coffee before he got to the frontier.

**President.** — Since their subjects are related, I call simultaneously Question No 40 by Mr Eisma (H-192/82):

In what way were the amended action programme on the position of women and the associated resolution adopted by the European Parliament on 12 May 1982 and taken over by the Commission of the European Communities incorporated into the proposal discussed by the Social Affairs Council on 27 May 1982; did the Council adopt the proposal in its entirety and if not, what parts were amended?

and Question No 51 by Mrs Cinciaro Rodano (H-225/82):

Can the Council state which of the amendments adopted by the European Parliament on the action programme in favour of equal opportunities for women were adopted by the Commission and consequently recommended by the Commission for adoption by the Council?

**Mr Olesen, President-in-Office of the Council.** — (DA) On 27 May 1982 the Council of Ministers of Labour and Social Affairs discussed and approved the

draft resolution on the promotion of equal opportunities for men and women on the basis of the Commission's proposals. In these discussions careful account was taken of Parliament's opinion. The text emerging from these discussions, which will shortly be formally adopted by the Council in the official languages of the Communities, takes the concerns and requests voiced by the European Parliament broadly into consideration. In its consideration of the resolution, the Council has thus taken account of the European Parliament's desire that the Member States should provide the Commission with all the information needed for it to draw up the information campaign intended to promote a more positive attitude towards a more equitable distribution of responsibility at the workplace, in the family and in society. Furthermore, the Council has met Parliament's wish for the date to be brought forward by which the Commission must submit to the Council an interim report on the progress made in implementing the new action programme. Finally, the Council has endorsed Parliament's view that account must be taken of the importance of equality in drawing up Community policy in all fields which will affect the equality of men and women.

The fact that certain aspects raised in the European Parliament resolution do not feature in the Council resolution is explained generally by their already being covered in principle by existing Community provisions or by their coming under the budgetary procedure.

**Mr Eisma.** — (NL) My question was perhaps rather too cryptic, which would explain why I did not receive a satisfactory answer from the President-in-Office. In my question I was referring to the phenomenon that Parliament gives the Council its opinion on the basis of a document from the Commission, whereas this document has in the meantime been amended by Council working parties. In such a situation, Parliament is expressing its opinion on an out-of-date document, and that represents a disregard of Parliament. The Committee of Inquiry into the situation of women on Europe, of which I am a member, had a strong impression that this is what happened on the occasion of the Council's preparatory work and, on 27 May, of its discussions on the action programme on the position of women. My supplementary question to the Council is therefore whether it will in future avoid a situation in which Parliament expresses its opinion on the basis of an out-of-date document or, if that is not possible, whether it can provide the Parliament committee with the new text in good time, so that we Members can make maximum use of one of our in any case limited powers — that of expressing our opinion.

**President.** — I call Question No 41 by Mr Moreland (H-198/82):

Does the Council agree that there is a strong link between agricultural prices, the Community

**President**

budget and the net contribution of Member States?

**Mr Olesen, President-in-Office of the Council.** — (DA) The Council is naturally aware of the link between agricultural prices and the resulting cost to the Community budget and took it into account when fixing the prices for the 1982/83 marketing year. I notice that the honourable Member also included net contributions in the question. I know what the honourable Member is getting at and can only reply that the Council does not have any clear views on the relationship between the Community budget and the net contributions of the Member States.

**Mr Moreland.** — I am not sure that the President-in-Office knows what I am driving at because my question is a little bit more innocent than he perhaps suspects. What I wanted to ask him was quite simply, whether he does not feel that there is room for further liaison between the Agriculture Ministers and the Finance Ministers and for more control over the Agriculture Ministers by the Finance Ministers. Is not part of the problem due to the fact that three particular items in this question are dealt with differently; the agricultural year is a separate period from the financial year and at the moment the net contribution is dealt with by the Council basically, as an *ad hoc* item every year.

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) I believe I fully understood what the honourable Member was driving at, and that is why I replied as I did. All I can add is that what counts when talking about the concept of net contributions is each country's own attitude, and this also applies with regard to the link between agricultural prices, the budget and the net contribution.

**President.** — Before continuing, I would remind you that this is Question Time and not 'Statement Time'. As the saying goes, 'brevity is the soul of wit'. I might add that clarity is also the soul of wit. I therefore appeal to the good will and cooperation of all of you to ensure that you put questions which are clear, precise and brief, as provided for in the Rules of Procedure.

**Mr Eisma.** — (NL) I do not recall your giving the President-in-Office an opportunity to reply to my supplementary question. Is there still a chance that he may answer it?

**President.** — Mr Eisma, I listened to you and heard you make a statement.

I asked the President-in-Office whether he wanted to reply and he said no. I understand his position because your question was in fact neither precise nor clear.

You made a statement, and perhaps your question got lost in it.

At any rate, we have now come to another question, and you will appreciate that I must continue.

I call Question No 42 by Mr Seligman (H-848/81):

What steps does the Council envisage to encourage a degree of convergence in educational syllabuses and to foster a Community spirit in the younger generation?

**Mr Olesen, President-in-Office of the Council.** — (DA) Before I answer this question let me say that, even when I am seated, I am the President-in-Office of the Council, and I listen carefully to what is said and note it down — and it is not every question which requires an answer. I too can learn something, and I have noted down what the honourable Member said about a previous question.

As regards the present question, the Resolution of the Council and the Ministers of Education meeting within the Council on 9 February 1976 concerning an action programme in the field of education emphasizes the need to improve mutual understanding of the various educational systems in the Community and to ensure continuous comparison of policies, experience and ideas in the Member States.

However, there has never been any question of such an exchange of information and experience leading to convergence of the curricula followed in the different countries, which should remain the sole responsibility of the competent authorities in each Member State. As for the specific question of how to give a European dimension to the experience of pupils in schools, it should be noted that the Ministers of Education meeting within the Council on 27 June 1980 approved as to its substance a general report of the Education Committee which deals, amongst other things, with this matter. In that report it is recognized that this European dimension can be provided by different curricular approaches, as appropriate to conditions and needs within individual Member States.

**Mr Seligman.** — I am very pleased with that answer from the Danish President-in-Office of the Council. But is the Council loyal to Articles 48, 49 and 50 of the Treaty of Rome which demand freedom of movement for workers and exchange of young workers? Now what hope has a young worker got of getting a satisfactory job in another country unless he learns the language, unless he is taught the history and the background, the traditions, the geography and the economies of that country. With the present educational system a Briton only thinks of Danes as marauding Vikings who came and raped their women 1 000 years ago. That is what we think about Danish history, and we want to know more. So will the Council, therefore,

**Seligman**

demand the incorporation of the European dimension in the curricula of the various countries of the Community, as recommended by the Sussex University School of European Studies?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) I can assure the honourable Member that we no longer go to England and rape their women. Things have now changed, and it is British women who come to Denmark. When it comes to coordination, to learning each other's language and history, I think the present system provides a fair measure of coordination, and I would refer you to my initial answer. I think we are on the right course, and we shall continue along it.

**Mr Israël.** — (FR) I have pleasure in addressing the President-in-Office for the first time. Parliament will soon be debating a report, which I shall have the honour of presenting, on the teaching of human rights in the European Community.

Do you not think that teaching human rights would be a first step in the action programme proposed by Mr Seligman in his question?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) Although I understand the question, I do not consider it a pressing and topical matter in the Community context. I automatically assume that human rights are an essential element in curriculum planning in all the Member States, that they constitute a starting point and form the entire basis for everything that is done at school. I must admit to the honourable Member that I do not regard this as posing any problem.

**Mrs Hammerich.** — (DA) Does the President-in-Office not feel that any coordination at Community level of syllabuses and curricula with a view to giving them a European dimension would conflict with Danish school legislation, the basic principle of which is that syllabuses are a decentralized, local authority matter?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) Since Mrs Hammerich has just raised the subject of Danish curricula and who is responsible for them, I can assure her that her view is one I can only share, and that is precisely what I said in my initial reply.

**Mr Kirk.** — (DA) May I ask the President-in-Office whether the Council intends to hold a meeting of the Ministers of Education in the course of the next six months, so that we can intensify efforts to achieve greater agreement between the curricula in the Member States?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) I can inform Mr Kirk that I cannot at this stage tell him exactly whether such a meet-

ing is planned — that depends on developments. However, I can assure him that I shall pass on his interesting remark to the Danish Minister of Education.

**Mr Alavanos.** — (GR) I found some satisfaction in the first part of the answer given by the President-in-Office, but I would like him to give us a clear assurance that the subject raised by Mr Seligman is outside the framework of the Treaty of Rome. Would he also say, with regard to the question by Mr Israël, whether today's decision by Parliament not to discuss the subject of Israel and Lebanon is likely to inspire the younger generation with a Community spirit as regards human rights?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) It has always been the view that topics considered by the Ministers of Education are matters decided between governments and not by the Council of Ministers. In other words, I can confirm the assumption expressed by the honourable Member.

**Mr Petersen.** — (DA) Mr Seligman asks about increased coordination of curricula. I know Mr Seligman from the Committee on Energy and I think he was at Oxford and not Cambridge. May I ask the President-in-Office whether the Council is intending to coordinate the curricula in Oxford and Cambridge — which I understand Mr Seligman considers a vital factor — and also whether this means that the spirit that rules at Eton will be changed to a Community spirit.

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) The Presidency has no plans to coordinate the curricula at Oxford and Cambridge.

**Mrs Nielsen.** — (DA) In view of the fact that we have given priority to the fight against unemployment and regard the fight against youth unemployment as the most important element in EEC cooperation, may I ask the President-in-Office whether it is not necessary — precisely to ensure that young people can take up any jobs that may be available — that these young people are given the education and schooling they really need, and whether the Ministers of Education in other countries share the wish to really do something in this field. May I ask whether the Danish Minister of Education will refuse to assume the Presidency if there is a wish to hold a meeting of Ministers of Education.

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) It is my firm conviction that, if there is a general wish for a meeting of ministers of education, such a meeting will be held, and I certainly in no way said that the Danish Minister of Education would not make any move to hold such a meeting. At the moment, however, I am not in a position to state precisely if and when such a meeting will be held. That



**Olesen**

is the one point. Alongside that, I agree fully with Mrs Nielsen that it is of decisive importance that education should be arranged in such a way that one can, as it were, keep up to date. In other words — and this is something we frequently discuss in Denmark, with Mrs Nielsen making a particularly important contribution in view of her background — we must get a proper transition from theoretical to practical education. I feel this to be an important principle, but the parting of the ways comes when we get to the framework within which this cooperation should proceed. I think things are going very well as they are at present.

**Mr Chanteric.** — (NL) May I ask the President-in-Office whether he does not feel, as Mr Seligman suggests in his question, that a degree of convergence of syllabuses is an essential step towards the recognition of diplomas in the various Member States thus a major task for the European Community.

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) I think I have repeatedly stated my own views on the kind of cooperation. As far as the need to achieve maximum agreement in education is concerned I can agree fully with the honourable Member, since this would make it easier to move from one country to another. This is an ongoing discussion, and I also feel that the discussion and events are moving towards an increasing degree of coordination. As regards the actual objective of achieving maximum coordination, I am in agreement.

## IN THE CHAIR: MR JAQUET

*Vice-President*

**President.** — I call Question No 43 by Mr Radoux (H-55/82):

Will the Council say what progress has been made on this matter, having regard to the fact that an answer should have been given by 31 December 1981?

**Mr Olesen, President-in-Office of the Council.** — (DA) I can inform Mr Radoux that the Council has informed the European Parliament of its views on the institutional decisions concerning the Council which the European Parliament adopted at its part-session in July of last year. This communication was published in European Parliament Bulletin No 19 of 10 May 1982.

**Mr Radoux.** — (FR) In view of the fact that this communication was published last month, can the President-in-Office say what has happened in the meantime

in the Council, and particularly what the position is as regards the conciliation procedure and Mr Blumenfeld's report of July 1981?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) I would point out to my old friend, Mr Radoux, that earlier this morning I reported on the situation with regard to the proposal for a European Act. As far as the Commission proposal on a conciliation procedure is concerned, this is currently before the Council. There has been an initial discussion, but the matter has not yet been finalized.

**President.** — I call Question No 44 by Mr Hutton (H-142/82):

In view of the experience of the Danish authorities in 'folk colleges' would the President-in-Office indicate whether he will bring forward proposals in his presidency for education in retirement?

**Mr Olesen, President-in-Office of the Council.** — (DA) The action programme in the field of education adopted by Resolution of the Council and of the Ministers of Education meeting within the Council of 9 February 1976 does not envisage the adoption of measures specifically designed for retired people. The Danish authorities are, however, very willing to make information available to other Member States on the experience acquired in the special Folk High School courses for retired people, in the context of the continuing exchange of information and experience on educational questions provided for in the Resolution.

**Mr Hutton.** — While I thank the President-in-Office for his answer, may I say that I really find it very disappointing. Would the President-in-Office accept that Members of this Parliament will find it very disappointing indeed that he should shelter behind an action programme agreed six years ago?

Would the President-in-Office further agree, that there looms on the horizon in the European Community a very large increase in the number of elderly people and would he not agree that it would be a great credit to the Danish Presidency if it were to take this on board now, this year, and put forward proposals to do something about the talents that lie with these people and add this to the proposals which the Education Ministers adopted in 1976?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) I would welcome it if what we have done in Denmark in the field of courses for retired people were introduced in other countries. I do not intend to submit any such proposal during the Danish Presidency, and I can only call upon you to do what you can in the national parliaments if you think we in Denmark have done something about courses for retired people which is worth emulating. The hon-

**Olesen**

ourable Member should therefore go to Westminster and try to exert pressure. I think that would be the best procedure.

**President.** — I call Question No 45 by Mr Bøgh (H-164/82):

It is premise of Danish membership of the Community that the right of veto laid down in the Luxembourg compromise should be fully preserved.

Can the President of the Council give an assurance that during his term of office nothing will be done to curtail the right of veto either directly or through a step-by-step approach?

**Mr Olesen, President-in-Office of the Council.** — (DA) I note that my compatriots are keen questioners this afternoon. I can inform Mr Bøgh that the Council acts in accordance with the provisions of the Treaties and will certainly continue to do so during the Danish Presidency. The provisions of the Treaties provide for decisions to be taken unanimously, by a qualified majority or by a simple majority. In these last two cases the members of the Council may continue to try to reconcile their views before the Council takes a decision. Moreover, as regards the attitude of the Member States to the Luxembourg compromise, I would refer you to my report this morning on latest developments in the deliberations of the Member States on the proposal for a European Act submitted in November 1981.

**Mr Bøgh.** — (DA) The argument put forward in justification of the first violation of the Luxembourg compromise was that no question of vital importance to Great Britain was involved, but this action has now been interpreted by the advocates of union as a precedent. In view of this, can we have a clearer legal explanation of why the violation in the case of the United Kingdom's interests does not create a precedent? It is vital to clarify this situation — for Denmark as well.

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) I can only say to Mr Bøgh that the Luxembourg compromise is not a legal act as such, but rather a political decision on the basis of which we have been working since 1966, and on the basis of which we are still, in my view, continuing to work.

**Mr Radoux.** — (FR) Although I welcome the replies given by the President-in-Office, I should like to hear him confirm that the Luxembourg Declaration in no way detracts from the obligation upon the Member States to apply properly the voting systems laid down by the provisions of the Treaties of Rome and Paris.

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) I will repeat my view that the Luxembourg compromise still applies for the same reasons for which it was adopted in 1966. I am familiar with the articles of the Treaties dealing with voting. As I said this morning, if the proposal for a European Act contains passages referring directly to the Luxembourg compromise I take this as an indication that it is accepted by the ten Member States. At any rate, this continues to be the basis which I, as President-in-Office, have for further cooperation in the Council.

**Sir James Scott-Hopkins.** — Would the President-in-Office agree that the whole Luxembourg compromise needs re-examination in the light of recent events. Having done that, will he come back to this House and give an undertaking that he will report to the House after the Ministers have examined this question in depth, as to exactly how they intend to proceed in the future?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) I must unfortunately tell the honourable Member that there is no basis for a re-examination of the Luxembourg compromise. We are all familiar with the goings-on over farm prices. Subsequently, there was a discussion between the Foreign Ministers, and that is the basis for the answer I gave a short time ago. The Luxembourg compromise was adopted in 1966. The Luxembourg compromise continues to be only one major element in continued cooperation.

**Mrs Boot.** — (NL) I am very glad to hear from the President-in-Office that he is personally in favour of simple majority voting in the Council. At the same time he says that the Luxembourg compromise is still alive and kicking. I should like to ask the President-in-Office whether the right of veto was discussed on Sunday 20 June, when the Foreign Ministers met informally in Luxembourg. What was discussed on that occasion, and what is the status of such an informal meeting of the Foreign Ministers?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) What happened in 1966 was that five of the six Member States held the one view and the sixth another. What has subsequently been confirmed after the adoption of the farm prices is that we agree to disagree, and in this case it is a question of ten Member States and not six. The outcome is the same as in 1966. That is the essence of the Luxembourg compromise, and that is why I can reply that, in my view, the Luxembourg compromise continues to apply in conjunction with the associated right of veto, even though the word 'veto' does not occur in the actual text.

**Mr Haagerup.** — (DA) After thanking the President-in-Office for the first part of his reply, may I ask him whether, despite the differences of opinion over the

**Haagerup**

so-called right of veto, he does not feel that it is essential to overcome these differences in such a way that the Community machinery does not grind to a halt — in other words to ensure that this right of veto is not used in a way which prevents the Community functioning, and that the right to disagree does not go so far as to prevent the Community functioning on the basis of the provisions, including those on voting methods, which the President-in-Office referred to in his initial reply.

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) I should like to reply in my capacity as Danish Foreign Minister and not as President-in-Office — in fact, the question leaves me little choice. When farm prices were being discussed recently, Denmark's view was that it was in favour of the proposed prices, but that it respected each country's right to determine or assess what it felt were vital national interests. This continues to be our view.

**Mr Skovmand.** — (DA) I think it can be said that the voting on farm prices followed a different course from that which might be expected from the Luxembourg compromise and from what was subsequently stated at the time of Denmark's accession to the EEC. What we are asking now, and what we should be interested to hear from the Danish Minister is: do we now risk having a repeat performance, with a relaxation of the right of veto over the next six months?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) If Mr Skovmand had devoted some attention to the debate back home in Denmark and listened to the reply I gave in the Danish Parliament, he would not have put this question. Our attitude is quite clear. I stated this quite clearly earlier today, and I do not think I need repeat it now.

**Mr Von der Vring.** — (DE) Mr President-in-Office, is it perhaps right to say that the Luxembourg compromise naturally does not apply to farm prices, and that at the time it was imposed not even France associated it with farm prices, since these always have to be increased?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) My interpretation of the Luxembourg compromise of 1966 is that it covers all fields of Community cooperation.

**President.** — I call Question No 46 by Mrs Hammerich (H-165/82):

Mr Fergusson's report contains sections on rearmament, joint arms production and civil defence. The Danish Government's attitude has always been that defence questions and military matters lie outside the terms of reference of the Community and its institutions. There is no authority

in the Treaty for bringing such matters within the province of the Community institutions.

What is the Council's attitude to the fact that Parliament is discussing a report by Mr Fergusson which far oversteps the dividing line between security policy and defence policy?

**Mr Olesen, President-in-Office of the Council.** — (DA) Neither the Council nor the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation have any knowledge of the draft report to which the honourable Member refers. As regards matters covered by the Treaties establishing the European Communities, the European Parliament, like the other institutions of those Communities, is required to act within the limits of the powers conferred on it by the Treaties. In other words, Parliament itself lays down what it will do and which subjects it will consider, and the Council neither can nor should interfere in this.

**Mrs Hammerich.** — (DA) It surely would not have been so difficult for the Council or the President-in-Office to get hold of Mr Fergusson's draft report. It has been around for some time, and I assume it is being posted all over Europe. However, I can understand that not even the President-in-Office wants to put an end to the legal excesses and the orgies of lawlessness which are going on in this House and in the committees. Nevertheless, when the report by Mr Fergusson does get to the EPC or to some Council of Ministers or other and it does deal with joint arms production, rockets and civil defence and so on at EEC level, will the Council disregard those parts of it which deal with military and defence matters? The fact is that such matters are certainly outside the scope of all the other EEC institutions, although I can understand that Parliament must be able to discuss whatever it chooses. Will the Council disregard these parts of the report?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) I must admit to Mrs Hammerich that I have not read the Fergusson report, but I can say that the principles governing political cooperation between the ten governments were last laid down last October in the so-called London report. When it comes to the subjects Parliament wishes to discuss, however, I still believe that that is a matter for Parliament itself, and the Council will certainly not interfere.

(Applause)

**Mr Fergusson.** — Is the President-in-Office aware that he could not possibly have read the report because, contrary to what Mrs Hammerich said, the report is not ready? It is not even written. Some of it is and some of it has been discussed, but no more than that. Secondly, is he aware that Parliament has, on

**Fergusson**

more than one occasion and indeed repeatedly, demonstrated its right and determination to discuss anything it likes, even matters which it has nothing to do with at all? It always does so. Thirdly, is he aware that arms reductions have already been the subject of a report by this Parliament, and that the Council has already made it clear that the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation, have necessarily discussed both defence and security as a matter of course, for example in preparing for the CSC Conference? Finally, is the Council aware that the innuendos in Mrs Hammerich's questions are, therefore, entirely humbug?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) I do not want to be discourteous to the honourable Member, but I did not see any question in his remarks.

**Mr Von Hassel.** — (DE) May I thank the President-in-Office for leaving it to Parliament to decide what we discuss.

However, is the President-in-Office aware that, in Parliament's deliberations and in those of the Political Affairs Committee — which does the preparatory work — it is always *security* matters which are discussed, and not *defence* matters? Would the President-in-Office agree with me that, in view of the fact that neither the North Atlantic Assembly nor the Western European Union can discuss questions which lie outside the scope of NATO, this Parliament has a duty to take steps to ensure that supply routes for oil and vital raw materials and for exports from the industrialized countries are secure, so that we shall have to establish what are matters of security policy?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) Mr Von Hassel, I myself was formerly a member of the Political Affairs Committee, although not for very long. I can only repeat that what the Political Affairs Committee discusses, and what the Political Affairs Committee sends to the plenary session of this august House, is something in which the Council has no right to interfere.

**President.** — I call Question No 47 by Mrs Le Roux (H-201/82):

Does the Council not think that the granting of aid for the modernization of fishing fleets should be subject to compliance with the rules applicable in the social sector?

**Mr Olesen, President-in-Office of the Council.** — (DA) The granting of aid for the modernization of fishing fleets has so far only been the subject of annual interim decisions by the Council, pending the establishment of a long-term structural policy. The subject raised by the honourable Member has thus not been

specifically discussed by the Council, the reason being that this question must be seen in conjunction with the other aspects of the fisheries policy.

**Mrs Le Roux.** — (FR) I take the point that it has not been discussed. Nevertheless, could the President-in-Office not give us his views on what ought to be done, particularly in the case of the category suffering most under working and pay conditions — the fishermen? Could a way not be found here of applying Article 117 of the Treaty?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) I cannot reply precisely whether Article 117 is applicable, but I shall pass on what the honourable Member has said to the Danish Minister of Fisheries.

**Mr Kirk.** — (DA) Can the President-in-Office confirm that the basis for the EEC's medium-term structural aid is that there must be at least 5% national aid, and that it is up to the national authorities to lay down the criteria and rules for granting this national aid, so that there is nothing to prevent a decision at national level that certain regulations in the social sector must be adhered to before national aid — and hence, indirectly, EEC aid as well — is granted? Can the President-in-Office furthermore inform us whether any progress has been made in the Council on the permanent structural policy containing firm plans for a five-year period, which was discussed here in Parliament and which up till now has been blocked in the Council — as far as I am aware by Germany? Has there been any progress on this matter, so that we can perhaps now get the firm structural policy approved?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) I can confirm the first point, which will probably not surprise Mr Kirk. As regards the second point, the question is still being discussed in the Council, and although some progress has been made I have to say that there are major difficulties to be overcome before any final conclusions can be reached. However, the matter is with the Council, which is pursuing its work on it.

**President.** — I call Question No 48 by Mr Bonde (H-209/82):

Does the Council agree that what is known as the legality principle holds good for all decisions in the EEC and that each and every Community decision has to be founded on a definite provision of the Treaties?

**Mr Olesen, President-in-Office of the Council.** — (DA) Like the other institutions, the Council is bound by the provisions of Article 4 of the EEC Treaty and by the corresponding provisions of the other Treaties, which require it to act within the limits of the powers

**Olesen**

conferred upon it by each of the Treaties. Consequently, every decision of a legal nature which it takes must have a legal basis in the Treaty, either directly — i.e. when they are based upon the Treaties themselves — or indirectly — i.e. when they are based on secondary Community legislation. I am sorry that my reply was so legalistic, Mr President, but that was in fact what the question called for.

**Mr Bonde.** — (DA) May I ask the President-in-Office for a less legalistic answer. Must any EEC decision have a positive basis, or can there be EEC decisions which do not have a positive basis in the Treaties? That can be answered with yes or no.

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) Mr Bonde is not going to catch me out. Answering a question with yes or no — that is a trick I know only too well. I can tell Mr Bonde that I initially answered his first question, and if he has specific examples to refer to he is naturally very welcome to raise them. Otherwise, however, I must refer to my original reply.

**Mr Newton Dunn.** — The President-in-Office of the Council, if I understood him correctly — and I tried to write down his first reply — said that decisions must be based on the Treaties or on derived Community law. Would he not, therefore, agree that the Luxembourg compromise is illegal?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) I regard the Luxembourg compromise as a political fact of life in cooperation between ten countries, which can often be very difficult.

**President.** — I call Question No 49 by Mrs Lizin (H-212/82):

Can the President of the Council state whether he intends to resort to the very effective method which has just been applied in respect of agricultural prices in order to ensure the adoption of the proposal for a Regulation setting up a consultation procedure in respect of nuclear power stations to be built in border areas?

**Mr Olesen, President-in-Office of the Council.** — (DA) Examination of the proposal for a Regulation setting up a Community consultation procedure in respect of power stations likely to affect the territory of another Member State is continuing within the Council. In its proposal the Commission suggested as the legal basis for the Regulation Articles 235 (EEC) and 203 (EAEC), both of which provide that the Council shall act unanimously on a proposal from the Commission. In reply to the honourable Member, I would add that what I have said does not preclude agreements on the subject of the question.

**Mrs Lizin.** — (FR) It is a good job Europe does not prevent bilateral agreements because otherwise we would be wondering where we were.

Can you simply tell me the date of the next Council meeting at which you intend to put this point on the agenda?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) If I hesitate before answering, it is because I would like to reply fully. Unfortunately, I am not in a position to give the honourable Member a full answer, since I cannot give any specific date. However, I shall consult the Danish Minister of Energy, and at this stage I shall go as far as to say that I assume that this matter will be put on the agenda of a meeting of the Council within the next few months.

**Mr Eisma.** — (NL) Can the President-in-Office give an assurance that, whenever this matter is put on the Council's agenda, he will do everything possible to achieve unanimity in the Council? Although Denmark has less frontiers with the other Member States, the cross-border effects of nuclear power stations in the other Member States represent a major problem. May I therefore ask again: will the President-in-Office do his utmost to achieve unanimity in the Council on the question of the cross-border effects of nuclear power stations?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) As I pointed out before, any Council decision on this question does in fact require unanimity.

**President.** — We turn now to questions to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs.

I call Question No 55 by Sir Fred Warner (H-227/82)<sup>1</sup>:

Will the Ministers, in pursuit of their attempts to secure the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea and the restoration of the sovereignty of that country, on all occasions draw attention to the similar violations which are taking place on Lao territory and demand the restoration of full Lao sovereignty?

**Mr Olesen, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers.** — (DA) In contrast to the situation in Kampuchea, Vietnam's military presence in Laos cannot be regarded as being the result of an invasion. None the less, the Ten hope that a joint solution to the problems in Indo-China containing the necessary international guarantees will make it possible for all foreign forces to be withdrawn.

<sup>1</sup> Former oral question with debate (0-43/82), converted into a question for Question Time.

**Sir Fred Warner.** — I simply cannot imagine what the President-in-Office means by an invasion. Is he not aware that there are between 50 000 and 80 000 Vietnamese troops in Laos? What does he propose to do about it in view of the guarantees which have been given to that country?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) I am well aware of that, but I would nevertheless point out that there is a difference between the situation in Kampuchea and the situation in Laos. If you ask me directly what we can do, I can only reply that we can continue the excellent cooperation we recently initiated with the ASEAN countries, who are closely involved in the problem of Kampuchea, Laos, Vietnam and the entire peninsula, but I cannot agree that there is a direct parallel between the situation in Kampuchea and the situation in Laos.

**Mr Habsburg.** — (DE) Mr President-in-Office, may I ask whether, in the framework of European Political Cooperation, the Council has had contacts with the ASEAN countries on the situation in South-East Asia and has received an assurance that in these contacts the intolerable situation in Laos — which in many respects is made intolerable by the presence of foreign forces — will repeatedly be raised?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) Subsequent to the extremely constructive meeting attended by the Foreign Ministers of the Community in Kuala Lumpur there has been continuous contact between the ASEAN countries and the EEC. In reply to Mr Habsburg I can say that Mr Tindemans was recently there on a visit and held an exchange of views with our counterparts in the ASEAN countries. Alongside this, there are also ongoing contacts, and as regards the actual subject of the question I would point out that, at the original meeting between the foreign ministers of the EEC and their counterparts from the ASEAN countries, an agreed text was issued on the situation in Indo-China, i.e. first and foremost Kampuchea.

**Mr Fergusson.** — This question is specifically about Laos and not about Kampuchea. We are only discussing Kampuchea in relationship to Laos. So let me try once again. What comment does the President-in-Office have about the American Government's reports and findings that Vietnamese forces in Laos have recently been using chemical weapons in order to suppress the Laotian people's attempts to resist the occupation? Would he answer in respect specifically of Laos, please?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) The subject under discussion concerns political cooperation — in other words, I can only express an opinion when there have been discussions within the framework of political cooperation. I must inform the honourable Member that subject he

specifically refers to has not been discussed in the context of political cooperation.

**Mr Israël.** — (FR) Nevertheless, was it not agreed under the 1964 agreements that Laos would retain neutral status? Is the neutrality of Laos still one of the objectives of Community diplomacy?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) I am sorry I have to repeat myself so often, but I can only tell Mr Israël that this problem has not been discussed in the context of European political cooperation — at least not in the form raised in the question I am sorry, but I cannot give any other reply.

**Mr Alavanos.** — (GR) In his first reply the President-in-Office said that the subject of Laos was not related to the subject of Kampuchea, where in his view there was a problem of intervention, while in his second reply to a question from a Member on the other side of the House he stated that the Community would show an interest in Laos in the context of joint action and cooperation with ASEAN etc.

May I put the following question to the President-in-Office: does he, as President-in-Office, feel obliged to give various replies — even if they are meaningless — to questions from various Members on the opposite side whose hypocrisy is only too evident? Today they pretend they are interested in human rights in Laos, whereas a few hours ago they voted against the proposal to debate the subject of Lebanon and the unacceptable, barbaric and fascist Israeli intervention in that country. In other words, is the President-in-Office obliged to give answers to Members whose hypocrisy is only too obvious?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) I did not understand the whole of the question. It spoke of comparing the situation in Laos with the previous discussion on Lebanon. However, I am afraid I can add nothing to what I said in my previous replies.

**Mr Haagerup.** — (DA) I think we appreciate that this specific matter has not been discussed. However, may I ask the minister whether, in his capacity as President-in-Office, he himself or one of his officials could not arrange for this matter to be put on the agenda for a future EPC meeting in view of the interest Parliament has shown in it, so that we can have an exchange of views at one of our discussions in the Political Affairs Committee?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) In reply to Mr Haagerup I would point out that our ongoing contacts with the ASEAN countries are something extremely positive, and it is only natural, now that we so to speak have the appro-

**Olesen**

priate basis, that we should have further discussions on various matters, including Laos.

**President.** — I call Question No 56 by Mr Balfe (H-99/82):

In which countries of the EEC are plastic bullets used as a method of riot control, and would the Member States have any objections if the Belgian Government used plastic bullets against demonstrators from the other EEC countries who were demonstrating against the Commission or the Parliament?

**Mr Olesen, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers.** — (DA) The subject is the use of plastic bullets as a method of riot control, and I am afraid that the Presidency is unable to give an answer to the honourable Member's question, partly because the problem does not come within the context of European Political Cooperation, and partly because the question concerns the internal policy of a Member State.

**Mr Balfe.** — We are of course delighted to note the collapse of the British Conservatives who believe in using plastic bullets.

Can I ask the President-in-Office of the Council, first, if this is outside his brief, why it is that, when I put the question down to the Council, it was transferred to the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation. The question was not addressed to them by me it was addressed to the Council? It was transferred to the Foreign Ministers by what is known in the trade as the 'service'. Had it been answered, it would of course have fallen to the Belgian Presidency which would have been a lot more apposite since Belgium actually houses the institutions concerned. I would have asked them whether they in their domestic capacity would be using plastic bullets.

Someone over there is making a row and ought to be ejected.

Now I would like to ask the Danish Presidency whether they would consider using plastic bullets in Denmark against demonstrators?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) I unfortunately cannot answer the honourable Member's question as to the procedure adopted and as to why the reply is not being given by the Council, which I understand the honourable Member would have preferred. I cannot say anything about the use or non-use of plastic bullets, but I would point out to the honourable Member that this matter is one for neither the Council nor political cooperation. That was the gist of my answer.

**Mrs Boot.** — (NL) I appreciate the President-in-Office's view that this is not a matter for European Political

Cooperation, but Parliament has nevertheless debated this matter, and I should like to ask the President-in-Office how it is intended to follow up Parliament's Resolution on this subject, which came out against the use of plastic bullets. My view is that this is a question of human rights. You did not reply as to which countries use these plastic bullets. I think it is common knowledge that they are used in the United Kingdom. What is the President-in-Office's view of the fact that the chief of police in London has stated that these plastic bullets will in no event be used in London, whereas they are being used in other parts of the United Kingdom? I think we are getting near to the question of human rights here, and I always thought that was something which did come under EPC.

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) The Danish Presidency has no plans to raise this matter either at the next Council meeting or under political cooperation. I am aware of Parliament's debate on this topic but, as I said, I think it is up to the individual countries to decide on their attitude to this problem.

**Mr Bonde.** — (DA) May I ask the President-in-Office whether all other weapons, including ones that are harder-hitting than plastic bullets, are also outside the remit of EPC?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) I have no wish to become involved in a debate on internal policy in Parliament. Mr Bonde is well aware of the attitude of the Danish Government, and I have already said that the London Report of last October lays down the basis for political cooperation, including the question of security policy as such.

**Mr J. D. Taylor.** — I would like to ask the President-in-Office of the Council whether he is aware of the concern throughout Northern Ireland at the recent debate in this Parliament about plastic bullets? Can he assure the people of Northern Ireland that the Council has not considered the results of the debate of this Parliament on plastic bullets and that the Council of Ministers is unlikely to consider the issue of plastic bullets, which is an internal matter for the United Kingdom?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) I am sure that all ten Member States are well aware of the debate in Parliament and the decisions reached, but I am nevertheless obliged to tell the honourable Member that the Presidency has no plans to put the subject on the agenda. It must be up to the individual countries to decide on their attitude to the problem.

**President.** — I call Question No 57 by Mrs Boot (H-163/82):

**President**

I view of the Parliament's resolution passed on the 13 May on Soviet Jewry, what representations have the Foreign Ministers made to the Government of the Soviet Union on this subject?

**Mr Olesen, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers.** — (DA) The problems raised by Mrs Boot have already been the subject of numerous representations by the governments of the Member States. The question concerns, among other things, the Member States' continuing efforts — particularly at the CSCE follow-up conference in Madrid and in cooperation with other western countries — to achieve improved implementation and a widening of what is known as the human rights basket of the Helsinki Final Act. These efforts will be continued at the Madrid conference, which is expected to resume on 9 November this year. The Community's objective in this field is to obtain a meaningful and balanced final document which must, in particular, contain progress with regard to the application of several of the provisions in the Final Act affecting the situation of Jews in the Soviet Union, particularly the effective exercise of human rights, fundamental freedoms and religious freedom.

**Mrs Boot.** — (NL) I welcome the reply indicating that there will be a communiqué prepared for the autumn of this year. However, as President-in-Office of the Council in the context of EPC, what proposals do you intend to make to your Soviet counterparts in view of the resolution approved by Parliament? You are aware that the West has adopted a clear stance on this matter and that there has been a sharp reduction in the number of visas. We want this to be stated clearly and bluntly so that the message is heard. What exactly do you intend to say to your Soviet colleagues?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) I have no doubt at the moment that attention will continue to be devoted to this problem. That has been the attitude of the Danish Government, and the honourable Member will be aware that the ten governments — both individually and sometimes jointly — have made representations to the Soviet Government in order to find solutions to specific human rights questions. I can only tell the honourable Member that the Danish Presidency will be inclined to follow this active policy.

**Mr Moreland.** — Like the previous questioner, I very much appreciate the President-in-Office's answer. Can I remind him that at Madrid his predecessor made a very strong statement on this subject and reminded the world that the number of Jews leaving Soviet Union had fallen by 73% in 1981 over 1980. But I think the point of the resolution and the question is that it has fallen considerably further this year. Therefore can I ask the President to make representation in the strongest terms to the Soviet Union on this matter and also

on the restrictions on the teaching of Hebrew and other restrictions on Jews in the Soviet Union?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) I can inform the honourable Member that the Presidency is keeping a close eye on the situation, which is not difficult, as we have always been concerned about this question and as Danish President I intend to continue the active line adopted by my predecessor.

**Mr Alavanos.** — (GR) As a Greek Member, the President-in-Office's answer surprised me, and I should like to ask him if the answer he gave represents the views of the Ten, including the views of the Greek Government, because in that case this is either a journalistic revelation or — I am afraid to say it — a slander against the Greek Government. To my knowledge, the Greek Government has never raised the question of the Jewish minority in the Soviet Union. I should therefore like a more binding statement, i.e. a confirmation that what the President-in-Office said represented the views of the Ten, including the Greek Government. This is of major importance, since a government delegation is today visiting the Soviet Union, and I do not think it would be proper if today's debate were to hinder or prevent the development of relations between the Greek and Soviet Governments.

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) I can assure the honourable Member that any statements issued by the previous Presidency were on behalf of the Ten, and I must add that it would surprise me if the Greek Government was unable to adopt this attitude which, after all, it has itself adopted with regard to fundamental questions of human rights. However, the important thing is that Mr Tindemans made his statement in Madrid and on other occasions on behalf of the Ten — that is to say, including the Greek Government.

**Mr Israël.** — (FR) Mr President, I should like to thank you very sincerely for your reply which reflects a favourable attitude to the question of human rights and a great deal of understanding for a very delicate problem.

My question is as follows. Quite apart from the overall question, which can be dealt with in Madrid, we are also familiar with very specific individual cases of suffering. Could you not envisage making direct representations in the interests of these persons through discreet diplomatic channels? This is very important, Mr President.

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) I should like to say to Mr Israël that discreet diplomacy presupposes discretion and I will therefore leave it at that for the time being.



**President.** — Since its author is absent, Question No 58 will receive a written reply.<sup>1</sup>

I call Question No 59, by Mr Haagerup (H-149/82):

Could the Ministers report on the discussions held and the decisions taken during the EPC meeting of 22 March 1982 on the question of the refugees saved by the Cap Anamur, as requested by Parliament's Resolution No 1-1049/81?

**Mr Olesen, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers.** — (DA) At their meeting of 23 March, the Foreign Ministers discussed the problem of the Vietnamese refugees with a view to arriving at a common position and with an eye to discussion of the question in the European Council. However, the Heads of State and Government did not reach a decision on the problem referred to in the question. I should like to inform the honourable Member that the Ten are greatly concerned about the drama being acted out off the coast of Vietnam involving refugees who are forced to flee their country under unfortunate circumstances. The Foreign Ministers take a positive view of the initiative on the part of the High Commissioner for Refugees and a large number of countries, including a number of European Community Member States, to provide financial aid to the Thai Government with a view to combating the piracy which is further aggravating the situation in which these unfortunate persons find themselves.

**Mr Haagerup.** — (DA) I should like to thank the President of the Council for his answer and, in particular, express my satisfaction at the concern which is being shown for this situation. However, I should like to ask whether the Minister realizes that the reason I referred explicitly to the Cap Anamur is that attempts have been made and continue to be made to increase public financial aid to these activities, and whether it is possible that the Council or the Foreign Ministers will give this matter such attention as would appear appropriate in view of the great interest and the positive attitude which, as the President-in-Office has just told us, the Council takes to this matter.

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) I can assure Mr Haagerup that, during the Danish Presidency, we will keep a very close eye on further developments regarding the boat people.

**President.** — I call Question No 60, by Mrs Hammerich (H-166/82):

Mr Haagerup's report oversteps the line drawn by the Foreign Ministers between security policy, which is now a legitimate field for EPC, and def-

ence/military questions, which fall outside the terms of reference of all the Community institutions.

The questions dealt with by the Haagerup report include nuclear weapons in Europe, armaments and arm control.

The current President of the Council has stated that there are primarily three Community issues on which we must stand firm:

resisting in the increasing powers, maintaining the right of veto and assuring that the Community does not become a vehicle of military and security policy ('Politiken' of 1 November 1979).

Can the President of the Council confirm that the Foreign Ministers will ignore the conclusions of Mr Haagerup's report on security and will not spend time discussing them in political cooperation?

**Mr Olesen, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers.** — (DA) Two of my compatriots are involved here, I see. On the one hand, reference has been made to a report by Mr Haagerup, and on the other hand, the question has been put by Mrs Hammerich. I must inform you that the Haagerup has not been discussed by the ten Foreign Ministers, nor is such a discussion envisaged. As the honourable Member will be aware, the Ten have agreed, as stated in the London report, to maintain the flexible and pragmatic attitude which has made it possible to discuss, within the context of political cooperation, certain questions of foreign policy which are connected with or are of relevance to the political aspects of security, but which do not involve defence questions proper.

**Mrs Hammerich.** — (DA) I should like to thank the Foreign Minister for this answer, which I in fact find very satisfactory. I conclude, therefore, that if the European Parliament produces reports which go beyond questions of security policy and go into defence and military matters, they will not get any further than this Chamber.

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) I should be glad to send Mrs Hammerich a copy of the London report of October last year. If I had sent her a copy earlier, she would not have put this last question or made this last remark.

**Mr Møller.** — (DA) Does not the President of the Council agree that a democratically elected Parliament — or at least an assembly which has been elected in accordance with western democratic principles — has a right, particularly if it is only an advisory body, to discuss any matter which might interest it?

<sup>1</sup> See Annex.

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) I would agree and at the same time refer you to what I have already said on this subject this afternoon.

**Mr Haagerup.** — (DA) As a Liberal, I would like to put a question which I know perfectly well calls for a yes or no answer — something which the Minister does not like. Does not the Minister agree that Parliament is being remarkably liberal in its interpretation of the rules governing the conduct of Question Time, if it allows the same Member of Parliament to put two questions during the same Question Time regarding two reports, which do not as yet exist, and concerning certain conclusions which have not yet been drawn up? Having said this, I should like to ask the President to repeat the answer just given to the question by Mr Møller and which he quite rightly gave in answer to the previous question concerning another non-existent report by Mr Ferguson, since there would appear to be Members in this chamber who are apparently unable to understand Danish in spite of the fact that they come from Denmark.

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) In reply to your first question I will merely say that I have no intention of getting involved in Parliament's rules of procedure or questions concerning the way in which proceedings are conducted. As a member of a government, I have the deepest respect for Parliament as such. As regards the second question, I should also like to point out that I cannot really answer it. This business about understanding Danish was very complicated and it should perhaps be left to Mrs Nielsen, who was formally the Minister of Education, to answer this question.

**Mr Bonde.** — (DA) I should like to thank Mr Haagerup for speaking Danish and ask the President of the Council — and I hope no offence will be taken where none is intended — whether, if plastic bullets fall outside the scope of the European Community, it is not quite logical that any type of armament should also fall outside the competency of the Community? I am not trying to get a dig in at the Foreign Minister on a point of international policy — I am merely trying to establish quite clearly that arms production falls outside the competency of the European Community and that there is no basis for involvement in arms production in the Treaty of Rome. It should be quite a simple matter to make this clear without bringing in questions of internal policy. For the rest, I should like to take this opportunity of congratulating Mr Olesen on his 50th birthday tomorrow.

**President.** — I call Question No 61 by Mrs Lizin (H-207/82):

The item 'South Africa' is always included in the agenda of the relevant working party of the Ministers meeting in political cooperation.

Could the Ministers tell us whether extension of the code of conduct and of the accompanying measures has been considered in the formulation of new economic sanctions against South Africa?

**Mr Olesen, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers.** — (DA) The Ten do not at present envisage extending the code of conduct for undertakings from Community Member States with subsidiaries or branches in South Africa or represented in some other way in that country, as adopted by the Foreign Ministers on 20 September 1977. The Ten are continuing to examine the question of how the European Community can best influence South Africa to develop in a positive direction and the code of conduct forms part of these efforts. The Member States have published two statements regarding the observation of the code, the first of which was issued by the Nine on 28 June 1980 and the second by the Ten on 17 December 1981.

**Mrs Lizin.** — (FR) Does not the President-in-Office of the Council feel that this week's incidents in the Transvaal mines and, in particular, the subsequent repression would warrant this point being removed from the agenda of the working party and instead included on the agenda for the ministerial meetings?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) I must point out to the honourable Member that, at all events, the point would have to be dealt with within the context of European Political Cooperation and not at a Council meeting. I would merely point out that what I am saying here is, as it were, the common denominator among the various attitudes held by the ten Member States and, as the honourable Member will be aware, some countries take one view, and others take different views. I will not speak in my capacity as Danish Foreign Minister and tell you what the Danish Government thinks on this point, but the honourable Member is, I think, aware of the Danish Government's standpoint any way, just as I know what the Dutch Government thinks on this question. However, if I am to describe the common ground between the Ten I must refer you back to my original answer.

**Mr Marshall.** — Would the President-in-Office of the Council not agree that Community-based companies provide a large number of jobs for black Africans in South Africa and that if Mrs Lizin were to succeed with her vendetta against such companies, the employment opportunities for black Africans would be very much less?

**Mr Olesen.** — (DA) I should like to point out to the honourable Member that if I were to conclude this sitting — which, I believe, is drawing to its close — by saying what I really think about the system of apartheid and all it involves, I would be concluding with a

**Olesen**

number of very negative remarks. I shall refrain from doing so, therefore, while nevertheless making it clear that I do not share the attitude reflected by the honourable Member in his question.

**President.** — Mr President of the Council, this was the first time you have appeared in this Assembly in your

capacity as President of the Council, and I should like to thank you for the very effective part you have played in this debate.

Question Time is closed.<sup>1</sup>

*(The sitting was adjourned at 8 p.m.)<sup>2</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> See Annex.

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

*ANNEX*

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

1. *Questions to the Commission*

*Question No 3, by Mr Deleau (H-114/82)*

Subject: Reality of ECU use

Although the need to promote the use of the ECU is being urged by many people, does the Commission not consider that the reality is very different and that it is dangerous to design generous theoretical systems, especially in monetary matters, if no tangible results are produced?

*Answer*

1. Contrary to what may sometimes be felt, there is genuine development in the use of the ECU by the private sector and the Commission can report quite tangible results in this area in spite of the fact that the development actually began only a year ago.
2. The main achievements since March 1981 are as follows:
  - fourteen fixed-rate bond loans have been successfully launched for a total value of 1 032 million ECU, consisting of 582 million on the Euromoney market and 450 million on the domestic market by the Italian Government;
  - variable-rate syndicated bank loans for a total of approximately 656 million ECU, including EIB loans of 270 million;
  - numerous conventional banking operations (sight and term deposits, certificates of deposit, advance loans) carried out in ECU for a total value certainly of more than 500 million;
  - inter-bank deposits in ECU opened with a number of banks acting as clearing houses for approximately 200 banks, thus reflecting the importance of the ECU as a means of settlement and promoting its use.
3. Most of the central banks in the Community now regard the ECU as a currency for exchange purposes and resident banks are authorized to carry out a wide range of operations in ECU and to account for them directly as such.

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*Question No 4, by Mr Remilly (H-115/82)*

Subject: Means of harmonizing motor-vehicle prices between Member States

Having regard to the considerable discrepancies in motor-vehicle prices between European Community countries, has the Commission any means of intervening in price regulation so as to gradually secure reasonably uniform price levels?

*Answer*

The question raised by the honourable Member with regard to the discrepancy in motor-vehicle prices between Member States is of particular concern to me. As you know, the EEC Treaty contains no provisions which would enable the Commission to take steps to

intervene on the question of prices in the automobile sector. It is, however, clear that the Community has a duty, on the basis of Article 3(f) of the Treaty, to ensure that 'competition in the common market is not distorted'. In other words, the Commission can take steps to control prices by the way it applies the competition rules and the rules relating to non-tariff obstacles to trade.

Incidentally, this whole problem will, I hope, be discussed in detail in the European Parliament when it comes to the debate on the oral questions tabled by Mr Berkhouwer and Mr Christopher Jackson (065/81, 023/82).

I should also like to draw your attention to the answers given by the Commission to the written questions tabled by Mr Collins (1527/81),<sup>1</sup> Mr Michel (1515/81)<sup>2</sup> and Mr Welsh (101/82)<sup>3</sup> and the oral questions put by Mr Dalziel (H-550/81),<sup>4</sup> Mr Griffith (H-722/81)<sup>5</sup>, Mr Wedeking (H-113/81)<sup>6</sup>, Mr Prag (18/82),<sup>7</sup> Mr Christopher Jackson (H-49/82)<sup>8</sup> and Mr Nicholson (H-86/82).<sup>9</sup>

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*Question No 8, by Mr Bord (H-139/82)*

Subject: Development of the common market in works of art

Can the Commission say what steps it intends to take in the coming months with a view to promoting a genuine European market in works of art and more especially in the direction of free trade in works of art, simplification of customs procedures and the harmonization of fiscal legislation?

*Answer*

The Commission will shortly forward to the Council a proposal for a regulation to simplify the formalities relating to intra-Community trade in all goods, including works of art.

This measure will supplement the measures already taken to promote a genuine European common market in works of art.

On 11 January 1978 and 28 July 1981 respectively, the Commission already submitted to the Council a proposal on the harmonization of the tax laws and a proposal on the free movement of goods and the simplification of customs procedures.

The aim of the proposal for a seventh Directive on the harmonization of the laws of the Member States relating to turnover taxes<sup>1</sup> is to introduce a common system of value added tax to be applied to works of art, antiques and collector's items. This proposal was amended on 16 May 1979 on the basis of the opinion delivered by the European Parliament.<sup>2</sup> No agreement has yet been reached on the amended text in the Council. By harmonizing the rules governing the way in which the tax basis is determined for works of art, both those crossing frontiers within the Community and those imported into the Community, a common system would permit the establishment of free trade in works of art within the Community.

<sup>1</sup> OJ C 98 of 19 April 1982, p.3.

<sup>2</sup> OJ C 118 of 10 May 1982, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Not yet published in the OJ.

<sup>4</sup> OJ Supplement No 1-277 (German) of 18 November 1981, pp. 211/212.

<sup>5</sup> OJ Supplement No 1-280 (German) of 17 February 1982, pp. 193/194.

<sup>6-9</sup> Not yet published in the OJ.

Adoption of the proposal for a regulation introducing arrangements for movement within the Community of goods sent from one Member State for temporary use in one or more other Member States would facilitate the movement of works of art.

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*Question No 10, by Mr Radoux (H-83/82)*

Subject: Refunds to Member States

It would appear that in the 1980-81 financial year a total amount of BFR 40 000 million was refunded to Member States from non-allocated appropriations earmarked for the common agricultural policy. What are the Commission's views on this refund system bearing in mind how difficult it is to find funds for the Community's regional policy? In other words, when such cases arise, would it not be possible to apply a system for the transfer of appropriations?

*Answer*

Amending budget No/81 and supplementary and amending budget No 2/81 were approved by the budgetary authority in 1981. As a result, there was a net reduction of 893.6 million ECU in payment appropriations for the financial year. The effect was to reduce the VAT rate from 0.89% to 0.79%. The two budgets cut EAGGF (Guarantee section) appropriations by 1 285 million ECU. Of this total, 496 million ECU have been reallocated to other sectors where new needs emerged.

The honourable Member might like to know that an additional 200 million ECU went to the ERDF, 50 million to the EAGGF (Guidance section) and 62 million to the ECSC for social measures, while the remaining 184 million was allocated to aid for developing countries. The recommendations of the European Parliament and the Commission in this area have thus been followed to a large extent.

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*Question No 12, by Mrs Le Roux (H-151/82)*

Subject: Lifting of the ban on disposal of radioactive wastes into the sea by the United States

Was any mention made at the last meeting between the Commission and the United States Government of the lifting of the ban on disposal of radioactive wastes into the sea which had been in force for 12 years in the United States?

*Answer*

The position of the US Government on the dumping of radioactive wastes at sea was not discussed during the most recent high-level talks between the Commission and the Government of the United States in Washington in November 1981, nor has it been discussed at meetings between Community and American experts.

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*Question No 13, by Mr Pranchère (H-155/82)*

Subject: Delay in the fixing of agricultural prices

What measures does the Commission intend to propose in order to compensate for the losses suffered, particularly by stock-farmers, because of the delay in the fixing of agricultural prices?

*Answer*

In common with Parliament the Commission regrets the fact that the Council did not manage to reach a decision on farm prices by 1 April this year.

As for the delay in fixing new prices for the stock-farming sector (dairy produce, beef and sheepmeat), the Commission does not intend to propose any compensatory measures. It should be remembered that increases of 10-11% in the common prices for these sectors, together with additional increases in several countries in the national currency as a result of devaluation of the green currency, should mean that there will be reasonable increases in farm incomes during the 1982-83 season.

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*Question No 15, by Mr Purvis (H-186/82)*

Subject: Voting procedures in the Council

Is the Commission satisfied with the current voting procedures in the Council, as being in the best interests of the Community and of each of the Member States?

*Answer*

The Community always considers the interests of each Member State. At the proposal stage the Commission ensures that these interests are not harmed and the Council, for the obvious good of the Community, could not afford to disregard them. As for voting procedures in the Council, the Commission has indicated on several occasions that it is not satisfied with the Council practice of voting only in exceptional cases. The honourable Member must be aware that a large proportion of the Member States share this point of view.

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*Question No 16, by Mr Boyes (H-199/82)*

Subject: Animal test — LD50

Would the Commission state which countries of the Community use the LD50 test and whether the Commission has any plans to encourage those countries that do use it to stop doing so?

*Answer*

The Commission has no quantitative data concerning the use by Member States of the LD50 test which is employed both inside and outside the Community as an essential element in the safety testing of a wide range of products. In the current state of scientific

knowledge, and considering that the evaluation of many substances involves the use of toxicity tests including the LD50 test, the Commission while having an interest in reducing the use of LD50 has to consider realistically that for many purposes no other valid methods are currently available.

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*Question No 17, by Mr Bonde (H-208/82)*

Subject: Application of Regulation 1612/68

Is the right to acquire a holiday house a social privilege within the meaning of Article 7(2) of Regulation 1612/68?

*Answer*

The answer to the honourable Member's question is negative.

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*Question No 19, by Dame Shelagh Roberts (H-214/82)*

Subject: Advertisement of public supply contracts

To what extent is the Commission satisfied that Member States are implementing the terms of Directive EEC/77/62 relating to the advertisement of public supply contracts and does the Commission have evidence of any abuse of the directive and, if so, what action is being taken to curb such abuse?

*Answer*

Since the introduction of Community arrangements to coordinate procedures for the awarding of public supply contracts, a number of improvements concerning the advertisement of such contracts have occurred as a result of Directive EEC/77/62 of 21 December 1976 and Directive EEC/80/767 of 22 July 1980.

The number of contracts to be advertised has continually increased, from 329 in the second half of 1978 to 1 038 in 1979, 1 293 in 1980 and 1 923 in 1981. Also, certain shortcomings in the notices of invitation to tender have been eliminated. Together with the Member States various measures were taken to ensure that the deadlines laid down in the directives were fully respected. Furthermore, the time required to prepare the notices for publication has been reduced as a result of speedier processing. In this way the time available to potential suppliers for the submission of bids has been increased.

In spite of these advances, however, the situation is not yet satisfactory. In general terms, there have been delays and far too many disparities in incorporating the Community provisions into national regulations and practices. This explains the unwarranted inequalities in the respect of these new Community rules or in the manner in which they are interpreted and applied.

The Commission has not hesitated to apply Article 169 of the EEC Treaty when measures to ensure compliance with the directives have not been implemented within the required time limits or when it has received a complaint about a specific abuse of the system.

The Commission, together with the Advisory Committee for Public Contracts, is currently working on a thorough review of all matters regarding the implementation and satisfac-



tory application of the directives. It is endeavouring as quickly as possible to open up these contracts to intra-Community competition and to establish the conditions of an internal market. It will make every effort to overcome the many barriers and the opposition which militate against speedy success in this area.

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*Question No 20, by Mrs Dury (H-215/82)*

Subject: Participation of consumer organizations in the European Committee on Standards

In view of the role of the European Committee on Standards and the importance of its work for European consumers, does the Commission intend to arrange for representatives of consumer organizations to participate in the work of the Committee?

*Answer*

1. In most Member States consumers are already directly involved in the work of the national standards institutes.
2. Consumers have thus until now participated in the work of the Committee through the delegations of the national standards institutes which are involved in the deliberations of the various technical committees of the European Committee on Standards.
3. Within the framework of contacts between representatives of the European standards institutes and the Commission, experts acting on behalf of European consumers will, with the approval of the European Committee on standards, in future attend as observers meetings of the technical committees in which they are most directly interested.
4. The Commission and its relevant departments are currently examining with the parties involved suitable processes and means of assuring and coordinating this direct involvement of consumers in the drawing-up of European standards.

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*Question No 23, by Mr Pearce (H-220/82)*

Subject: Financial charges

What steps does the Commission regularly take to keep itself aware of the number of types of financial charges that may be levied by Member States' customs services on intra-Community trade, and how many such types of charges are liable to be levied in each Member State and how far has this number been reduced in recent years?

*Answer*

The Commission has no statistics on the *number* of types of financial charges that may be levied by customs services on intra-Community trade. By their nature such charges take the form of consumer taxes, parafiscal taxes and taxes which may be considered as payment for services performed (fees). Whereas the structure of turnover taxes is largely standardized, no permanent progress on harmonization has yet been made in the field of special consumer taxes (excise duties). Any parafiscal taxes that exist in the Member States stem exclusively from national legislation. This applies particularly to fees, which can be as diverse as the services to which they relate. This state of affairs, and the fact that there

may be differences of opinion as to the category to which a given tax should be allocated, make it difficult to determine the exact number of types of different financial charges.

The Commission ensures that all the charges mentioned comply with the provisions of the Community Treaties. In particular, its responsibilities in this context include looking into complaints from individuals and taking action in response to questions from Members of the European Parliament. If appropriate, it requests Member States for more detailed information.

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*Question No 24, by Mr Wedekind (H-223/82)*

Subject: Air pollution from sulphur dioxide

According to scientists at the University of Göttingen, wide areas of forest in the southern part of Lower Saxony are threatened with total destruction within a few decades because of air pollution from sulphur dioxide (which combines with rain to form sulphuric acid).

The Lower Saxony Minister for Social Affairs claims that over 50% of this sulphur dioxide is carried by wind into the Federal Republic of Germany from other European States.

The problem of forest decay has now assumed European dimensions.

What immediate action does the Commission envisage to prevent further damage to trees and what measures does it propose in the medium term to reduce sulphur dioxide emissions throughout Europe?

*Answer*

The Commission has for some time addressed itself to the problem of the pollution of rain and soil with acid and the resulting damage to forests in the Federal Republic of Germany. Similar phenomena have also been observed in other countries, for example Scandinavia. The Commission cannot say whether 50% of the SO<sub>2</sub> held responsible for the forest damage in Lower Saxony stems from other European States. The estimates available indicate that the total amount of sulphur compounds exported by the Federal Republic to other European States is higher than the total imported from these States into the Federal Republic. The problem is thus undoubtedly one which transcends national boundaries and requires action at the international level.

The Commission has already taken action to combat air pollution by laying down measures on air quality and emission levels.

Directive 80/779/EEC laid down air quality limit values and guide values for SO<sub>2</sub> and suspended particulates. The values are to be observed in all Member States as from 1 April 1983, with extended time limits for particularly heavily polluted areas. This Directive aims, among other things, through Article 9 which forbids any significant deterioration in air quality, to bring about a move away from the policy of constructing high chimneys and, in addition, gives Member States the possibility of designating areas deserving special protection and setting and observing substantially lower guide values for these areas. Furthermore, Article 11 of the Directive provides for joint consultations in cases where pollution originating in another Member State affects areas designated as special protection areas.

A further important step by the Community towards the solution of the problem mentioned by the honourable Member was the signing by the Community and its Member States of the Geneva Convention on Long-range Transboundary Air Pollution which provides an international framework for the reduction of SO<sub>2</sub> and NO<sub>2</sub> emissions. This Convention could, for example, be of great import as regards the forest damage in Lower

Saxony because the sulphur in question would appear to originate largely in countries to the east.

In addition, Directive 75/716/EEC on the reduction of the sulphur content of certain liquid fuels, in force since 1976, has a direct albeit locally limited effect on the sulphur deposited on forests in the Community.

However, it must be stressed that *no measures can be taken* at Community or international level *that can produce an immediate effect*, and that in the medium term only the strict application of the Geneva Convention can achieve any permanent reduction of emissions. Ratification of the Convention is due to take place on 16 July 1982.

Steps which produce an immediate effect can currently be taken at the national or bilateral level if, for example, the exact causes of forest damage in a specific limited area are known and appropriate action can be taken to deal with the source of the pollution.

As a result of your question, I will have a more detailed study of the problem carried out.

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*Question No 25, by Mrs Squarcialupi (H-224/82)*

Subject: Action programme in favour of equal opportunities for women

Can the Commission state which text of a resolution on the action programme in favour of equal opportunities for women was submitted to the Council, since it appears that the text on which Parliament expressed its opinion was different from that submitted by the Council?

*Answer*

The Commission put forward in its new action programme on the promotion of equal opportunities for women 1982-1985 a draft Council resolution. The Parliament resolution was based on this draft. During the Council discussions the Commission's draft was substantially amended by the Member States in a way which was not satisfactory for the Commission, as indicated at the May meeting of Parliament during which your resolution was adopted. That is the reason why the Commission attempted, with some success, to keep open the main political questions for the Council meeting itself so that Parliament's position could be taken into consideration.

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*Question No 26, by Mrs Cinciari Rodano (H-226/82)*

Subject: Action programme in favour of equal opportunities for women

Can the Commission state which of the amendments adopted by the European Parliament on the action programme in favour of equal opportunities for women were recommended by the Commission for adoption by the Council of Ministers?

*Answer*

The Commission recalls that because of the timing problem — Parliament adopted its Resolution on 12 May and the Council meeting was held on 27 May — Parliament's proposed amendments to the Commission's draft Resolution could only be considered during

the final stages of discussion in the Council. As explained in answer to the oral question H-224/82, the Commission sought with some success to put forward or support amendments which were intended to cover Parliament's main fields of concern — budget considerations, degree of commitment by the Council, interim report for January 1984, cooperation of Member States in measures to increase public awareness. The final text of the Council Resolution, whilst being less positive than that proposed by the Commission or Parliament, does reflect these amendments. The Commission, moreover, made a specific statement in the minutes on the link between the Council Resolution and the statement by the high-level OECD meeting of 1980, an issue which was also raised by Parliament.

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*Question No 27, by Mr Moreland (H-229/82)*

Subject: Rehabilitation of the Falkland Islands

What support does the Commission believe can and should be given by the Community to assist the rehabilitation of the Falkland Islands?

*Answer*

1. Following the recent events in the Falkland Islands, the United Kingdom requested emergency aid under Article 117 of the Council Decision of 16 December 1980.

Only humanitarian action for the direct purpose of saving the lives of the threatened population can be considered emergency aid. Such aid can be granted for a maximum period of six months. No reconstruction project can be undertaken as part of such aid.

2. The Commission will determine what action to take on the basis of the information supplied by the United Kingdom Government.

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*Question No 28, by Mrs Baduel Glorioso (H-231/82)*

Subject: Agreement by the Ten on 25 pilot schemes designed to help young people adapt to adult life

The Education Ministers of the Community, meeting on 24 May 1982 in Brussels, approved 25 pilot schemes designed to help young people to adapt to adult life. Can the Commission state whether there are any pilot schemes specifically concerned with the social and professional training of young women and with the continuing education of adult women and, if so, how many there are?

*Answer*

In their resolution of 24 May 1982 the Council and the Ministers for Education meeting within the Council agreed on the implementation of a network of new pilot projects, at European level, to facilitate the transition of young people from education to adult and working life. This network of pilot projects shall be based on a limited number of geographical zones or areas to be chosen by the appropriate authorities in each Member State in cooperation with the Commission.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Education Committee report on 'Education and training in the context of the employment situation in the European Community', paragraph 20.

The three-year programme starting in 1983 is designed to support 'the development of national policies, specifically designed to promote an active process of interplay between schools and the outside world and thus to stimulate a broader form of social and vocational preparation for adult life'.<sup>1</sup> The programme 'will be implemented in close liaison with other initiatives aimed at reducing unemployment, particularly amongst young people'.<sup>2</sup>

Although this particular programme is not conceived as a specific action to benefit girls, the Council and the Ministers of Education took their resolution of 13 December 1976 as a point of departure for the new programme. In this resolution (point III, I, c) priority is given, *inter alia*, to the evaluation and development of national policies in respect of specific actions to ensure equal educational opportunities for girls.

The new programme, therefore, will, as in the case of the first programme, take full account of Community policy objectives regarding equal treatment for men and women and the promotion of equal opportunities in practice particularly by means of positive action.

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*Question No 30, by Mr Skovmand (H-236/82)*

Subject: Distortion of competition in pig farming

What is the Commission's attitude to the present discrimination against Danish and certain other pig farmers? They have to pay a high price for their grain, which other Community farmers avoid by buying feedstuffs derived from tapioca products from the developing countries, on which duties are very low.

*Answer*

The import arrangements for all manioc products are the same for all importers in the Community and hence for all pig farmers too. As a result, there is no distortion of competition among pig farmers in the Community.

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*Question No 31, by Mr Cecovini (H-239/82)*

Subject: Friuli-Venezia Giulia integrated operation

The Commission has received from the Italian Government plans for an integrated operation in the Friuli and Venezia Giulia regions which ought to qualify for assistance from the non-quota section of the European Regional Development Fund. Does the Commission consider it useful and appropriate that the EEC should participate in the major infrastructure projects (building a tunnel under the Monte Croce Carnico, developing the port of Trieste, laying a second track on the Pontebbana railway) that this integrated operation would entail?

*Answer*

1. The Commission is well aware that an integrated operation for the Friuli-Venezia Giulia region is being prepared by the regional authorities.

<sup>1</sup> Education Committee report on 'Education and training in the context of the employment situation in the European Community', paragraph 19.

<sup>2</sup> Resolution of 24 May 1982, part III.

2. It must be remembered that the area is not eligible for aid from the quota section of the Regional Fund and that as a result the infrastructure projects to which the honourable Member refers could not be financed by the ERDF. However, aid financed by the EIB or NCI might be a possibility.

3. The Commission would point out that the Friuli-Venezia Giulia region is not currently included among the regions which benefit from specific regional development measures.

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*Question No 32, by Mr Cluskey (H-240/82)*

Subject: Neutrality and membership of the European Community

Can the Commission assure me that there has been no change in the Community since 1973 which would make a Member State's position of neutrality incompatible with its membership of the European Community?

*Answer*

The honourable Member may rest assured that no Member State follows a policy of neutrality which is incompatible with membership of the European Community.

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*Question No 33, by Mr Treacy (H-241/82)*

Subject: Community aid for the food-processing industry

In view of the significant contribution which can be made to employment creation through developing the food-processing industry, particularly in Ireland, will the Commission state what aid it can give to this industry, either within the framework of the common agricultural policy or from other sources?

*Answer*

The Community makes use of several of its financial instruments, with due regard for their aims and procedures, in financing investment in the food-processing sector. Subsidies for such investment can thus be granted by the EAGGF (Guidance section) and by the ERDF. The Social Fund can grant subsidies for vocational training activities and can help job creation schemes. In addition, loans can be granted through the EIB and the NCI, as well as on the basis of Article 56(2a) of the ECSC Treaty. Interest rebates can be applied in the case of the latter.

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*Question No 34, by Mr Pattison (H-245/82)*

Subject: Community policies in favour of the elderly.

Will the Commission outline the progress made to date in introducing and developing those policies in favour of the elderly, of which it spoke in the debate on the subject in

Parliament in February last; in particular can it state what, if any, pilot projects are being planned or carried out?

*Answer*

In the debate in Parliament on 18 February 1982,<sup>1</sup> the Commission representative did not refer to 'Community policies', in favour of the elderly; he indicated a certain number of activities currently being carried out by the Commission on behalf of the elderly. The following further information can be given in this respect:

The draft recommendation on the principles of a Community policy with regard to retirement age was examined by the Council of Ministers for Employment and Social Affairs on 27 May 1982. The Council agreed in principle on the recommendation, stating that it would give its final decision once it had received the opinion of the Parliament. The essential aim of the recommendation is to introduce flexible retirement, i.e. to give everyone the possibility of choosing, after reaching a certain age, when they will retire.

The Commission is in the course of preparing for a seminar, to be held in September 1982, on 'Policy issues in the health and social welfare of the elderly'; several other activities concerning the health of the elderly, particularly in the field of prevention, are being prepared for 1983.

A study is under way which will analyse a certain number of operations undertaken in Member States to promote the autonomy of the elderly.

Some financial aid has also been granted to activities in Member States carried out by independent organizations in favour of the elderly (meetings, working parties, projects in the field, etc.). It should also be noted that the Commission's programme of grants to pilot schemes aimed at improving housing conditions for disabled people can also involve housing for elderly handicapped persons.

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*Question No 36, by Mr Rieger (H-248/82)*

Subject: EC loan to Sweden

Is there any truth to the report which appeared in *Dagens Nyheter* on 18 May 1982 that the Community intends to grant a loan to Sweden for the development of the iron ore mines in Kiruna? On what legal basis and with what purpose in mind does the Community grant loans to countries which are not Member States?

*Answer*

No formal request for a loan has yet been submitted. If a request were to be submitted, it would be considered and an ECSC loan might be granted on the basis of Article 54(2) of the ECSC Treaty which states:

With the unanimous assent of the Council, the High Authority may by the same means (i.e. by granting loans to undertakings) assist the financing of works and installations which contribute directly and primarily to increasing the production, reducing the production costs or facilitating the marketing of products within its jurisdiction.

The expected situation with regard to iron ore supplies means in fact that it would be better for the Commission to attempt to ensure such supplies as far as possible. The granting of a loan to finance mining outside the Community is naturally dependent on long-

<sup>1</sup> OJ No 1-280.

term contracts guaranteeing that the required amounts of the ore would in fact be delivered to the Community.

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## 2. Questions to the Council

### Question No 50, by Mr Pearce (H-221/82)

Subject: Proposals for regulations relating to customs procedures

Will the Council say how many proposals for regulations relating to customs procedures are awaiting consideration by the Council, how long they have been awaiting decision and, in respect of each, which particular aspects of the proposals are responsible for the delays?

### Answer

The Council is currently examining six proposals for Regulations relating to customs arrangements.

The Council's discussions on the proposal for a Regulation concerning inward processing and the proposal for a Regulation relating to free movement within the Community are still at a technical stage.

The Council's discussions concerning the proposal relating to temporary importation — submitted in 1978 have reached a very advanced stage. The Council is currently examining the fiscal consequences resulting from the adoption of these arrangements.

The discussions on the proposal relating to the system of reliefs from customs duty have virtually been completed. The Council is merely awaiting completion of the parallel system for tax relief.

On the other hand, the two other systems are encountering serious difficulties. As regard the arrangements governing processing under customs control — which were submitted to the Council almost 10 years ago — the discussions still relate to the application of the arrangements for the processing of tobacco.

There are also problems regarding the arrangements for stores of vessels, aircraft and international trains which have also been the subject of a proposal for a Directive in the tax field. It has proved particularly difficult to harmonize the rules applied by individual Member States for a long time, which are based on concerns regarding policies other than customs policies and which differ not only from Member State to Member State but also from one transport system to another.

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### Question No 52, by Mr Skovmand (H-235/82)

Subject: Distortion of competition in pig farming.

What is the Council's attitude to the distortions of competition in pig meat production?

Dutch and West German farmers in particular enjoy the substantial advantage of being able to import tapioca products from the developing countries almost dutyfree, while



Danish farmers, for instance, are for the most part forced to use barley, which is subject to levies and therefore more expensive.

*Answer*

The import arrangements for cereals and related products, including manioc (tapioca), are the same for all importers in the Community and hence for all pig farmers too.

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*3. Questions to the Foreign Ministers*

*Question No 58, by Mr Van Miert (H-128/82)*

Subject: Initiative on South Africa

Do the Foreign Ministers not consider that by taking the view that only economic affairs may be dealt with in the framework of the second Lomé Convention and that the problem of South Africa therefore may not, they are failing to take account of the deepest desires of the Community's ACP partners and of innumerable initiatives taken in international fora and do they therefore not agree that a new initiative concerning this problem is needed in order to restore shaken confidence?

*Answer*

The Ten view the situation in South Africa with concern and regularly consider it — in the group of experts on Africa, for example — within the context of political cooperation.

However, the question falls outside the scope of the Lomé Convention. The Ten nevertheless agreed to an exchange of views regarding the situation in South Africa at the meeting of the European Community/ACP Council of Ministers in Libreville on 13 and 14 May 1982, at which the Ten explained their joint views to their partners.

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*Question No 62 by Mr Bonde (H-211/82)*

Subject: Falklands crisis

Do the Foreign Ministers share the view of the Community's response to the Falklands crisis expressed by Eberhardt Rhein, a chef de cabinet, in 'EF-Avisen' of 4 May 1982, according to which there is now agreement to use the Treaty to achieve foreign policy objectives, and can the Ministers confirm that the principle discussions were left to the Commission and the Ambassadors to the Community?

*Answer*

It is not for the Presidency of the Ten meeting in political cooperation to comment on statements made by Commission officials.

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*Question No 63, by Mr Ephremidis (H-218/82)*

Subject: Mr Tindemans' visit to Israel.

During his recent visit to Israel, Mr Tindemans, President of the Council, expressed his support for the so-called 'autonomy' of the Palestinians. This position is linked with the Camp David Agreement condemned by the Arab countries and amounts to a retraction of the Venice Declaration, which calls for full self-determination for the Palestinian people and participation by the PLO in negotiations.

Does this anti-Arab shift in EEC policy have the unanimous approval of the governments of the Member States? If not, why did the President-in-Office of the Council support a position of this kind which may harm relations between the Arab States and the Member States, such as Greece, that recognize the PLO and are in favour of the Palestinian people being accorded their rights?

*Answer*

The purpose of Mr Tindemans' visit to a number of Middle East countries was to permit a reassessment of the Arab-Israeli conflict and relations between Europe and the region in question.

The visits also served in the preparation of the European Council's meeting in Brussels at which the Heads of State and Government clearly stated that the Palestinian people must be able to exercise their right to self-determination.

## SITTING OF THURSDAY, 8 JULY 1982

### Contents

- |   |     |   |     |
|---|-----|---|-----|
| 1. <i>Approval of minutes:</i><br><i>Mr Chambeiron; Mr Prout; Mr Siegler-</i><br><i>schmidt; Mr Prout</i> . . . . .   | 194 | 8. <i>1983 preliminary draft budget — 1982 pre-</i><br><i>liminary draft supplementary budget (Docs.</i><br><i>1-410/82, 1-477/82 and 1-450/82) (contin-</i><br><i>uation):</i><br><i>Mr Arndt; Mr Notenboom; Mr Price; Mr</i><br><i>Gouthier; Mrs Scrivener; Mr Ansquer; Mrs</i><br><i>Spaak; Mr Prout; Mr Delatte; Mr Pran-</i><br><i>chère; Mr Adamou; Mr Fich; Mr Konrad</i><br><i>Schön; Mr Newton Dunn; Mr Irmer; Mr</i><br><i>Bonde; Mr Pesmazoglou; Mr Saby; Mr</i><br><i>Langes; Mr Tugendhat (Commission)</i> . . . . . | 216 |
| 2. <i>Agenda:</i><br><i>Sir Fred Warner; Mr Alavanos</i> . . . . .  | 195 | 9. <i>Welcome</i> . . . . .   | 227 |
| 3. <i>Commercial relationships United States-EC</i><br><i>— Motions for resolutions by the European</i><br><i>Democratic Group (Doc. 1-458/82), the</i><br><i>Socialist Group (Doc. 1-462/82) and Mr</i><br><i>Herman (Doc. 1-466/82):</i><br><i>Mrs Gredal; Mr Welsh; Mr Herman; Mr</i><br><i>Seal; Mr Habsburg; Mr Møller; Mr Bonac-</i><br><i>cini; Mr Haagerup; Mr Deleau; Mr De</i><br><i>Goede; Mr Seeler; Mr von Wogau; Mr Tyr-</i><br><i>rell; Mr Fernandez; Mr Louwes; Mr Blaney;</i><br><i>Mr Haagerup; Mr Blaney; Mr Habsburg;</i><br><i>Mr Glinne; Mr Blumenfeld; Mr Seligman;</i><br><i>Mr Kyrkos; Mr Calvez; Mr Gérard Fuchs;</i><br><i>Mr Haferkamp (Commission); Mr Davignon</i><br><i>(Commission)</i> . . . . . | 196 | 10. <i>Symbolic empty seat in Parliament — Report</i><br><i>(Doc. 1-1083/81) by Mr Fergusson:</i><br><i>Mr Fergusson; Mr Habsburg</i> . . . . .   | 227 |
| 4. <i>Death sentences pronounced on three ANC</i><br><i>members — Motion for a resolution (Doc.</i><br><i>1-469/82) by Mr Denis and others:</i><br><i>Mr Vergès; Mr Haagerup; Mr Israël; Mr</i><br><i>d'Ormesson; Mr Fergusson; Mr Irmer; Mr</i><br><i>Israël; Mr Glinne; Mr Fergusson</i> . . . . .  | 209 | 11. <i>European judicial area — Report (Doc.</i><br><i>1-318/82) by Mr Tyrrell:</i><br><i>Mr Tyrrell; Mrs Van den Heuvel; Mr Jans-</i><br><i>sen van Raay; Lady Elles; Mr D'Angelo-</i><br><i>sante; Mrs Veil; Mr Vandemeulebroucke;</i><br><i>Mr Paisley; Mr Siegler Schmidt; Mr Habs-</i><br><i>burg; Mr Eisma; Mr Ryan; Mr Hutton; Mr</i><br><i>Narjes (Commission)</i> . . . . .  | 228 |
| 5. <i>Adams v Hoffmann-La Roche — Motion for</i><br><i>a resolution (Doc. 1-464/82) by Mr Caborn</i><br><i>and others:</i><br><i>Mr Caborn; Mr Haferkamp (Commission)</i> . . . . .   | 212 | 12. <i>Market in wine — Second report (Doc.</i><br><i>1-412/82) by Mr Colleselli:</i><br><i>Mr Notenboom; Mr Hord; Mr Colleselli;</i><br><i>Mr Gautier; Mr Dalsäss; Mr Provan; Mr</i><br><i>Papapietro; Mr Delatte; Mr Meo; Mr Almi-</i><br><i>rante; Mr Sutra; Mr d'Ormesson; Mr Hord;</i><br><i>Mr Martin; Mr Kallias; Mr Adamou; Mr</i><br><i>Maffre-Baugé; Mr Dalsager (Commission)</i> . . . . .   | 237 |
| 6. <i>Drought in Italy — Motions for resolutions</i><br><i>by Mr Diana and others (Doc. 1-452/</i><br><i>82/rev.), Mrs Cassanmagnago Cerretti and</i><br><i>others (Doc. 1-457/82) and Mr Papapietro</i><br><i>and others (Doc. 1-473/82):</i><br><i>Mr Diana; Mrs Cassanmagnago Cerretti;</i><br><i>Mr Papapietro; Mr Natali (Commission)</i> . . . . .  | 213 | 13. <i>Agenda:</i><br><i>Sir Fred Warner; Mrs Squarcialupi; Mr Col-</i><br><i>lins; Mr Johnson; Mrs Squarcialupi</i> . . . . .  | 248 |
| 7. <i>Foot-and-mouth disease in Denmark —</i><br><i>Motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-461/82) by</i><br><i>Mr Kirk:</i><br><i>Mr Fantì; Mr Kirk; Mr Dalsager (Commis-</i><br><i>sion)</i> . . . . .   | 215 | 14. <i>External trade statistics of the Community</i><br><i>— Report (Doc. 1-319/82) by Mr Almirante:</i><br><i>Mr Almirante; Mr Natali (Commission)</i> . . . . .  | 249 |
|   |     | 15. <i>Protocols to agreements with various coun-</i><br><i>tries consequent to the accession of Greece —</i><br><i>Negotiations with Spain and Portugal —</i><br><i>Mediterranean Plan — Reports by Mrs Pru-</i>   |     |

- vot* (Docs 1-328/82 and 1-327/82) and Mr Rieger (Doc. 1-325/82) and oral questions with debate by Mr Diana and others (Doc. 1-392/82) and Mr Pöttering and others, together with Mr Glinne, Mr von der Vring, Mr Bangemann and Sir Henry Plumb (Doc. 1-393/82):  
Mrs Pruvot, Mr Rieger; Mr Diana; Mr Pöttering; Mr Nikolaou; Mrs Phlix; Miss Hooper; Mrs Poirier; Mr Almirante; Mr Sutra; Mr Brok; Sir Fred Catherwood; Mr Alavanos; Mr Natali (Commission); Sir Fred Catherwood; Mr Diana; Mr Welsh; Miss Hooper; Mr Alavanos; Mr von der Vring . . . . . 250
16. *Sheepmeat and goatmeat* — Report (Doc. 1-326/82) by Mr Paulhan:  
Mr Paulhan; Mr Dalsager (Commission) . . . . . 263
17. *Relations between the Community and the East European State-trading countries and Comecon* — Report (Doc. 1-203/82) by Mr Hoffmann:  
Mr K.-H. Hoffmann; Mr Klinkenborg; Mr Moreland; Mr Nyborg; Mr Contogeorgis (Commission) . . . . . 263
18. *Activities of road hauliers* — Report (Doc. 1-317/82) by Mr Seefeld:  
Mr Moreland; Mr Contogeorgis (Commission) . . . . . 267
19. *Transport infrastructures* — Report (Doc. 1-214/82) by Mr Moorhouse:  
Mr Moorhouse; Mr Klinkenborg; Mr Clinton; Mr Buttafuoco; Mr Contogeorgis (Commission) . . . . . 267
20. *Inland waterways in the Community* — Report (Doc. 1-323/82) by Mr Hoffmann:  
Mr K.-H. Hoffmann; Mr Karl Schön; Mr Klinkenborg; Mr Kaloyannis; Mr Moreland; Mr Petronio; Mr von der Vring; Mr Schmid; Mr K. Fuchs; Mr Contogeorgis (Commission) . . . . . 270
- Annex:*  
*Votes:* Mrs Desouches; Mr Gontikas; Mr Lomas; Mr Kallias; Mr De Goede; Mr Alavanos; Mr Papageorgiou; Mr Hänsch; Mrs Le Roux; Mr Arndt; Mr Frischmann; Mrs Hammerich; Mrs Théobald-Paoli; Mr Baillet; Mr Boyes; Mr Enright; Mr Pearce; Mrs Scrivener . . . . . 275

IN THE CHAIR: MR PFLIMLIN

*Vice-President*

*(The sitting was opened at 10 a.m.)*

1. *Approval of minutes*

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

Are there any comments?

I call Mr Chambeiron.

**Mr Chambeiron.** — (FR) Mr President, I am asking to speak under Rule 89 (3) of the Rules of Procedure. I wish to be very clear about the rule I am using so that there will be no arguments about the interpretation of the Rules of Procedure. The fact is that I am objecting to the minutes which have been distributed.

You were present during yesterday's sitting, Mr President, when the House acted in an unspeakable fashion by voting out a debate on the crisis in Lebanon, just at a time when public opinion in the world is reaching an unheard-of peak. A Member of our group, Mr Jacques Denis, had asked to speak in order to voice his indignation. In the minutes it says: Mr Denis raised a point of order. And it goes on:

The President decided to erase his remarks from the record since they did not constitute a point of order.

I do not want to start a debate on this issue, Mr President, but you are aware that slight procedural infringements occur quite frequently in this Assembly, and I was amazed at the intolerance and bias which the person in the Chair showed yesterday. I felt I really had to say this. Be that as it may, I protested against what the President said and I thought, perhaps rather naively, that after my protest his decision would not be acted upon. But it has been acted upon. On top of the decision taken by the House, outright censorship of a Member who tries to protest is not likely to remedy the shame that Parliament brought on itself yesterday afternoon. I also want to say, Mr President — and in doing so I am trying to defend the reputation of this

### Chambeiron

Parliament — that you have to be consistent because whatever you keep out of the minutes and does not appear in the report of proceedings has already been published in the press, especially in the regional papers, and this means that readers will already know what Mr Denis said and this Parliament of ours will seem to be operating a form of self-censorship on a situation such as the one in Lebanon, where every day thousands of people are dying.

Aware of your spirit of fairness, Mr President, I would ask you to ensure that the speech by Mr Denis is included in the report of proceedings.

*(Applause from the left)*

**President.** — I cannot do as you propose, Mr Chambeiron, but your objection has been noted and will appear in the minutes of today's sitting. Furthermore, the matter will be referred to the Bureau.

I call Mr Prout.

**Mr Prout.** — Mr President, I wish to refer to Item 7 of yesterday's minutes entitled 'Tourniquet system'. I note from the minutes that Mr Patterson is recorded as formally requesting that the Sieglerschmidt report be referred back to committee. In fact, his request was to refer the report back to the Legal Affairs Committee. I think the minutes ought to reflect that request accurately.

**President.** — The minutes will be corrected, Mr Prout.

I call Mr Sieglerschmidt.

**Mr Sieglerschmidt.** — *(DE)* Mr President, I am in broad agreement with Mr Prout. It was the Legal Affairs Committee that was meant. If we want to get things right, then it must be made clear what is supposed to be happening. The report cannot be referred back to the Legal Affairs Committee because it had in fact been assigned to the Committee on the Verification of Credentials. The Legal Affairs Committee can only express an opinion for the benefit of the committee responsible, which in this case is the Committee on the Verification of Credentials.

**President.** — Your comments are noted, Mr Sieglerschmidt.

I call Mr Prout.

**Mr Prout.** — Mr President, I am sorry to come back to the question of Item 7, (The Tourniquet System). I simply want to respond to Mr Sieglerschmidt's comments about the minutes by saying that I agree with

him that the effect of the referral back by Parliament to the Legal Affairs Committee was to refer the report back to the Committee on the Verification of Credentials which would be asking the Legal Affairs Committee for its opinion. Nevertheless, it is a fact that Mr Patterson's request was for referral back to the Legal Affairs Committee, even though I agree with Mr Sieglerschmidt that the effect of that referral would be precisely as he described it.

**President.** — Very well, your agreement is noted.

*(Parliament approved the minutes)*

### 2. Agenda

**President.** — I call Sir Fred Warner.

**Sir Fred Warner.** — Mr President, I should like to refer to Item 12 of the minutes which sets out the agenda for today's sitting. I wish to move that one of the items on this agenda be sent back to the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection. The item I have in mind is No 165, Mrs Squarcialupi's report on noise emissions from helicopters.

My reasons for doing so are as follows. There has been a major change in the situation since October of last year when the Council requested Parliament's opinion and the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection went to work on it. This change is that the Americans have made it quite clear that their administration will not adhere to the International Civil Air Organization recommendations. This means that under Mrs Squarcialupi's report and draft directive of the Commission, we shall proceed unilaterally to put ourselves at a major disadvantage...

**President.** — You are going into this matter in detail, Sir Fred. If you are in agreement, we shall bear in mind your request and vote on it at six o'clock this evening.

**Sir Fred Warner.** — *(FR)* I accept. I shall give an explanation then.

**President.** — I call Mr Alavanos.

**Mr Alavanos.** — *(GR)* Mr President, on the basis of Rule 84 of the Rules of Procedure, I call for the debate on the subjects covered by documents 1-458, 1-462, 1-466, 1-469, 1-454, 1-452, 1-457, 1-473 and 1-461 — i.e. all the subjects for urgent debate — to be

**Alavanos**

regarded as inadmissible. The justification for my motion is exactly that which my colleague Mr Denis gave in this Chamber yesterday — that there is no question of holding urgent debates today without taking account of the Lebanon question. I therefore call on you to put to the vote my proposal that all the matters for urgent debate be regarded as inadmissible and not debated.

I think that this would be to the advantage of the European Parliament because it would in fact diminish the blot on our escutcheon created by our decision yesterday not to debate the Lebanon question.

In conclusion, I would like to inform you on behalf of the Greek Communist Party that should my proposal be rejected we shall refuse to recognize the procedure and we shall leave the Chamber. The voice of the Greek Communist Party may be small in this House, but we think that the struggle of the Palestinians and the Lebanese is of great importance and both the journalists and the interpreters will learn of it; I think that, when the various trivialities about foot-and-mouth disease are being debated, their hearts and minds will be with the free men besieged in Beirut.

I thank you, and ask that my proposal be put to the vote.

**President.** — Mr Alavanos, Parliament decided yesterday that all these items would be included in the topical and urgent debate today. You are thus asking for yesterday's decision by the House to be changed by requesting that all these items be deleted from the agenda.

*(Parliament rejected Mr Alavanos' request)*

### 3. Commercial relationships United States-EC

**President.** — The next item is the joint debate on three motions for resolutions:

- motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-458/82) by the European Democratic Group on the problems affecting commercial relationships between the United States of America and the European Community;
- motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-462/82) by the Socialist Group on American sanctions and trade relations with the USSR;
- motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-466/82) by Mr Herman on current problems in trade relations between the United States and the European Community.

I call Mrs Gredal.

**Mrs Gredal.** — *(DA)* Mr President, the reason I am speaking first in this debate is because the Socialist Group, the Group of the European People's Party, the European Democratic Group and the Liberal and Democratic Group have joined forces to table an amendment to these three motions for resolutions.

In the course of the last part-session, we also debated a question relating to our relations with the USA, when discussion centred on whether we wished to inform the USA of our views on joint cooperation, and now here we are once again obliged to discuss our relations with the USA. Despite the fact that I, as Chairman of our USA Delegation, ought to be pleased that we are discussing this matter in plenary session, I must admit that it is unfortunately a bad thing that we should be having to take up this question now.

A delegation has just come back from the USA, and I am bound to say that, hardly had the decision been taken here in the House during the last part-session when the USA stepped up its sanctions *vis-à-vis* Europe and created a situation which we cannot possibly accept. But what happened in the USA was that the delegation, representing 15 parties from nine different countries, made a great impression on both the Administration and Congress and was entirely unanimous as regards what the USA had imposed on us. We therefore thought it reasonable, against the background of the discussions we held with the US Congress and Administration, for the four parties, all of whom took part in the delegation, to get together to draft this proposal to enable us once again to express our views unanimously. We are very keen to point out to the USA that we are opposed to the measures which are being applied, but we should also like to point out that neither side has any interest in unleashing a trade war between the two trading blocs. What we are after is cooperation, as we likewise pointed out. We made precisely that point in the USA, and our amendment makes the same point, but we also wish to point out that it will not do for the USA to take such a one-sided view as is the case at present. As I said just now, we want cooperation, but only on the basis of equality. I shall not go into the motion for a resolution in detail — other speakers from my Group will be referring to specific matters. I should like to say, however, that the political groups have made good use of the experience that various delegations have gained in the USA, and I should like to express my thanks for the unity we have managed to achieve in drafting this amendment. In my opinion, it is a matter of the utmost importance *vis-à-vis* the USA that the European Parliament should be capable of achieving such total unanimity as was the case in the USA.

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

**Mr Welsh.** — Mr President, this is neither the time nor, if I may say so, the place for a technical discus-

## Welsh

sion on the merits of the various disputes we have with the Americans. My group is pleased to note that the REX Committee will shortly be preparing a report taking in the whole spectrum of trading relations with the United States and we are particularly glad that the distinguished rapporteur is Mr Seeler, and I would like to assure him that we will cooperate in every way in the preparation of this important work.

This morning perhaps, however, we could offer Mr Seeler a few ideas for themes that he might wish to pick up. And the first one is this, that during our visit to the United States, it became very clear to all of us, that the problems that we rightly worry about here are very much reflected in the Americans' own problems. For instance, the American steel industry is operating at 42% of capacity; American farmers are facing the worst economic conditions since the 1930s and the cause of these disputes has its roots in these problems that exist for everybody on both sides of the Atlantic.

There is sometimes a tendency to think that European workers are always the victims and American workers enjoy unparalleled prosperity and comfort. It was interesting for us to note that the view we have of America is reflected exactly in the view that the Americans have of us. In other words, they see American jobs being exported, the American industrial base being eroded and, indeed, the American Government being weak in its defence of their interests. The problems then are mutual and we have seen at Versailles, and indeed other summits, that this sort of mutual problems is not well served by conferences of heads of government. What we need is a much greater degree of public understanding. We must stop looking at each other as the enemy.

We have also seen in recent weeks the dangers of the politicization of these technical trading disputes, because what happens is that we get two sides talking at each other rather than to each other, presenting each other with lists of non-negotiable and incompatible demands.

Parliament's resolution rightly calls attention to the grievances the people of Europe feel at the United States for the way it has recently been conducting some of its policies. In doing so however we have to recognize, if we are honest, that the rhetoric flows in both directions and that we ourselves are not entirely without blame when it comes to these matters. Americans have some legitimacy, for instance, in their criticisms of the European's inability to come up with a common credit policy. They have some legitimacy in their criticisms of the way in which the Community has approached its pricing of cereals.

If we are to solve these problems we must recognize that doubts and difficulties exist on both sides and it is in the reconciliation of these doubts and difficulties that we shall see success. This will best be achieved by a rallying of public opinion and a useful role that your

delegation played was to bring home to Members of the United States Congress exactly how deeply Europeans felt about some of these problems. I would like to say that we have quite enough to do in this world in dealing with our enemies without wishing needlessly to make war upon our friends.

*(Applause from the right)*

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

**Mr Herman.** — *(FR)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the preamble to the motion for a resolution which on behalf of several groups, we invite you to adopt is explicit enough to spare you a detailed explanation of the facts and circumstances which called forth our reaction.

I am pleased to note that what was originally a unanimous initiative by the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs has, through a few very minor amendments, become a motion supported by the vast majority of Parliament. I am delighted at this.

I shall confine my speech to three brief points.

If the Americans allowed themselves to take these unilateral measures, it was partly, and only partly, because Europe has never given them the impression of being a cohesive unit, despite the powers which the Treaties give us on these matters. The proof of this is the differentiated treatment for the export of steel which they have inflicted on our various producers according to their nationality. We must therefore draw the conclusion from this that there must not be scattered or separated approaches which weaken us, but a firm Community reaction, for we can only save Europe by being more European.

My second observation is based on contacts which I have had with some American circles and which showed that there is considerable ignorance among leaders on both sides of the Atlantic about our respective situations. That is why a number of people, including Mr Tindemans, want to see a permanent structure for dialogue and consultation set up between the United States and the EEC, not merely between technocrats, diplomats or those in government, but also between the vital forces of the two continents.

My last remark relates to the nature and extent of our reaction. After sounding out the feelings of Parliament in order to arrive at a common text, I would like to warn against two extremes. The first is too brutal a reaction, with an attempt to organize reprisals which would lead us to a confrontation from which both sides would suffer. The second is excessive deference to purely political and military alliance considerations, for it is clear that the Americans were motivated above

**Herman**

all by economic considerations in the matter which concerns us here. At the economic level, then, we must strike a happy medium between these two positions, and I think that is what our motion for a resolution has done.

**President.** — I call Mr Seal.

**Mr Seal.** — Mr President, I am a little unhappy that the resolution has been put into one general resolution concerning both steel and the pipeline because there are two very different things here. As far as steel is concerned, we are not, whatever we decided, going to make the Americans change their minds. But as far as the embargo on the pipeline is concerned, this is certainly a new approach by the Americans and one which brings the whole question of licensing into question. But I disagree with Mr Welsh. I do not think we can wait, unfortunately, for Mr Seeler's report to the REX Committee. I feel that we have got to put pressure on the Americans now as far as the embargo on the pipeline is concerned and I feel that by putting pressure on them, we may be successful. So I would like to speak as the author of the Socialist Group resolution which was accepted into this amendment on two different points.

Firstly, unemployment — the effect that the embargo on the steel pipeline is having on employment. Two firms are mainly affected: one is a German firm, AEG, and the other is a British firm, John Brown Engineering. These firms could lose thousands of jobs because of this embargo and we know that in the Community we have already got 10.2 million unemployed and this figure is continuing to rise. There is no slackening in sight, unfortunately, of this rising unemployment. Now, the Americans quickly dropped the grain embargo because it was affecting the United States' farmers but they do not mind policies which cause more unemployment in Europe, and I feel that, as a European Parliament, we must oppose any policies — any policies at all — that are going to lose us even one more job.

New, the second point which I feel that we have got to consider is that because Reagan has closed this loophole, as he thinks, he has closed the technological door on the Soviet Union. But he has closed it, unfortunately, after the horse has bolted. Because far from halting the construction of this pipeline, it may be that this action will speed up the construction of the pipeline. It will force the Russians to concentrate on improving their own technology to plug the gap that is being caused by the Americans. And whether we like it or not, already the Soviet Union are ahead in many aspects of pipeline building. They are ahead in automatic welding. They are not ahead on the construction of turbines and they have ordered something like 125 turbines and it may be that by this action we are now going to force the Soviet Union to improve their

technology and this is something that we do not want at all.

Now the Members have talked, and will talk, about the intolerable interference by the USA in matters which concern Europe. I just want to stress that this embargo, which was applied without consultation, will cause loss of jobs in Europe and it will also help the Soviet Union improve its technology and from that point of view alone we must put pressure on the Americans to drop this embargo.

**President.** — I call Mr Habsburg.

**Mr Habsburg.** — (DE) Mr President, the question of trade relations between the United States and Europe has aroused emotions which are being exploited by those seeking to impose their hegemony on Europe to drive a wedge between us and our friends. We must therefore be absolutely clear about our position.

The Americans are and will continue to be our friends. Without their presence in Berlin and on the Yalta Line which divides our part of the globe, we could not today meet in freedom. We would have long since been a Soviet colony like the Baltic peoples or the Poles, who are as much Europeans as we are.

Friends must be able to be honest with each other. We owe it to our people to tell the Americans that their action was legally untenable and politically ill-advised.

As regards steel imports, we must approve any steps which will lead to the withdrawal of a measure which is both untenable and unjustified.

It would be incumbent on every American to react to us in the same way if we had taken a similar measure.

As for the embargo on exports of high-technology equipment for the gas pipeline, our American friends are wrong legally, but their political and security misgivings cannot be at all easily dispelled, since it is extremely questionable whether a vital pipeline should be placed in the hands of Europe's worst enemy. This also applies to credits, where our attitude is difficult to understand.

Adoption of the motion will thus serve as a message in the friendly but frank dialogue with those who are linked to us by more than money and business contracts, namely by the indestructible community of freedom.

**President.** — I call Mr Møller.

**Mr Møller.** — (DA) Mr President, ever since the first efforts were made to create a European Community, there has been a conflict of interests as to what should



**Møller**

be the true objectives. Was the aim in fact to make Europe into a third force, independent of the USA and the Soviet Union, or was it rather to make Europe into an equal partner with the USA in terms of security policy, foreign policy and all other global policies? I am gradually coming to the conclusion, in the light of developments to date, that we are now faced with this dividing line, which is assuming more and more significance. The former view could be dubbed the 'Gaullist' view, as so clearly expressed by President de Gaulle; the latter view could then be called the 'Kennedy' view, as expressed by President Kennedy in his speech on the grand alliance in the St Paul's Church in Frankfurt on 25 June 1963.

Normally it is we Members of Parliament who are trying to persuade our governments to go a little bit further all the time, but in this case, it is we in this House who must keep cool and point out that there is a lot at stake on this issue. At any rate, I feel that, over the next fifty years, it will be up to Europe and the USA to share the burden equally and cooperate on a joint and equal basis. What will happen in fifty years' time is something we must leave to future generations; it is not a problem for us at present. I am therefore in favour of the present compromise motion for a resolution, which I am pleased to have helped draft.

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

**Mr Bonaccini.** — *(IT)* Mr President, I shall not add legal or substantive observations to those already made so effectively by other speakers. Instead, I would like to make a few general political comments.

First and foremost, it seems clear to me that we are faced with a tremendous loss of face by the European countries after the Versailles Summit. I do not think that the disappointment over all this can be passed over in silence in a free assembly such as ours. This loss of face must therefore be corrected by the actions of our Parliament.

Moreover, it would be futile to go on condemning — albeit justifiably — the revival of internal protectionism in our countries, when in fact we are in the grip of external events which are beyond our control.

Furthermore, the Community's trade policy needs more thorough consideration, for which our Parliament must seize the earliest opportunity.

Finally, it should be said that for the first time we have achieved a broad identity of views here, which was also confirmed by Mrs Gredal, and which should prevent us from reacting haphazardly. In this context, Mr Herman urged us not to give way to vicious reactions. He is right, and this is certainly not what we want. We know that the United States is — and must remain — a major partner for a positive policy on all the problems which arise worldwide.

To achieve this, however, the United States must become aware of the need to develop international trade, making its contribution to that end and defending free trade not hypocritically but through practical actions.

Ideas and proposals on the subject exist. I therefore conclude by reiterating the hope that our Parliament will hold a broad and wide-ranging debate on the whole complex of problems.

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

**Mr Haagerup.** — *(DA)* Mr President, it is my firm belief that, if this House gives its unequivocal and unanimous support to the amendment to the proposed motion for a resolution, we have a chance to influence the American attitude on the question of the embargo and the natural gas pipeline project. I would therefore fervently recommend that the House support this joint proposal, because I feel that America — and let me add that my Group is strongly in favour of continuing our very close links with that country — has made a mistake on this issue. There are a number of problems outstanding between us and the USA, but we ought to be capable in this case of reaching an understanding very quickly.

As regards the other problems concerning the steel industry and agriculture, two of my colleagues will be putting our Group's views in more detail.

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

**Mr Deleau.** — *(FR)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Herman, with the support of many members of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs, once more demonstrates the anxiety aroused by the announcement on 11 June of the intentions of the United States Department of Commerce — no longer merely intentions but even decisions.

In his remarkable address to the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs, Mr Davignon expressed his own anxiety and fears both about measures adversely affecting Community steel exports to the United States and about American trade policy towards the Community in general.

We have said before and we repeat that it is no longer merely a question of protective measures on the part of the United States — it is a real declaration of economic war between the United States and the Community, since the United States are increasing the large number of non-tariff barriers to the penetration of foreign products on to their market. It is no longer merely a question of measures on steel imports; they

**Deleau**

now extend also to the agricultural sector, the textile sector, and others.

These measures will weigh heavily on Community producers, particularly in the steel sector. By acting unilaterally, the United States have scorned the international trade principles which were reaffirmed at the recent Versailles Summit. The consequences will be serious — it could mean the loss of thousands of jobs in the Community — something which we can no longer afford.

The reasons adduced by the United States to justify their policy smack of the most deplorable bad faith, and I regret to have to say it. It would be easy to prove this. One can only assume that the United States listens to its partners and allies without ever hearing what they say. We therefore think that the time has come for the Community to react firmly and above all to speak with a single voice. It is no longer possible to take action in an uncoordinated way. We think a European reaction is essential.

What language are the United States going to understand? The only language to speak — I think that Mr Herman has already said this — is an economic one. If there must be countermeasures, they must be of an economic nature.

Of course we must avoid extremes, but let us be firm. I think that all the political tendencies represented in our Parliament should be unanimous in affirming this European strength. The Commission and the Council must propose Community action with all urgency, after making new and very frank representations to the United States. It would be deplorable to take retaliatory measures — for example in the agricultural sector, which would be possible — for they would risk causing a confrontation within the Atlantic Alliance, which is not desirable either for the United States or for the Community. The United States must understand this — it is the political aspect of the problem, and it is far from negligible.

Therefore, Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the EPD Group, on whose behalf I am speaking, will vote for the motion for a resolution.

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

**Mr De Goede.** — (NL) Mr President, following on from the statement made by the Danish Presidency, I made the point yesterday that it is highly regrettable that, such a short time after the Versailles Conference, the few specific points of agreement which were reached there have now been undermined by the attitude taken by the Reagan Administration on such matters as the problems in the steel industry, the import and export of agricultural products, the problems in the textile industry and the brutish attitude of the

United States regarding the natural gas pipeline from the Soviet Union. It is incredible — and most certainly unacceptable — that the United States should think it can treat the European Community in this way. The US Administration's attitude is contrary to the agreements and principles governing international trade, something which was so solemnly stressed in Versailles.

A joint European reaction must be forthcoming with all due speed, and I would call on the Council and the Commission to prepare such a move. I support the suggestion made in Mr Herman's motion for a resolution that the matter be referred to the OECD Special Committee on Steel to draw attention to the incompatibility of the American measures with the commitments entered into in that Committee. There is also an urgent need for European companies to shed their technological dependence on the grounds that it exposes us to unacceptable political pressure. We feel that retaliatory measures, for instance in the agricultural sector, should only be considered as a last resort, but should certainly not be ruled out. We hope that a solution will quickly be found to these problems which have arisen. We support the idea of transatlantic cooperation; the last thing it needs, though, is to be shackled with new problems, and I hope that the Reagan Administration will realize this too.

**President.** — I call Mr Seeler.

**Mr Seeler.** — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the questions dealt with in the motions before us are not only urgent but, in my eyes, give cause for concern, since the foreign policy of our American friends has become increasingly unpredictable. We, as Europeans, are particularly affected, since the North Atlantic political partnership is essential for the survival of both sides.

I say this deliberately and emphatically at the beginning of my speech, but I must also say that money and friendship do not go hand in hand. And this brings me to the senseless technology embargo with which the US President wishes, in his own words, to force the Soviet Union to change its policy towards Poland. There are those who say that by selling gas to the countries of the European Community the Soviet Union will earn huge amounts of foreign currency and thereby also gain in political strength. Proponents of this argument should just take a look at the financing arrangements for the pipeline project: they will see that the currency revenues for years to come will be needed for debt servicing. The main beneficiaries — if I may be allowed to say so before this House — will be the European banks, who at the moment must be more than anxious about their loans to eastern Europe.

Others say that the European Community will become too dependent on energy supplies from the Soviet

**Seeler**

Union — Mr Habsburg has again stressed this just now. The figures, ladies and gentlemen, refute this argument. But I also ask myself: Are these not problems for the Europeans themselves to sort out? Is it not primarily our business? And I have the suspicion that there are powerful economic interests in the United States which do not want Europe to free itself from the extremely one-sided dependence it has known to date by diversifying its sources of energy supply.

*(Applause)*

Who currently largely controls oil and gas supplies to Community countries? That is the question we must ask!

We are told that the embargo on high-technology equipment has mainly political objectives, namely to change the Soviet Union's policy towards Poland. Without wishing to jump ahead to my report on sanctions, I can only say that this is a political illusion. Sanctions of this type have never forced major powers to change their policies, and East-West trade in particular, which forms part of global détente policy, is highly unsuitable for such coercive measures. This is something our American partners should have learned, since there has been a technology embargo for many years in the form of the COCOM lists, which contain many products whose export to the Eastern bloc is banned. This form of embargo was applied particularly stringently during the 'cold war' and yet the USSR was able to press on with technological development during this period, so much so that it was able to launch the first satellite into space before the Americans. Ladies and gentlemen, to paraphrase Talleyrand, this decision by the US President was a political error.

On the economic front, some things will now change. The principle of the division of labour that has worked so well in the last 20 to 30 years will have to be reviewed by us Europeans. On the technological front, the European Community will have no difficulty in developing and manufacturing the products previously made in or under licence from the USA. The only thing that we can expect is a certain delay before this happens. But trade relations with countries other than North America will not remain unaffected, and not only high technology is at stake here. The Americans should not forget how many billion US dollars in earnings such trade brings their farmers.

Finally, I should like to stress once again that we Europeans must do everything possible to ensure that our political partnership with America is not harmed by this error. Although I am not optimistic that the Americans will be quick to learn and master the very difficult and complex business of modern politics, I hope nevertheless that the healthy American attitude towards money and economic matters will help to prevent greater political damage being done.

**President.** — I call Mr von Wogau.

**Mr von Wogau.** — *(DE)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, on 12 January 1981 seven American steel producers filed 92 anti-dumping suits against importers of European steel affecting 84% of Community steel exports to the United States. US Steel alone unloaded 400 boxes of so-called evidence at the entrance to the court. These figures show that the American steel industry was attempting to halt steel exports from the European Community as far as possible.

The US Department of Commerce has since imposed temporary countervailing duties of up to 40% on many steel imports, valued together at between 800 and 900 million dollars. This has aggravated the problem of overcapacity and unemployment in the steel sector in the Community.

These measures are incompatible with the consensus reached in 1977 between the USA, Japan and the European Community on restructuring the steel industry without offloading the associated problems on to each other. They are also incompatible with the Versailles Summit communiqué and place further serious strain on trade relations between the USA and Europe, already complicated enough in themselves.

Faced with this situation we must not respond in a typically Community manner and start putting together package deals, for if we were to combine steel, the gas pipeline project, man-made fibres, exports and imports of agricultural products, exchange rates and high interest rates in one package, we would find that we had knotted short-term and long-term, important and less important, soluble and insoluble problems together so tightly that in the end not one of them would be solved.

What we basically reproach our American friends over is their one-sided interpretation of the GATT rules. What we must seek is as rapid a solution as possible within the framework of GATT where we get away from a one-sided interpretation and reach a proper negotiated settlement.

We must also conclude that we have not been successful to the same degree as the United States in providing ourselves with instruments to examine distortions of competition in international trade. We have neither as many staff nor as many trade instruments as the Americans. If the European Community wishes to safeguard free international trade and effectively protect our legitimate interests, it needs the necessary trade instruments, and this must be properly recognized by this Parliament.

We must realize that the structure of the dialogue between the European Community and the United States must be improved. The dialogue must be conducted both between the Administration and the governments and at parliamentary level. The US delegation has done excellent preparatory work in this respect. It has already established very close and effective

von Wogau

contacts, but we must ask ourselves how we can extend this dialogue to include concrete problems.

But what we need above all in this situation is a common European front. We are well aware that these steel measures will affect different Member States to very different degrees. The duties range from 2% to 40%, and this could pose a threat to a common response from the European Community.

But if we want to bring the necessary weight to bear in the coming negotiations, we must adopt a common European position.

**President.** — I call Mr Tyrrell.

**Mr Tyrrell.** — Mr President, one can speak frankly to the Americans because of the profundity of the friendship between the United States and the Community. If one cannot speak frankly and criticize one's friends, then that friendship is not real, and it is in that spirit that I draw attention to a particularly blatant piece of protectionist legislation which is at present going through Congress. It is simpler than steel, it has received much less publicity than steel, but it is no less important for that.

I am referring to the manufacturing clause in the United States' copyright act. That is a clause which prohibits or prevents non-grammatic literary material published in English by American-domiciled authors from receiving copyright protection within the United States. It was due to expire last week. It received no attention formally at the Tokyo round of multilateral trade negotiations, because it was understood that that clause was to expire. In fact, it was renewed by the House of Representatives on 15 June and is now on its way to the Senate.

It was described in the House of Representatives as being in reality a matter of trade law designed to protect domestic industry. The report that was before the House of Representatives said that a maximum of 367 000 job opportunities in America depended on passing this clause. So it is not a small subject that one is talking about. A good number of those jobs should be Community jobs, because we give an open market to the American publishing trade within the Community.

To their credit, 47 Congressmen resisted the claims of the American book industry. The Senate is now considering it. If the United States is, against the background that we have heard described by other speakers, going to proceed with what is, I repeat, the most blatant and admitted piece of protectionist legislation, then one fears that the future relationship between their community and ours will be always tinged with a memory of such hypocrisy.

**President.** — I call Mr Fernandez.

**Mr Fernandez.** — (FR) Mr President, faced with Mr Reagan's economic war, the European Community must defend the interests of the Member States by relying on existing common policies. The EEC must adopt a very firm attitude towards the United States, and that is why we cannot accept the joint motion before us which puts the EEC and the USA on the same footing, unlike the text signed by all the members of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs.

What is more, Washington has ordered a ban on participation by European firms in the construction of the gas pipeline between Siberia and Europe.

The United States has a negative attitude not only on economic questions but also on political questions. In particular, one cannot ignore the United States' unreversed support for Israel in its criminal aggression against Lebanon, the Palestinian people, the Lebanese national movement and the PLO.

By refusing yesterday to debate this question, our Parliament has given its own support to this indescribable policy, at a time when the population of Beirut is living through tragic events and thousands of women, children and old people are dying. The right-wing groups in the European Parliament, by an unworthy procedural device, have prevented an urgent debate. To close one's eyes to this tragedy is one way of accepting the unacceptable.

For our part, we do not forget history and its lessons. Whatever the suffering and despite the bloodshed, a fighting people's cause always wins through in the end...

**President.** — I would point out to you that you are departing from the subject.

**Mr Fernandez.** — (FR) Just as Israel is entitled to a country of its own, in the same way — *pace* Mr Reagan and Mr Begin — the Palestinian people are entitled to a country of its own. Our unflinching solidarity is with those who are defending their lives and their right to be free men against an invasion which threatens world peace.

(Applause from the extreme left)

**President.** — I call Mr Louwes.

**Mr Louwes.** — (NL) Mr President, there is just one point I should like to make about the agricultural aspects of the problem now under discussion. The main complaint advanced by our American friends is,

**Louwes**

as far as I can tell, that the European Community is exporting more and more and that these exports are being subsidized with taxpayers' money. It is a criticism which is made widely and loudly. Allow me to quote what the US Minister of Agriculture said in a statement before the Congress Agricultural Committee on 18 February of this year:

My department is working aggressively to stimulate long-term growth in exports of US farm products, and we are going to do battle with the EEC wherever and whenever necessary.

Mr President, the Community was and is the major importer of agricultural products from the United States. To give you just a few figures from 1980, we imported 10 million tonnes of maize, 12 million tonnes of soya beans and 7 million tonnes of soya-bean cake. There has also been a rapid growth of imports into the Community of cereal substitutes: 5 million tonnes of manioc and 2½ million tonnes of corn gluten, the latter exclusively from the United States. In fact, imports of cereal substitutes have more than doubled over the last six years.

It is precisely on the question of cereal substitutes that the Americans are so aggrieved because these fast-growing imports have forced a small amount of European fodder cereals — some 4 million tonnes — out of Europe on to the world market, but how significant is an amount like 4 million tonnes compared with the high level of imports? These figures, which are taken from the excellent address given recently by the Commission's Director-General for Agriculture at the University of Minnesota, can lead us to only one conclusion, which is that Community exports are in no relation to imports. The Community can under no circumstances be made responsible for whatever problems American farmers are facing, and there is no reason whatsoever for the American authorities to adopt an aggressive attitude. They should instead take a leaf from the book of the Commission in Brussels, which is pursuing a wise and balanced policy.

**President.** — I call Mr Blaney.

**Mr Blaney.** — Mr President, I feel that at this moment we should by rights be discussing not trade relations with America, important though they are, but the dramatic situation in Lebanon. I was one of a large number of signatories to a motion for urgent debate designed to add the voice of this Assembly in all calm moderation . . .

**President.** — Mr Blaney, you are digressing from the subject on the agenda. I insist you return to it.

**Mr Blaney.** — . . . Might I, Mr President, just say that, as a signatory of that motion and as a member of the

enlarged Bureau, which unanimously chose it, I am amazed at the situation in this House yesterday and again today, where we find ourselves discussing matters which are regarded as much more urgent, than the danger that we pointed out of a possible blood bath in Beirut, the blockading which is depriving the citizens of food, the fate of the children there. These are the things that surely are important to this Assembly; these are the things that, though we were given every indication . . .

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

**Mr Haagerup.** — (DA) Mr President, despite Parliament's decision we are returning to a subject. Yesterday, because of the Rules of Procedure, I had no opportunity to explain why I had been in favour of postponing the debate on Lebanon. I cannot accept that Member repeatedly break the Rules of Procedure and return to a subject on which a clear majority yesterday decided to postpone the debate.

**President.** — You are quite right, Mr Haagerup. I shall give Mr Blaney one minute to wind up and will then ask him to sit down.

**Mr Blaney.** — Mr President, may I protest that the time I have, little as it is, is in fact being taken up by telling me what I may not say? This is what I want to protest about, that we are not being allowed to say what we should be allowed to say in this House.

*(Applause from the extreme left)*

Further, may I add that any illusions I might have had about this House were wiped out during my efforts and those of others during the past year to get important matters discussed such as the fate of the hunger-strikers in my own country or the plastic bullets that were being used to kill innocent people. All this left me with no illusions, and therefore the hard-faced people on the benches across did not surprise me, even though they surpassed themselves yesterday in the ludicrous decision that they took against the wish of the majority, expressed by their own group chairman in the enlarged Bureau. They come in here, 112 of them, and tell us that talking about steel or about foot-and-mouth disease is more important than this murderous war that is taking place and the treatment being meted out to prisoners by the Israeli army in violation of the Geneva Convention. These are the things that you need to hear about here, Mr President, and in protest I will not discuss what is regarded as urgent here, matters which could wait for another year and it would not matter.

**President.** — I imagine that large numbers of unemployed throughout Europe would also insist that we devote our urgent attention to their plight.

*(Applause)*

**President**

I call Mr Habsburg.

**Mr Habsburg.** — (FR) Mr President, during Mr Blaney's misplaced remarks there was a demonstration by the people in the gallery. I would ask you to ensure that they remain silent.

**President.** — You are quite right. I must point out to those sitting in the gallery that they must in no way demonstrate either their approval or their disapproval. If anything more happens, I shall be obliged to have the gallery cleared. I shall do it with regret, but I am sure that all those present appreciate the implications of my warning.

I call Mr Glinne.

**Mr Glinne.** — (FR) Mr President, I too would like to deal briefly with the question of steel, i.e. of the measures taken by the United States, to note first of all that the procedure has not been completed, and that very fortunately it is only on 8 October and 25 October that the final decisions will be made, which allows considerable time for negotiation and also makes it possible to hope for a compromise based on common sense.

Secondly, I acknowledge that the situation of the American steel industry is very serious, since the utilization of its productive capacity has fallen to 42%, and one-third of steel workers, i.e. 150 000 workers out of 450 000, have no work at the moment.

But it is significant that, even assuming that steel imports from Europe were eliminated, the American steel industry's utilization of productive capacity would increase by only 2, 2.5 or 3%, according to what American officials themselves admitted in conversations with the European delegation last week.

The problems of the steel industry lie elsewhere. The investment policy followed often does not relate to steel — and by that I mean that steel industry employers are diversifying more outside the steel industry than within it — and everyone is aware of the traditional high prices to which collective bargaining between employers and trade unions has very often led in the United States.

From this I draw the conclusion that it would be entirely wrong to blame European imports for the deep-seated problems afflicting the American steel industry. I also note, Mr President, that the deposit which has been required of European steel exporters to the United States since the Department of Commerce decision of 10 June constitutes a very serious barrier to imports from Europe. Thus the Belgian firm Cockerill-Sambre is subject to a deposit of 22%, although everyone agrees that as soon as a deposit

exceeds 10% of the price of the product, there is in practice an effective exclusion from the market.

Finally, I think that we must of course prevent the present deposit from being transformed in October into lasting countervailing duties. One way of preventing this would perhaps be to agree to the principle of a self-limiting agreement in exchange for which the American authorities would rescind the measures they have taken.

I know that such a self-limiting agreement has already been sought. Discussions to this end took place at the end of May, but came to nothing because of the American insistence on including pipes in such an agreement. It should be said here that this product, although imported to the United States in massive quantities over the past year, did not give rise to complaints, since demand greatly exceeded supply by the American steel industry, which would therefore have been unable to prove that it was being put at a disadvantage.

Mr President, although I am well aware that there is already an electoral climate in the United States — the November legislative elections are not far off — I believe it is still possible to negotiate positively. It cannot be ruled out that the American steel industry is really seeking, as it did under the Carter Administration, to obtain through immediate protectionist measures a reduction of taxes or, for example, a relaxation of the laws on environmental protection, and that this is a way of exerting pressure on the present Administration. This does not alter the fact that we must vigorously defend our legitimate interests. To this end, we must maintain a constructive dialogue, which can only be done if both sides agree to it.

**President.** — I call Mr Blumenfeld.

**Mr Blumenfeld.** — (DE) Mr President, the United States and Europe are and will remain partners and friends. This has already been stated by many members of this House, but I must stress it once again, since it is only in a spirit of partnership that the difficult but similar problems in Europe and the United States can be solved.

It is pointless for companies, employers, trade unions and government representatives on both sides of the Atlantic to become entrenched in their positions and use the same arguments to lay the blame at each other's door. I am opposed to any threat of reprisals and on this I have the unanimous support of my Group. There is no point at all in threatening to impose agricultural sanctions, since we would certainly not emerge as victors and would end up getting worse than we gave.

Mr President, the steel crisis in Europe and America has different causes, but we must recognize that it can-

**Blumenfeld**

not be solved by proposals for unilateral sanctions. It is my impression that the exchange rate, for example — to mention but one aspect of the problem — has played and continues to play a major role. A year ago, at an exchange rate some 20% lower than today, European exports to the United States were still of no great significance. At any rate, they did not alarm anyone at the time, and Mr Glinne is quite right to say that these few per cent of imported European steel will not help the American steel industry out of its difficulties.

We must take the restructuring of the European steel industry seriously, and equally we must tell the American industry and the American Government that they must solve their problems themselves without burdening others with them.

The sanctions with which we are being threatened on the gas pipeline contracts are naturally a much more difficult issue. The action taken by the American Government and the policy of American companies are highly questionable. An objective study must be carried out in order to determine whether such licensing contracts are permissible between American companies and their European subsidiaries and whether the licencees are not taking much too great a risk with their workers' security of employment by accepting such contractual terms.

The alleged or real sanctions which the US Government has imposed — something which we find totally incomprehensible — cannot and will not stop the pipeline project for which contracts have been concluded and to which I am basically opposed — this is my own personal view, and I believe that for political reasons these contracts should not have been concluded. Now that they have been, I believe that the American sanctions can serve only to delay the project.

But it must also be pointed out to the American Government that for years it has had business dealings with the Soviet Union through the firm Armand-Hammer. These dealings have included the sale of technology and much more besides. This leaves a great number of questions to be raised, all of which suggest that we are not dealing with each other in a spirit of partnership and friendship, particularly when such unilateral measures are taken. For this reason, our Group unreservedly supports this balanced and sensible motion which, it is to be hoped, will prompt the American Government to enter into new negotiations.

*(Applause)*

**President.** — I call Mr Seligman.

**Mr Seligman.** — Mr President, I am sorry that Mr Blaney's nursemaid, the Reverend Ian Paisley, was not here to control his outburst. He would have done very well, I think.

I agree with Mr von Habsburg that we owe our peace and security in Europe to the strength and determination of our greatest ally, America. But from the point of view of energy policy, I hope the Americans will think again before enforcing their embargo on the supply of gas pipeline equipment. President Reagan thinks the embargo will prevent Europe from becoming dependent on Russian gas. But by 1990 Europe will only be drawing 5% of her total energy from the Russian gas pipeline. That cannot be significant.

President Reagan also thinks the embargo will intensify Russia's economic problems. Mr President, it will do much more harm to Europe's economic situation than Russia's. The Russians are quite capable of completing this pipeline with their own compressors and equipment. They are not so good, but they are good enough. The pipeline will be built embargo or no embargo. European suppliers on the other hand are going to have to dismiss thousands of workers and pay large amounts of hard currency in damages. President Reagan would do much better to encourage diversification of our gas supplies to the EEC. I hope he will help the situation by financing a much larger gas pipeline from Norway. This could possibly be combined with a cross-Channel pipeline and a gas-gathering pipeline. This would bring much more North Sea gas to Europe. It would be a more positive and a much less damaging policy than the proposed embargo which will only help Russia by alienating America's allies in Europe.

**President.** — I call Mr Kyrkos.

**Mr Kyrkos.** — *(GR)* Mr President, the embargo and President Reagan's decision that the provisions of American legislation should apply to European firms which violate the embargo show the mentality of the present American administration.

He regards Europe as 'a hooked fish' — to recall a famous phrase — incapable of any retaliation whatsoever. This is the result of the unlimited support from certain European circles for Washington's policies, which allowed Europe to be thought of as subservient to United States decisions, and the situation will certainly not be changed by appeals to Washington to realize its mistake, since there is no question of a mistake. It is in fact a deliberate decision, taken after the Versailles Summit. It will be changed only by a positive policy and by firm measures. From this new crisis, which is tantamount to a trade war, we must all draw the sober conclusion that we must reinforce the policy of European independence in all fields, including our relations with the United States. I must say that our decision yesterday on the Lebanon, about which I share my colleagues' indignation, may well make a good impression in Washington or in Jerusalem but will leave a disastrous impression among the European public, and must be seen as a new blow to the idea of

**Kyrkos**

European independence — an independence which must be demonstrated through major initiatives for peace and cooperation among peoples.

The embargo threatens to make tens of thousands unemployed, and is linked with the technological backwardness which has been imposed on us and with the cold war which Washington is forcing us into. But it is mainly a question of the freedom of Europe to take its own decisions, to be released from one-sided dependence in the energy, political and other fields — in other words, to play the only role which can guarantee it a future worthy of our ideals — and to become a bond of peace and friendship between the United States, the Soviet Union and the Third World, on a basis of equality and of respect for mutual interests. From this standpoint, Mr President, we shall support every firm position adopted by our Parliament.

**President.** — I call Mr Calvez.

**Mr Calvez.** — (*FR*) Mr President, in today's papers you will have read that, for the first time in its history, the Tour de France was held up in Denain, in northern France, by striking steelworkers protesting against redundancies affecting several thousand workers. It was a symbolic action, of course, but it prepares the way for other demonstrations of the same kind and signifies a serious social malaise in the steel industry at a time when one section of the population is preparing to go on holiday.

We spoke about steel in our earlier debates. The situation of the European iron and steel industry is catastrophic: firms are seriously affected by the protectionist decisions in the steel sector taken by the United States, and jobs are threatened by the slowing of steel exports to the American market.

Our Parliament cannot remain impassive in the face of this situation. The President of the Commission, Mr Gaston Thorn, told us last month that he would not accept any improper or unilateral interpretation of GATT rules, for there is no form of aid intended to assist the penetration of European steel industry exports on any market whatsoever. Alas, the United States Department of Commerce does not seem to understand such language.

What stage have we now reached in our negotiations with the United States in the steel sector? Could the Commission bring us up to date on the situation and tell us how it intends to exert pressure on the Americans to encourage them to revoke their decisions, for it is now entirely a question of time, and the Community must refer the matter without delay to the OECD special steel committee and the GATT subsidies committee in order to denounce the incompatibility of the American measures with the commitments previously entered into by the USA. Everything possi-

ble must be done today to save the European steel industry, for tomorrow it will be too late.

**President.** — I call Mr Fuchs.

**Mr Gérard Fuchs.** — (*FR*) Ladies and gentlemen, I shall not go back over the long list of grievances — steel, the gas pipeline, textiles, agriculture, export credits — which leads us today to protest against the economic and trade policies followed by the United States.

The President of the French Republic has described these policies as intolerable, and I think this view is widely shared.

It remains true, in my view, that we must also examine with greater detachment the series of conflicts between Europe and the United States which we have been witnessing for a number of years, and try to understand their causes. I would like to attempt a brief analysis along these lines.

The essential premise of this analysis is in my view that we are no longer in a period like that from the 1950s to 1973, in which the high rate of economic growth allowed the economies of some countries to expand without threatening the legitimate interests of others. Nor are we any longer in the period when the military superiority of the United States in strategic nuclear arms definitely guaranteed the security of Europe against any military attack from the East.

For nearly ten years now, ladies and gentlemen, we have been in a period of crisis and of disturbance of previously established equilibria, which must lead Europe to re-examine in depth its aims and its strategy. By way of example, I shall confine myself to two fields.

The first is the economic field. I would like to argue here that the divergences between Europe and the United States which have emerged in the last few years are neither contingent nor short-term, but result from objectively different situations and interests.

This is true in the field of energy. The United States depends on imported oil for 50% of its requirements, whereas the European Community depends on it for 75% of its requirements. Is it not natural, then, that their attitudes towards the OPEC cartel should be different, with more emphasis on power politics on the one hand and more emphasis on cooperation on the other?

It is also true in the field of raw materials. The United States relies on imports for less than 25% of its requirements, and the Community relies on them for about 75% of its requirements. Is it not natural, here too, that policies in this field which is so vital to the



## Fuchs

future of the North-South Dialogue should differ — should differ on the very need for this dialogue, on the problem of regulating the prices of raw materials, and on the role of the Third World in the major international bodies? Finally, in the monetary and trade field, is it not natural that the United States — an economically and technologically dominant power — should take their decisions firstly according to their own interests or what they perceive to be their own interests, and only secondarily according to their partners' interests?

But I would also like to broach the subject of security. In this field something occurred in the 1970s which many Europeans have not yet, it seems, properly assessed. I refer to the achievement by the Soviet Union of parity with the United States in the field of strategic nuclear arms.

Since then considerable changes have taken place, from which we have hardly begun to draw the necessary conclusions. The first is that Europe now justifiably doubts the automatic nature of the American commitment to defend it in the event of a conflict which may threaten its very existence, this has for some time been another source of anxiety and recrimination on the part of Europe *vis-à-vis* the United States. The second change is our growing anxiety about the behaviour — often adventurist in our view — of the United States towards the rest of the world, and particularly towards the Third World.

The apparent desire to reduce all North-South confrontations and economic and social liberation movements to East-West confrontations, in Central America, South Africa or the Middle East, leads us to feel that world peace may be threatened without our being able to take adequate action either to strengthen it beforehand or to guarantee our security after the event. This is another source of friction and bitterness, which is not likely to disappear either. This also gives rise, in my view, to a question which I think is essential for the future: is it not time for the Community at last to concern itself with guaranteeing its own security?

Ladies and gentlemen, the relationship between an elephant and ants — what we Socialists call 'imperialism' in the economic and political spheres — is not governed by morality but by self-interest and force.

Let us try to realize this fully one of these days, and above all let us try to draw all the conclusions from it.

We are not, and do not wish to be, either American or Soviet. So there remains only one option for us: let us be ourselves, let us be Europeans, let us build Europe, no doubt with institutions, but above all with policies, and let us build it as an entity which is independent of all external pressures from whatever quarter. I think that should be our main form of response to the conflict which we have now been debating for two hours.

(Applause)

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

**Mr Haferkamp, Vice-President of the Commission.** — (DE) Mr President, the debate has made it clear that the effect of the American measures extends beyond the individual decisions themselves and the sectors involved. In the first place, there is the unilateral nature of the decisions, particularly evident in the embargo on the gas pipeline. There is also the question of whether the Americans are attempting on a number of issues, for example steel or some agricultural products, to ignore the results of the Tokyo Round and introduce interpretations which would favour the American side.

A decisive result of the Tokyo Round was the ending of the special status of the United States on the conclusion of the negotiations, thus giving all countries equal rights and obligations under the GATT.

If we look at the measures taken we find, for example in the case of the conditions governing aid, that the Americans have departed from the agreed GATT arrangements in a whole series of cases. For a time during the discussions on agricultural matters, the Americans attacked the principle of allowing export subsidies. And yet we had agreed in the GATT negotiations that such subsidies were permissible, provided that they were not used to win an unjustified share of the world market. We therefore rebuffed this attempt to attack a principle that had already been agreed. If one wants to talk about conditions or about whether they are being complied with, one can do so, but within the framework of the GATT.

A question which is perhaps not of particularly great material importance is the United States' legal action concerning Mediterranean citrus fruits. This action is remarkable because it concerns a matter settled years ago before the GATT was introduced. One therefore wonders whether this is an attempt to modify existing agreements and rules in favour of one of the GATT signatories. We cannot of course tolerate this.

As regards the measures in general, we have asked the GATT to have a look at some of them. We have initiated the GATT procedure in the case of the DISC system mentioned in the resolution. We will also use GATT procedures in other cases where we deem this to be necessary and right. Equally, we will employ other legal means where this is possible and appropriate.

The Community has lost no time in clearly stating its view to the United States and in expressing its concern. You are all acquainted with the Council Resolution of 22 June and the statement of the European Council of 29 June. These were steps that the Commission has taken, and it is continuing individual talks. It is our aim to find concrete solutions to the remaining problems as quickly as possible. Measures to this effect are being taken.

### Haferkamp

A few days ago we were able to achieve a positive result in a very difficult area in which there were diverging views. I refer to the agreement on OECD export credits. Agreement was reached because, among other things, the United States was prepared to accept our demands on a vital point.

We will vigorously defend Community interests in this whole area with Community instruments and, where necessary, by calling on international institutions, such as the GATT. We will do everything possible to ensure that this situation does not result in damage to world trade and the world economy. We must prevent such a situation being repeated in the future. We want close cooperation, but this means renouncing unilateral measures, since a partnership cannot be one-sided.

*(Applause)*

**Mr Davignon, Vice-President of the Commission.** — *(FR)* Mr President, I would like to react to what has been said and draw Parliament's attention to two or three detailed points.

Firstly, on the steel question, I think one must realize two things. The first is that the American procedure, which consists of taking provisional decisions which are immediately enforceable — i.e. that European steel producers must provide deposits for the exports they make in order to be able to pay countervailing duties when the definitive decision is taken in the autumn — imposes on trade an uncertainty equal to that which would be caused by a definitive decision, with the added disadvantage that, since it is a provisional decision, it cannot be challenged in the American courts.

It is therefore a quite remarkable instrument for exerting pressure without allowing a reaction. I wished to stress this.

The second aspect is that in this context, as my colleague Mr Haferkamp said, there is, in the way in which the United States calculated the alleged European subsidies said to cause distortions on the American market, a series of innovations which constitute unilateral interpretations of the subsidies code which we negotiated in the GATT.

The third major cause for concern is that the Department of Commerce must announce its conclusions in August on the anti-dumping complaints made by American steel producers. To judge from the imagination shown by the American Administration with regard to subsidies, we must expect a considerable worsening of the situation from August onwards, affecting all exporters to the United States without distinction.

We therefore have here a serious problem which affects the restructuring programme of the European steel industry — already so fraught with difficulties —

and this calls for coordinated and united action by the Community, as advocated by your motion for a resolution. I think that, faced with this very negative situation, we should note that although European firms and the European Member States have been affected in very different ways, the will to bring about united Community action has been maintained intact.

I think this is a positive development.

Finally, with regard to the future, I would like Parliament to be the first to hear a piece of news which we learned very recently — that the American Secretary for Commerce, Mr Baldrige, will be in Brussels tomorrow and that we shall resume discussions with him there on all these questions. I think one should interpret this visit as showing a desire to resume contact and as proof that the extremely firm representations we made have borne fruit. I think it would be premature to be over-optimistic and imagine that in one fell swoop we can bridge an extremely wide gulf between our positions and theirs, although we have the will to find compromises. But compromises cannot be made at the expense of our legitimate interests.

I would also like to make three comments on the question of the pipeline.

The first is that it is not correct, as the Americans have stated a number of times, that gas from Norway constitutes an alternative to Soviet gas for supplying the Community. It is incorrect technically and from a practical viewpoint, and I do not think it is helpful to make statements which cannot be realized in practice. It is well known that there are significant gas deposits in Norway, but exploiting them raises transport problems which have not yet been solved, because they are in the far North. It is a vital problem which the Community is considering, but which lies beyond 1990 and not in the context which concerns us here.

Secondly, one must note that industrial cooperation cannot work if retroactive decisions can be taken with impunity. How can one explain to European firms which have concluded valid contracts that it is forbidden for them to sell sensitive technology to the Soviet Union, when during the same period a large American company has sold to the Soviet Union for a considerable sum equipment, technology and services precisely for gas pipeline construction and port storage facilities. These works were completed at the end of 1980. The situation is — and I do not hesitate to use the term — intolerable, when contracts drawn up under clear conditions are retroactively put in question by a decision on which the partners of the United States were not even consulted.

My third observation is that we are in danger of finding ourselves in a paradoxical situation. These contracts were drawn up in a proper manner. Now any contract drawn up in a proper manner contains clauses providing for penalties if the supplies are not delivered

**Davignon**

within the stipulated time. One of the arguments put forward by the United States is that this pipeline will provide finance for the Soviet Union which will enable it to pursue a policy which does not suit us. For my part, I would find it somewhat paradoxical if the Soviet Union won a case in our courts for non-fulfilment of contracts, so that it would then receive damages, whereas we would not even obtain gas in exchange. It seems pretty clear to me that this might help the Soviet economy even more than the arrangement previously made. Moreover, the problems of cooperation with the industries concerned, and the negative effects which will undoubtedly be felt if we do not succeed in finding a *modus vivendi* in this affair, are clear. The difficulties encountered by a large German firm, and British, Italian and French firms involved, create an extremely worrying instability.

Consultations are in progress both with the Member States and with the firms concerned. Today, and of course tomorrow, we shall tell Mr Baldridge as clearly as possible what our political, economic and legal position is, for while Mr Haferkamp has indicated our will to find agreements on these questions, we also want this to be done in a way which fully respects agreements previously reached and procedures previously agreed. It is only on this basis that we shall have security in international trade.

(Applause)

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

Vote<sup>1</sup>

#### 4. *Death sentences pronounced on three ANC members*

**President.** — The next item is the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-469/82), tabled by Mr Denis and others on behalf of the Communist and Allies Group, on the death sentences pronounced on three members of the African National Congress (ANC), on the death in prison of the trade unionist Neil Aggett, and on imprisonments contrary to the United Nations Charter.

I call Mr Vergès.

**Mr Vergès.** — (FR) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, we ask you once more to make a stand against crimes by the apartheid régime in South Africa, for once again this régime has killed, tortured and imprisoned.

Less than a week ago the police fired on South African miners killing at least eight of them, and then imprisoned hundreds of others, but still failed to break their fighting spirit. Young people are awaiting death in prison in that country, where the special laws are so efficient that a man is hanged every day and the executioner rests on only one day per week. These special laws harass indiscriminately clergymen such as the Rev. Phasewane and the Rev. Phosiwa, Christian students like Cecil Sols and young patriots like N. Lubisi, P. Moshigo and N. Manassa, who were condemned to death but fortunately later reprieved: they also led to the murder by torture of Neil Aggett, a white trade union official and doctor.

In that country, to defend the dignity of the black man, and therefore of the white man also, is to risk death. As long as the racist regime in Pretoria continues to flout human dignity in this way, there will be an urgent need to denounce and condemn it. For, as we all know, the cause of freedom and dignity is indivisible.

And it is for that reason that there is a similar urgent need to defend the Lebanese and Palestinian populations besieged in West Beirut. This Parliament says that it wants to play a role in the defence of the essential values of what is called 'western civilization.' But in that case its credibility depends on the intransigence it shows in defending these values. A makeshift majority was found yesterday in favour of the proposition that there was no urgent need to debate the situation of hundreds of thousands of Lebanese and Palestinians — men, women and children — who are famished, wounded, without shelter and increasingly deprived of food, water and urgent medical help. It is an objective reality that in this tragic situation, and in a complex political context, solutions and ways towards these solutions are difficult to find and that there may be different viewpoints on them. But in this serious crisis who can say that only the worst is probable and that there is no possibility of opening the way to a lasting solution? To reject debate on the pretext that there is no urgency is a derisory and unjustifiable procedural ploy. Since there is no part-session during the August holidays, do Members hope in this way to be able to count the dead in September?

The history of Israel preserves the memory of the men, women and children who preferred to die in the besieged fortress of Massada rather than to live in humiliation. The spirit of Massada lives today in West Beirut. Yesterday a majority of this Parliament decided to wash its hands of the tragedy. Pontius Pilate, too, washed his hands when the victim was going to martyrdom, but today, as in the past, one cannot wash one's hands of such a matter without guilt.

Some dream of a final solution to the Palestinian problem, just as others dreamed not so long ago of a final solution to the Jewish problem. And the former are

<sup>1</sup> See Minutes.

Vergès

now faced with a choice — whether to massacre in West Beirut or to deport a whole people — by how many exodus? — anywhere except to its Palestinian homeland. What disregard for the recent history of Europe and for the lessons of the Jewish people's experience.

*(Mixed reactions)*

... In the prisons of South Africa men are suffering because they fight to cease being treated as foreigners in their own country ... I therefore say that the cause of such people is indivisible in South Africa and in the Middle East.

*(Applause from the Communist and Allies Group)*

IN THE CHAIR: LADY ELLES

*Vice-President*

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

**Mr Haagerup.** — Madam President, I am sorry I have to point out once again that because of the Rules of Procedure I had no possibility yesterday of explaining and justifying my request for postponing a debate on Lebanon. Today and yesterday I have heard several colleagues of mine who have abused the same Rules of Procedure by going back to the substance of the debate of Lebanon that we decided by a clear majority not to have today.

Madam President, I must ask you to have the Members respect our Rules of Procedure.

**President.** — I would request Members to respect the Rules. After all, you make the Rules, you decide and the decision yesterday was not to debate the Lebanon — I would ask you therefore to respect your own decision.

I call Mr Israël

**Mr Israël.** — *(FR)* Madam President, might I humbly suggest that Mr Vergès be given another three minutes because he said absolutely nothing about the matter in hand? I should have like to hear what he has to say about South Africa.

**President.** — Mr Israël, normally a Member speaks on the resolution before the House. If the Member who speaks is neither capable nor wishes to speak on that

subject it merely reflects on the views and standards of the Member concerned.

I call the European People's Party (Christian-Democratic Group).

**Mr d'Ormesson.** — *(FR)* Madam President, the European People's Party will reject the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Denis and others.

In its unchanging Marxist-Leninist dialectic, the Communist Party claims that Mr Lusibi, Mr Moshigo and Mr Manassa risk being hanged after the rejection of their appeal by the Court of Bloemfontein ...

*(Protests from the Communist and Allies Group)*

... but that is what you write, and it is what is written down which counts! Your statement is all the more untrue in that these three convicted men were reprieved on 3 June 1981, and you should have known this since the newspaper 'Le Monde', which cannot be suspected of favouring South Africa, published it recently, even adding that these prisoners would probably be exchanged ...

*(Cries from the left)*

**President.** — Order! I would remind the House that Mr d'Ormesson has the floor. Will you please respect the time that he has as speaker.

**Mr d'Ormesson.** — *(FR)* Madam President, the motion for a resolution maintains that 296 persons were executed in South Africa last year after being found guilty by special courts. This statement is as incorrect as the first.

In fact 22 persons were executed for terrorists acts in 1981 throughout the territory of South Africa. But Mr Denis passes over in silence — and for good reason — the infinitely more numerous and more summary executions carried out by his Cuban comrades and their allies in Angola!

*(Cries from the left)*

Well then, go there like me, go there and observe that in South Africa the activity of workers' trade unions is more powerful than anywhere else in South Africa, and that South Africa provides 39% of the food production of the African continent while representing only 4% of its land area! I therefore urge my colleagues not to confuse truth with its opposite, and to reject the motion tabled by the Stalinist Communists!

*(Applause from the centre and the right)*

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

**Mr Fergusson.** — Madam President, we in this group regard it as ludicrous that this topic has been allowed to come up again in this subjective, inaccurate and unhelpful form. We are all concerned about apartheid. We were all appalled about what happened to Neil Aggett and its judicial sequel. But how does it help to ignore the fact that the death sentences on the ANC terrorists in fact were commuted to life imprisonment? It is no good to make silly allegations about what has happened, when in fact something quite different has happened and the demands that are made have in fact been complied with? How does it help to ask for compliance with so-called decisions of bodies who in fact can ordain nothing? We have a parliamentary report on the way on all this and we want to wait for it. We believe in peaceful change in South Africa as do the majority of people in South Africa, black and white. We do not believe in the wilful alienation of moderate and extremist alike. It would simply make real progress impossible. My group rejects this resolution and will vote against it.

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

**Mr Irmer.** — (DE) Madam President, the Liberal and Democratic Group will also vote against this resolution. We are ardently opposed to the death penalty and will campaign for the maintenance of human rights, no matter what the country in question.

But what this resolution is doing is exploiting the victims in question merely for purposes of propaganda. The honourable Members of the Communist Group should consider whether they can justify putting the regime in South Africa in a better light with this resolution and enabling it to reject any warranted statements this House may make. For if we demand a pardon for people who have long since been reprieved, the South African regime can point to us and say that we cannot be taken seriously. And the next time we have a serious request and act in support of human rights, we will be accused of having misconceptions and false information and being concerned merely with words rather than the problem itself. That is my criticism of the Communists. Remember that you are exploiting the miserable fate of the people in South Africa, and for that you will not have our support.

Furthermore, you have again introduced the following text: 'Calls upon the Member States to comply with the decisions of the Joint Committee in Salisbury.' This is just as unrealistic. You are as aware as we are that in a few months this House will debate a report on the situation in South Africa which the Political Affairs Committee has studied in detail. That is the time to discuss this House's attitude to the Salisbury Declaration, which concerns not only human rights but also regional cooperation and the question of sanctions. This cannot be dealt with as a subsidiary matter by applying for an urgent procedure.

If the honourable Members of the Communist Group had been concerned with the essence of the problem, they would have drafted a serious resolution. They would, for example, have condemned the fact that people have again been shot in South Africa. Let me say quite clearly that we denounce these shootings most strongly. The Liberal Group is horrified at the events in South African mines reported in the newspapers in the past few days; but this will not change the fact that we are not prepared to vote for a propagandist resolution such as this.

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

**Mr Israël.** — (FR) Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, it is intolerable that South Africa should practice a policy of apartheid and it is intolerable that it should condemn to death people thought to be terrorists. Whether there were 22 of them in 1981 or 296 as stated in the motion for a resolution does not in any way alter the principle of the matter.

The conscience of Europe is shocked by the policy of South Africa. That is to say, Madam President, that I would like to be able to vote for this resolution. I do not say 'although it is tabled by the Communist Group'; on the contrary, I say 'because it is tabled by the Communist Group'.

I therefore find myself in a very difficult situation, for the facts cannot be checked, and moreover — as Mr Irmer rightly pointed out — there is a reference to the Salisbury resolution which itself relates to sanctions which I approve in principle but which are in the final analysis very difficult to apply.

Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, I would certainly have voted for this resolution, but unfortunately, because it is imprecise and inadequately prepared, I have to abstain. At all events, I should like to point out in conclusion that there are countries in the world which suffer terrorist acts but which do not inflict the death penalty!

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

**Mr Glinne.** — (FR) Madam President, I must confess that we in the Socialist Group — I am here expressing our entirely personal reactions — are in a state of some perplexity because we hoped to be able to vote for the text. But clearly — and this is admitted by one of the authors — the paragraphs relating to the threat of execution hanging over three persons are objectively inaccurate. I would therefore say — while reminding you that the Socialist Group distributed by its own means communications on the fate of the organizer of trade union activity among the Africans, Dr Neil Aggett — that a number of members of our

**Glinne**

Group will abstain from the vote, for we cannot vote for an inaccurate text. Nor, however, do we want to vote against a text the spirit of which is hostile to the apartheid system.

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

*Vote<sup>1</sup>*

I call Mr Fergusson on a point of order.

**Mr Fergusson.** — You will probably tell me this is not a point of order, but I hope you will bear with me for a moment.

I do think that, and would like to suggest that the Bureau of Parliament should look once again at the whole procedure for choosing what subjects should be dealt with by urgent procedure. This topic was opposed by my group for the same reason as the entire Parliament has now rejected it, namely, that it is a lot of nonsense in the first place.

One person, the proposer of the motion, did not even talk on the subject at all. I do think therefore the Bureau should have a look at how these matters are chosen so that time is not wasted in this House.

**President.** — I must point out, Mr Fergusson, that this is not a matter for the Bureau. These topics are chosen by the President together with the chairmen of all the political groups. It is then up to the House to put proposals where they do not want these subjects taken as topics for urgency. As Members will know this is voted on the Wednesday afternoon at 3 p.m. It is therefore up to the sense and discretion of the House as to which topics are in the end debated. It is really up to the Members to decide how they wish this matter to be handled. But this is not specifically a matter for the Bureau of Parliament. Any proposals Members wish to make should be made through the chairmen of their political groups who do in fact handle this matter together with the President.

##### *5. Adams v Hoffmann-La Roche*

**President.** — The next item is the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-464/82) by Mr Caborn and others on Adams v Hoffmann-La Roche.

I call Mr Caborn.

**Mr Caborn.** — First of all, could I correct in the text of the resolution the date given in the second paragraph. It reads '30 January 1982', but it should actually read '17 February 1982'.

**President.** — May I just put that to the House. This is an oral amendment to a text which is not allowed under the Rules of Procedure. I therefore must get the approval of the House for this amendment. I cannot think that there would be any objection.

*(Parliament approved the amendment)*

I call Mr Caborn.

**Mr Caborn.** — Madam President, I am informed by the chairman of our group, that there is a considerable amount of agreement on the resolution, just as there has been over the six or seven years that the European Parliament has been discussing the case. I am pleased that that agreement was displayed yesterday when priority and indeed urgency was given to this item.

I think that the Parliament ought to be brought up to date on the question of the Adams-Hoffmann-La Roche case since the Parliament, with a great deal of unanimity, passed the Donnez report and the resolution attached to it. That resolution called for two main areas to be investigated. One was that Adams should in fact be granted amnesty by the Swiss Confederation, and, secondly, that no cases should be brought under the penal sanctions of the Swiss law against any persons acting within the framework of the trade agreement between the EEC and the Swiss authorities. That was accepted by the Commission through the Joint Committee and was reported to the Legal Affairs Committee.

On the first point, however, very little action was taken by the Commission. Indeed the part of the resolution calling for amnesty for Mr Adams was, I believe, neglected by the Commission and it seems that they had no intention of carrying that through. That is why it is unfortunate now, Madam President, that we have to bring before this Parliament this type of resolution. It was in fact the Socialist Group who have had a keen interest in this case, who have financially supported the re-opening of the case in the Swiss courts by an appeal. In fact it was turned down both at the regional and the national level. This has put Mr Stanley Adams in the position of being able to appeal to the European Court of Human Rights. A file is being prepared by his lawyer, Dr Erik Dieffenbacher, who has found that the case is in breach of six of the articles of the Convention of the European Commission on Human Rights. So we are hopeful that this case can be brought to a successful conclusion. Really that conclusion ought to have been pressed much more firmly by the Commission. Unfortunately it was not. So I am hoping not only will this resolution be passed by the

<sup>1</sup> See Annex.

**Caborn**

Parliament unanimously, but also that the Commission will take heed of the advice that has been given not only in the Donnez report but also in this resolution that is before you. I hope that it will be carried and that the Commission will in fact take due notice of it.

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

**Mr Haferkamp, Vice-President of the Commission.** — (DE) Madam President, the Commission has not been informed of any intention on the part of Mr Adams to bring a case before the European Court of Human Rights. For this reason the Commission is not in a position to state today whether and in what form it might support such a case. We can do so only when this procedure has begun and when we have been apprised of the case.

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

*Vote<sup>1</sup>**6. Drought in Italy*

**President.** — The next item is the joint debate on three motions for resolutions:

- motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-452/82/rev.) by Mr Diana and others on the drought which has affected a large part of southern Italy and the islands;
- motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-457/82), tabled by Mrs Cassanmagnago Cerretti and others on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (CD Group), on the damage caused by the exceptionally bad weather in northern Italy;
- motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-473/82) by Mr Papapietro and others on Community aid for the water supply system in the Puglia region.

I call Mr Diana.

**Mr Diana.** — (IT) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the economy of Italy's southern and island regions has been severely affected by drought. The sheer scale of what has happened is tremendous, since it has been estimated that more than a million hectares are affected. The damage is obvious for all crops, but particularly in the case of durum wheat which is being

harvested at the moment and which is yielding between 300 000 and 500 000 tonnes less than could be expected from a normal crop.

The effects of the damage, which unfortunately is not restricted only to durum wheat but has hit all crops to some extent, are already obvious and we can expect further losses as a result of the impoverishment of the water-bearing strata. It has to be remembered in this connection that agriculture is a major source of jobs and income for a large sector of the population in the regions involved.

The scale of the problem means that exceptional and immediate action is called for. As others have requested, it is possible and indeed essential to draw up plans in the longer term, especially when it comes to completing irrigation systems and basic works for irrigation, but the farmers here are asking for immediate help and support. They need a breathing space. Of course, the responsibility here lies primarily with the Italian Government and with the regional authorities but I think this Parliament is duty bound to give some indication of solidarity with these people by taking what action it can to offer immediate help.

This explains why I ventured to ask for an increase in the aid which the EAGGF budget grants for the production of durum wheat, which is the major crop in the regions hit by the drought. We have to remember that this price support for durum wheat is simply a way of making the crop competitive with others. It goes without saying that if the crop is severely affected, you have to try in some way to find a secondary source of income for the people who have suffered such a loss. This is why I am so keen on this motion for a resolution which to some extent — and this has caused some surprise — contrasts with the other motion by Mrs Cassanmagnago Cerretti on the storms in northern Italy. The sad fact is that our country is like that: serious problems of drought often exist alongside problems which are just the opposite. I urge you to think about this situation which is particularly serious and which, to my mind, calls for the utmost attention from this Parliament.

**President.** — I call Mrs Cassanmagnago Cerretti.

**Mrs Cassanmagnago Cerretti.** — (IT) Madam President, exceptionally adverse weather conditions struck many provinces of northern Italy in June. The hardest hit regions were Brianza and Lomellina in Lombardy and the area around Vercelli in Piedmont.

There is a particularly urgent need to do something for the affected areas, which have suffered considerable damage. The initial estimates put it at 150 000 million lire. These areas are given over to intensive farming which requires an enormous amount of capital investment. In view of the extremely high

<sup>1</sup> See Annex.

**Cassanmagnago Cerretti**

interest rates at the moment, it is clear that the repair work will be an intolerable financial burden if it has to be borne solely by the local farmers, without any aid from the regional authorities and the country and without the help of the Community.

If you add the damage which was restricted to these two regions to the wider damage which has affected many regions in the south and in the islands — Mr Diana has just spoken about this — the general economic picture becomes even worse in terms of gross production available for the market and therefore in terms of loss of income for the farmers, and even in normal circumstances their income is little more than half what people get in other sectors. This is why the Community should do something about this problem through the use of the funds provided for in the appropriate budget chapters.

**President.** — I call Mr Papapietro.

**Mr Papapietro.** — *(IT)* Madam President, other Members have already described the awful situation in the south of Italy. My motion for a resolution deals simply with the Puglia region, where in some provinces the damage amounts to more than 200 000 million lire just for cereal and forage crops and where there is tremendous uncertainty about other crops such as tomatoes, beetroot, olives and wine production. It has even been found that the water table has dropped by more than twenty metres — the drought is connected here with the terrible effects of the earthquake in 1980 — and this means that there is not only no water for the crops but no water for the local population either.

This is an emergency situation. It seems unlikely that Puglia has ever been hit by such a fierce drought. An exceptional event requires exceptional measures. The Ministry for Civil Protection has acted but we feel that the European Community should do something as well, both in carrying out an examination of the complete water situation in the Puglia region and throughout southern Italy and in increasing Community aid for all irrigation and water supply projects. We are talking about a number of regions, such as the Abruzzi, which has been scorched by this drought, Calabria, Sicily and Sardinia, which has had considerable crop failures. These are regions which were already having a hard time of it, because of the earthquake in November 1980, and now there is the drought to cope with. I do not think there is any reason why the Community could not act on two fronts, by acting immediately and at the same time by carrying out a complete examination of the water situation in these regions in the south of Italy.

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

**Mr Natali, Vice-President of the Commission.** — *(IT)* Madam President, as soon as the Commission became aware of the events mentioned here and of the way people were being affected by hardship — and we do wish to make our sympathy known — we asked Italy's Permanent Representatives in Brussels for all the relevant information which would allow us to assess the circumstances and to evaluate the repercussions. This was done with an eye to providing — as the honourable Members have requested — emergency aid for the stricken people.

I think it must be pointed out, however, that emergency aid under Chapter 690 of the budget can be granted solely in the case of major disasters of exceptional scale which deprive people of their means of subsistence. Emergency aid cannot unfortunately be given by way of compensation, with the aim of restoring means of production.

Be that as it may, let me repeat that we are waiting for the facts and figures, which will also help us to determine what action to take in coordination with whatever is being done by the national and regional authorities. Mr Diana mentioned this, I think.

Two particular points were also raised by Mr Diana and Mr Papapietro. One was about durum wheat, which is certainly one of the principal sources of income and a major crop in a number of regions in the south of Italy, and the other mentioned by Mr Papapietro and his fellow Members who signed the motion for a resolution referred to the problem of water supply. The original motion referred specifically to Puglia but in the speech we heard today there was also reference to other regions, including the one I come from.

By way of reply to Mr Diana on the subject of durum wheat, let me say I am sure he is aware that the market organization provides for aid to producers on the basis of the acreage which is normally cultivated and without regard to the actual yield. He may rest assured that the farmers in the affected regions will receive aid for the production of durum wheat without regard to any damage that may have affected production, including damage which may have resulted from the causes which were mentioned.

As for Mr Papapietro's question, I should like to say that the Commission is ready to examine the complete water situation in Puglia by means of a study — which will naturally have to be coordinated with the relevant authorities — designed to identify the priority needs of the region in this area.

In any case, I would point out that the Commission has already been involved in projects designed to improve the water supply situation in Puglia and in other regions of the Mezzogiorno. Let me add that we are willing to give due priority to the consideration of further requests for financial help with regard to the water supply sector and to the management and better



**Natali**

use of water resources. Naturally, such requests will have to be considered in the light of current Community provisions.

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

*Vote<sup>1</sup>**7. Foot-and-mouth disease in Denmark*

**President.** — The next item is the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-461/82), tabled by Mr Kirk on behalf of the European Democratic Group, on the recent outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease in Denmark.

I call Mr Fanti.

**Mr Fanti.** — (*IT*) The Communist and Allies Group does not feel it is right and proper to hold this debate, the next item on the agenda, on the death of cattle and other animals from foot-and-mouth disease after the House has refused — with the Conservatives in the forefront — to debate the deaths of many thousands of people in Lebanon, where thousands more are still threatened with death. For this reason the Communist and Allies Group will leave the Chamber and will not take part in this debate.

*(The Communist and Allies Group left the Chamber)*

**President.** — The point is noted. There will be no further discussion on this item.

I call Mr Kirk.

**Mr Kirk.** — (*DA*) Madame President, allow me to begin by pointing out that the European Democratic Group does not unfortunately have a majority in this House, and was therefore not able to decide on its own not to deal with the Lebanon issue as a matter of urgency.

Having said that, though, I should like to thank the Members of the European Parliament who have indicated that they would be willing to vote for this motion for a resolution on the outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease in Denmark, which I have tabled on behalf of the European Democratic Group. I believe that Parliament has thereby shown a great deal of understanding for the situation of Danish farmers. I also think that the Member States have shown the same degree of understanding by re-liberalizing the

market for exports of meat products from Denmark as early as 18 May.

Unfortunately, our fellow Scandinavians in Norway and Sweden have not shown the same degree of understanding *vis-à-vis* Danish farmers as our colleagues in the Community, which is why I have tabled this motion for a resolution. I think it is time we Europeans drew the Norwegian and Swedish authorities' attention to the fact that what they are doing here now in terms of their restrictions on the export from Denmark of pork and beef in particular is unjustifiable and constitute what we regard as barriers to trade. The fact is, after all, that there has been no fresh outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease in Denmark since 4 May. It is also a fact that the Danish authorities and Danish farmers were very rigorous in their response to outbreaks of the disease in that no form of vaccination was administered to Danish herds. As a result, we can now say quite unequivocally that there are no veterinary reasons any longer for maintaining an import ban on Danish agricultural products.

The situation meanwhile is that both Norway and Sweden have entered into a free trade agreement with the Community, an agreement which provides, *inter alia*, for an end to unwarranted barriers to trade between the Member States of the Community and Norway and Sweden. I therefore believe that Norway and Sweden have a duty to lift their restrictions so as to reestablish normal trading conditions on the Norwegian and Swedish markets. Obviously, if you have an outbreak of disease like the one we have had in Denmark, it is an easy matter to use veterinary considerations to prevent the restoration of normal market conditions. But if the other Member States of the Community think it reasonable to import Danish pork and beef, the same conditions ought to apply to the Norwegian and Swedish markets. I am therefore confident that, when Mr Haferkamp meets the Swedish Trade Minister, he will take up this matter so that we can be sure that the Norwegian and Swedish authorities realize that this is not just a Danish issue, but that our concern is shared by the whole Community, and so that conditions can return to normal without any further ado.

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

**Mr Dalsager, Member of the Commission.** — (*DA*) Madam President, I feel sure you will appreciate that, as the Member of the Commission responsible for agriculture, I have every sympathy for the problems to which Mr Kirk has drawn the House's attention by way of his motion for a resolution. I can endorse what he had to say, and I can give him an assurance that the Commission will be dealing with the whole matter in conjunction with the Danish authorities in the best possible spirit. The matter under discussion here is not the subject of any special agree-

<sup>1</sup> See Annex.

**Dalsager**

ment between the Community and third countries, but depends to a great extent on bilateral agreements, which is why the Danish Government has, as far as I am aware, endeavoured to persuade the Norwegian and Swedish authorities that their import ban was unreasonable. Should the Danish authorities feel that we should take further steps and that the Commission should establish contact in this case, I shall indeed do so on behalf of the Commission when, in the very near future, I meet the same Swedish minister with whom, according to Mr Kirk, Mr Haferkamp will be holding discussions. That will give us an opportunity to raise the matter.

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

*Vote<sup>1</sup>*

8. 1983 preliminary draft budget — 1982 preliminary draft supplementary budget (continuation)

**President.** — I propose that we now resume the joint debate on the preliminary draft budget (Docs 1-410/82; 1-477/82 et 1-450/82).

I call the Socialist Group.

**Mr Arndt.** — (*DE*) Madam President, I should like to draw your attention outside my speaking time to the fact that when you address us in English it takes a little while for the translation to reach us. I would ask you to bear this in mind.

I believe that the question before us today must be seen in the context of the policy laid down by this House, in particular the important decisions taken during the last and present part-sessions. Budgetary questions do not exist in isolation but are always dependent on the overall policy of this House. I should therefore like to stress that the Socialist Group always sees the budgetary debate in conjunction with the policy debate, and especially the course adopted by the House with the Hopper Report in the decision on the Mandate of 30 May. The Socialist Group also sees this budget in the context of the Report on European Union, the Spinelli Report which we approved two days ago, and the Three Presidents' Declaration which will be discussed later in the Adonnino Report.

The policy that a parliament intends to pursue is reflected in the budget. I should like to say at this point — and it would be a good thing if this were clearly realized outside this House throughout the European Community — that the European Parlia-

ment, despite all our failings as shown up in the decisions yesterday and today, has adopted a clear position on the future of Europe. This common view is endorsed by the great majority of this House. What we must do, therefore, is to translate this policy in the budget, and here my Group supports the proposals made by the rapporteur, Mr Jackson, for the 1983 budget.

We feel that the Commission should at last for once transcend itself and not always merely try — although this is perfectly laudable — to make its decisions within the framework of the individual policies laid down by the Council. It should rather, having formerly considered itself the motive force of Europe, break free of these fetters and make a determined effort to ensure that its policy, which its President supports here when it is a question of general declarations, is adopted by the Council, even at the preliminary draft stage. For it is our view that the preliminary draft budget does not reflect the policy decided by Parliament on 22 April.

The Socialist Group welcomes the fact that Parliament's proposals stress the need to combat unemployment, since this will be of vital importance for us in Europe in the next few years. If, in the 1983 budget, this Parliament does not make it clear to the people of Europe that the fight against unemployment is our top priority, then I believe we will not have fulfilled our role.

I therefore ask you to adopt the amendments which the Socialist Group has tabled to consolidate this aspect and wish to state emphatically that we endorse the main elements of the Jackson Report.

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

**Mr Notenboom.** — (*NL*) Madam President, the powers of persuasion on the part of rapporteurs in this House are highly important because we are often forced to make our way against the prevailing current, and there can be no doubt that budget rapporteurs are faced with a difficult task in seeking majorities here, in the Commission and among the public at large. We therefore feel that no rapporteur should weaken those powers by assuming different roles and saying different things in different places. Mr Jackson has now seen the point and made a public statement. His letter had caused a number of problems in my Group, but those have now been ironed out and, as far as we are concerned, there the matter rests. We should like to thank him for his statement; he can now count on the wholehearted support of our Group.

Madam President, little by little we are doing the preliminary work on the first and second reading of next year's budget: first of all by drawing up guidelines and

<sup>1</sup> See Annex.

## Notenboom

now by assessing to what extent the preliminary draft budget accords with those guidelines. So far so good, provided we do not make the mistake of thinking that we are already at the first reading stage. We have heard a large number of speakers and draftsmen of opinions, and there appears to be a great deal of confusion because certain speakers have given the impression that we were indeed already at the first reading stage. That is something we must be careful about from a procedural point of view. We must also take care not to insist 100% on our April demands when it comes to dealing with the Commission and then take the Commission's proposals as our norm when we state our case to the Council. That would be the wrong attitude to adopt. We must be governed by a spirit of moderation, and that includes whatever demands we have to put forward. That is a real danger, and we heard yesterday from the Danish Presidency what we can expect this year from the Council.

So we should avoid criticizing everything the Commission proposes and then in turn give our 100% support to the Commission in December and plough in to the Council for adopting so little of what the Commission had proposed. There is a slight danger of that kind of thing creeping in to this procedure.

Those were the two procedural points I wanted to make; however, I must say that my Group supports the rapporteur's point where, with the backing of the Committee on Budgets, he identifies unemployment as the central issue. That is certainly something which will not be lost on the European voters, and certainly not on the unemployed. We agree with what the rapporteur said about this budget having to accord maximum priority to helping in the fight against unemployment. However, this could give rise to a misunderstanding in that it might give the impression that the Community budget is so large that it can make a major contribution, and it may in turn look as if this were to be an alibi for failings in other areas. Let me explain a little more clearly what I am getting at.

By far the most important task facing Europe as regards the fight against unemployment in the Community lies in another field. We must give our economy the chance to burgeon anew, we need a sensible policy on interest rates and a monetary policy, if possible in coordination with the United States. We must coordinate our own economies, we need a more stable currency, we must boost investment and we must arrive at a consensus with the two sides of industry on such issues as what can be done to enable working time to be reduced. That is, as I said, the main task facing us, and we should not use the budget as an alibi for setting our sights too low.

Having said that, I should like to repeat that my Group will be giving its full support to the major aspects of the Jackson Report so as to make available, wherever possible, funds for the fight against unemployment, particularly in the spirit of the decision

taken by the European Council, for young people who have no jobs waiting for them; I am thinking here, for instance, of the introduction of model projects in the hope that the Member States will take a lead from them. In this respect, I can go along with the report, but I should like to issue a warning as to the misunderstandings which could ensue.

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

**Mr Price.** — Madam President, I want to address myself to the joint declaration. If it adopts the joint declaration now before us, I believe that Parliament will be exchanging claims for hopes together with a procedure which *may* fulfil some of those hopes.

Instead of letting the European Court of Justice decide on our claims we are being recommended to accept a declaration in which we expressly set on one side our claims and accept much more limited gains, for the most part expressed in vague terms. So much depends on the good faith of the Council in the implementation of this agreement. The majority in my group is prepared to assume that good faith and to support the joint declaration in a spirit of hope.

Now the first point in the declaration deals with the existing classification and attempts a form of classification for the 1982 budget. What we are in effect doing is virtually accepting the Commission's figures because the position has been that Parliament claims 34% of the budget as being non-obligatory, the Council 17% and the Commission 20%. And indeed the classification on the joint declaration ends up us as being about 20%, for the non-obligatory. We would have made gains in respect of food aid, we would have made gains in respect of part of the guidance section, and that would be about the sum total. I believe we might well have made those gains through the Court action but at any rate we have made some advance in the non-obligatory sectors on what is accepted by all the institutions and will therefore be effective.

The second part is what we do about new classifications in the future. And there I think we have replaced one ambiguity with another. But one must look at this definition as it stands as being an interpretation which must narrow the scope of the non-obligatory sector. That is the only way I think that Parliament can look upon it, namely, that the rights of third parties, which we refer to in our resolution in paragraph 2, must be seen as the rights of third parties in respect only of obligations which arise under the Treaties and acts adopted in accordance therewith. In other words it must be seen as a narrowing down of those rather vague and general words in the Treaty, pinning them down, rather than as simply another vague set of wording to replace an already vague set of wording. And it is on that basis, and only on that basis, that we in our group would accept that.

### Price

The third point is that it does provide a procedure for resolving disputes in the future and one can no longer speak of hope, because it depends upon the way in which that procedure is operated as to whether it achieves anything.

The next point relates to ceilings and that I believe is a very important issue indeed because what has happened so far in the Council has been to quite deliberately infringe Parliamentary budgetary powers. I believe that paragraph 10 of our resolutions, which asserts that a vital part of the agreement is the paragraph confirming that future legislative provisions must not fix ceilings on expenditure, is an important part of this resolution.

Then we move on to the question of the legal base, and on that I think that we at least have some sort of procedure for the future in the creation of what the Commission regard as being necessary by way of a legal base. And whilst I do not accept that the budget itself is not an adequate legal base, at least we get ourselves out of the impasse which has existed for some time and one hopes that those provisions will be operated with a proper spirit of good faith by the Council.

But in the end one has to say that hope must be tinged with a degree of reality, and it is for that reason that we have tabled an amendment — which I now indeed move and urge Parliament to support — to put in a new paragraph, after paragraph 16, which reserves the right to reassert our full legal rights if the Council fails to adhere to the joint declaration in the future.

I hope the House will support that amendment.

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

**Mr Gauthier.** — (IT) Madam President, the Italian Members of the Communist and Allies Group cannot give their support to the motion for a resolution on the joint declaration or to the motion for a resolution by Mr Jackson.

In the case of the joint declaration, we pointed out in committee how the content which might be thought to be in Parliament's favour emerges as very restricted and limited. We also know that there have been certain interpretations by what could be called sources close to the Council, as the result of statements and so on. We are concerned about these interpretations because they seem to be extremely restrictive.

From the very start of the discussions the Italian Communists have pointed out how in the first part of this joint declaration there is some hint of pressure on the European Parliament to abandon, as it were, the path that has been followed in recent years. What we are worried about — and this is conveyed in the motion for a resolution by Mr Adonnino — is that the actual

articles of the Treaty are being substantially watered down and restricted, especially Article 203 which gives the President of Parliament his powers to determine the completion of the budget procedure.

We have already indicated in committee that there are some odd elements about this interpretation. For instance, it is said that everyone makes some contribution to the procedure. But what on earth does Parliament give by way of contribution as far as the budget or the budget procedure is concerned? This Parliament — and I am being quite objective, without any bias — has everything to gain and is not in a position to give an inch.

A final major point — and this was also raised in committee — concerns the *plafond* or ceiling, with regard to which one can discern as far as the facts go a Council pledge which is political in nature where future regulations are concerned. This is a political pledge — and there is no way of knowing whether it can be taken as a legal pledge as well — which has always been seen in a restrictive sense in the interpretations which have in fact been given.

While granting that Mr Adonnino has done what he can to incorporate all the concerns and points of view, I must say again that we cannot give our full backing, especially with regard to the validity of the regulations on the budget procedure as laid down in the Treaties.

As for the motion for a resolution by Mr Jackson, we agree that the fight against unemployment is a number one priority, but we are really against the idea that the resolution should be biased in some way towards an unbalanced use of methods to fight unemployment. In closing, let me say that we cannot accept any resolution without some explicit reference to the need to increase own resources. If Mr Jackson tells us orally that he agrees with us but is unwilling to put it in writing, it is obvious that this compromises the line which Parliament has traditionally taken, and the way we vote will of course be affected.

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

**Mrs Scrivener.** — (FR) Madam President, I will first say a few words on Mr Jackson's report and then deal with the problem raised by Mr Adonnino's resolution.

We must thank Mr Jackson for the quality of the report which he has presented today, and especially for the effort he has made to draw up a method for the preparation of the budget. I will confine my remarks to emphasizing a few points which we consider essential.

We do, of course, realize that, as has been underlined by the Committee on Budgets, the budget before us is a stagnation budget. But, for us, the essential thing is

**Scrivener**

lacking, since the problem cannot be solved simply by increasing a percentage. We would have liked to find in various chapters of this budget a number of new, precise, specific and carefully thought-out measures, since this is the only way of giving a new impetus to the construction of Europe.

New technologies, for example, should have been one of the areas aimed at. We all know that it is here that we can hope to find new jobs.

Furthermore, we are very taken aback by the proposed reduction in commitment appropriations in the industrial sector. There is an obvious contradiction here. On the one hand, in its document on the Mandate, the Commission put forward a number of ideas on industrial policy. Today, in its preliminary draft budget, it is proposing a reduction of 24% in commitment appropriations. What sense is there in that?

Another area — one of many — where we would have liked to see a number of precise and clear measures as advocated by Parliament in several resolutions is female employment. But the ball is now in the Council's court and the Council thus has a splendid opportunity to prove its real desire to cooperate closely with Parliament and calm our fears regarding the interpretation of the agreement between the three institutions on the budgetary procedure.

This brings me on to the agreement between the three institutions on the improvement of the budgetary procedure.

We find that progress, albeit inadequate, has been made on the classification of expenditure. We also find that, for the first time for many years, the three institutions have discussed jointly the problems that the budget raises every year. That, in itself, is a positive step. Unfortunately, the results have not matched our hopes, since the preliminary draft before us today can be interpreted differently by the Council and the Parliament, and that is the rub.

Let me give you some examples. In the case of the paragraph in the agreement which requires a legal basis to be laid down first before the implementation of appropriations for any new significant Community action, I should like to ask the following question: Which interpretation is correct? That of certain Council delegations which says that no amount can be spent without a legal basis, or that of Parliament which defines 'significant' very narrowly?

And another question: Is Parliament right when it specifically states in the motion for a resolution that the essential section of the agreement is that which prohibits the fixing of the maximum amounts for expenditure under future legislative provisions, or does the text of the agreement itself prevail, which merely advocates that the setting of maximum amounts by regulation should be avoided?

And I will give a final example. The first version of the agreement stated that the classification given would be valid for the 1982 budget, whereas the text adopted does not specify the period for which the classification will be valid. Here again, who is right?

These, Madam President, are but some of the points which will lead to misunderstandings with which we will have to live. And it is precisely because of this ambiguity at a time when we need clarity that we will not vote for the resolution tabled by the Committee on Budgets aimed at ratifying this agreement.

Nevertheless, we sincerely hope that events may prove us wrong, but I believe that the Council's interpretation of this text is already ample justification for our reservations today.

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

**Mr Ansquer.** — (*FR*) Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, I should like to make a few brief comments on the Joint Declaration by the three institutions on the 1982 supplementary budget and the 1983 budget.

The Joint Declaration by the Parliament, Council and Commission on various measures to improve the budgetary procedure is undeniably a justified step. The state of permanent crisis is disrupting cooperation between the institutions and paralysing Community action. Therefore any measure which will bring about a lasting improvement in the budgetary procedure and relations between the Council and Parliament can only be supported.

However, this Declaration cannot and must not modify the budgetary rules laid down in Articles 203 and 204 of the Treaty. What is more, many articles in the Declaration are ambiguous to the point of allowing each institution to arrive at its own interpretation.

This is why, Madam President, we are pressing Mr Tugendhat to ensure that the current discussions result in a common, clear and precise interpretation in order that further conflict may be avoided.

We endorse Mrs Barbarella's report on the draft supplementary budget and ask that the appropriations be committed by the end of the 1982 financial year.

To conclude, I should like to make a number of comments on the 1983 budget. First, we doubt whether the reduction in agricultural expenditure advocated by Mr Jackson as a prerequisite for restructuring the budget will offer any real help in combating unemployment and launching new common policies. Indeed, if the rapporteur's proposals have the effect of discouraging farmers and lead to the break-up of family-run farms, they will inevitably speed up the exodus from the

**Ansquer**

countryside and raise unemployment at a time when we should, on the contrary, be making it easier for young farmers to start their own farms.

For us, the fight against unemployment is an obvious priority, but let us not deceive ourselves into believing that unemployment can be cured by doubling or tripling the appropriations for the Social Fund, whose scope is limited and local and cannot produce structural solutions. In the textile industry, for example, which is losing 115 000 jobs a year, the Social Fund saved only 17 000 jobs in 1980 and 8 800 in 1981.

What Mr Jackson is proposing is that we rob Peter to pay Paul. We cannot accept this biblical approach to Community policy. The Commission and Council must come up with new common policies and then translate them into budgetary terms. We consider this to be the best way of making progress on the path towards solidarity and European union.

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

**Mrs Spaak.** — (FR) Madam President, I should like to draw attention very briefly to the Commission requests for appropriations in its preliminary draft amending budget for the construction of new buildings, and to more recent projects for office accommodation for the European institutions.

Although there is little to be said against the complex which the Commission plans to construct on a site from which the inhabitants have long since been moved, that is not the case with the Council's latest building extension project for which the Belgian Government, has, wrongly, given the green light. It seems to me that this latter project is badly conceived.

I am obviously not challenging the Community's right to construct additional accommodation required for the smooth running of its departments, quite the opposite, but I wish to redefine the conditions governing the construction of this new development. We are witnessing the creation of a 'dead' area in the city, even before plans have been drawn up for the new buildings. This is being done in total disregard of town planning legislation and the development plan for the sector, and without proper consultation with certain Brussels institutions and associations.

The rue Belliard development, where our committees have their offices, is a prime example of what we must avoid, namely random expropriation and pointless demolition. The Council must present a project which fits into a balanced urban framework but is not grandiose. This will enhance its image. I find it regrettable, as I have already said, that the Belgian Government, contrary to the opinion of the Council, should have abandoned the idea of an international design competition and come up with a selection procedure open only to developers.

Organizers and political parties, including my own, have protested against this decision.

(The sitting was suspended at 1.05 p.m. and resumed at 3 p.m.)

## IN THE CHAIR: MR KLEPSCH

*Vice-President*

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

**Mr Prout.** — I would like to draw the Presidency's attention to a matter connected with the Colleselli report which is going to be debated later this afternoon.

I would like to say at the outset my group substantially supports this report, and so the remarks I am going to make are intended to help the House and not in any way to hinder it.

The problem is as follows. In October 1981 the Commission forwarded a proposal to the Council which transmitted it to the Parliament. In May of this year the first Colleselli report was published. In June the House referred it back to the committee on the grounds that there was some new information was distributed to the Committee on Agriculture in the form of an unofficial technical document from the Council.

In July, the second Colleselli report was published and it was largely based on this unofficial document.

Now what is the status of this unofficial document?

It is neither on the one hand a new Commission proposal, nor is it on the other hand an amendment by the Council under Article 149 of the Treaty based on unanimity.

Now it seems to me that the House has one of two choices. The first is to ask the Commission or the Council to adopt . . .

**President.** — Mr Prout, perhaps you could tell us what the purpose of your remarks is so that I can determine whether they constitute a point of order.

**Mr Prout.** — It is an important matter which I am drawing to the attention of the Presidency simply to be helpful, Mr President.

It seems to me that the House has one of two choices. Either it can call on the Commission to adopt this new

**Prout**

document as a new proposal or it can call on the Council to say that this document is an amended Commission proposal under Article 149 of the Treaty. Now if we cannot persuade either the Commission or the Council to do these things, then the Colleselli report will have to be based on the Commission proposal of October 1981. It is a difficulty, Mr President, which I think you ought to advert to, because there is a danger if the consultation procedure is not properly followed that the ultimate Council regulation will be invalid.

I would like to repeat that my group substantially supports the Colleselli report. I myself intend to vote for it. So it is not in any way intended to be an obstruction. It is simply intended to draw the attention of the Presidency to a point which is of considerable constitutional significance.

**President.** — I shall look into the matter. First of all I should like to say, however, that we can of course discuss and vote on only what is before the House. At any rate, I should prefer to avoid a lengthy debate on the agenda at this juncture. Furthermore, you have made no request but simply referred to something in connection with the proceedings.

I call Mr Delatte.

**Mr Delatte.** — (FR) Mr President, I am amazed at what Mr Prout said with regard to the Colleselli report, because at the last part-session this report was deferred until the current part-session on account of the fact that there were new Commission proposals. The report before us today complies entirely with the Rules of Procedure since the Committee on Agriculture, after coming together, made its amendments on the basis of the Commission's new proposals. I do not think as a result that there is any reason why we should not discuss and then vote on this report.

**President.** — As I said before, I shall look into Mr Prout's comments on the proceedings.

I call Mr Pranchère.

**Mr Pranchère.** — (FR) Mr President, it is clear that the Council of Ministers wants an urgent parliamentary debate on the Colleselli report. All the conditions can be met today since it is possible to consult all the committees at the same time and to get the assurances we want from these committees. All the conditions can be met, as I said, for this debate to get under way. Whatever the attitude of various people on the substance of the matter, I do not think that any procedural ploy should be used to defer the debate. Really, Mr President, the credibility of this Parliament is at stake. If this report is not debated, what is going to become of us?

**President.** — There seems to be some misunderstanding. Mr Prout has made no request. I shall consider his comments and give him an answer in due time. I can only state that urgent procedure was adopted and that the second Colleselli report is listed as Item 146 on the agenda.

I call Mr Adamou.

**Mr Adamou.** — (GR) Mr President, this is both a personal and a procedural matter. I found just now in my pigeonhole an official text of the European Parliament — Directorate-General for Research and Documentation, Doc. No 79.557 of 22 June 1982 — on page 3 of which terms are used which are unacceptable for my party and, of course, for us who represent it in this House.

We have already protested on another occasion about the same matter. The then President, Mrs Veil, said that steps would be taken to ensure that such occurrences were not repeated . . . We really believed in the sincerity of those statements and for a considerable time no such cases were recorded. Now, under the Presidency of Mr Dankert, the same thing is happening again. We demand that an investigation be made and that steps be taken to deal with those responsible.

To turn to a second question, in the same text it is stated that the Greek Government has changed its attitude towards the EEC. We would simply like to know whether such a position has been officially adopted by the Greek Government.

**President.** — We now move on to continue the joint debate on the preliminary draft budget.

I call Mr Fich.

**Mr Fich.** — (DA) Mr President, I should like to begin with a few words on the Barbarella Report on the 1982 preliminary draft supplementary budget. The report as submitted by the Commission is very largely in accordance with the wishes of the Socialist Group. What it amounts to in part is the transfer of close on DKR 500 million from compulsory to non-compulsory expenditure, which is a good reflection of the fact that it has once again been possible to make savings in the common agricultural policy, the proposal being to utilize these resources for the main part in the interests of the Social Fund and development policy. Both these ideas are in accordance with the wishes of the Socialist Group, and I can therefore state that we are very largely in agreement with the Commission's proposal.

I should like to add that, in this debate, we are giving priority to the supplementary budget for 1982 because we believe this to be much more important at the present time than the 1983 budget. One consequence of the passing of the 1982 supplementary budget will be

Fich

that, at the rate of growth at Parliament's disposal, we shall start with DKR 500 million more, and Parliament will effectively have much more room for manoeuvre, provided the 1982 supplementary budget is passed. That is why I believe this to be an extremely important matter.

I should like to call on the Council to do everything in its power to ensure that this supplementary budget gets passed as quickly as possible. We hope the Council will accept the supplementary budget as proposed by the Commission and, in the circumstances, we shall also accept the budget as proposed. Should the Council decide to make any changes, it goes without saying of course that my Group will be coming back with a proposed amendment to the supplementary budget. We hope, though, that we can reach a conclusion at the next part-session in Strasbourg in September so that the resources in question can be put to effective use.

I should now like to move on to say a few words on the 1983 budget. Allow me to repeat that, as far as the Socialist Group is concerned, there are two priority areas: the fight against unemployment and world hunger. We have already discussed the question of world hunger, and so I should like to concentrate on the fight against unemployment.

I must emphasize that we should not overestimate the contribution the Community budget can make to this fight. Let us not forget that the decisive factors in the fight against unemployment are such issues as reduced working time, interest rates policy and public and private investment. What we can do via the Community budget can be no more than something to supplement the right kind of economic policy. Let us not delude ourselves into thinking that the Community budget will enable us on its own to do away with unemployment.

The Socialist Group has a very clear idea of how the resources set aside in the budget for the fight against unemployment should best be used. We feel that one condition should be that the Member States should make an effort at national level. Thus it was that, when it came to drawing up the budget guidelines, we introduced a proposal that those Member States making available national resources in the fight against unemployment should have a right to assistance from Community resources — something which we believe to be an essential criterion.

As regards the Commission's proposed budget for 1983, we are far from satisfied. We simply cannot see why the Commission bothered to refer to the mandate of 30 May at all. As far as we are aware, nothing whatsoever has come of all that has been said about the mandate of 30 May, and we are very much afraid that the whole thing will get even worse at the hands of the Council.

**President.** — I call Mr Schön.

**Mr Konrad Schön.** — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, Harry Notenboom having stated our position on the two other subjects covered by this debate, I shall now make a few comments on behalf of my Group on the Barbarella Report and the supplementary and amending budget for 1982.

My Group welcomes the fact that, in the light of past experience, the Commission has presented the supplementary and amending budget in good time, but we also hope that the budget will not be modified again towards the end of the year, because funds saved or still available would then again have to be employed at such short notice that they could not all be spent. This is an old criticism raised not only by the Committee on Budgets but also by the Committee on Budgetary Control.

I think it is politically important that, in contrast to last year, the savings made as a result of improved market management — and, of course, resulting from the movement in the dollar exchange rate and in world market prices for agricultural products — should not be retained by the Member States but used as genuine own resources of European Community for other policies. The Commission has the full support of our Group in this matter and, I hope, of the majority of this House, which has repeatedly stated that the financial autonomy of the European Community should not be tampered with or weakened by technical budgetary measures, as in the last supplementary budget.

The Commission has again laid down priorities with which Parliament is in complete agreement. Most of the money is to go to the Social Fund, but some will also be used to finance reorganization of services. This also we fully support.

But — to repeat what the previous speaker said — we must not be deluded into believing that the modest budget of the European Community, which is no larger than that of North Rhine-Westphalia, is enough to combat unemployment in Europe or create new jobs, even though the Community budget evidently has a different role from national budgets.

In answer to the call made just now for national governments to do more, I would reply that they are already doing a great deal. But I doubt whether the regulative policy frameworks for such measures are sufficiently harmonized. Some believe that the solution is to pump in public funds, while others hold the view that the investment climate for the whole economy must be improved, because there is little incentive for investment in our countries.

This naturally has its effect on the Community's attempts to finance effective measures to combat unemployment from the Community budget.



**President.** — I call Mr Newton Dunn.

**Mr Newton Dunn.** — Mr President, the high and rising unemployment from which our citizens in the Community are suffering is the most important problem we face, not only because of the misery it creates in its victims but because without new jobs we cannot create the wealth to solve other problems such as fighting hunger in the world.

The problem is too important to enjoy the luxury of a party dog-fight, and I should like to point out that the key vote in the Committee on Budgets to increase the size of the Social Fund so dramatically was carried because of a coalition of British Conservative and British Labour Members.

The problem of unemployment is also too important for the Council of Ministers to enjoy its traditional luxury of accusing the Parliament of overspending. Mr Tugendhat pointed out yesterday during the debate that the European Parliament's wishes to increase the size of the Social Fund were naturally limited by the rules governing increases in the maximum rate, but the key point is that if the Council of Ministers can show the political will to fight this European problem on a European scale, then we can increase it as far as is necessary.

Mr President, with all your wide-ranging education in the past and your experience, you will know the story from Greek mythology about Hercules and the many-headed monster called the Hydra. What we want to see the Council of Ministers decide now — and this depends on what they decide — is whether we are to see this problem of unemployment being combated by a ten-headed Hydra, each head with a national finance minister on it, or by the Community as a latter-day Hercules fighting it with united strength. The latter is what we want to see.

I have a question for the Commissioner which I would like him to answer. If the political will exists in the Council to go along with the Parliament's wishes to increase the Social Fund to 2 500 million ECU, can you, Mr Commissioner, spend that money? Will you assure us that you can, please?

**President.** — I call Mr Irmer.

**Mr Irmer.** — (DE) Mr President, Mr Adonnino's report is a true masterpiece because it pinpoints quite clearly the difficulties in the Joint Declaration and shows why the Declaration should not be adopted.

Mr Price and Mr Pfennig have tabled amendments containing a legal reservation. One of Mr Pfennig's amendments states that Parliament must continue to consider the budget to be a sufficient legal basis for expenditure. That is right, and we can and must vote

for it, but I wonder what importance such a unilateral legal reservation can have in an agreement concluded by three institutions.

I hope that our interpretation will be accepted if the Adonnino Report is approved, but I have my doubts as to whether it would also be considered definitive by the European Court of Justice if there were differences of opinion over it.

The members of the Committee on Energy and Research as well as those of the Transport Committee should consider the significance of their action if they accept the Agreement. They would thereby expose only their own existing policy to the risk of the Council unilaterally blocking a measure and thus precluding further progress. The paragraph on the legal basis states that the budget is a sufficient legal basis, but that if the Commission has submitted its proposal for a regulation and no action is taken by the middle of the year, it would then have to propose fund transfers.

If the Council employs blocking tactics by failing to act, the policy which we have laid down will not be implemented in the way we intended, and the money will have to be transferred to another heading. This is precisely what we in the Committee on Budgetary Control and in this House have been fighting against for years.

It is simply incredible, ladies and gentlemen, that a parliament can castrate itself in this way! I say this in all earnestness. If we ratify the Declaration, we will have to justify ourselves to our electors in 1984, since by ratifying this agreement Parliament will have fewer rights at the end of its first term as a directly-elected Parliament than in 1979.

There are those who say that the Court of Justice would clip our wings if the legal action were pursued. But that is something totally different. If we made a mistake last year and the Court of Justice finds against us, then it will at least be a third, independent authority and not we ourselves that clips our wings!

Let us not surrender our birthright for a song. That is what we are about to do. It would be a dark day for our Parliament if the Joint Declaration were ratified. I ask you all not to ratify it.

**President.** — I call Mr Bonde.

**Mr Bonde.** — (DA) Mr President, there is not really a great deal I have to say in view of the fact the Mr Irmer has made a totally admirable job of saying precisely the opposite of what I think.

No support will be forthcoming from the *Folkebevægelsen* for the joint declaration as signed, but it does at least give us an opportunity to show that a Danish

**Bonde**

Foreign Minister has his own contrary views — or at least did so a week ago — for, in the course of his meeting with the European Parliament in Luxembourg on 22 June, the Danish Foreign Minister said:

It is, in our opinion, a principle common to all Community cooperation that there must be legislation before funds can be voted, and not the other way round.

In this respect, the *Folkebevægelsen* is in entire agreement with the Danish Foreign Minister, who then went on to say:

I should like to take this opportunity to tell our friends from the European Parliament that there is a point here which the Danish Government cannot accept. To make sure that there is no possible misunderstanding, I should like to say quite bluntly to our friends from the European Parliament that we cannot accept the principle of legislation being passed on the budget.

Here I stand four-square with the Danish Foreign Minister, who then went on:

The Danish Government can under no circumstances accept the idea that funds first be voted, with a legal basis being created only subsequently, and it seems to me that this something which needs to be said with all due clarity.

Again, I am in entire agreement with the Danish Foreign Minister, but our problem is that the expression 'under no circumstances' no longer means what 'under no circumstances' used to mean, because Mr Olesen came under pressure from Mr Tindemans and, at the stroke of twelve on 30 June, appended the final, Danish, signature to this document, which the Danish Foreign Minister was going to have under no circumstances. Denmark stood alone on this issue. The government did not dare start the Danish Presidency by maintaining the traditional Danish stance, and we now have a joint declaration by the three institutions which — and this is the serious part — has placed the *Folketing's* power over the purse strings on a slippery slope.

For one thing, we now have a new Community institution consisting of the Presidents of Parliament, the Council and the Commission, an institution which is subject to the control neither of the *Folketing's* Committee on Markets nor the Danish Government. The formulation of this joint declaration is a prime example of how a pro-Union President-in-Office of the Council can bamboozle other Member States and force a foreign minister into a corner.

For another thing, we are now endorsing a situation in which the Commission is empowered to spend money without any legal authority in certain cases. That is quite simply illegal and, in terms of Danish law, would require the application of paragraph 20 of the Basic

Law every time Parliament used funds for a purpose other than those covered by the provisions of the Treaty of Rome.

Thirdly, we are thereby giving Parliament a right to initiate legislation on the same lines as the Commission by accepting the idea that Parliament can enter funds in the budget and thereby give rise, to a certain degree, to legislation. I find it difficult to see how this provision accords with Article 4 of the Treaty of Rome.

Fourthly, Parliament is acquiring some quite considerable economic room for manoeuvre, but the fact is that all the power Parliament is now acquiring is being taken away from the national parliaments, and for that reason, I cannot support the joint declaration.

**President.** — I call Mr Pesmazoglou.

**Mr Pesmazoglou.** — Mr President, I am speaking in English in order to convey directly to our colleagues immediately responsible for this important subject a few reflections in my own name and that of the Committee on External Economic Relations.

I fully agree with the remarks made by Mr Robert Jackson and by other colleagues, emphasizing the importance of our fight against unemployment. But my main comment would be that those measures, although not insignificant, the increase in the Social Fund, although not insignificant, is completely inadequate to get at the roots of the problem of unemployment.

Unemployment can be faced only by a comprehensive and forceful growth policy on the part of the Community as a whole. No other effort will produce the necessary results. I therefore wish to draw the attention of this House and of our rapporteur, as well as of the Vice-President of the Commission, Mr Tugendhat, to an adverse — I would say even perverse — development. Compared with previous years, the general budget for 1983, according to present estimates, represents only 0.77% and therefore shows a decline. This movement is, I think, in entirely the wrong direction as regards the steps necessary to meet unemployment. What we need is a comprehensive action, especially, I would say, a lending policy on a much larger scale than that which has been proposed by the Commission.

Having said that, Mr President, I wish to make a very few remarks on behalf of the Committee on External Economic Relations. The committee believes that the Commission should engage in an action to protect our commercial rights on a world scale, and this requires a strengthening of those departments in the Commission which have the corresponding responsibility. The amount of expenditure which is required for those

**Pesmazoglou**

activities is very modest when compared with the significant results which could be achieved by such an action. I therefore wish to draw the attention both of the Commission and of the Council of Ministers to the importance which the Committee on External Economic Relations attaches to the budgetary provisions necessary in order to enable the Commission to engage in an action capable of promoting our interests.

**Mr Saby.** — (*FR*) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I should first like to make a comment on the Jackson Report and then deal with the problem of the Joint Declaration.

As regards the Jackson Report, we must avoid shrouding the reality of the European institutions in a cloak of hypocrisy. It would be self-delusion to believe that we are seeking to lay responsibility on the Commission or Council because we are dragging our feet on urgent political questions relating to the economic crisis and unemployment. Our position must be made quite clear.

No new, real and concrete policies can be created without exceeding the 1% ceiling. The way to create new policies is not by undermining an existing policy which has produced good results—even if the agricultural policy does need improvement — nor by cutting back on that policy. That is the wrong approach. We must oppose such an approach and insist that if there are to be new policies the Member States, in the Council of Ministers, themselves undertake to carry out and promote such policies.

Furthermore, we cannot on the one hand talk in a report of the need for measures to aid economic recovery when, on the other hand, the bodies which have the power of decision oppose such measures and seek at all costs to impose ceilings, for example in the fields of research and energy policy.

As regards the Joint Declaration Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, everyone has been calling for the past seven years for the freeing of the budgetary mechanisms which are blocking progress and preventing a proper response to the situation. In spite of ignorance and relations between the Council, Parliament and Commission, we have now reached stage, of freeing those mechanisms.

That is the aim of the Adonnino Report.

We have not, of course, got everything we wanted. But who would have expected us to?

We must be realistic. And on this matter, Community machinery has been jammed for seven years.

Faced with this situation, we can adopt one of two attitudes. The first, which I will call the primary atti-

tude, is to kick the machine to get it started. This attitude is reflected in the empty words one hears here and there, and sometimes even in Parliament. Phrases such as 'we must simply do this, we must do that, etc.'

But there is another more sensible and more realistic attitude which consists of applying a drop of oil in the right place to free the mechanism.

This is what we have done with the Adonnino Report and the Joint Declaration. What we have been urging for seven years, is now a reality. The results are not tremendous but they are results. A lot of drops of oil are obviously still needed to loosen up the machine even more, but to paraphrase La Fontaine, patience and time are more effective than brute force or anger.

With the Adonnino Report, we have once again proved the truth of this adage, and this is not only a political success but also a step, not a very big one but nevertheless a step, by the institutions and Europe towards solving this problem.

I am therefore convinced that all true Europeans will not hesitate for one moment in voting for the Adonnino Report and the Joint Declaration this evening.

**President.** — I call Mr Langes.

**Mr Langes.** — (*DE*) Mr President, no one in this House is totally enthusiastic about the Three Presidents' Agreement. Surely, Mr Saby, it is somewhat simplistic to describe the Agreement as a drop of oil setting the mechanism in motion and, Mr Irmer, to say that by voting for the Agreement we are giving up what we have been striving for since 1979.

I believe that the truth lies somewhere in between. I think that we must at least acknowledge the fact that an attempt has been made to reach agreement on a number of points between the Council, Commission and Parliament. As a parliament, we have freedom of action and can rescind this Agreement at any time. We can also always go to court, Mr Irmer, over a basic regulation not issued by the Council, as we have already done in the transport sector.

We have ensured — and this is an improvement — that the Council cannot use money from the energy sector for other purposes, such as regional policy, but must spend it in areas covered by the same chapter. This is a very small step in the right direction, but having to work with this very laborious budgetary procedure we in Europe have become used to the fact that we must take small steps. One aspect of this is that we have, on the one hand, a large institutional debate to show us the path we wish to follow and, on the other hand, the laborious small steps along that path.

The great majority of my Group will vote for this Agreement, which we will examine this year. We hope

## Langes

that we have not made a mistake. We would just like to say to the very few Council representatives present here today that we hope that very soon it will be apparent that ceilings and other amounts of expenditure are no longer laid down by the Council.

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

**Mr Tugendhat, Vice-President of the Commission.** — Mr President, I have listened to this debate which has now been going on for quite some time yesterday and today, and really I have nothing to add to what I said yesterday in terms of my own statement. But a number of points have arisen during this debate, some of which call directly for an answer and some of them at least implicitly do so.

The most explicit question came from Mr Newton Dunn so I perhaps can deal with that first. It related, of course, to the budget for 1983. He said if the Social Fund was increased to the full extent that has been requested in Parliament, could the money be spent? The short answer to that is yes, it could. The longer answer is that whether it would be spent in the best or right way is extremely questionable because it could only be spent on the instruments which we actually have. Those instruments might, I think you would find, lead to an increase in the Social Fund in parts of the Community which would appear at first sight to be less in need than in those parts of the Community where there is the greatest need. It would be wrong of the Parliament to think — as I have pointed out before — that one can solve problems merely by increasing the amount of money on particular budget lines. There is also a need in the case of the Funds, if one is to increase them significantly, to bring about a change in the pattern of some of the lines. But anyway, the short answer is yes it could be spent, the longer answer is I am not at all sure that it would be spent in the most desirable way.

Mr President, most of the speeches today, unlike yesterday, have been concerned with the Three Presidents' Agreement. Now, there is a tradition in the British Parliament that when somebody speaks on a subject in which he has a personal stake of some sort or another, he states an interest, and I, of course, must state an interest in the Three Presidents' Agreement, because I played a very active part in the negotiation of it. I believe it is a good agreement. I believe it is an agreement in the interests of the Community as a whole as well as being an agreement in the interests of the three institutions. So I make that quite clear at the outset.

I think it would be very unwise of Parliament, if I may say so — and I said exactly the same to the Council in a different context — to cast doubt on this agreement that has been signed by the three presidents. As I said in my first speech, it does not do everything that every-

body wanted. It does not do everything that the Council wanted, and one only has to think of some of the statements made, notably by the German and Danish delegations, to see the extent to which it fell short of some of the things which some Members of the Council wanted. It does not do everything that the Parliament wanted either. But compared with the situation in which we have been up until now, I do believe that it does a great deal.

Let me draw the attention of the House to what I think it does. In the first place it brings about a solution to the outstanding disputes on classification, and that is in itself desirable. Of course if no agreement was reached between the three presidents or if one or other institution overturned the agreement, the matter of classification could be settled in the Court. All of us have said that we do not want things settled in the Court, but it could be settled in the Court. However, that is the only aspect of the agreement that could be settled in the Court. The other aspects of the agreement represent a significant degree of progress. In particular the agreement sets in place, for the first time, an obligation on the two arms of the budgetary authority to seek to reconcile their differences in the event of disagreement and it sets in place a machinery for reconciling those differences.

Now I have to say, Mr President, on the basis of my now really quite long experience of budgetary matters, that until now there have been a number of important delegations in the Council who have never accepted that they are under any obligation to seek an agreement at all; who have never accepted that important point. This agreement enshrines the obligation to seek to reconcile differences and it establishes a machinery for doing so. That, I think, is an extremely important development for the Community as a whole. It will make disputes less likely in the future, and if disputes do occur which cannot be reconciled, then the party which fails to observe the procedures will be placing itself at a considerable disadvantage in any subsequent court action. All the experience of the past is that it is not Parliament that turns its back on reconciliation. It tends much more often — I am sorry to say — to be the other institution.

We all regard this agreement as establishing a new basis and a new departure. It has been drawn up in the light of the circumstances which at present prevail. But it does not, obviously, limit the freedom of aspiration, if I might put it that way, of any of the institutions for the future.

The Commission's view is that we accept the agreement as it stands and we will implement it as it stands. We do not believe — I have said this in the Council and I say it in Parliament — that it is a helpful, useful or desirable thing to add glosses or nuances to the agreement which the three presidents have signed. Everybody knows the spirit in which they entered into it; everybody is determined that it should work. Let us

### Tugendhat

see how it works before making pre-judgements on the basis of theories and ideas which many or may not be proved to be correct.

So, Mr President, as one of the parties to the agreement — and my services, led particularly by the Director-General, Mr Sraßer who was very active in this — we believe that this agreement is in the interests of the Community as a whole, that it is in the interests of the three institutions. We believe that the best thing the three institutions can now do is to give it a chance to work properly, to make it work properly and not at the outset to burden it with interpretations of one sort or another, with glosses and nuances of one sort or another. I have said that in the Council. I say it here. I commend the agreement to the House.

**President.** — The joint debate is closed. The motions for resolutions will be put to the vote at the next voting time.

### 9. Welcome

**President.** — I have great pleasure in welcoming to the official gallery the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Justice of Bavaria, Mr Karl Hillermeier, who is here in his capacity as the Bavarian Government's representative on European affairs, together with a group of senior civil servants and representatives of the press from Bavaria. We hope that they will have a pleasant and productive visit.

(Applause)

### 10. Symbolic empty seat in Parliament

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-1083/81), drawn up by Mr Fergusson on behalf of the Political Affairs Committee, on a symbolic empty seat in the European Parliament.

I call the rapporteur.

**Mr Fergusson, rapporteur.** — Mr President, it is a great pleasure for me at last to be able to present to the Parliament the report that I was asked to draw up on a resolution tabled quite some time ago by some of the most distinguished members of the European People's Party, representing half a dozen of the countries of the European Community. It calls simply for the establishment in this Chamber of one permanently and symbolically empty seat to indicate the open nature of the European Community. Those who have been kind enough to read my report will see that in the Political Affairs Committee the original conception has been

somewhat modified. It now incorporates the marking of the 25th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Rome, an anniversary which fell this year, and the establishment of an annual debate on the state of Europe, specifically on Europe's politically divided state which is a matter of regret to us all.

The report, the resolution, retains the notion of the symbolic empty chair for reasons which I shall come to and which are outlined in the draft resolution. But it no longer suggests that the chair should necessarily figure except during the debate itself. And it leaves the question of what furniture to use and where to deploy it to the direct discretion of the Bureau.

I must say something about the use of an empty chair as a symbol. Like any symbol, it could of course be taken less than seriously. Heaven knows that this Chamber is normally characterized by an inordinate number of symbolically occupied chairs whose owners are elsewhere. When I look at the benches opposite, my remarks are fully underlined, fully emphasized.

No doubt the joke about empty chairs will be made again and again and again, in this debate possibly, and afterwards. Let it be. It is easy for clever people to ridicule something with a serious purpose, or which embodies a noble thought. Clever people would not find it hard to ridicule anything from a national flag to the tomb of an unknown warrior. But neither becomes the less dignified for that or any less the focus for popular imagination, in this case in an institution singularly short of features to stir the public imagination.

We should of course, be wary of symbols, but I think a symbol is valid and valuable if it recalls and if it stands for something that we should not forget. For an empty chair to feature in a debate about the state of Europe, about the Community which does not yet include all of free Europe and about the continued enslavement of so many European countries in the East, this is not intended as a provocation. Rather it will stand as an invitation to Europeans, to European nations who are free to join Europe if they wish to and as an aspiration that other Europeans may one day equally be free to make that choice.

Having said that, I would like to draw the attention of the House to the explanatory statement which accompanies the resolution. It touches on the chair but, I believe, much more importantly, concentrates on the democratic nature of the Community, examining in great detail what criteria entitle a state to apply and be accepted for Community membership, and the criteria which, equally would prevent a state from joining us. To assemble these criteria, I have drawn on the small but growing number of statements and declarations made by Community bodies in the past — Parliament itself, the European Council, the Council of Ministers and the Commission. As the Community grows larger it is necessary to be quite clear which countries geo-

### Fergusson

graphically and politically are entitled to aspire to full membership one day.

Geographically it is already so that territories which cannot possibly claim to be part of Europe are already incorporated in this unity. But apart from where Europe marches with Asia, the geographical bounds are not too big.

Politically, it is evident that for a county to lie in the European Continent and to call itself a democratic republic is far from enough unless the fundamental freedoms the Community stands for are honoured. We believe in more than the trappings of democracy. I hope that the compilation of the explanatory statement, which unfortunately cannot be incorporated in the resolution as such, will be nevertheless a useful contribution to the *acquis communautaire* and to its being better understood.

Now so far as the annual debate goes this fine and useful suggestion that came from the Socialists on the other side of the House we presumably do not want to have every year a series of set debates for their own sake. Obviously, at the wish of the groups and at the discretion of the Bureau, it would be suitable every 12 months or so to examine the state of Europe in the context of the Final Act of Helsinki, or whatever. But equally, since the problems of Europe are perennial and the matter of European relations will come up repeatedly, it will sometimes be enough for the Bureau to designate a particular, inevitable debate as — for want of a better name — the ‘empty chair debate’. It would be a mistake, I think, to put the House into a strait jacket when our debating time is always so short.

With that I leave it for the moment. I am eager to hear the opinion of the House on this matter and I commend the report to the Chamber.

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

**Mr Habsburg.** — (DE) Mr President, too many people who have no personal experience of totalitarianism simply cannot gauge the importance, in states where independent information sources and access to such sources are suppressed, of symbolic gestures showing that one is not forgotten. What prisoners — that is what people under foreign domination are — find worst to bear is the feeling that they have been written off. We do not have many means of demonstrating our solidarity with those Europeans separated from us, not least because there are only too many people in this world ready to bow to totalitarian regimes and conclude profitable business deals with them. History shows that this can only lead to disaster in the long run. Unfortunately, people generally refuse to learn from history. But one thing is certain: radio news broadcasts enable information to get through the

barbed wire and minefields which divide Europe. Gestures such as the annual debate with a symbolic empty seat have far greater significance than our well-fed and prosperous citizens can imagine. But we must nevertheless continue to emphasize that our Community is not Europe but the starting point for the Europe of tomorrow or, in the words of Coudenhove-Kalergi, the Piedmont of Europe. We do not want a Community with closed membership but we want to keep it open until it has become the home of all Europeans.

In the Second World War, the *V for Victory* broadcast constantly by the BBC was a source of hope which penetrated even as far as the concentration camps. The same can be true of the symbolic gesture we wish to make with the debate and the empty seat. This gesture will be seen even in the labour camps. Politics is made up not only of statistics, duties and however perfect a social security system but also has a spiritual dimension and a higher responsibility to those who do not yet enjoy our freedom and prosperity. Whether we like it or not, we are our brother's keepers and we have a Christian duty which a Christian continent such as Europe cannot deny.

**President.** — The debate is closed. The motion for a resolution will be put to the vote at the next voting time.

### 11. European judicial area

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-318/82), drawn up by Mr Tyrrell on behalf of the Legal Affairs Committee, on the European judicial area.

I call the rapporteur.

**Mr Tyrrell, rapporteur.** — Mr President, the cities of Bologna, Birmingham, Antwerp, Munich, Paris and Belfast and many others have all suffered indiscriminate murders and maiming by terrorist attacks carried out at random on innocent members of the public in recent years. Now those responsible are difficult to detect; when detected, they are difficult to capture; when captured, it is sometimes impossible to bring them to trial. Part of the difficulty is due to the ease with which the terrorist can flee for sanctuary from one Member State to another. Once there, he can take advantage of inadequate cooperation between police forces who are sometimes bound by national rules hindering such cooperation, and he can also take advantage of national rules which prevent the host Member State from extraditing him to the Member State where the crime was committed.

All Member States are members of the Council of Europe. Over 25 years, the Council has pioneered a network of conventions designed to punish the guilty

### Tyrrell

whilst safeguarding the position of the innocent. In particular, one thinks of the conventions on extradition and on the suppression of terrorism. But these have proved inadequate. Not all Member States have signed or ratified them, or they have ratified with reservations. The biggest stumbling-block has been the idea that a terrorist who has a political motive should not be extradited.

In 1978, the Community Heads of Government decided that 'high priority must be given to intensifying cooperation among the Nine, to defend our societies against terrorist violence'. The special quality of the relationship between the Ten was thus recognized. All are democracies. All have laws approved by elected representatives and administered by independent judges following procedures which are designed to be fair. All have bestowed rights of entry on nationals of other Member States.

Despite considerable efforts, particularly under the Irish and Italian presidencies, nothing has been achieved. The Ministers meeting in political cooperation have failed to reach agreement. They gave up. The Council of Justice Ministers stopped meeting in May 1980 until they met briefly and informally last month. So we are entitled to ask, what sort of Community is it where terrorists can find sanctuary by crossing an internal border? Until this problem is solved, personal border controls, which most of us hate, are inevitable; and until it is solved, we are failing in our basic duty to do all that is possible to protect the lives and health of those we represent.

The Legal Affairs Committee would like to see all Member States ratify the European Conventions without reservations. But since this has not happened, the Legal Affairs Committee would like to see voluntary agreements between Member States that achieve the same end. But since that has not happened, the Legal Affairs Committee thinks Parliament itself should act. It should act by calling upon the Commission to produce proposals for a directive. The Commission has advantages that the Council of Justice Ministers lacks: it has a permanent secretariat; it can provide continuity and determination of purpose.

The question at once arose in the Legal Affairs Committee whether there was a legal basis. That question was answered to their satisfaction in the affirmative, and the argument is set out in the working-paper annexed to the report.

The question then arose, what happens to the right of political asylum. The Legal Affairs Committee faced up to that. It is abolished within the Member States. If a Community citizen wants political asylum, he can go to another State outside the Community, and similarly a Member State may, of course, offer political asylum to a citizen who is not from the Community. But within the Community there is no place for that.

There are other consequences which are set out in the report and which time prevents me from going into here.

I conclude by saying that I hope this Parliament will act decisively this week; I hope the Commission will take the opportunity to justify its existence to those in the Community who think it has no other reason for existence, and I hope the Council of Ministers will be emboldened and embarrassed by a proposal brought forward by the Commission, at the instigation of the European Parliament, to take the action which the Parliament commends to it.

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

**Mrs Van den Heuvel.** — (NL) Mr President, it goes without saying that the Socialist Group shares the rapporteur's concern with regard to the acts of violence which are taking place in our Member States and in other countries and all the innocent victims of that violence. Those responsible for such criminal acts must be subject to legislation in keeping with the legal provisions currently in force in our countries.

At the same time, though, we are absolutely convinced that the rule of law can only be upheld in our countries if we are seen to be acting in accordance with the principles of legal protection currently in force in our countries. We take the view that the proposals put forward by Mr Tyrrell on behalf of the Legal Affairs Committee do not do full justice to this essential criterion. In particular, there is a danger of pressure being brought to bear on the right of asylum, which we regard as a fundamental right enjoyed by all our citizens. This was true of the Dublin Agreement, and is even more true of the proposals before us now.

Everything seems to be so easy. On the surface, there is general agreement in all our countries about the need to combat terrorism. But the problems involved in defining this concept in clear terms are evident from the various amendments tabled to Mr Tyrrell's motion for a resolution and seeking to define the term more clearly. Nor has the Council of Europe so far managed to deal with this problem in a satisfactory manner, although this is hardly surprising given that it is difficult to draw a distinction between a liberation struggle and terrorism. All too often, which side of the fence you come down on depends on whether you approve or disapprove politically of the cause. After all, is it not a fact that various people and organizations which are now perfectly respectable are viewed by history as individual or collective terrorists? Let me just give you an example of what I mean from my own country, the Netherlands. The present Queen of the Netherlands is a direct descendant of William of Orange, a very controversial figure regarded by history as a terrorist.

And let us not forget that there are great differences in the jurisprudence of the various Member States. For

**Van den Heuvel**

instance, if Mr Tyrrell's resolution were to be adopted, it would no longer be possible to pursue a flexible seposition policy — we would always have to either extradite a suspect or prosecute him ourselves. Many acknowledged legal experts have cast doubt on whether the Treaties offer sufficient legal basis for the present proposals. Allow me to point out that, at the beginning, the whole idea of a European judicial area was regarded as an adjunct of political cooperation.

The Commission was not involved in the preparatory phase, nor was the European Parliament given any say. All this is evident from answers given to written questions on 30 July 1979, when the Council stated that adoption of the instruments in question did not form part of Parliament's powers.

As a legal layman, I would not presume to pass judgement, but as a politician, I should like to say that it would make more sense to make progress towards a European judicial area along the path where the Community has most of its powers, i.e. economic policy. With regard to economic transgressions, we could, for instance, give some thought to coordinating the policies pursued by the Member States and supplementing Community legislation. The European Parliament has already come out in favour of this kind of thing, but so far nothing really tangible has come out of it.

Mr President, it is a mystery to me how the Legal Affairs Committee, with so many acknowledged legal experts, could have given its blessing to paragraph 11 of the motion for a resolution, which calls so verbosely on the Member States' governments to facilitate the arrest and punishment of criminals. This is of course quite contrary to the idea of independent jurisprudence, and can surely not have been meant seriously. A majority of my Group takes the view that, in the light of these considerations, this motion for a resolution should be rejected. The Council of Europe can continue its investigation of this complex issue, but we feel that the time is not ripe for any initiative to be taken at Community level.

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

**Mr Janssen van Raay.** — (NL) Thank you, Mr President. The Christian-Democratic Group will be giving its support to the Tyrrell Report, and we wish Mr Tyrrell luck with his highly original approach to this whole issue of the prevention of terrorism; after all, before he started his work, very few people had given any thought to using European legal mechanisms in the fight against terrorism. I am quite sure we are all agreed on the fact that terrorism must be combated. Governments of Member States and third countries alike have tried time and time again to set up a system of practical cooperation which would be effective in the fight against terrorism, but so far they have met

with no success. The original aspect of Mr Tyrrell's report is that he has mapped out a route which is specifically European in nature, i.e. by inviting the Commission to draw up a directive.

I must admit — and I can sympathize with Mrs Van den Heuvel on this score — that, when I first came across this idea, I was extremely dubious, but the legal working document appended to Mr Tyrrell's report convinced me and my colleagues in the Christian-Democratic Group that it may indeed be possible, within the framework of European legislation, to find an instrument in the form of a directive which would facilitate the fight against terrorism.

Mrs Van den Heuvel was of course right in saying that we do not, at this moment, have an all-embracing definition of terrorism — I entirely agree with her on that. But the practical approach — and I should like to address this comment to the Commission — of concentrating on the subject by way of a directive is such that there is no need to come up with an all-embracing definition; what it boils down to is deciding in which cases there is no difference of opinion, i.e. where terrorism is quite manifest: murder and the hijacking of trains and aircraft, for instance. There will always be borderline cases.

I was of course pleased to hear Mrs Van den Heuvel refer to the ancestors of Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands. While admitting that, in the early stages of our struggle for liberation, Prince William of Orange, William the Silent, was regarded as a mendicant, a *geus* and a freedom-fighter, the important thing about this directive is that we can now reasonably assume that all the struggles for liberty within the European Community have now been fought, so that we can now assume that that phase in our history is over and reserve political asylum for refugees arriving in Europe from other countries where there is still an urgent need for the likes of Prince William of Orange.

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

**Lady Elles.** — Mr President, the concept of a common market implies that every European Community citizen expects to move freely throughout the Member States — including, I would add, those who are against the idea of a Community — with minimum or no immigration control and a minimum of customs control. But the fewer the controls on the internal frontiers of our countries, the more important it is that the appropriate governmental authorities cooperate closely to assure the peaceful and unhindered circulation of our citizens, implying consequently closer cooperation in the prevention and control of crime, cooperation concerning criminal proceedings and mutual recognition among Member States of sentences imposed by the national courts of Member States in relation to crime.



## Elles

This principle that I have just enunciated is, of course, the inevitable and ineluctable outcome of opening our frontiers to our fellow citizens. Freedom of circulation implies a guarantee of peaceful and free circulation for our peoples throughout the Community, and it is on this basis that I particularly welcome the report of Mr Tyrrell which has now come before this Parliament.

I do, of course, recognize the most valuable work that has been done by the Council of Europe in this field; indeed, if only the Member States had ratified the Convention on the suppression of terrorism, this debate would not have been necessary. In September 1979 this House passed a resolution urging Member States to get on with drawing up the Dublin Agreement and the ratification of that document in order that the Convention on the suppression of terrorism should take effect within the Member States; but as far as I can gather from the information I have and that contained in Mr Tyrrell's report, there has been no movement whatsoever in this field of international law. There have been discussions on the *espace judiciaire*, and that does not seem to have got us anywhere.

Although I myself do not consider that a directive coming from the Community is the right way to deal with this problem, because it will have very serious effects on the common-law system in my own country and that possibly of another country of the Community, well we do have differences as to the basic rules governing extradition. Nevertheless, I welcome the resolution because it serves as a stimulus to the Commission to get on with the job which they could have been doing for some time.

Thanks to the resolution passed in this Parliament in July 1981, the Commission now has the possibility, and indeed the duty, to attend the meetings of the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation. And if the Foreign Ministers themselves have so far failed to do anything, or in this particular instance the Ministers of Justice, will the Commission please take on board that they now have a duty to get on with it in the context of the agenda of the Ministers of Justice meeting in the political cooperation. They want our support in the work that we are doing in the Community. We are asking them for their support in this particular field. We even asked in that resolution of September 1979 that the Foreign Ministers should come back and report to us on progress. I am still waiting for that report. I do not know if anybody else in this House is waiting for that report. But we are waiting for a reply to the urgent need for a convention which is recognized throughout the Member States in the field of the suppression of terrorism. It is not necessary for me or anybody in this House to remind ourselves of the tragedies that have happened. I must confess I am slightly surprised that Mrs van den Heuvel should believe that there must be a distinction between terrorists and those who fight for freedom within our Community. I do not know of any part of the world which has more freedom under the law than

our ten Member States and I would have thought that was a *non sequitur* to the problems which are before us today.

So, Mr President, in conclusion, I support Mr Tyrrell. I hope the Commission will take action and I look forward in the very near future to the report from the Ministers of Justice in this Parliament telling us what they have done.

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

**Mr D'Angelosante.** — (IT) Mr President, the Italian Members of the Communist and Allies Group in this Parliament have on several occasions expressed their support for completing the fight against terrorism — using methods which are neither illegal nor unlawful — and we also include here the possibility of trying people who have left the country where they committed a crime. We therefore support what is in the Strasbourg and Copenhagen Conventions. As we all know, these conventions make it mandatory for any signatory state to extradite any citizen of another state who is accused of terrorism or, if there is no wish to extradite him, to try him.

In our opinion, this arrangement does not infringe any particular safeguard in law. It simply to some extent goes against the traditional and fair principle whereby there can be no extradition for political crimes but it goes against it only in part because, as we have seen, if any state does not want to hand over the accused it can try him itself.

If we look at the problem in this way, Mr President, I fail to see the point of the objections which have been raised. I mean, for example, Mrs van den Heuvel's objection to the effect that there could be some confusion between the ideas of terrorism and political violence. This is an objection which soon falls, if you consider that the judges in the country which has received the request for extradition can always say that, since there is no question of terrorism, they have no intention of applying the convention. And thus the argument is closed. The objections that are being raised here are not decisive, Mr President, and so as far as what is actually in the two conventions is concerned we feel it should be implemented and adhered to.

To this extent we approve of the Tyrrell report. In drawing up his report, however, Mr Tyrrell has gone much further than this and we cannot go along with him. In particular, he stressed the idea of doing away with the exclusion of extradition for all political crimes, whereas as we feel that this safeguard for political crimes should remain. Mr Tyrrell asks for directives to be issued and we are against this as well. We fail to see how states which do not sign conventions can then get together in the Council of Ministers to issue a directive.

**D'Angelosante**

By way of conclusion, let me say that we shall not be voting against the report if our Amendment No 9 to paragraph 6 of the Tyrrell motion for a resolution is adopted. If our amendment is rejected, we shall be voting against the report. Whether we abstain or vote in favour depends on whether the proposals on issuing directives go through or not.

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

**Mrs Veil.** — (FR) Mr President, having established an economic and trade area the Community, on the initiative of President Giscard d'Estaing, has since 1977 been considering the desirability of establishing a European judicial area.

In contrast to what often happens in the Community, it is certainly the most difficult and controversial aspect of the judicial area which is the subject of this resolution.

This question seems to me of special importance for a variety of reasons.

First, because of the very objective of the resolution, which is aimed at combating serious crime and especially terrorism. Terrorism is an organized threat aimed at undermining our democracies, and we have not only the right but the obligation to defend ourselves against it.

Secondly, the problem concerns personal liberties and fundamental principles to which we are deeply attached, such as the right of asylum, and we cannot therefore just ignore it.

Thirdly, as I was trying to say just now, to enter by this door, albeit the narrow door of the judicial area, is to open up to the Community a new field of activity which is rich in potential.

It should not be forgotten that the report was drawn up on the basis of three resolutions which were all drafted by members of the Socialist Group and which reflected totally opposing positions.

I draw attention to this fact not because I wish to indulge in polemics but to show the complexity of the problem and the personal and national sensitivities it may arouse.

Before getting to the heart of the matter, I will say a few words on responsibility. I find it dangerous in every respect that these very important questions relating to the judicial area should, as has been the case up to now, be dealt with exclusively within the framework of political cooperation. This is a concrete example of the consequences of expanding political cooperation in an area on the periphery of normal Community activities. For even if our Parliament, quite

legitimately, debates these questions and hears Council statements on them, the Council is not obliged to submit to us decisions which are not in the form of draft Community acts, directives or regulations, and this has been the case for all draft conventions drawn up in this field.

As a result, an increasing amount of major legislation is slipping away from democratic control.

As regards the substance of the question, the aim of the resolution is simple: it is to intensify the fight against crime, and particularly terrorism, in the ten Member States of the Community by calling on the Commission to take action by issuing Community directives embodying the ideas and provisions already mostly included in the draft conventions being discussed by governments.

Although these governments have for five years stated their willingness to improve cooperation in the fight against terrorism, it would appear that they are playing hide-and-seek before committing themselves: this government finds any additional measures pointless because we already have the Council of Europe convention; that government is waiting for the government of the neighbouring country to commit itself; and the neighbouring country does not want to sign until a more comprehensive agreement has been signed. We are therefore left with the status quo.

Our resolution will rekindle the debate at a time when the Council of Ministers has just decided that a 'Justice' Council will meet in the autumn to consider all these questions.

It is true that, on two important points, the resolution goes further than existing conventions or draft conventions, particularly Article 6 which considers that the concept of political motive or political offence in the context of the laws governing extradition should have no place within the external frontiers of the Community.

Are we to fear, like some, that by adopting this resolution we will be compromising individual liberties and acting in violation of the fundamental principle of the right of asylum our countries legitimately support?

One cannot start to talk about this subject without placing it in the Community context. In my view, there could be no question of accepting such a position if we were dealing simply with countries which form part not only of an economic Community where the free movement of persons is the rule, but also of a Community with common democratic values.

Our aim is to create a true European union and we want to see daily progress towards that objective. If This is our real hope, how can we entertain the idea that some countries have democratic systems different from those in other countries, and that certain demo-

## Veil

cratic systems are better than others? How can we accept the thought that all individual liberties are not respected in one or other of our countries, and that the right of asylum could have a different meaning for each of us? For that is my very idea of Europe, the respect and confidence I have in the political régimes and in the judicial systems referred to in Article 6 which I mentioned just now. But one should not just see the purely repressive aspect of this resolution, for we provide for the transfer of prisoners, and this can have many advantages for those concerned.

I should like to conclude by stressing that the Community is a community of men and women, created for them. Freedom of movement is the rule. We are trying to ensure that this freedom is not undermined in practice, in particular by introducing a common passport and effectively abolishing frontier checks.

We must therefore take appropriate action to protect our citizens and our countries themselves by helping to combat terrorism more effectively and pursue criminals and others who have every facility to pass freely from country to country.

We must also take appropriate action as regards civil law. It is not right that a ruling given in one of our countries cannot be applied in the other countries. It is absurd and intolerable that as regards maintenance payments or child minders we are living as if the Community did not exist.

Two days ago we adopted a plan for union; pending implementation of the plan, we must move forward. The justice ministers will be meeting shortly. Let us not stay out of a debate which is only just beginning and which will be an important step for the Community. We must be as united in our determination to survive and defend ourselves as in our will to live together.

(Applause)

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

**Mr Vandemeulebroucke.** — (NL) Mr President, I should like right at the outset to make it perfectly clear that I am entirely in agreement with the second paragraph of the motion for a resolution which 'expresses its abhorrence of all terrorist crimes'. This is a self-evident truth, and I number myself among those people who believe that the end can never justify the means. Having said that, Mr President, I must add that I do not think it would be a good thing if this report were to receive our approval. Allow me to elucidate this point somewhat.

When discussions were held on the establishment of a European judicial area, there was not universal agree-

ment. First and foremost, the Netherlands were against the idea of extending powers to more than a year for such things as transgressions against common law. France was also against, and I would also remind you that the creation of a judicial area incorporating extradition provisions would require an amendment to the Irish constitution.

There is also a second aspect, which is that I do not really see what legal basis there is for the specific demands made in the motion for a resolution.

For instance, paragraph 7 'calls on the Commission to make proposals for a directive providing for the suppression of terrorism . . .'. One really wonders on what basis the Commission could possibly draw up a directive. Paragraph 8 refers to the transfer of prisoners, but on the basis of what article of the Treaty?

I find it particularly hard to fathom out the last part of paragraph 12: the Conference of Justice Ministers meeting in political cooperation? I have never heard or read of ministers of justice meeting in political cooperation.

There appears to be a continuing reluctance to deal with the question of political motives and political aims. Allow me to remind you, ladies and gentlemen, of what was said by a number of speakers in the debate on the Irish hunger strike, especially the repeated accusation that the strikers or their families were guilty of terrorist activities. I do not believe that anyone in this House could possibly take that line today. It seems to me that the entire project as presented here is impracticable. How, for instance, can we possibly set up a European judicial area when two countries, Ireland and the United Kingdom, are so totally at loggerheads over the Northern Ireland question?

And let us not forget all the differences in jurisprudence and legal procedures within the Community. Just take the question of freedom of speech. The right to protection of one's privacy is interpreted very differently in the various Member States, and there are procedural differences as well as differences in the system of detention or custody. In Northern Ireland, there is the system of the Diplock Courts. Up to last year, the French had the *Cour de Sécurité de l'État*, and in Spain, Mr President, writing an article against the Spanish State can still get the writer into prison on the grounds that such articles are held to be apologies for terrorism.

I really wonder, Mr President, where all this will get us, given that the motion for a resolution gives no definition whatsoever of the concept of terrorism.

In conclusion, let me say that I believe in the creation of a judicial area, but only on the basis of a European Union in which the European Parliament can exert proper watchdog functions *vis-à-vis* its own government with respect to the practical application of the

**Vandemeulebroucke**

transfer of prisoners. For that reason, I shall be voting against this motion for a resolution.

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

**Mr Paisley.** — Mr President, when we debate extradition we are dealing with a matter which lies at the very heart of the terrorist problem in Northern Ireland. The very thing which this resolution so properly attacks as repugnant happens every day in relation to IRA terrorism in Northern Ireland. The terrorists who bomb and murder my people move freely and easily south across the border into the Irish Republic to enjoy the sanctuary which that State so benignly affords them and to plot and prepare their next murderous onslaught upon the people of Northern Ireland.

I therefore concur entirely with the sentiments expressed in the resolution when it says in paragraph 4 that it is repugnant to the concept of the free movement of persons and of the special quality of the relationship between the 10 Member States that terrorists should be able to evade detection or capture or trial and punishment by preparing their terrorist activity in one Member State, carrying it out in another and retreating across an internal Community frontier.

At present a person living in Northern Ireland who commits a terrorist crime in the Republic is extraditable, but a person living in the Republic is not extraditable for a crime committed in Northern Ireland. There can be no justification whatsoever for this atrocious attitude of the one government of the Community which has refused to sign the European Convention on Terrorism — namely, the Irish Republic. By their refusal, they rightly stand indicted before all right-thinking people as an unforgiveable party to the terrorism which they help to spawn and by this action perpetuate. These are not the actions of a civilized part of this Community, but of a country deserving of the stricture and condemnation of us all.

Let me deal for a moment with the excuse which Dublin offers for its failure to operate extradition. It pretends that it does not need to offer extradition because instead it operates the Criminal Jurisdiction Act, whereby it can try persons in the Republic for offences committed in the United Kingdom. That is a pretence and an argument which should deceive no one, since this procedure has failed miserably as a substitute for proper extradition. While six hundred people are today living in the South of Ireland who are wanted for serious terrorist crimes in Northern Ireland, the number of prosecutions in the South under their much-talked-of Criminal Jurisdiction Act does not amount to a dozen. The Act is selectively used for propaganda purposes so as to create the impression that Dublin is doing its best to stamp out cross-border terrorism. For example, it is currently being used to try

the infamous Gerard Tuite, since that is a case which drew national attention in the United Kingdom following bombings in London. So, as a face-saving propaganda exercise, Tuite is put on trial while hundreds of others walk free on the streets of the Republic, protected by Dublin's refusal of extradition. Only extradition can tackle cross-border terrorism, and therefore this resolution is right to recognize it frankly and put it as its primary demand. In that it has my whole-hearted support.

However, I fear that another resolution will achieve little and that only effective Community action against Dublin will force the Irish Republic to behave responsibly and properly, and it is for such action that I call. Surely this Community cannot close its eyes to the slaughter of citizens of one Member State by terrorists who find sanctuary in another Member State. It is time to take real and effective sanctions against the state which harbours murderers, refuses extradition and thereby perpetuates murder, and it is for such sanctions that I call in this debate. As far as the people of Northern Ireland are concerned, Mr President, this is a matter of life or death.

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

**Mr Sieglerschmidt.** — *(DE)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I am speaking on behalf of the German Social Democrats and a substantial number of others in the Socialist Group. We believe that the freedom of movement which terrorists enjoy in practice requires the maximum amount of cooperation within the Community in fighting terrorism. We therefore support the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism negotiated within the Council of Europe and the associated Dublin Agreement, and feel very reassured that the three Member States that have so far signed this Convention have been countries with social-democratic governments.

However, the central point in Mr Tyrrell's report about which we have grave doubts is his contention that there should be Community legislation in this field. From the legal point of view, this is more than questionable. But even if this were not the case, there remains the fact that we have made no progress at all on this question in the past ten years. How will Community legislation get us any further? More than just legislation is needed.

The essential thing is to agree on a common definition of the concepts of political asylum, political motive and political offence. We must all — and not only governments and bureaucrats — work on this together, perhaps also in our own parliaments. If we do this, the resolution which will be passed by a majority today and which, I fear, will have little effect, will achieve somewhat more.

**Sieglerschmidt**

I ask you to adopt the resolution, but I can vote for it only if what I consider to be a totally superfluous and unrealistic call for Community legislation is omitted.

**President.** — I call the Political Affairs Committee.

**Mr Habsburg, draftsman of an opinion — (DE)** Mr President, the problem of terrorism and crime for political motives has acquired a new dimension, particularly by virtue of the fact that violence is mostly directed at innocent persons with the aim of spreading terror and undermining democratic systems. The terrorists' success stems to no little degree from international terrorist cooperation, the support they receive from foreign governments such as that of Libya, and the international nature of their operations. That our police all too often appear powerless is explained primarily by the fact that criminals have long since anticipated the political unification of Europe, whereas we still oblige the police to act as if we were living in the 19th century. This difference in the options available is the secret of the terrorists' success. That it has nevertheless been possible to smash some terrorist rings reflects the dedication of our security forces. With equal arms, total success would be assured. A minority of the Political Affairs Committee, 2 votes to 19, expressed reservations on the grounds that the Committee had placed legitimate national liberation movements and democratic opposition to dictatorships in the same category as terrorist activity.

As rapporteur I must firmly reject this accusation. The objective we are setting ourselves is the maintenance of the democratic order. All those who respect this order enjoy all rights under it. This applies to everyone, but in no event must politics and liberations be allowed to serve as a pretext for criminal acts which, in the truest sense of the word, are an intolerable infringement of democratic rights; a democratic Community must defend itself against such acts. Secondly, the resolution is not designed to abolish the right of asylum. The role of the Community is to form a political, and therefore also judicial, entity. A democratic legal system is a requirement for membership.

But within the Community there can be no legitimate liberation movement against this legal system or against any despot. There is no need for a right of asylum within the Community, but this right must be retained for people persecuted outside the Community.

The aim of the resolution before us is to establish a system to protect our peoples from further threats, and the resolution is therefore fulfilling the real mission of political communities. We can thus adopt it with a clear conscience, since it strengthens the idea of a constitutional state. This applies particularly to the call to our governments to finally sign and ratify without reservation — and it really is high time they did so —

the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism and the Dublin Agreement of 4 December 1979.

We lack not good and correct ideas but that political will of national governments which is essential for success, and it is here that we as Parliament must act as the conscience of Europe.

**President.** — I call Mr Eisma.

**Mr Eisma.** — (NL) Mr President, I should like to join with the many speakers before me in endorsing the rapporteur's condemnation of terrorist activities. We need properly organized cooperation at European level to combat that kind of thing.

However, we have serious doubts as to the way in which the Tyrrell Report envisages this cooperation. It seems to us that to seek to use the Community treaties to improve cooperation between the Member States with regard to the adoption of anti-terrorist measures is not the right way to go about it.

We take the view that efforts should be directed towards getting the 21-Member Council of Europe to do the necessary work rather than the 10-Member European Community. We must concentrate in particular on the signing and ratification of the European Convention on Extradition and the first additional protocol thereto, and on the signing and ratification of the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism. By seeking to formulate a specifically Community policy, we are effectively duplicating the work of the Council of Europe, and that cannot be what we are after. The Tyrrell Report gives no convincing reasons why a specifically European Community policy would be that much better than the work being done by the Council of Europe. The draft Community Convention of 1980 on criminal law with regard to terrorist and non-terrorist activities has rightly failed to gain the support of the Netherlands Government.

I shall refrain from repeating the arguments here because it is time I drew to a close, Mr President. In any case, the rapporteur has himself explained all the points on Page 10 of his own explanatory statement. The Ten Member States of the European Community should therefore sign an agreement within the framework of the Council of Europe conventions I mentioned just now, and not outside it.

**President.** — I call Mr Ryan.

**Mr Ryan.** — Mr President, most Members of Parliament are weary of the unprovoked and totally false abuse which Messrs Ian Paisley and John David Taylor hurl at the Government and people of Ireland. In Mr Paisley's case, it is, to say the least, bizarre that a

**Ryan**

man who proclaims himself a man of God should use this House and indeed any method to spread hatred, sectarianism, distrust, bigotry and fear. Mr Taylor's scandalously untrue accusations that the people, the politicians and Government of Ireland tolerate or even encourage terrorism are totally insincere in the light of the fact that he travels in the Republic of Ireland, gladly accepting the hospitality of rides in official cars, accompanied by Irish policemen provided at the expense of the very people whom he loses no opportunity to disparage.

Once again, Mr Paisley and Mr Taylor have today accused Ireland of harbouring wanted terrorists. Mr Taylor says 200; Mr Paisley says 600. If these men are more than figments of Messrs Paisley's and Taylor's vicious imagination, they must be disaffected citizens of their United Kingdom. I publicly challenge them to name each of those alleged terrorists and to get the British Government to support them by offering evidence of the alleged crimes. If they fail to do this, all Europe will see their allegations as malicious, irresponsible and deserving of contempt. In election after election, the people of the Republic have rejected candidates favouring physical force majorities making up as much as 99% of the total vote. This is a record of which any nation could be proud, and it emphatically repudiates the slanders of their detractors.

Ireland's constitutional and legal position on extradition conforms with international law. Uniquely among the Member States of the European Community, Irish institutions will judicially try and, in the event of conviction, punish those charged of crimes of violence committed in the United Kingdom. Ireland is, and is willing to be, a party to every international convention on extradition and to every convention or practice against crimes of violence which is not in conflict with our constitution and international obligations.

To conclude, Mr President, further proof of Ireland's total commitment to prevent and punish terrorism is that she has doubled the size and cost of her police force, army and prison service and expanded the judiciary since the outbreak of violence in Northern Ireland in the late 1960s. Although it is unfair that the people of the Republic of Ireland have to bear the cost of combating terrorism which originates beyond its borders, they do so in fulfilment of their determination to prevent their land being a haven for terrorists and to protect all from the damage done by the evil deeds of violent men, and our broad support for the Tyrrell resolution is, I trust, proof of our sincerity.

**President.** — I call Mr Hutton.

**Mr Hutton.** — Mr President, I trust that Mr Ryan's thinking on the subject of terrorism is clearer than his vision in this House, for I do not see Mr Taylor here this afternoon. I have not heard Mr Taylor speaking

this afternoon, Mr President. I do not believe, Sir, that Members of this House should start issuing calumnies against those who have not even spoken in the debate.

May I just remind the House, Sir, that what we are talking about here this afternoon is bringing to justice killers and wreckers — wreckers of lives. I have been a little surprised at the attitude that Mr Ryan has demonstrated this afternoon. I should have thought that he would be as keen as I am to see evil men face the consequences of their actions. Yet we have heard him this afternoon making excuses for them.

May I just say, Sir, in conclusion that I think it is extremely important, in constructing the Community that we have, that citizens should be able to move around this Community freely, but that those who would seek to use that freedom against the Community should also face the consequences implied by that freedom and return to face the justice which they have flouted.

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

**Mr Narjes, Member of the Commission.** — (DE) Mr President, the Commission would like to thank the rapporteur and the speakers in this debate for their contributions to an extraordinarily difficult and complex subject which is important for European union and especially for the establishment of a European judicial area.

I should first like to say that the Commission shares this House's horror at the terrorist acts of violence which have given rise to this report, the names Moro, Schleyer and Ponto standing for all the victims of such acts. But we are talking not just about terrorism and the applicability of criminal law but also the safeguarding of peace and democracy in Europe.

I should like to make it clear that for the Commission there is no doubt whatsoever that a lack of internal security in a Member State must be considered as an obstacle to investment and, in many ways, as a practical impediment to the freedom of movement of workers. A lack of internal security therefore hampers, directly in the areas concerned and indirectly elsewhere in the Community, the full exploitation of the economic potential of the Community internal market and thus prevents the attainment of the objectives laid down in the EEC Treaty.

Since the Member States are responsible for their own criminal law and codes of criminal procedure, they are also normally responsible for restoring internal security. But supranational action has become necessary because the causes and manifestations of insecurity, for example international terrorism, have taken on an international character. Ever closer police cooperation, for example within Interpol, and the work of the Council of Europe are a response to this.

## Narjes

However, measured against Community needs and the task of establishing a European judicial area, the work of the Council of Europe cannot be considered as definitive and satisfactory. Hence the attempt to create closer political cooperation, and hence the Dublin Agreement of 4 December 1979.

But even the Dublin Agreement has so far proved ineffective. In spite of the urgent resolution adopted by this House on 9 July 1981, no Member State has yet ratified the Agreement. The question therefore arises as to whether Community law instruments — particularly Articles 100 and 235 of the EEC Treaty — should be used as advocated in the European Parliament's resolution.

As the motive force behind unification, the Commission is naturally in favour of a dynamic interpretation of Community competence. It also thinks it admissible and imperative to consider competence in the light of the Preamble to the EEC Treaty and the goals laid down in it. However, in the interests of legal clarity, the Commission feels it essential that Article 100 of the EEC Treaty be applied consistently. It is necessary to point this out because even in this Parliament large groups have expressed and continue to have misgivings as to whether or not these two Articles are applicable to fundamental questions relating to trade in goods and to the credit system. I refer, in particular, to product guarantees and consumer complaints.

Since Articles 100 and 235 of the EEC Treaty require unanimity, one must not forget that, at least at present, some Member States could say a clear no to the application of these Articles. The preparatory work on the directive called for by the European Parliament is therefore mainly of demonstrative value, at least for the present. The Commission is nevertheless prepared to continue this work, in spite of staff shortages, because it has a keen interest in seeing progress in this legal field for a further reason which has not yet been mentioned in today's debate.

I refer to the link between what we are discussing today and the abolition of personal checks at intra-Community borders. For once closer cooperation in the fight against terrorism has been established between the Member States, particularly in the form of rapid and unconditional extradition procedures, the principal argument against the abolition of personal checks at intra-Community borders, namely that such checks are the most effective means of combating crime, is refuted.

This explains why the Commission has a great interest in seeing the Strasbourg and Dublin Agreements implemented. But the Commission will first take the European Parliament's resolution as an opportunity to again press for ratification of these Agreements and remind the Member States of their undertaking to establish a European judicial area. If — and at the moment it is impossible to confirm or deny this — the

Council of Justice Ministers meets in the course of the next six months, the Commission will press for a policy debate on the European judicial area.

*(Applause)*

**President.** — The debate is closed. The motion for a resolution will be put to the vote at the next voting time.

## 12. Market in wine

**President.** — The next item is the second report (Doc. 1-412/82), drawn up by Mr Colleselli on behalf of the Committee on Agriculture, on the

proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-675/81 — COM(81) 408 final) for a regulation amending Regulation (EEC) No 337/79 on the common organization of the market in wine.

I call Mr Notenboom.

**Mr Notenboom.** — *(NL)* Mr President, I should just like to make a few brief points in my capacity as acting Chairman of the Committee on Budgets. In the report just mentioned by yourself, Mr President, and which Mr Colleselli will shortly be introducing, you will find an opinion of the Committee on Budgets in the form of a letter signed by Mr Lange. I should like to point out that the said letter is now null and void.

The Committee on Budgets studied the original report and gave a favourable opinion on the strength of the substantial savings. However, to our regret and surprise, the Commission came up, at a meeting of the Committee on Agriculture, with more detailed papers — and I say papers because we are not aware of the actual status of those documents. At any rate, that is the basis on which Mr Colleselli is expected to give his report, but I wish to have nothing to do with it. Anyway, the savings to which we were favourably disposed have disappeared.

We shall not ask for this matter to be referred back to the Committee, Mr President, as that would take two months at a time when the grapes are ripening in the vineyards. We do not wish to make life difficult for fellow Members, but the Committee on Budgets certainly has grave doubts as to the wisdom of this procedure. If the Commission enters into substantial compromises which in fact boil down to an entirely new proposal, then it is only right that a new proposal should be submitted to this House. But let us not waste too many words on this matter. The point is that the other Members of the Committee now take the view that Mr Lange's letter setting out a favourable opinion

**Notenboom**

on the part of the Committee is now null and void because it is based on outdated information which no longer forms the basis of Mr Colleselli's report.

**President.** — Thank you for the understanding you have shown.

I call Mr Hord on a point of order.

**Mr Hord.** — Mr President, earlier this afternoon my colleague Mr Prout drew your attention to what was described, I think, as an unknown document and you kindly said that you would be ruling on Mr Prout's point before the Colleselli debate started. I wonder if you have that ruling for Members?

**President.** As a result of fresh information, we now have a second Colleselli Report on behalf of the Committee on Agriculture. Mr Notenboom has asked for more care to be taken in the future, but at the same time stated that the Committee on Budgets would not be asking for what is universally recognized to be an urgent report to be referred back to committee.

**Mr Hord.** — My point was in no way connected with the point that Mr Notenboom made in regard to the Committee on Budget's position. It concerned Mr Prout's original point of order drawing to the attention of the Presidency the existence of a document purporting to come from the Commission — possibly the Council — which was considered by Parliament's Committee on Agriculture but apparently had not been formally presented to the Parliament through the President. This was the document we were referring to, not the second Colleselli report which was obviously being debated by the Committee on Agriculture.

**President.** — That is what I said in the first part of my remarks. We know that the Commission has made additional information available to the Committee on Agriculture; that is why we now have before us a second version of the Colleselli Report covering all the known elements and taking all aspects into account. I only referred to Mr Notenboom because the Committee on Budgets has taken a careful look at this question and has come to the conclusion that, despite the problems, it will raise no objection to the report being adopted today.

I call the rapporteur.

**Mr Colleselli, rapporteur.** — (IT) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I realize that in the five minutes allotted to the rapporteur it is impossible to give a proper presentation of a resolution which involved no less than eight meetings of the Committee of Agriculture. I am making this point because it shows that the subject has been dealt with in a broad and thorough manner

by the committee, with contributions from the numerous Members who are directly or indirectly concerned by the whole range of problems affecting the European wine sector.

We considered problems of a technical nature in the sense that we wanted this resolution to provide some kind of contribution by way of ideas and suggestions designed to confirm and to further a policy to improve the quality of wine. This is crucial if we are going to cope with the crisis in this sector and with the wine lake, both of which can be dealt with only inasmuch as we persevere — and provided the Commission applies the regulations — with this policy of quality. The report calls for thorough controls and for the introduction of a viticultural land register in each country, so that we have the suitable information and means for a basic system of checks and controls.

We also wanted to take a look at the economic angle because — and I shall be coming to this shortly — there is also a commercial aspect to the problem, stemming from the quality of the wine, which sometimes seems to be overlooked or neglected as far as the scale or importance of this aspect is concerned. By way of example, let me mention only trade relations with third countries and the possibility of reducing, if we cannot eliminate, the excise duties in countries which are hindering the free movement of wine. Free movement, after all, is the cornerstone of the Treaties.

Thirdly, we considered or at least bore in mind the social aspect of the problem. I think it is no exaggeration to say that almost three million people are directly or indirectly involved in or concerned with the production of wine in the European Community. I know that just two countries — France and Italy — are particularly affected but I feel that this social aspect should also be brought out so that in the end we do arrive at a positive conclusion.

I should like to remind the House of the fact that at the June part-session a report was submitted on our committee's amendments to Regulation 337/79, but the report was not discussed and instead sent back to committee. I have no knowledge of what happened in the meantime at the meeting of the Council of Ministers in Luxembourg, but as soon as we learned of the precise terms of the Luxembourg compromise which altered the prior situation we produced a new opinion in this report which incorporates the earlier one. The report deals in particular with an answer — a positive answer in our view — which came out of the Council meeting in Luxembourg. The compromise that was reached there in fact concerned planting and replanting; in other words it reiterates the need for a policy of quality designed solely to benefit good wine-growing areas so that surplus production, and especially poor quality production, may be avoided.

Secondly, there was an answer — again positive in our view — on the basic issue under discussion, which is



**Colleselli**

the problem of distillation. This should not be regarded as a permanent necessity but as an exceptional measure designed to make use of the surpluses which cannot always be predicted and which arise as a result of the weather and the harvest in certain years. However, I do feel that the basic point is what we have accepted and outlined in paragraphs 10 and 11, to the effect that distillation should not be compulsory but, in line with a former opinion of the committee, voluntary in the first place and compulsory at a later stage, on the assumption and to the extent that distillation measures are introduced beyond the five million for which the Commission has provision to act. This is a decision prompted by good sense and the idea of a gradual change. Distillation represents a clear system which, if implemented along these lines, can have a fundamental effect on any surpluses, so that the current crisis in the wine sector can be dealt with at the marketing rather than the production stage.

There is a third basic element which we also regarded as very positive, and that was the guaranteed minimum price for producers. We were pleased with this because you have to remember that a large proportion of wine-growing concerns are family-run, and these concerns deserve some encouragement because reconversion is more difficult in their cases.

I see you are indicating that my time is up, Mr President. I have finished, or rather I have not really finished but I am obliged to finish. This is the fourth or fifth time that I have been able to say only a couple of words on a matter which could have been something of a major topic, but I am not going to go into that now because I should only be wasting time.

It is our feeling that this motion for a resolution, which has been carefully considered and which is the result of lengthy deliberation in committee, proposes a worthy system which will serve to bring closer together the short-term and long-term measures which have already been adopted and to define a situation which will not upset the balance when Spain and Portugal join the Community. I am delighted — and not because of my modest contribution — that the wine problem has been and is again today the main topic of debate at this sitting of Parliament.

*(Applause)*

IN THE CHAIR: MR MØLLER

*Vice-President*

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

**Mr Gautier.** — *(DE)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the entire Socialist Group can very well under-

stand that we must take steps to improve the situation in the wine sector, particularly in the Mediterranean region. We also intend to do all we can to avoid a new wine war similar to the one last year, and we must come up with ideas for solving the social problems affecting wine producers in southern Europe.

The Commission recently submitted a very interesting document, i.e. a report to the Council on likely developments in new plantations and production. Unfortunately, I cannot at present see the connection between this document and the proposals currently before us for a reorganization of the wine market, since this document makes it very clear that in the wine sector we have long-term structural surplus problems to contend with. The long-term trend tells us that for several years the Europe of the Nine — to which the data refer — will probably be faced with a permanent surplus in the order of 20 to 25 million hectolitres. We must find a solution to this problem and this will call for a long-term structural policy in the wine sector. Distillation measures alone are not enough. They may provide a short term solution to a particular situation, but do not in the long run solve the problem, and for this reason I take the view that the basic approach to the organization of the market in wine as reflected in the Commission document is inadequate, relying too much, as it does, on the elimination of surpluses by means of distillation, with the result that the current structural problems would continue.

As we see it, this is not the correct course of action. We should rather press for the introduction of higher quality requirements, restructure the areas under vines and restrict cultivation. Otherwise, year after year we will be arguing about whether we should spend a lot of money on distillation and — at least in the northern countries — incur the justified displeasure of the consumers when they see how millions of hectolitres of wine are being distilled.

We have a whole series of objections to individual points contained in the Colleselli report. The greatest cause for concern is the use of distilled alcohol. The majority of my Group could, I think only give its support to the Colleselli report if we received the assurance that the distilled alcohol will not be sold, at considerable cost to the public, at the expense of industrial alcohol or grain alcohol. However, the Colleselli report does not appear to provide this assurance.

In addition, the Colleselli report contains a series of things which are, objectively speaking, incorrect. The ratio between imports and exports has improved decisively in favour of exports and I think we should recognize this fact and not constantly make new demands for import restrictions. If our amendments are adopted, we will support the Colleselli report.

**Präsident.** — I call the European People's Party (Christian-Democratic Group).

**Mr Dalsass.** — (*DE*) Mr President, I take a different view from Mr Gautier. As I see it, the Colleselli report and the reorganization of the market in wine are an initial step in the right direction. Finally more account is being taken of Mediterranean production too, i.e. the products of those countries which are in a less favourable position as regards agriculture.

As I see it, we should flatly reject the amendments by Mr Gautier, since they do not in any way contribute towards a better arrangement. This brings me to the point mentioned by Mr Gautier. It is a good thing that, as provided for in the Colleselli report and in the new organization of the market in wine, for wine in certain years, i.e. when there are surpluses, to be taken off the market and distilled. It is also quite right that the wine producers should be guaranteed a corresponding income. However, it is vital that we see to it — and I should like to lay particular emphasis on this point — that we can also find outlets for this alcohol which should not, I think, be allowed to upset the entire alcohol market so that difficulties arise for other types of alcohol. We should rather try to sell this alcohol outside the Community at the least possible expense. This course of action can, I think, be followed without more ado.

To complete the picture, we must finally find an overall arrangement for alcohol as a whole. We have been waiting for such an arrangement for ten years now and I have had the — I will not say good fortune but rather the misfortune — to have been appointed as rapporteur on this subject.

I will, if I may be permitted, submit a very simple proposal regarding alcohol, and if it is adopted, the whole sector will be better dealt with and it will be easier to deal effectively with the problems.

I hope that Parliament will support the report by Mr Colleselli so that finally we will get closer to our aim, i.e. to give the products from the Mediterranean area similar treatment to those from the northern countries.

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

**Mr Provan.** — Mr President, in general terms we welcome this report. We are glad to see that the Council of Ministers along with the Commission is tackling the problem and we congratulate the rapporteur on his persistence.

However, I must say to Parliament that we as a group, in view of the questionable status of the document circulated to the Committee on Agriculture purporting to replace the Commission's proposals of October 1981, would hope the Commission would be prepared formally to adopt this document in its proposal. Or would the Council be prepared to adopt it formally as an amendment under Article 144 to the original proposal?

We believe that technically this is important, otherwise Parliament will be placed in an impossible position and the Commission will have to come back to us later on to re-consult Parliament on this document that has been placed before us as an unofficial document.

I hope that the Commission will take note of that Mr President because it is important that Parliament is seen to be doing the right thing as an institution.

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

**Mr Papapietro.** — (*IT*) Mr President, Mr Colleselli is to be complimented on this report which gets our approval. Although we have some reservations about paragraph 11 on distillation, which really does not go far enough in our view, the Italian Members of the Communist and Allies Group will be voting in favour of the resolution.

We feel that the agreement which was reached by the Council — and which made this debate more topical — is acceptable even though it generally fails to provide a solution to any of the problems concerning the production and marketing of wine, problems we have been dealing with at regular intervals until the last part-session in June. What we consider to be particularly inadequate in the agreement, in the way in which the distillation system has been altered, is the solution to problems such as sugaring and excise duty.

We must remember that we are going to vote today on a Commission text which predates the Council agreement. We are making this point because it not only concerns the wine market but also affects the relations linking the Council and Parliament. In this motion, for instance, we are asked to vote on a levy on sucrose which has already been abolished as a result of the Council agreement. We therefore endorse the reference in the Colleselli report to the complaints, echoed in the Committee of Agriculture, about the current manner of consulting Parliament. We want the Commission to change the system.

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

**Mr Delatte.** — (*FR*) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, Mr Colleselli's report is of crucial importance. I should also like to congratulate him on his patience, since he has just revealed that it took eight meetings before the report could be drawn up.

I would remind you that the report seeks to fill a gap by proposing improvements to the regulations on the common organization of the market in wine.

Contrary to what some people might think, or have others believe, this is not just a problem for the French and Italians. Nor can we allow the belief to persist that

**Delatte**

production in North Europe can be organized without taking any account of production in the South.

The rapporteur has focused on the fixing of guide prices to guarantee a minimum income to producers and an organized system of distillation to guarantee price quotations. He also emphasizes the need to promote quality and to look for new outlets, highlights the importance of introducing a viticultural land register in all wine-producing countries and justifies the need to strengthen quality controls, all of which are necessary if the proposed regulation is to be successful and effective.

He also advocates — and this is an important point — the harmonization of excise duties. I should like to remind you that some Member States apply excise duties and taxes which in some cases have the effect of a tenfold increase on the price paid by consumers compared with the price collected by producers. This enormous disparity is unacceptable and constitutes an injustice which an organized Community cannot put up with much longer. If taxes and duties were brought down to a reasonable level in such countries, I maintain that consumption would increase and the distillation process which these very countries criticize could be avoided.

My Group will be voting in favour of this report, presented in a wholly constitutional manner on behalf of the Committee on Agriculture. In passing, I should like to say that I found the speech made by Mr Prout at the beginning of this afternoon's sitting theoretical and without foundation. Once again, I feel I must deplore a procedural incident which can only damage Parliament's credibility.

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

**Mr Meo.** — (*FR*) *Bonum vinum laetificat cor homini* — good wine cheers the heart of man. I think that is the best Community directive we could adopt. We must produce good wine: that is the basic idea behind Mr Colleselli's report. What is more, in view of the time taken to produce this report we can say today that the 1982 Colleselli is a better vintage than the 1981 Colleselli. Wine is a very serious business. I regret to say, ladies and gentlemen, that there are those who talk about the produce of Mediterranean countries in a somewhat pejorative tone. It is as if they believed that agricultural production in the North is a more serious matter than production in the South. But remember last year's squabble over wine between France and Italy, a dispute which harked back to more historic events.

My ancestors, the Gauls, were already very keen on wine 2 500 years ago, when they conquered Rome to bring vine plants back to Gaul. I would like to suggest

to Mr Hord that the Hundred Years War between France and England was doubtless caused by the excessive, but nevertheless justified passion of Englishmen for Bordeaux wine. The most far-reaching consequence of the exploits of Joan of Arc was the fact that the English were turned into beer drinkers for five centuries. Only a united Europe can succeed in solving problems in order to avoid a repetition of disasters of this type. That is why I say that we must vote to adopt Mr Colleselli's report if we are to avoid future calamities of this sort.

We must, of course, also avoid getting bogged down in too rigid systems. The Commission document reads as if it were drawn up by officials under the influence of rules and regulations rather than that of wine, and relying more on their calculators than on their wine-tasters. Wanting to outlaw chaptalization, when it has allowed a very fine wine to be produced above a line stretching from Bordeaux to Valence for centuries, is pure slavery to the system. This attitude is also apparent in the desire to set up — and in a country like France, too — an authority for regulating wine which is not adapted to local differences.

While rigid systematization is to be avoided, we must also take care not to be short-sighted. Distilling wine is all very well, but the market has to be organized and preparations made for the accession of Spain and Portugal.

We must also be on our guard against injustice. Mr Colleselli talked about excise duties. Well, here in Strasbourg, ladies and gentlemen, I really can not see any difference between the number of bottles and the quality of wine ordered by a Member from a northern country, and those ordered by a Member from the South. So why should we allow Members here in Strasbourg to have things which, through excise duties, would be prohibited to people living along the Thames or the Rhine?

No, the Almighty does not act as an advertising agent for any agricultural product — indeed, for any product at all. What is more, I am confident that even the most anti-clerical of those present will agree with what I say if they are wine-growers.

You have only to look at the Bible to see that there are 457 different references in the holy writ to wine, vines, vine shoots and vine growers.

That should not only make us think, ladies and gentlemen, but should also make us support Mr Colleselli's report, which seeks to do justice to wine. For, I am sure we all agree, *in vino veritas*.

(*Applause*)

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

**Mr Almirante.** — (IT) Mr President, speaking on behalf of Mr Buttafuoco as well, let me say that we shall be voting in favour of this excellent report by Mr Colleselli, and we shall be doing so more to highlight what the rapporteur reveals and criticizes than to underline what he proposes. I am referring to the explanations and conclusions which I cannot term negative, in view of the undeniable efforts of Mr Colleselli and the Committee on Agriculture, but which I can certainly call disturbing, especially as we read in the conclusions that 'of all the sectors of Community agricultural policy, wine is probably the most tortuous'.

Speaking as a Member from Italy and from the south of Italy — and I am in no way being chauvinistic but simply adopting a very practical approach — I wonder whether this tortuous situation is going to disappear or not. In the wake of this motion for a resolution and of all the work the European Community is doing in the wine sector, I wonder if all these squabbles over wine are going to give way to a fair and genuine settlement or not. I wonder whether the inferior status of the Mediterranean countries — and I am talking also and perhaps especially about the wine sector — is going to disappear or get better or just stay as it is.

Unfortunately, the answers here are all negative, although we are not the ones who are saying 'no'. It is the rapporteur who is forced to admit that the present procedure for consulting Parliament involves the inevitable drawback that the texts proposed by the Commission are examined simultaneously by the respective technical services of the Council and Parliament, with no contact between the two procedures until the final stage, when Parliament submits its official opinion to the Council.

It seems incredible that we are forced to admit such things, especially in the same parliamentary part-session in which there was a very clear majority for the adoption of the Spinelli report on a better, more efficient and more reasonable distribution of powers among the Community institutions and on the transformation of this Parliament into a real Parliament with genuine powers of decision and control. This seems incredible but it is very true because in his report Mr Colleselli states that if Parliament's right of consultation is not to be reduced to a mere legal formality devoid of real value, new procedures will have to be drawn up. The fact is that we are stuck in front of the unyielding barrier of procedures which deprive Parliament of any real action.

When we get to the matter itself, the prospects are even less encouraging. Here we have the third package of proposals to be put forward in the last few years and the rapporteur himself says that some of these measures, the least important ones, can be accepted but that the major ones — the levy on sucrose, the suppression of aid for concentrated musts and compul-

sory preventive distillation for all producers — give rise to grave doubts.

On the other hand, the Commission and the Council have failed to come up with any real proposals, especially with regard to the codification of Community wine regulations in a single text and a definitive solution to the problem of sugaring, with a view to using only grape-derived products for the enrichment of wine.

To sum up, while we thank the rapporteur for all he has done, we have to note that if we carry on like this we shall just keep on moving, indeed speeding, towards a series of fresh and more acute crises and towards new and more explosive wine wars. The blame for this cannot be lodged with this Parliament, which is doing what it can, but with the Commission and with the national governments, especially the governments of the Mediterranean countries.

(Applause)

**President.** — I call Mr Sutra.

**Mr Sutra.** — (FR) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, we will, of course, support this constructive report, which can be summed up in three words: the budget, wine-growing and the political context.

To begin with the budget, last year European Community funds showed a net profit of 1 000 million EUA while more than 1 000 million EUA were saved on the EAGGF Guarantee Section. It was decided in the debates held in this Chamber in December to do away with the funds set aside for monetary compensatory amounts. But the Council did not follow our lead and the money must be found elsewhere. So what is the outcome? On Monday evening, I attended the meeting of the Committee on Budgets. The main item on the agenda was where to deploy the additional savings of 500 million EUA. We have managed to save more than 2 000 million EUA in eighteen months on the EAGGF Guarantee Section.

To turn to wine, we have had twelve budgets and twelve wine harvests since the wine market opened in 1970, and during that time 1.5% of the EAGGF budget has been devoted to it. The financial statement that has been submitted to us provides for further economies. Given these circumstances, I should like those who always have the words 'budgetary savings' on their lips whenever agriculture comes up to exercise a little more restraint.

What about Mr Colleselli's report and its proposals? Firstly, I would say that the general principles, which are those of the common agricultural policy and which are now going to be applied to Mediterranean products, are good. The desire to apply them is good and

**Sutra**

the instruments chosen to implement them are appropriate but have shortcomings. I think this is going to have a negative impact on this new Community wine regulation, particularly this year. The regulation would have been better received if the wine trade had had one or two years of breathing space as a trial period and if efforts had been made to stabilize the market before it was flooded by an over-abundant crop. This new regulation is going to be involved in a head-on collision with this bumper crop and it is my firm belief that even though its principles are good, its resources will prove to be insufficient. We will talk about this again next winter.

There are still shortcomings. The Commission must make more precise proposals and go further on the question of concentrated musts. Mr Delatte's comments on excise duties were excellent and I will not dwell on that topic further.

That brings us to the political context, by which I mean the enlargement of the Community. Vincenzo Gatto — a friend of mine — spoke about the solidarity of the South yesterday. This is a word which crops up often in discussions on the Third World but is far less likely to be heard in connection with the internal problems of the European Economic Community. The wine war was waged between the French and Italians. This report has been presented by an Italian. I am in favour of the report because it is constructive and has the right ideas. This is the third time in three years that Mr Colleselli has presented a report on wine growing problems and I have supported him three times because, on each of these occasions, he has allied his efforts with ours in trying to promote an agricultural policy for the Mediterranean regions.

I want to conclude on this point about the enlargement of the Community, Mr President. I seem to hear the same refrain over and over again from many people in this House and elsewhere, who never stop talking about 1 January 1984. Yet at the same time it is these very people who are forestalling the policies we need on Mediterranean produce: wine, fruit, vegetables and olive oil. Let me make myself very clear: those who keep harping on about 1 January 1984 and enlargement and yet who thwart these much-needed policies have got another think coming if they believe they can hold a gun to our heads on 31 December 1983, because we will not let them get away with it and all that will happen is that enlargement will be held up.

I should like to speak on a point of order, Mr President.

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

**Mr Sutra.** — (FR) Mr President, I am raising this point of order because I should not like Mr Noten-

boom's speech on the handling of this matter by the Committee on Budgets to appear on its own in the report of proceedings. He mentioned the second Colleselli report, but as far as I am concerned there is only one report.

You may remember that three weeks ago in this Chamber I asked for a debate and a vote on the original version of the earlier report which I felt was adequate. In my view there have been very few changes, and even if it has been changed it is still the same report. Also, I entirely agree with Mr Notenboom when he says that Parliament must be respected and that we should always be presented with the best possible documents.

However, I cannot go along with an interpretation which says that Mr Lange's letter is null and void that there are two Colleselli reports. That is not the way I see it at all. I felt that this ought to appear in the report of proceedings as well.

**President.** — I shall ensure that your remarks on the report of proceedings are recorded in the minutes.

I call Mr d'Ormesson.

**Mr d'Ormesson.** — (FR) Mr President, the state of confusion in which wine-growers and viticulturalists in the South of the Community find themselves merely reflects — alas — the uncertainty reigning in the Council of Ministers with regard to the production of both table wines and quality wines produced in a specific region.

As discussion of Mr Colleselli's report was deferred from the June to the July part-session, the Committee on Agriculture had time to study the consequences of the Luxembourg compromise on which the Council of Ministers recently agreed. The main suggestion of the report submitted for our assessment is for changes to the regulation on the common organization of the market in wine and for measures to stabilize the market by amplifying the distillation process under the performance guarantee by the institution of preventive, compulsory and voluntary distillation.

The application of all these provisions should have the effect — according to the Council of Ministers — of giving wine-growers a minimum price guaranteed at 82% of the guide price. This does not appear to be a hard and fast guarantee, however, since the expected levels for preventive and compulsory distillation are between 17 and 22% lower than intervention prices.

I am therefore heartened to see that Mr Colleselli's excellent report, acknowledging the increased co-responsibility demanded of wine-growers, also advocates that the market be supported by voluntary distillation or public purchases at 95% of the guide price. This

**d'Ormesson**

provision would make it possible to limit the loss of revenue resulting from preventive and compulsory distillation.

Although these four measures constitute a coherent and constructive package with which I am quite satisfied — and on which I congratulate the author of the report — I cannot refrain from mentioning the lack of provisions which ought to be instituted to ensure that the wine market functions properly.

Why is it that the definition for rosé wine, adopted by this Parliament on 20 November 1981, is still not being applied? Why is it that the call — made many times in this House — for a department to stamp out Community fraud is not heeded by the Council? When will wine-producing States each be required to keep an up-to-date viticultural land register, which is the only way we can know how many vines have been planted or pulled up? When are common rules on crop declarations going to be drawn up? Who is hampering the introduction of these measures which certainly would do more to stabilize the market than any other provision?

The Council must find answers to all these questions if it is to give proof of its desire to put quality above quantity and to eliminate fraud.

**President.** — I call Mr Hord.

**Mr Hord.** — Mr President, first of all I would like to say that my group is keen to see that the Colleselli report is not held up. I should like to say that the Commission proposals, whilst they are principally about the wine surplus, can in many respects only be described as also being a back door wine alcohol regime.

Of the last 12 years, nine have seen wine surpluses; production goes up, consumption comes down. The surplus gets larger. Clearly, if you cannot get people to drink more wine, you can store it; you can throw it away; you can use it as a substitute feed for animals or you can distil it. The Commission preferred to distil it. Now in the 1981/82 wine year there was an availability of wine and wine alcohol equivalent of about 275 million hectolitres. That is, Mr President, a hundred bottles of wine for every man, woman and child in the Community. This figure would be equal to about two years normal production. So I would submit that we do have a problem.

In the current Commission's proposals there is a new obligation on certain wine producers to put their surplus into compulsory distillation, if stocks of wine exceed five months supply. Ah, you may say, there must be a current shortage of alcohol. No, unfortunately, the existing stocks of wine alcohol are already at the record level of 330 000 tonnes, which is equivalent

to half the annual consumption of EEC users. Nobody knows what to do with the existing stocks of wine alcohol and it is proposed that the output of European wine alcohol should be solved at the increased expense of the European taxpayer. All of this by compulsion.

It should perhaps be appreciated that while wine alcohol costs about two thousand pounds a tonne it is likely only to fetch about four hundred pounds a tonne on the open market. This also has to be compared with the cost of synthetic or industrial alcohol which also costs about four hundred pounds per tonne. So you can readily appreciate the very large gap that will need to be sustained by the European taxpayer. In reality wine alcohol costs about five times more than industrial alcohol. The present wine alcohol surplus, if sold at current market prices, would cost the Community more than 850 million ECU, or more than five hundred million pounds. Clearly, if it has to be sold it will undermine grain alcohol producers and industrial alcohol producers. It could be said that these proposals provide for the existing wine lake to be converted into an alcohol lake.

Mr President, the proposals personify the EEF fairy godmother coming to the aid of warring Community wine producers by stopping them drowning in their own wine surplus and by an extraordinary and expensive wave of the wand reincarnating the wine into an alcohol lake and thus start a new war between the different alcohol producers. It is estimated that the first year of the new wine regulation will cost about five hundred million pounds and thereafter about two hundred million, but that is dependent on the surplus situation remaining the same, but as I say trends suggest that consumption is going down while output is going up. It is understood that wine alcohol could undermine the grain and industrial alcohol market. Clearly there is scope for unfair competition unless we are careful. If the Commission and the Council really have the European taxpayers at heart and actually want to solve the wine problem and the wine lake, avoid a wine war in southern Europe and an alcohol war between different producers, instead of distilling the surplus wine, they should provide for surplus grape must to be converted into animal feedstuffs instead of imported molasses.

On the assumption, Mr President that our amendments are approved, we shall support the Commission's proposal with some reluctance and on condition that next year's wine regulation amendment abandons distillation and substitutes the use of surplus grape must for animal feed. That would be the way to restore sanity and security into this unhappy sector.

**President.** — I call Mr Martin.

**Mr Martin.** — (*FR*) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, once again the wine-producing South has been

**Martin**

shaken by massive demonstrations of popular feeling. Various trade union leaders and other workers' representatives have issued serious warnings which lead us to believe that further action could follow shortly. These various manifestations are evidence of the anxiety and resentment felt by thousands of French wine-growers, particularly in the Languedoc and Roussillon areas.

How has this situation come about? The same causes always have the same effects. Excessive imports, stagnant prices, stocks remaining in cooperative cellars while the next harvest promises to be extremely abundant and, related to that, speculation on the part of international big business. All of these things threaten to disrupt the measures instituted last summer by the left-wing government, following the vigorous action taken by French wine-growers to limit this trafficking. I would add that the recent demonstrations by viticulturalists in the South of France are powerful evidence of the fiercely determined opposition to the enlargement of the Common Market. What has just happened — and anyone who ignores it does so at his own peril — reveals the will of an entire population, an entire country — where wine is a way of life — to see their present and future guaranteed. The need to give long-lasting stability to the wine market by guaranteeing a living income to wine-growers appears more urgent than ever.

To get down to details, Mr Colleselli's report on the organization of the European wine market, in the form submitted to us today, contains some worthy elements. Is it perfect? I am afraid not. We are sorry that some of the amendments we tabled were not adopted by the Committee on Agriculture. Nevertheless, the draft regulation before us is a significant improvement on the initial draft. That is due to the combined effect of the wine-growers' campaigns and the proposals which have been accepted and which take more clearly into account the legitimate demands of viticulturalists. This is the case, for example, of the proposals to make the marketing year tally with the wine year, which would mean bringing it forward to 1 September, with the new prices for the year being applied. Another example is the paragraph which aims at supporting the market by means of voluntary distillation or public purchasing at a level which, taking account of forwarding costs, is about the same as the intervention price, namely 95% of the guide price, as we have already been reminded. Another good suggestion is that in paragraph 14, calling for the cost of all distillation measures to be charged direct and in full to the EAGGF. In connection with this point, I should like to say that, contrary to the myth which some people would like to foster, wine does not cost the Community much: the amount of money granted to the wine market under the EAGGF is much, much smaller than that given to other sectors of agricultural production. One example will suffice: 1 225 million EUA were paid out for sugar beet, and only 416 million

EUA for wine. So the proposals are not exaggerated in any way.

In conclusion, despite the reservations, not to say the opposition, which we have expressed and which we maintain with respect to some aspects of the draft before us, we nevertheless feel that the document contains sufficient positive suggestions for the French Communists to vote for it at the end of the debate. But we will do so only on the condition — of course — that the text before us is not completely distorted by the adoption of some of the amendments tabled — namely those of Mr Gautier and Mr Hord — or by the rejection of some of its articles. Whatever happens, the determining factor will remain the vigilance exercised and the action taken by wine-growers themselves in making sure that measures are applied which are in their favour at both Community and national level. This includes their struggle to ensure that any step forward taken today in this sector is not halted tomorrow by the Community's enlargement. That is their latest battle — and one which is bound to be stepped up — against the entry of Spain and Portugal into the Common Market. In this struggle, the wine-growers of France know that the support of the French Communists and their allies has always been behind them and that it will never fail.

*(Applause)*

**President.** — I call Mr Kallias.

**Mr Kallias.** — *(GR)* Mr President, wine growing has been known in Greece since Homer's time and is favoured by the climate and soil. But selling the product does create problems.

At Community level also, the sale and protection of production are two of the most difficult aspects. The fact that there is a shift of interest to wine growing and that a guaranteed minimum price has been introduced constitutes the most important step taken, and I welcome it.

But the necessary protective measures are:

- 1) to control the authenticity and improve the quality of wine;
- 2) as far as possible to remove intermediaries between the producer and consumer;
- 3) to increase consumption of viticultural products in the Community;
- 4) to increase exports from the Community, even if this involves granting subsidies;
- 5) to restrict imports into the Community and to ensure free trade in wine and grapes within the Community;
- 6) to produce concentrated must for reinforcing weak wines and for animal feedingsuffs;

**Kallias**

7) to distill unsold surpluses at a guaranteed satisfactory price and to provide for preventive distillation where absolutely necessary;

8) to reduce production costs;

9) to restrict both the planting of new vineyards and replanting, with an express exemption for countries which are particularly suited to wine growing and have a tradition going back thousands of years, like Greece.

I should like to stress that the effectiveness of the measures proposed in the motion for a resolution depends not only on the adoption of the resolution but to a far greater extent on the way in which the measures are implemented, and I hope that the new provisions and the way in which they will be implemented will lead to the satisfactory protection of wine growers.

**President.** — I call Mr Adamou.

**Mr Adamou.** — (GR) Mr President, it is really necessary to implement the structural measures for recultivation and to abandon wine growing in those regions which are unsuited to it while, on the other hand, supporting it in every way in hilly regions and in areas unsuitable for other types of cultivation.

We agree with the proposal to replace the method of strengthening wine with sugar by one involving the addition of grape must. This will not only help to reduce the volume of production but will also meet consumer demand from the point of view of wine quality. It is not a solution to impose the addition of sucrose. It should be forbidden to strengthen wine with sucrose.

Mr President, in Greece 400 000 families work in the wine-growing industry. Viticultural production amounts to about 10% of the gross value of the total crop production. Lower domestic consumption as a result of the economic crisis and the fall in workers' incomes through unemployment and high inflation, as well as the drop in Greek wine exports following EEC accession, have resulted in large stocks of wine, for example in Crete, Santorini and elsewhere. Today, in addition to the 1981 vintage, there are another 115 000 tonnes of unsold wine from the 1980 vintage still in storage. Thus there is an enormous problem for the wine cooperatives since lack of storage space makes it impossible to cope with the new vintage. This necessitates an increase in the percentage of distillation and an increase in the price of exceptional distillation from 18% to 30%. In Greece the soil and climate are suitable for good quality wine, which means that wines with a natural alcoholic strength of 11 degrees or more are produced and do not require any alcoholic strengthening. But the whole wine-growing cycle is delayed, and for this very reason, apart from the general measures proposed in the Colleselli report, we

consider it essential that special national measures should be taken by the Greek Government involving subsidies and low-interest loans in order to develop the wine-growing industry, and this should be done by subsidizing the wine cooperatives and by ensuring more adequate storage facilities. Furthermore, subsidies are needed for the export of table grapes, since Greece ranks ninth in the world as a producer of grapes, and there should also be national and Community subsidies for exports of wine to third countries.

**President.** — I call Mr Maffre-Baugé.

**Mr Maffre-Baugé.** — (FR) I will be very brief, Mr President, as I know that my time is limited.

I should like to begin by saying to Mr Hord that when he goes on about lakes, he would do well to remember whisky and that monsters are to be found in Loch Ness, Mr Hord, and not down our way in the South of France. But where Mr Colleselli's report is concerned, Mr President, if we consider only the explanatory statement, we must concede that it contains a number of elements which could bring about positive changes in the regulations governing the market in wine.

But, for us wine-growers, there's many a slip twixt cup and lip. Declarations of principle are often reduced to nothing by the content of proposals, particularly the points regarding the introduction of a guaranteed minimum price which would be only 82% of the guide price. Some people here seem to have forgotten that the present activating price is fixed at 93% of the guide price, so that this would constitute a step backwards compared with the previous regulation. What is more, all other agricultural products have an activating price fixed at 93% of the guide price, so this would amount to discrimination against wine-growing. This is not to deny that among Mr Colleselli's proposals there are some points which are excellent and which I approve wholeheartedly.

The idea of low-price compulsory distillation is really a co-responsibility levy in disguise, while viticulture is already subject to another co-responsibility levy through wine deliveries. It would be preferable to have a guaranteed activating price at frontiers, which would be applied through a series of measures at the time of customs declarations on wines whose prices were not in line with the common intervention price. In this way, trade within the Community could be standardized.

Mr Colleselli's report is paved with good intentions, but so is the way to Hell. It has some very basic shortcomings which hamper its effectiveness causing me — as a wine-grower from the South — to adopt a cautious attitude to the vote. I am both curious and anxious to see how the vote on the amendments goes, and



**Maffre-Baugé**

to see the way in which this House will treat such a technical and tricky problem. Is wine finally going to be given the same opportunities as other agricultural products?

Quite simply, I should not like us to be taken for a ride here, any more than in my own country, France.

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

**Mr Dalsager, Member of the Commission.** — (DA) Mr President, I should like on behalf of the Commission, to thank the Bureau very much for placing the debate on the amending regulation on the common organization of the market in wine on today's agenda, and, like Mr Curry, the Chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, I am very grateful for this renewed debate on Mr Colleselli's Report following the referral back to committee in plenary session on 14 June 1982.

I have been able personally to explain to the Committee on Agriculture and its chairman why there was such an urgent need to get Parliament's opinion, and I gave him and the committee all the information it needed for it to do its work.

The Commission's proposal was transmitted to the Council on 16 October 1981, at which time the Commission expressed the wish that the European Parliament might deliver its opinion at the plenary session in January 1982. Of course the Commission quite realizes that Parliament needs more time, especially to enable it to discuss such issues as price proposals and whatever other work the Committee on Agriculture is expected to do. Introduction of the proposal was followed by numerous detailed discussions within the Council, since when this issue, like so many others in the Council, has been lumped together with the prices issue. Eventually, the Council reached agreement on certain major aspects which the Commission was able to go along with, and of which I informed the Chairman of the Committee on Agriculture.

I am very grateful for all the work Mr Colleselli has put in, and I should like to associate myself with all the speakers who have praised the report and the work that has been put in this respect.

In the light of the detailed discussions in the Committee on Agriculture, we can now say that the report covers all the points which are new *vis-à-vis* the Commission's original proposal. I should like — as I have already mentioned — to express my appreciation of this report, which not only gives an expert appraisal of the political problems in this sector, but also a brilliant exposition of the complicated technical questions at issue here. Apart from certain specific points concerning points 9, 11 and 14 — and without wishing to go into detail — I can very largely endorse the Colleselli Report, and I can assure you that the Commission will

adopt a favourable position on the ideas put forward by the rapporteur, which amount to somewhat more than stop-gap solutions.

To mention just one point, allow me to draw your attention to the desirability of introducing a Community system for combating the various forms of fraud which are characteristic of the wine sector. And on this point, I should like to remind the House that, on the strength of a proposal from Parliament, the Commission has decided to tackle the problem at a general level by submitting to the Council a proposal, dated 17 March 1982, for exerting stricter control over the application of Community provisions regarding agricultural products. This proposal has been forwarded to Parliament, and the Commission would be grateful if this House were to express its opinion in the near future.

A number of speakers have referred to the problem of the alcohol market, and I should like to say that the Commission's intention — given its powers with regard to the distillation of wine as laid down in the provisions regarding wine — is still to take a decision as to how the alcohol from distillation should be sold. The relevant provisions will be such that there will be no disorder in the alcohol sector as a result of a guaranteed minimum price being fixed for distillation at the same time as the distillers of wine alcohol can sell their alcohol in competition with other types of alcohol on the market.

I must say that I was very interested in Mr Hord's idea of adding concentrated must to animal feedingstuffs. It is perhaps still a little too premature to come up with ideas like that, because the fact is that we still do not know how we can do that. Research into this question is still in progress. We hope very soon to come up with a method which can be used to get rid of all the surplus wine coming onto the market.

I am quite sure that the new system to be introduced will give wine-growers new guarantees, with the result that the market organization in this sector will work better in the future. It seems to me that Mr Colleselli and the Commission are thinking along the same lines in certain respects, albeit with a rather different sense of urgency. At any rate, we are steering a course which many Members of this House have supported and thought necessary through the years in connection with the problems facing the wine sector.

With regard to what Mr Sutra said about budget savings being the only thing we were talking about, I should just like to say that it is certainly not the only thing the Commission is talking about. But the Commission cannot turn a deaf ear to such institutions as Parliament, which so often discusses budget savings — at least, in certain respects — and we are therefore naturally duty bound to consider what Parliament has to say on budget matters, given that we have a joint responsibility for such matters.

**President.** — The debate is closed. The motion for a resolution will be put to the vote at the next voting time.

IN THE CHAIR: MR DANKERT

*President*

13. *Agenda*

**President.** — As announced by the Chair this morning, the next item is the vote on the request for the Squarcialupi report (Doc. 1-424/82) on helicopters to be referred back to committee.

Does anyone wish to speak in favour of the request?

I call Sir Fred Warner.

**Sir Fred Warner.** — Mr President, I have nothing whatever against this report as such or against the Commission's directive which it discusses. We should all like to see the amount of noise in the air cut-down. The trouble is that, when the directive was sent to Parliament in October last year, it was assumed that all helicopter producers would follow the ICAO recommendations and that we and the Americans would do so simultaneously. Since then the American administration has said it will take no such action. Therefore, if our report goes ahead, we shall be left in the position where we put a heavy burden on the European helicopter industry. We do not want to do this. We need a healthy helicopter industry and we should not decrease its efficiency by 20% which would be the effect of these regulations.

This morning we were complaining about action taken against our industries by the Americans; let us not now make a self-inflicted wound upon ourselves. The European market is small, we need to be able to compete in the world markets. So I move, under Rule 85, that this report be sent back for the committee to consider the aspects which I have just described.

**President.** — I call the rapporteur.

**Mrs Squarcialupi, rapporteur.** — (IT) Mr President, I should point out that this report was adopted unanimously in committee and that not a single amendment has been tabled here in the Chamber. I fail to see why a report should be sent back to committee simply because someone has not managed to table his amend-

ments in time. We cannot sit here like Penelope, voting for something on a Monday and then voting for something else the next day so that we are continually undoing what we have managed to stitch together. In my capacity as rapporteur I must oppose the request that has been made, even though I appreciate the reasons which prompted the honourable Member to make his request.

(Parliament approved the request)

**President.** — I call Mrs Squarcialupi.

**Mrs Squarcialupi.** — (IT) Mr President, as the report on helicopters has now been sent back to committee, I do not think there is any point in discussing the report (Doc. 1-294/82) on subsonic aircraft, since the two subjects are related.

**President.** — I appreciate your point of view, Mrs Squarcialupi, but I think it would be better to make your request for referral to committee when the item is called.

I call Mr Collins.

**Mr Collins.** — Mr President, I am sorry to be obstructive but I do think Mrs Squarcialupi is absolutely right. The House is full just now and you would get a representative vote. If you wait until later, when this comes up, there is no guarantee that we shall have anything like the representation we have just now. I think Mrs Squarcialupi is correct and in order.

**President.** — I therefore propose that Mrs Squarcialupi's request be put to the vote.

Does anyone wish to oppose the request?

I call Mr Johnson.

**Mr Johnson.** — Mr President, helicopters are not linked with fixed-wing aircraft in this particular instance. The second Squarcialupi report has gone through the committee and it would be perfectly valid for us to proceed with that report as a separate item.

**President.** — I call Mrs Squarcialupi.

**Mrs Squarcialupi.** — (IT) Mr President, I really must point out that both reports refer to an international agreement. In view of the fact that the honourable Member who made this request complained about speaking to the manager of a helicopter firm, I feel that by the same token another Member may complain about speaking to the manager of an aircraft firm. For

**Squarcialupi**

the sake of consistency, referral back to committee has to be decided at the same time for both reports.

*(Parliament approved the request)*

Votes<sup>1</sup>

*(The sitting was suspended at 8.05 p.m. and resumed at 9.05 p.m.)*

IN THE CHAIR: MR MØLLER

*Vice-President*

14. *External trade statistics of the Community*

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-319/82) by Mr Almirante, on behalf of the Committee on External Economic Relations on the

proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-178/82-COM(82) 161 final) for a regulation on the adaptation of the external trade statistics of the Community to the directives concerning the harmonization of procedures for the export of goods and for the release of goods for free circulation.

I call the rapporteur.

**Mr Almirante, rapporteur.** — *(IT)* Mr President, three reasons, in addition to that of common politeness, enable me to keep my introductory remarks as rapporteur on this subject extremely brief. Firstly, the Commission's proposal relates simply to a formal adjustment of the current statistical criteria to the new customs provisions governing the export of goods and their release for free circulation — in other words, no problems of substance are raised on this occasion; secondly, the Committee on External Economic Relations, which is responsible in this area, was kind enough to approve my report unanimously; thirdly, I am not aware that any amendments have been tabled. After thanking the Bureau of the committee to which I belong for having entrusted me, as a non-attached Member, with the task of drawing up this report, I shall now confine myself to a few essential explanatory observations.

We are being asked to approve a proposal from the Commission of the European Communities to the

Council. The proposal seeks to amend regulation EEC No 1736/75 relating to the statistics of the Community's external trade and, more specifically, Articles 3 to 9 of that regulation. This amendment is necessary to extend the application of the regulation to two categories of goods which have not hitherto been covered, i.e.:

a) goods whose release into free circulation does not coincide with their release for consumption following importation.

b) goods in respect of which a declaration of exportation outside the territory of the EEC is made by a Member State in which the goods concerned have been held after consignment to that country from another Member State.

This amendment was necessary because the release of goods into free circulation or their exportation — the cases referred to in a) and b) above — would otherwise have to be accompanied or preceded by the compulsory formalities required to place such goods under the customs system of deposit or transit. In other words such goods would not be covered by the provisions for the acquisition, processing and publication of data set out in Articles 3 to 9 of the EEC regulation cited earlier. It is, however, self evident that these goods should be included in the statistics, so that provision must be made for the compulsory statistical recording of all declarations of release into free circulation and all declarations of exportation submitted pursuant to the said directives.

In conclusion, Mr President, I wish to draw your attention to the urgent need for the adoption of this proposal because the new regulation is due to apply from 1 July 1982 to goods which are imported and from 1 January 1983 to goods that are intended for export.

I hope therefore that you will be able to approve this text and thank you for your attention.

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

**Mr Natali, Vice-President of the Commission.** — *(IT)* Mr President, on behalf of the Commission, I simply wish to thank Mr Almirante for his detailed and punctual report. As he has pointed out, the purpose of this proposal for a regulation is to ensure that all goods released into free circulation in the Community are included in our import statistics. Furthermore, Community goods originating in the Community, or alternatively in third countries but already released into free circulation in the Community, will be recorded in our export statistics as soon as they are exported to third countries.

Mr Almirante has underlined the importance of this regulation and I wish to thank him for doing so, just

<sup>1</sup> See Annex.

**Natali**

as I want to thank the Committee on External Economic Relations for the favourable opinion which it delivered unanimously on this proposal for a regulation.

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

The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

*15. Protocols to agreements with various countries consequent to the accession of Greece — Negotiations with Spain and Portugal — Mediterranean Plan*

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

report (Doc. 1-328/82) by Mrs Pruvot, on behalf of the Committee on External Economic Relations, on the

proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-1102/81-COM(81) 31 final) for a regulation concluding a protocol to the Agreement between the European Economic Community and the State of Israel to take account of the accession of the Hellenic Republic to the Community

report (Doc. 1-327/82) by Mrs Pruvot, on behalf of the Committee on External Economic Relations, on the

proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-122/82) on

- I. a regulation concluding a protocol to the Cooperation Agreement between the European Economic Community and the Kingdom of Morocco consequent on the accession of the Hellenic Republic to the Community
- II. a regulation concluding a protocol to the Cooperation Agreement between the European Economic Community and the Syrian Arab Republic consequent on the accession of the Hellenic Republic to the Community.

report (Doc. 1-325/82) by Mr Rieger, on behalf of the Committee on External Economic Relations, on the

recommendation from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-176/82-9584/41) for a regulation on the conclusion of the protocol to the agreement between the European Economic Community and the Portuguese Republic consequent on the accession of the Hellenic Republic to the Community.

oral question with debate (Doc. 1-392/82) by Mr Diana and others to the Commission

Subject: Negotiations with Spain and Portugal

Can the Commission:

- rapidly provide Parliament with a broad review of the progress of negotiations with Spain and Portugal and indicate the likely completion date?
- outline the problems arising in the agricultural sector in particular, both for the Community as a whole and for the Mediterranean regions or the less-favoured areas?
- inform Parliament of the measures it has proposed or intends to propose to prepare the Community for the accession of Spain and Portugal?

oral question with debate (Doc. 1-393/82) by Mr Pöttering and others, on behalf of the European People's Party (Christian-Democratic Group), together with Mr Glinne, Mr von der Vring, Mr Bangemann and Sir Henry Plumb, to the Commission

Subject: Mediterranean plan

On 16 February 1982, the European Parliament voted by a substantial majority in favour of a 'Mediterranean plan' for the Mediterranean countries of the European Community and for the applicant countries Portugal and Spain (Doc. 1-736/81).

The European Parliament requested the Commission 'to submit proposals for a Council regulation on the subject of this resolution within a period of three months'.

In view of the fact that three months have now elapsed since the adoption of the resolution and that the date frequently referred to by the European Parliament for the accession of Portugal and Spain to the European Community — 1 January 1984 — is drawing nearer, will the Commission state what conclusions it has drawn from the resolution, Document 1-736/81?

I call the rapporteur.

**Mrs Pruvot, rapporteur.** — (FR) Mr President, the matter before the House today is both timely and crucial. With the accession of Greece, the Community underwent profound transformation, having economic, political and institutional ramifications. The accession of the European Mediterranean countries is the culmination of a natural evolution which will ultimately result in Community Europe coming into line with its natural geographic frontiers as far as the Mediterranean region is concerned. That this process is of both political and economic significance is unquestionable. Furthermore, it complies with the ideals of liberty and democracy as defined by almost all of the political parties in the Community.

The accession of Greece changed the hitherto existing parameters of regional homogeneity within the Community. Whereas in the Community of Nine the Medi-

**Pruvot**

terrestrial regions were relatively restricted and clearly defined — the Mezzogiorno in Italy and the Midi in France — today, with the accession of Greece, they make up a considerable part of the Community's territory. The accession of Greece, however, has made even more urgent the need for Community-wide action to obviate any danger to the free flow of trade between the Community and the Mediterranean countries with whom it had concluded cooperation agreements.

The matter under discussion involves a regulation concluding a protocol to the agreement between the European Economic Community and the State of Israel, the Kingdom of Morocco, and the Syrian Arab Republic respectively consequent on the accession of the Hellenic Republic to the Community. The Council of Ministers and the Member States' representatives meeting in council in February 1981 empowered the Commission to open negotiations with those Mediterranean countries with whom preferential agreements had been concluded. After an ad hoc study the Commission, therefore, was requested by the Council to lay down the technical modifications necessary as a result of Greece's accession, in particular the reshuffling of Community quotas which should have been applied by Greece upon accession.

For the moment, therefore, we are concerned with a matter of limited scope, but the forthcoming enlargement of the Community involving Spain and Portugal will necessitate a thorough revision of the preferential agreements concluded by the Community with its Mediterranean neighbours in the overall context of a Mediterranean policy.

With the forthcoming revision in mind — scheduled to take place on the accession of Spain and Portugal — Parliament has no objection to taking up this relatively technical dossier proposed by the Commission, and now before the House, on the revision of the agreements under examination. In this general context we have an opportunity of endorsing the Community's global policy vis-à-vis its own Mediterranean partners, now that they are coming up for review as part of the overall restructuring necessitated by Greece's accession. We are heartened that the Commission, in evolving this global measure, has managed to take account of the various specific needs of the Community's trading partners. In order to preserve both the political substance and economic content of the Community cooperation agreements concluded under the framework of its Mediterranean policy, we would like to be certain that the competent bodies of the Community, either during the restructuring process currently under way or as part of the enlargement negotiations, have taken full account of the consequences which such measures can have on the existing economic and commercial pattern in the Mediterranean.

Concerning Israel, we feel it essential to take full account of the anxieties expressed by the Israeli delegation concerning the agricultural sector.

Although Israel has accepted in principle the idea that the accession of Greece should not compromise, in the immediate future at least, its trade with the Community, it is essential to make a detailed evaluation of the effects of this last enlargement in the context of Community commitments to Israel under the existing preferential agreement. Community enlargement could, in fact, substantially alter the political and economic equilibrium so painstakingly constructed by the Community with the countries of the Mediterranean basin and we should, in consequence, be on our guard.

In conclusion, we can lend our support to the proposals for regulations before the House, but, in order to preserve the political and economic content of the agreements, I would like to reiterate the need for an overriding and constant vigilance on the part of Parliament and the Commission on the consequences resulting from the restructuring process currently taking place in the Community, as well as from the forthcoming enlargement which we hope will take place in the very near future.

**Mr Rieger, rapporteur.** — (DE) Mr President, on behalf of the Committee on External Economic Relations I have pleasure in submitting the report on the recommendation for a regulation concluding a protocol to the agreement between the European Community and the Portuguese Republic consequent on the accession of Greece. The accession of Greece has, of course, made it necessary to adjust the trade agreement which has been in existence with Portugal since 1972. I am pleased to report that my committee unanimously approved the Commission's proposal and discussed it in the light particularly of the accession of Portugal to the European Community.

Reports on the adjustment of a number of agreements between the European Community and Mediterranean countries are on our agenda today. Following the accession of Greece, it became necessary to ensure that Community trade with the countries of the Mediterranean region did not suffer prejudice. In February 1981 the Council and the representatives of the Member States meeting in the ECSC Council authorized the Commission to open negotiations with those Mediterranean countries with which preferential agreements had been concluded. This mandate was limited to the extent that the protocols were to be confined to stipulating the technical adjustments to be applied by Greece following its accession, particularly in regard to Community quotas. The present proposal relating to the EEC-Portugal agreement therefore relates to implementation of the transitional measures to be applied by Greece to imports from Portugal. In other words it is essentially a technical protocol.

However, I should like, Mr President, to look briefly at a few problems connected with the accession of Portugal and Spain. The view of our committee is that

**Rieger**

we must leave our support for the accession of those countries in no doubt. Parliament has repeatedly stressed and reaffirmed its support for this. On the other hand, we must recognise that on this occasion accession will have more far-reaching effects than in the case of the accession of Greece, not only on the internal structures of our Community but, above all, on our relations with the Mediterranean countries with which we are seeking to maintain privileged trade links. That policy was rightly formulated and set in motion by the European Community in the early seventies.

The accession negotiations present particular difficulties in some areas because many points of detail are bound up with the aspect, which is decisive for the future of Europe, of our relationship with this region as a whole; the fact that the centre of gravity of the EEC's problems will be shifted southwards is perhaps an even more significant consideration. In the light of these factors, the European Parliament made its views clear at the beginning of this year; it wanted the regional problems to be tackled vigorously and on the basis of a common concept by setting up a Mediterranean plan. This task is scarcely facilitated by the fact that a Community of twelve will naturally not be able to work with the same decision-making structures as at present, so that the accession of the new countries will have to be paralleled by a reform of the Community system. Precisely because enlargement is necessary in the context and on the basis of European solidarity, although we must also adhere to our global Mediterranean policy in its entirety as a constructive contribution to the stability of this region, we would call upon the Commission — and the Commission in particular — to make every endeavour to persevere stubbornly in the direction which it has chosen to take.

In conclusion, Mr President, we strongly support this recommendation from the Commission and ask for Parliament's approval. I should like to take this opportunity to convey my wish to the Commission that the accession negotiations will be continued smoothly despite the well-known difficulties which exist, so as to enable Portugal and Spain to join our Community on the scheduled date of 1 January 1984. There could be few better ways of underlining our ties with these peoples than the joint preparation and implementation of the next European elections in 1984 which would then be made possible.

**President.** — I call Mr Diana.

**Mr Diana.** — *(IT)* Mr President, Commissioner, this question which was tabled some time ago seems to me to have acquired greater topicality and importance following the results — which we can only describe as disappointing — of the ministerial meeting of 21 June in Strasbourg. On that occasion many important items figured on the agenda, including tax provisions, the

European Coal and Steel Community, the Customs Union and external relations. However, no significant progress seems to have been made on these dossiers. Our Parliament has always been fully aware of the complexity of the issues involved, but it has always underlined the fact that these problems must on no account be taken as a pretext to hold up the negotiations on the accession of Spain and Portugal to the European Community.

We are particularly concerned to note that the Commission has not yet made public its own proposals on agriculture and fisheries. We all know how acute the problems are in this sector and how difficult it will be to find a solution to them, simply because of the great weight of agriculture in the economies of the two new applicant countries. Suffice it to say that the farming population still represents 20% in Spain and as much as 32% in Portugal against 8% in the EEC today.

Precisely because these problems are so important from the angle of employment and earnings in the two applicant countries, and precisely because they concern the poorest regions of the European Economic Community, in particular southern Italy, Greece and parts of France, it seems obvious that they should be tackled with closer attention and, possibly, greater urgency than the other outstanding problems.

In reality I do not think that time is working in favour of a solution to these problems; on the contrary, they are becoming worse with the passage of time. If the political conditions had existed in Spain 25 years ago to enable it to apply for accession to the European Community when the original Treaties of Rome were signed, the present economic problems would in all probability not have arisen. They do arise today because Spain has now become an economically and industrially developed nation, so that it obviously poses greater problems for all of us than it would have done many years ago. These problems are essentially economic and not political in nature and are making it difficult for Spain to join the EEC. My way of thinking is confirmed by the fact that no political problems arose in connection with Spain's entry into NATO. We must therefore face up to these economic problems and tackle them clearly on an overall basis. Of course, the Commission has the primary responsibility for dealing with these problems in negotiations which are proving difficult — nevertheless, the primary responsibility for conducting them lies with the Commission.

I think it would be irresponsible of us to try to hide these difficulties; Parliament must make an effort of imagination and inventiveness to seek ways of ensuring that the accession of these two new countries does not become a traumatic operation. On the contrary, we must set up all the instruments and buffer mechanisms which will make this development productive and positive for the EEC and the two new countries alike instead of turning it into a confrontation.

**Diana**

We have, I believe, already had a similar experience with the last two enlargements. Certain problems were left unresolved and it proved no easier to find a solution to them after accession; that was the case with the United Kingdom and also with Greece. I think we must make it perfectly clear to the two new Mediterranean countries what kind of Community they are joining. We must prepare ourselves to receive them and to welcome them in line with their expectations and by seeking solutions to their problems which are essentially economic in nature. For their part they are seeking solutions to these economic problems to strengthen their young democracies, and I believe we have a bounden duty to help them in this.

Mr President, Commissioner, those were my reasons for putting this question to the Commission. I do not think we are going too far or exceeding our rights, it seems to me we are quite simply respecting our duty in asking the Commission to give a rapid overall indication of the state of the negotiations with Spain and Portugal, together with precise information on the likely date for conclusion of the negotiations. At the same time we are seeking precise information on the problems which arise, especially in the agricultural sector, for the Community as a whole and for the Mediterranean regions or deprived areas and, in particular, for the applicant countries. Finally, we would like the Commission to tell Parliament what specific measures it intends to take to prepare the Community for the accession of Spain and Portugal.

I believe that if we obtain satisfactory answers to these questions, the debate which will be taking place after the summer recess on the report by Lord Douro and on that by Mr Sutry will probably prove more exhaustive, in the sense that they will bear a closer relationship to the true situation about which we would like to have relevant information.

**President.** — I call Mr Pöttering.

**Mr Pöttering.** — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, on 16 February the European Parliament came out by a large majority in support of a Mediterranean plan based on a revolving fund with the support not only of the Christian Democrats, the European People's Party which had taken the initiative, but also of the other major groups, the Liberals, Socialists, European Democrats, European Progressive Democrats and the Italian Communists. To the best of my knowledge, only the French Communists were opposed to this report and to the introduction of a Mediterranean plan on the proposed basis.

In February 1982 we asked the Commission to present a proposal for a regulation for a decision by the Council of Ministers within three months. Since no such regulation has as yet been proposed, my group which attaches great political importance to this Mediterranean

plan — and our own judgement on the Commission will partly be guided by the conclusions it draws from our proposals — with the support of the chairmen of the Liberal, Socialist and European Democratic groups and of many other members has tabled this oral question in an endeavour to ascertain what action the Commission is taking on our initiative.

Ladies and gentlemen, I read with great interest the announcement by the Commission on 11 June — that was the date of the press reports — that it was working intensively on a programme to promote the interests of the Mediterranean countries. We naturally welcome this fact. According to the press reports, this programme is to be presented to the European Summit in November. However, although there is a need for programmes, we are particularly interested in seeing the introduction of instruments to help the Mediterranean countries, the structurally weak regions of southern Europe.

If the reform of the Regional Fund proposed by Parliament is adopted by the Council of Ministers, many things may well change. But if we remain with the present system, we have no faith in a solution to these problems through the Regional Fund. We are looking for a system of low interest loans with the loans being made available directly to the beneficiaries.

Of course, a substantial financial basis will be necessary for this Mediterranean plan. I imagine that it would be perfectly realistic in the early years to make available budgetary appropriations of 500 million ECU, with perhaps twice that amount raised on the capital market.

Commissioner Natali is with us today, and I see that Mr Caporale, one of the Directors, is also here. They are making particular efforts to advance our ideas and the Mediterranean policy in general and I am most grateful to them. However, I am very much afraid that the Commission has not yet decided to go along with the splendid vote carried by a majority of more than 90% of the Members of this directly elected Parliament. In calling for the submission of a draft regulation we are not asking for action by the Council of Ministers which is, in a sense, our institutional opponent, but simply for action by the Commission, our ally. I appeal to the Commission to take the necessary measures now.

May I make one final remark as a German Member of this Parliament. The German Federal Government is constantly reaffirming that Spain and Portugal must become members of the European Community, and I approve that point of view. Spain and Portugal have moved out of a long period of dictatorship; we want them to be welcomed into the community of democratic European nations. But, in my view, persons who claim they favour accession but are then unable to support the necessary decisions, e.g. for a Mediterranean plan, are acting irresponsibly. I therefore call upon the

### Pöttering

Federal German Government to turn its words into action, so as to make sure that the enlargement which we all want does not become a disaster for the Community; on the contrary, we must help to establish a balanced and genuinely social Community between the north and south of Europe, a Community in which citizens can find employment in their own home areas without sharp disparities between rich and poor regions. We should all be making joint endeavours to create appropriate living conditions in this Community; this would also be an important contribution to the strengthening of democracy in the Community Member States and particularly in Spain and Portugal which are both recent democracies.

**President.** — I have received two requests for an early vote to be taken, that is, without referral to committee, in order to wind up the debate on the oral question on negotiations with Spain and Portugal. Those motions for resolutions are (Doc. 1-496/82) by Mr de la Malène on behalf of the Group of European Progressive Democrats and (Doc. 1-503/82) by Mr Diana and others. I would like to draw your attention to the fact that the latter motion has not been tabled on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party. The vote on the request for an early vote will be taken as soon as possible after the joint debate.

I call the Socialist Group.

**Mr Nicolaou.** — (GR) Mr President, following the accession of Greece to the EEC a procedure commenced for reviewing all the agreements signed by the EEC as a whole with countries outside the Community, both in order to clarify the new situation created by the enlargement of the Common Market and in order to define the requisite transitional measures for the adoption of those agreements by Greece.

The agreements being discussed today in Parliament have been reviewed and, so far as their commercial content is concerned, are already being applied on the basis of the Commissions's special regulations. The adjustments envisaged are largely of a clearly technical nature. The review of these agreements did not create any special problems, granted that Greece's accession did not have any major effects on the commercial and other relationships of the EEC with the countries in question.

The Socialist Group are only concerned to emphasize the need for these agreements to be applied promptly and to their full extent, and also the need for appropriate measures to be taken within the framework of their application to promote the economic and commercial interests of the parties to the agreements so as to achieve a mutual, fair, and progressive balancing of the Community's relations with these countries.

The debate on the review of these agreements brought to light a number of more general problems relating to

the forthcoming enlargement to include Spain and Portugal, which is now a political choice of the Community with the approval of the European Parliament.

With this enlargement the Community will not only have to face the reorganizational problems of its industrially developed regions but, in parallel, to respond to the needs and aspirations to development of its new members, and at the same time to fulfil its obligations towards third countries.

The structures, rules and mechanisms of the Community today, designed to serve the Community of Six, not only do not respond to the Community's needs for adaptation to the conditions of an enlarged Europe but also, as might have been expected, have operated to the disadvantage of the less developed areas, with the result that the developmental gulf between the developed and the less fortunate parts of the Community has become still wider. To be specific, while the ratio between per capita incomes in the more and the less highly developed parts of the Community was 3 to 1 in 1970, it reached 4 to 1 in 1977. With the accession of Greece, these differences became even greater. The same thing happened with the agreements for collaboration with the Mediterranean countries. Their trade deficits with the Community increased, while the structure of their economies remained the same. It is a fact that there is now a great deal of awareness within the European Communities, and particularly in the European Parliament, that the regional inequalities and the differences in the level of development within the Community, which will be exacerbated by the forthcoming accession of Spain and Portugal, constitute a severe threat to the cohesion and in the long term even to the survival of the Community.

The Socialist Group has repeatedly expressed its political wish that these problems should be examined in depth and that effective measures should be taken to face them. And in the first place, this presupposes a review of the common policies designed to create, within the framework of the Community, the proper grounds for developing the economies of the new members.

In spite of protestations to the contrary, however, not only are the procedures for reviewing the common policies very slow-moving, but to a large extent there is a failure to utilize the possibilities for strengthening these economies that already exist within the framework of today's binding regulations, as well as the possibilities that derive from the common budget. The Mediterranean plan, which envisages the promotion of integrated programmes of development for the less developed Mediterranean regions and which was adopted by Parliament when we voted in favour of the Pöttering report, could contribute to reducing the regional inequalities. However, the implementation of the Mediterranean plan is being delayed in spite of the clear mandate issued by Parliament. Moreover, in the



**Nicolaou**

proposed budget for 1983 the sums suggested for the financing of Mediterranean programmes are inadequate, as also are those earmarked for the preparation of plans for integrated Mediterranean programmes.

The enlargement of the Community with the entry of Spain and Portugal and the Community's policy for the development of its Mediterranean regions will certainly have unfavourable repercussions on the Community's trade relationships with Mediterranean countries outside the EEC. Granted that the trade relationships of those countries with the Community are considered important for both sides, it will be necessary, within the framework of the agreements, to adopt measures that ensure that what they produce will cease to represent such a high level of competition against the products of the Community's Mediterranean countries, and measures that reinforce the efforts to promote the trade relationships between them.

Bearing in mind that within the framework of the following enlargement there will take place an in-depth revision of the agreements for collaboration with the Mediterranean countries, which will take into account all the above problems, the Socialist Group will vote in favour of the proposals before us.

Finally, on behalf of the Greek Socialists, I would like to emphasize that we do not accept the condition imposed by Israel in relation to the establishment of diplomatic relationships with Greece as a precondition for the validity of the collaboration agreement.

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

**Mrs Phlix.** — (NL) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party I wish to comment on the reports by Mrs Pruvot and Mr Rieger. The two reports by Mrs Pruvot relate to proposals from the Commission to the Council and cover certain essential technical adjustments to agreements with Israel, the Kingdom of Morocco and the Syrian Arab Republic, while Mr Rieger's report concerns the recommendation from the Commission to the Council for a regulation on a protocol to the agreement between the EEC and the Portuguese Republic; all these texts must be seen in the context of the enlargement of our Community by the accession of Greece.

We are pleased to note that the Committee on External Economic Relations has unanimously approved these proposals and, in conjunction with my group, I venture to hope that Parliament will endorse the committee's position. Like the previous speakers, Mr Diana and Mr Pöttering, I would direct an urgent appeal, on behalf of my group, to the Commission to see to it that the necessary measures are taken at the earliest opportunity. Although the proposals from the

Commission to the Council which we are discussing are of a technical and juridical nature, they are certainly not without importance, because they seek to permit the further harmonious development of our Community. This is clearly apparent from the questions put by the previous speakers which I gladly endorse.

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

**Miss Hooper.** — On behalf of the European Democratic Group, I would like particularly to address myself to Mr Diana's question and Mr Pöttering's motion for a resolution.

In a week when we have discussed the Spinelli report and voted in favour of a closer European Union, I think it is important to recognize that this idea will not be possible without the support and accession of Spain and Portugal. As a group we support enlargement, and we support enlargement at the earliest possible date, and this, as Mr Pöttering has said, has been also supported by a substantial majority of this House.

Spain — and I understand the problems of Spain in particular, since I am a member of the Spanish delegation of this Parliament — has special problems, and I think we Members of this Parliament representing the United Kingdom appreciate this particularly, because we in the past, when we applied for membership, similarly had problems. Here, timing is most important, and I think it is most important that while we are all suffering from a world recession, we should all be united and we should be joined by Spain and Portugal, so that at the time when we come out of the recession we can all enjoy the benefits of a closer union and closer economic ties.

I realize, of course, that there are genuine problems and can understand that some people might feel there should be further study and delay, but I do not wish this Parliament or this Community to be bulldozed by the interests of one nation in particular against the wishes and interests of an otherwise wholly united Europe. A longer transitional period may, if necessary, be the answer to some of the problems, and I think that Mr de la Malène's suggestion that we start with a political union and then go on to cope with the economic problems — I assume that is the intention of this motion for a resolution — is one that we should consider.

I wish, however, to make it quite clear that my group intends to support enlargement and to stand by what we have always said, that enlargement, if the political will is there, can and should take place on 1 January 1984.

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

**Mrs Poirier.** — (*FR*) Mr President, it is no secret that the French Communist and Allies Group has never been in favour of enlargement. Tonight I would like to draw your attention to certain aspects connected with enlargement and to remark firstly that, as various political groups continue to pronounce in favour of enlargement, as the dates foreseen for the entry of Spain and Portugal draw nearer, not only have we failed to resolve the crucial questions posed by this enlargement but, even more seriously, new ones are constantly coming to the fore.

We have opposed this enlargement, firstly, because it mitigates against the interests of a great number of French workers involved in agriculture in the southern regions of France. The threats to their livelihood posed by the accession of Spain and Portugal, and against which we have been speaking out for some considerable time now, have, as everyone agrees, if anything been accentuated of late.

Having said that, I should like to put to my colleagues, irrespective of their Member States and political ideologies, some questions on certain aspects of enlargement. Have you really considered what a Community of Twelve would involve? What its institutional functioning would be like? What kind of common policies could it evolve? Have you given sufficient thought to the Community's relations with scores of developing countries and, more especially, with the Mediterranean countries and the ACP countries?

Going outside the walls of this Chamber to address myself to my Spanish and Portuguese colleagues, whom we recently had an opportunity of meeting, I would ask: what will become of Spain and Portugal within the Community? What kind of future can Spanish and Portuguese industry look forward to? What is the outlook for employment and, for that matter, for democracy? We are all only too well aware that these questions have still not been given serious consideration.

Recently, the Portuguese Minister with responsibility for his country's accession negotiations, giving vent to his misgivings during my colleague Mr Maffre-Baugé's visit to Portugal, confessed that he simply didn't know what would become of his country's industry upon accession, nor of the tens of thousands of small and medium-sized enterprises trying to face up to the mammoth enterprises which so dominate Community industrial life. A recent article in a French newspaper, in mentioning the rapid increase in Spanish unemployment which now stands at close to the two million mark, pointed out the growing impatience and even nostalgia in many quarters for the Franco days during which 'there were much less unemployed'. But, as everyone knows only too well, Spanish and Portuguese accession will entail radical restructuring carrying with it an inevitable further increase in unemployment. Such a scenario is far from being the ideal precondition for durable democracy.

To the Commission and the Council I would ask the following question: what is the outlook for employment in these two countries if they join the Community? A survey on this aspect would appear to be called for. These are but a few of the more obvious questions which spring to mind on a cursory glance at this voluminous but vague dossier.

When can this House look forward to the real debate on enlargement, in which the issues will be tackled rather than fudged? Those who emphasize the need to create a Community of Twelve to give a further spur to the European process seem to ignore the multiple and wide-ranging upheavals and transformations occasioned by the first enlargement from six to nine Member States. I would put to them the following question: in the present-day economic difficulties in which the Community finds itself, do you not consider that admitting two new members would inevitably be tantamount to sowing the seeds of new, almost insurmountable, problems which would put an additional brake on European construction?

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

**Mr Almirante.** — (*IT*) Mr President, I wish to speak briefly on two of the subjects covered by this joint debate. These two subjects are, in fact, linked, because it is not possible to speak of a Mediterranean plan on the basis of the question by Mr Pöttering — whom I, as an Italian, wish to thank most warmly for his observations — without referring also to the negotiations with Spain and Portugal on the basis of the report by Mr Rieger and the question by Mr Diana. That is the point of view of the Italian National Right, which I have the honour to represent.

The Mediterranean plan — which is both essential and urgently necessary if Europe is to play its genuine role as a bridge of civilisation with the Americas on the one hand and with the African continent and, more generally, the whole Third World on the other — must be implemented to bring about the development necessary to reunite the two Europes, which at present tend all too often to misunderstand one another. I say this from a recognition of both sides of the problem and without any facile chauvinism.

We cannot therefore consider a Mediterranean plan without taking account of the fact that Greece has only recently joined the European Community and will shortly be followed by Spain and Portugal.

Our position is extremely clear. It is as follows:

Firstly, the Mediterranean plan must be a global plan if it is to have any meaning; otherwise it may become dangerous and counterproductive. The Mediterranean plan must be designed and implemented for the benefit of the whole Mediterranean seaboard of Europe with-

**Almirante**

out exception, without any form of discrimination or privilege.

Secondly, the Mediterranean plan must confer upon Europe a leading role in development not only in socio-economic terms but also in political terms, in dealings with the Third World and, more particularly, with Africa and Latin America. Through this Mediterranean plan it is therefore imperative to initiate progress towards overcoming the situation of inferiority, sometimes indeed dramatic inferiority, facing broad areas of Mediterranean Europe, including southern Italy.

Thirdly, the accession of Spain and Portugal to the European Community must be facilitated and implemented at an early date, no later than the scheduled date of 1 January 1984, in other words, before the new European Parliament is elected by the peoples of all the Member States. That new Parliament must represent all the people if it is to embark upon the process of far-reaching institutional renewal in favour of which this House has voted.

Fourthly, pending the official and definitive accession of Spain and Portugal, a transitional period of mutual consultations must be opened immediately in order to prevent as far as possible the creation of new imbalances and possible conflicts which may damage our agricultural and industrial economies. I have in mind the problems of wine, textiles, olive oil, shipbuilding and the steel industry in the new Member States and in those Mediterranean countries which already belong to the European Community.

Finally, an additional fund is needed to which both the Mediterranean countries which already belong to the Community and those which have applied to join must have the earliest possible access to safeguard and develop their respective economies.

**President.** — I call Mr Sutra.

**Mr Sutra.** — (FR) Mr President, colleagues, I need hardly dwell on the agricultural problems which Spanish and Portuguese accession will give rise to, given that they have already been evoked in the House this afternoon and that they will be the subject of a full-scale debate this coming September or October.

I would like to confine my remarks to a clarification of official French policy on enlargement. I fully understand the surprise and anger of our Spanish colleagues in general and that of the Spanish press in particular during the visit to Madrid of the French President some two weeks ago. It is true that in June 1978 the then French president, Mr Giscard d'Estaing, said in Madrid 'There are no longer any impediments to your accession to the European Community'. When, a year later, it became obvious that there were indeed problems, he made an about-turn and froze the dossier.

From the outset we have stuck to the same position. Two weeks ago in Madrid François Mitterrand said: 'Should Spain join the Community? Yes. Are there problems to be sorted out? Yes, let's get down to tackling them'. No *volte-face*.

Since Spain applied for membership of the Community, we never questioned the principle of the Treaty of Rome which stipulates that a democratic European country, if it so desires, and provided it complies with the Treaty's stipulations on membership, cannot be excluded. We have always said: 'There are fundamental and serious problems, let's get down to tackling them'.

I would add that no amount of repetition and harping on about the fatal date of 1 January 1984, to the extent of it becoming almost a plea, a prayer, on the part of those very same people who simultaneously and systematically stand in the way of the much-needed measures for the Mediterranean regions, will change matters. Such tergiversation will only further postpone the much-needed negotiations and discussions prior to accession. After all, what has not been dealt with prior to 1984 will simply have to be taken up thereafter, and the accession date postponed. One thing is quite clear. Spain will not join unless and until the Community has enacted the necessary measures concerning the Mediterranean Member States, because Community enlargement is contingent upon unanimity of the existing Member States.

That is, for us, the heart of the matter. If, in some quarters, there is a tendency abroad which holds that by obstructing until 31 December 1983 the necessary measures on wine, fruit and vegetables, olive oil and, not least, on the Pöttering report, submitted for the Commission's opinion some three months ago and still without reply, an eleventh hour rush backed up by cajoling can achieve enlargement, I would like to dispel such a notion. Such procrastination will only have succeeded in further prolonging the enlargement negotiations beyond that date. As already stated, we are ready to sit down and tackle the thorny issues right now.

**President.** — I call Mr Brok.

**Mr Brok.** — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I am grateful to Mr Diana for putting his question because I know, as a Member of the European Parliament/Portuguese Parliament joint parliamentary committee, that this House requires a great deal of additional information. I consider that the information provided to this House on the state of the negotiations by the Commission and by those of our colleagues who have links with the Spanish and Portuguese Parliaments is quite insufficient. It seems to me that this situation should be improved through cooperation between the two institutions so that our discussions

**Brok**

can take place with a full knowledge of the facts and to enable us to take informed decisions.

We should clearly analyse the problems and possible solutions to them since concealment can only lead to further delays.

I consider it most important for the political goal of membership for these two countries, which has been repeatedly reaffirmed in declarations, not to be thwarted by the sectoral economic interests of certain countries. This great political aim must be clearly stated. Of course this does not imply that the existing economic problems facing the Community and the applicant countries may not be solved by negotiating transitional phases.

However, I am quite unable to agree with the two previous French speakers from the Communist and Socialist groups, because I have the impression that they, who used to be internationalists, are now arguing in strictly nationalistic terms. They present themselves on the one hand as defendants of Spanish interests while using this argument on the other as an alibi to defend their own interests.

I do not think that we should allow the Council and individual governments or Heads of State to use the institutional difficulties of the European Community as a pretext to prevent the accession of these two countries. It is up to our own countries — as we recently decided in our debate on the Spinelli report — to restore the institutional effectiveness of the Community, and those very people in whose power it lies to achieve this end should not now try to prevent us from making progress on the matter of accession. Mr Mitterrand should put the European house in order and not use the present disorder as a pretext for keeping out Spain and Portugal. In this context, Mr Sutra, the European Parliament should also clearly adhere to the date of 1 January 1984 because it is essential to exert pressure now on those who bear responsibility in the Commission and Council. Despite all the difficulties we should adhere to that date in order not to disappoint the applicant countries — a situation which would prove highly detrimental to the development of their young democracies.

Let us not forget that.

**President.** — I call Sir Fred Catherwood.

**Sir Fred Catherwood.** — Mr President, round the Mediterranean we have a series of neighbours with whom we have agreements — the Mashrek, the Magreb countries, Israel, Cyprus, for instance — and all of these will be affected by the extension of Community preference to Spain when Spain comes into the Community in the area of products that they now sell to us and on which they will not have the same mar-

gin. And there are also of course the Mediterranean countries of the Community represented here — Greece, Italy and the Mediterranean littoral of France. Their products too are going to be affected by the accession of Spain. Of course Spain consumes a lot of its own products, of course there are other markets and maybe in good time those who lose markets to Spain will diversify into other products and industries.

But I think that if we are looking at a Mediterranean plan, those are things that we will also have to take into account. It seems to me to be impossibly expensive to compensate all those who are going to lose markets simply because they have lost markets, and I hope that that is not what the Commission plan is going to do. We were promised this plan two months ago in a matter of weeks rather than months; I am not surprised it is taking some time to come. But I would plead for that plan, when it comes, to take into account that those who lose markets can first of all find other markets for some of their products. Secondly, that they can turn to other agricultural products than the ones where Spain has an edge. Thirdly, that there is the route of new rural industries, and, fourthly, that there is within the Community the possibility that we can somehow do other things than agriculture. We can and we should move much more than we are moving into high technologies to compete with the Americans and the Japanese. That is where a lot of our energy and effort should be going. So I hope that the plan will not simply say this vast amount of lost market has to be compensated for somehow and an enormous sum of money has to be dished out to all these countries. There are alternatives and there is a phasing-in period. During that rather longer phasing-in period — and I agree with my colleague, Gloria Hooper, that that long phasing-in period is desirable — there is time to change all those things.

Finally, I would say that I think that we should have this plan fairly quickly. I do not like the way in which Presidents are making large hints that the economic factors that we have not seen and the costs that we have not seen are all going to make it impossible. I think that the counter to that is to look very frankly at and debate very frankly the alternatives that arise for those countries who are going to lose markets, including our countries. Then we look at the residual cost and we look at it now before Spain comes in. The British, I think, should have looked a little bit more carefully at the cost to them and the cost to the Community of British entry. It is best to look at these things ahead of time. So I would plead for this plan — it is due today actually according to my calculations — as soon as possible. I hope that it is a realistic plan and that it is frank and open and that we discuss the entry of Spain not on the basis of hints and nudges from someone else, but on the basis of a real plan that is put before us as to the costs.

**President.** — I call Mr Alavanos.

**Mr Alavanos.** — (GR) Mr President, in the short time available to me I shall refer only to the matter of the EEC-Israel protocol following the accession of Greece.

I have three things to say about this:

First, a comment directed to Commissioner Natali. Mr Commissioner, in point 2 of the preamble to the explanatory memorandum concerning the protocol there is a statement to this effect: 'within the framework of relations between Greece and Israel it must be noted that the Israeli delegation emphasized that, according to its government, the signing of the protocol demands the establishment of full diplomatic relations between the two countries.' This statement is scandalous. Not only on account of Israel's demand, but because of the fact that the Commission has included the statement in its explanatory memorandum without comment, without even expressing any negative reaction to the political blackmail by Israel which is trying to exploit its economic relations with the EEC in order to impose political conditions on the Greek government. Particularly now, with the well known situation existing in Lebanon, the statement in question is a political scandal, and I call upon Commission Natali to give us a specific reply. I think the Commission is in a vulnerable position because the inclusion of Israel's statement without comment carries an essential implication of its acceptance.

A second scandal in this protocol is that today, when there is a real need for measures against Israel if its unacceptably aggressive warlike policy against Lebanon is to be overcome, what is happening, essentially through the EEC, is that Greece is constrained not to adopt measures against Israel but essentially to give up its tariff barriers against Israel, thus facilitating the importation of Israeli goods into Greece. We call upon our government, in the light of these developments which are so vital for our area and which directly affect our country, to refrain from implementing anything in this protocol and anything agreed between the previous government and the EEC.

My third and last point, Mr President, is this: we understand the need to protect and to provide guarantees for the products of the third world, but what is to happen to Greek products in the light of the fact that our accession to the EEC was based on the prospect that a market of 260 million people would be opened up to Greek agricultural products?

Mr Natali, you had many things to say in Athens a few days ago. Are you aware, however, that the exports of Greek agricultural products to the EEC fell for the first time? Are you aware that the imports of agricultural products from the EEC countries increased? Are you aware that the exports of Greek oranges to the EEC fell whereas those from Israel increased? And that is a matter, Mr Commissioner, concerning which we call for a reply.

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

**Mr Natali, Vice-President of the Commission.** — (IT) Mr President, you will readily understand that I find myself in a rather peculiar situation because I have on one hand a question by Mr Diana raising a number of extremely interesting problems and asking for information and clarification, while I then also have a motion for a resolution which seems in a sense to be postponing the debate until October 1982. I obviously do not wish to waste Parliament's time but neither, Mr President, would I wish the requests made in Mr Diana's question to remain unanswered — partly because they are bound up with the more general debate centring on the report by Mrs Pruvot and the report by Mr Rieger.

Those reports point out — and I wish to remind Mr Alavanos of this — that the protocols concluded with these countries relate to strictly technical adjustments enabling the agreements between the Community and Morocco, Syria and Israel to be extended to Greece as well. These adjustments are strictly technical but, as the rapporteurs have pointed out, the natural background to them is the debate on enlargement.

Mr President, I shall now very briefly answer some of the questions put to me and also comment on the speech by Mr Pöttering which undoubtedly raises problems of general interest. I have a duty to do so because recent events, declarations and visits may have cast some doubt on the attitude of the Commission and on the background to our action.

I wish first and foremost to reiterate the point which I have made frequently that it is neither the Council nor the Commission which negotiate the accession of new countries but the Member States as such. The role of the Commission is to facilitate the negotiations by submitting proposed solutions for the creation of an enlarged Community, bearing in mind the existing achievements of the Community which must be safeguarded.

We believe that we have done our duty by submitting all the necessary proposals on all the subjects under discussion and I must say, Mr Diana, how much I welcome the fact that the final communiqué of the European Parliament/Cortes joint committee emphasized the concern to which the Commission has always subscribed, namely, that 'the problems pertaining to Mediterranean agriculture in the Community must be brought to an early solution in the context of reform of the Common Agricultural Policy'.

This is certainly not the right time or place to discuss all the problems which arise in the agricultural sector; I am in any case sure that honourable Members will be familiar with the various documents submitted by the Commission, ranging from a first document in 1978 on 'Economic and sectoral aspects of the problems of

### Natali

enlargement' to the Commission's opinion on the applications for accession by Portugal and Spain and its 1980 report on the 'Situation of agriculture in the Community'. Mr President, honourable Members are also aware of the fact, since a debate was held on the subject this morning, that the Commission has tabled a series of proposals relating to particularly sensitive products — I refer to today's debate on wine. The Commission considers that these proposals will help to deal with the problems and prepare the Community for the accession of Spain and Portugal.

In answer to a question by Mr Diana as to the action taken by the Community to prepare for the accession of Spain and Portugal, I must point out that a number of specific measures have also been taken. For example, programmes have been initiated from the non-quota section of the regional development fund in favour of France and Italy and are now being implemented; then again, regulations were approved in 1977 in favour of Mediterranean agriculture, better known as the Mediterranean package.

Mr President, we are of course aware, as we pointed out in the context of our mandate, that work must continue on the elimination of the existing imbalances and different levels of development between the Community regions, and in particular the Mediterranean regions. We are also aware that problems exist — as Sir Fred Catherwood has pointed out — in regard to the consequences of enlargement on relations with the third countries of the Mediterranean basin, but here too we cannot be accused of failing to draw attention to these problems, since only 20 days ago we submitted a document on Mediterranean policy to the Council and Parliament.

Returning now to the discussion of the need to prepare the Community and its weakest regions, we drew attention in the mandate to certain lines of action involving the idea of initiating integrated Mediterranean programmes. May I say once again to Mr Pöttering how greatly the Commission appreciates his political sensitivity, as evidenced in the proposals and objectives set out in the document on the Mediterranean plan. Even though the Commission has not been able to respect the time limit imposed by Parliament for the presentation of specific proposals, you will be aware that, through a series of contacts and reports, we are seeking to highlight the obstacles and define solutions to remove those obstacles partly because — a point which I must repeat — we do not believe that a financial instrument on its own will be sufficient to solve the problems facing us. But the underlying concept of the Pöttering proposal has been accepted and will be reflected in our guidelines which will serve as the basis for integrated Mediterranean programmes. I want to confirm to Mr Pöttering and to Parliament as a whole that the Commission stands by its commitment to submit these integrated Mediterranean programmes to the Council and to Parliament by the end of the year.

As regards the financing of the actions to be undertaken, the Commission is currently looking into the best means of Community financing to achieve the set objectives. In particular, in conformity with the proposals which I myself made last February during the debate on the resolution tabled by Mr Pöttering, the analysis of the problems relating to the proposed revolving fund was taken further at a meeting on 1 July last between the Commission's services and the experts named by Mr Pöttering.

Given the importance which the Commission attaches to the problem of the Mediterranean regions and although this problem cannot be solved solely through the creation of a new financial instrument, we propose to continue and intensify these contacts which will enable us to develop our ideas further under the best possible conditions.

The approach adopted by Mr Pöttering has the advantage of enabling account to be taken of the specific situation in the Mediterranean area including the regions of the applicant countries. These specific considerations led the Commission to draw up the integrated programmes to which I have already referred. This approach has the further merit of setting in motion a coherent programme aimed in time at a global development action which will avoid the problems of annual decisions, thus making also for better participation by private investors.

Having said all this, the Commission is still somewhat perplexed, as we told Parliament last February. At this stage it is difficult to go beyond analysis; it will only be possible to take further action when the Commission has defined its integrated programmes and is able to present individual actions for specific sectors.

As regards your proposals, Mr Pöttering, we must develop our analysis further and I must point out that the Commission's services are taking account of the existing possibilities for Community action to avoid duplication which might not only be superfluous but could easily lessen the effectiveness of the existing instruments.

Mr President, in his question Mr Diana also asked me when we expect the negotiations to be concluded. I must point out, Mr President, in total frankness that no date has ever been set by the Member States and, I repeat, no document drawn up by the Member States exists in which any indication of a date is given.

*(Interruptions by Mr Welsh and Sir Fred Catherwood)*

If you will allow me to continue, the Commission has repeated in a number of declarations that accession in 1984 will be possible only if the negotiating process is speeded up substantially and if comprehensive negotiations are held defining all the conditions for accession with total clarity. I must point out, Sir Fred, that one of your questions put this evening as to the exact

**Natali**

financial and economic consequences, raises particularly complex problems. For example in the case of the commitments under the Common Agricultural Policy, I might ask you how it is possible to quantify figures relating to situations covered by regulations which change involving the prices of agricultural products which may alter each year.

With that proviso, Mr President, I must make it perfectly clear that these comprehensive negotiations must obviously include agriculture and fisheries. The Commission has always maintained that the necessarily complex negotiations on these subjects must be conducted in parallel with internal reforms without in any way calling into question the clearly defined areas in which adjustments will be necessary.

Mr President, at the beginning of my speech I said that this debate was opportune because the negotiations which had made substantial progress early this year given the political goodwill which existed and the level of advancement of each individual aspect of the negotiations, have now entered a phase which I do not hesitate to define as critical. There have been no recent formal decisions — I refer to the European Council — suggesting that the rate of the negotiations should be slowed down but the real problem is not of a formal nature. Negotiations cannot progress in isolation from the internal tensions and contradictions of the Community. They cannot progress unless adequate decisions are taken in conjunction with the proposals presented by the Commission and unless, Mr Pöttering, the Member States fully assume the responsibility for ensuring conformity between their political affirmations and the resulting operational choices and decisions.

Now that almost five years have elapsed since the start of this process we cannot fail to be aware of the fact that the real difficulties which exist within the Community must be set against the great expectations on the part of the applicant countries; that aspect should to my mind take priority and their expectations have been encouraged by specific political commitments.

We should be assuming a heavy political responsibility if we were to disappoint those expectations — and they will certainly be disappointed if we continue on the path of failure to take decisions, of requests for further studies and analysis which might easily be interpreted as a tactic designed to postpone a solution to the problems indefinitely.

The Commission cannot agree to that tactic. It is aware of having done its duty by putting forward ideas and proposals. It will continue to do so by submitting all further proposals as may be held necessary with one underlying aim: to create the conditions necessary for the Community to be a living and dynamic reality capable of overcoming the contradictions and obstacles which exist in our life today.

The Commission has always said that it would be difficult to arrange for the accession of three Mediterranean countries during a period of recession in the European and world economy; the Commission further maintained that superficial and hurried negotiations might easily lead to a fatal weakening in the bonds within the Community. The Commission has never concealed the difficulties even though it has often exposed itself to criticism on grounds of excessive technocracy without regard to the views of certain permanent or occasional optimists.

Having said that, we consider that the time is now ripe for decisions to be taken. To postpone them any further might not be a crime but — I make this point without cynicism — certainly a mistake whose price will be paid not only by the young democracies of the Iberian Peninsula but by all of us as well.

## IN THE CHAIR: MR ESTGEN

*Vice-President*

**President.** — I call Sir Fred Catherwood.

**Sir Fred Catherwood.** — Mr Natali asked: 'How could you possibly estimate, with the crops and all that kind of thing, what the end figure was going to be?'

Well, they estimate it every year and they estimate it to within a one percent VAT ceiling and it is right up to 9 something percent. So that is an estimate for that, and if you can estimate for the whole Community you can surely estimate it for Spanish accession. So there must be a figure there somewhere. And somewhere also there must be a figure for your estimate for the date of the completion of these negotiations. It would be interesting to have both figures.

**President.** — I call Mr Diana.

**Mr Diana.** — (*IT*) Mr President, as the author of this question, I wish to thank Commissioner Natali for his satisfactory answer, especially for the latest information he has given and for the tone of his speech to us.

I have absolutely no intention of merely postponing the discussion by tabling the motion for a resolution which, winding up this debate, proposes to call upon the Commission to present by next October a detailed list of the most sensitive sectors, of the respective positions of the applicant states and of the present EEC Member States, together with a survey of the most urgent problems and the solutions proposed by the

**Diana**

Commission. I am well aware, as the Commissioner himself pointed out, that an exhaustive answer could not be given this evening although Parliament, and I myself, consider a full answer on all these questions to be necessary.

That is why I have taken the liberty of insisting on the matter by tabling, with a number of colleagues, a motion for a resolution to enable this debate to be widened by giving us an up-to-date account of the progress made before the debate in Parliament on Lord Douro's report.

We are pleased to learn that the Commission has submitted proposals on all the dossiers which are under discussion and are the subject of negotiations. I personally have not yet been able to see the proposals relating to agriculture. I am most interested in seeing them and I am sure that the whole Parliament will share my interest as it has not yet had an opportunity to consider these proposals.

We agree that the requests which have been made are substantial and therefore probably require a longer and more comprehensive debate than that we have been able to hold this evening. We agree with the Commissioner that we have now entered a critical phase and that the time is right for decisions to be taken. Five years have elapsed since Spain applied to join and that is too long. I would remind you all that only — 13 months were needed for the Treaties of Rome to be drawn up and signed.

We share your view, Commissioner, that progress must be speeded up and suitable solutions sought to the outstanding problems; the financial solutions may involve reform of the existing common policies, especially in the agricultural sector.

I believe, Mr Natali, that we must make a joint effort to ensure that the deadlines are respected because we would be causing grave disappointment to the applicant countries if we were to postpone their accession further and, let me repeat, I do not believe that further delay will make it any easier to solve the problems.

**President.** — I call Mr Welsh to speak on a point of order.

**Mr Welsh.** — My honourable friend, Sir Fred Catherwood, asked Vice-President Natali a very precise question. He asked: 'When or what is the Commission's current estimate for the successful conclusion of negotiations?' I want to know if the Vice-President...

**President.** — That is not a point of order. I call Miss Hooper.

**Miss Hooper.** — Mr President, I have heard the bell rung which indicates a vote. I understand from col-

leagues that they are expected to vote. I would like to understand the procedure, because I have been here previously on Thursday evenings when votes on the matters discussed have always taken place on Friday morning. In view of the very small number of Members present, I would simply like to have an explanation because it seems to me a very unusual procedure.

**President.** — Miss Hooper, allow me to recite from the relevant passage of the Rules of Procedure: 'As soon as the motion for a resolution has been distributed, Parliament shall first decide, if necessary after hearing one of the movers, whether an early vote is to be taken. Should an early vote be decided upon, the motion for a resolution shall be put to the vote at voting time of the next sitting.'

I am, therefore, invoking this passage to determine whether or not the House wishes to vote on this motion for a resolution tomorrow.

I call Mr Alavanos to speak on a point of order.

**Mr Alavanos.** — (*GR*) Mr President, I merely asked to speak on a matter of procedure, and I shall not abuse the time available to me. Since the Deputy President has to reply to a question from my British colleague, I myself shall not submit a question in order to avoid contravening procedure, but will merely remind him of the question relating to the matter of Greece's relations, Greece's political relations...

**President.** — No, Mr Alavanos, that is not a point of order.

I call Mr von der Vring.

**Mr von der Vring.** — (*DE*) Mr President, we have a request for an immediate vote. Mr Diana spoke in favour of it. Would you please permit me to speak briefly against?

**President.** — No, there is no provision for that.

**Mr von der Vring.** — (*DE*) I am not sure that you are right, Mr President. Since one Member has spoken in favour another must be allowed to convey the opposite point of view. That seems quite reasonable and I would not need more than half a minute.

**President.** — Only the author can speak, and he has done so. I cannot understand why anyone else should now have to speak for and against. We must now proceed to take the vote.

*(It was decided to take an early vote)*



**President**

The vote on the two motions for resolutions will be taken at the next voting time.

The joint debate is closed.

The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

16. *Sheepmeat and goatmeat*

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-326/82) by Mr Paulhan, on behalf of the Committee on External Economic Relations, on the

proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-92/82 — COM(82) 112 final) for a regulation on transitional measures in respect of imports of sheepmeat and goatmeat originating in certain non-member countries qualifying for preferential treatment.

I call the rapporteur.

**Mr Paulhan, rapporteur.** — (FR) Mr President, the proposal for a resolution which I have the honour of presenting tonight on behalf of the Committee on External Economic Relations is essentially one of a technical nature. Basically it aims to maintain for certain countries which benefited from total or partial exemption from import levies, by virtue of agreements concluded with the Community prior to the regulation of the markets for sheep- and goatmeat, a treatment similar to that which they had been granted previously and to suspend, totally or partially, this levy which is applicable in compliance with the Council's proposal for a regulation to the following products: fresh, chilled and frozen sheepmeat other than the domestic variety — that is wild sheep, particularly those originating in Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and Spain, with a view to safeguarding the economic and commercial advantages evolved by the Community through a series of agreements with these countries of the Mediterranean basin.

It is vital that this proposition come into force as soon as possible.

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

**Mr Dalsager, Member of the Commission.** — (DA) Mr President, I believe that Mr Paulhan and I could agree that if there are difficult proposals we would like to have passed through Parliament, we should do it at this time of evening, when there are not so many opponents to reasonable proposals.

The common organization that we have in the sheepmeat and goatmeat sector has resulted in certain

changes in the arrangements for the importation into the Community of certain products, insofar as an import levy has been introduced where before a customs duty was collected.

In accordance with agreements entered into with the Community several Mediterranean countries are wholly or partly exempt from duties as regards part of the relevant positions. Pending revision or amendment of these agreements, and with a view to giving these products the same treatment as in the already existing agreements, a full or partial suspension of the levy ought to be introduced for the relevant products originating in Spain, the three Maghreb countries and Turkey. That is the purpose of this proposal, which will have little economic consequence because of the limited volume of these imports. In order to enable the Community to fulfil its obligations towards its trading partners in the Mediterranean countries, it is important that it be adopted immediately. Mr President, I do hope it will prove possible to have it adopted tonight.

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

The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

17. *Relations between the Community and the East European State-trading countries and Comecon*

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-203/82) by Mr Hoffmann, on behalf of the Committee on Transport, on relations between the Community and Comecon countries in the field of transport policy.

I call the rapporteur.

**Mr K.-H. Hoffmann, rapporteur.** — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, this report examines transport policy relations between the Member States and the Comecon countries and their implications for the individual modes of transport such as rail, road, inland waterways, maritime shipping and air traffic. The committee has reached the conclusion that the policy pursued by the Comecon countries in the transport sector is extremely detrimental to western undertakings and hence to their employees.

The report is based on precise information provided by the European trade unions and employers associations. The employers and unions alike complain that the EEC countries always adopt a very flexible position in negotiations at governmental level because they recognize the argument that the Comecon countries require convertible currency in order to safeguard their balance of payments position. In negotiations with the Eastern Bloc countries, transport interests are always the losers and are always overshadowed by commercial policy. The committee believes that in

**K.-H. Hoffmann**

future negotiations on trade agreements should be used to promote the transport interests of the Community and not, as has been the case up to now, to weaken them. The Comecon countries do, however, have other reasons to seek to exclude Western undertakings from participation in goods transport activities. Their aim is to achieve a peaceful penetration of the Western markets. Of course we would have no objection to this if, in return, their own countries were laid open to free economic contacts. However, their territories are protected by strong barriers against Western commercial and transport activities. They are in a position to arrange this because transport is a state monopoly directed by central agencies. This is their strength but at the same time it makes them susceptible to crisis because Western transport undertakings are not allowed to participate if additional transport capacity is required in the Eastern bloc.

The results of this experience are explained in the report and the relevant conclusions are drawn in the 15 paragraphs of the resolution. The resolution calls for example for compliance with the principle of reciprocity, the creation of preventive instruments for counter-measures by the Community and further development of the market observation system to include the maritime transport sector. Above all a substantial improvement must be brought about in the social conditions for employees through early negotiations. The trade unions cannot do this and the politicians must take over, with particular reference to freedom of movement, permanent visas, movement in ports, repatriation in the event of illness and above all legal protection in the event of traffic accidents. Administrative formalities at the frontiers must be reduced and the right of establishment reviewed — this right should only be granted by the West on a reciprocal basis.

Such very briefly is the essential content of the resolution. The resolution and report were adopted unanimously by the Committee on Transport and I hope the House will now give its approval too.

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

**Mr Klingenberg.** — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I wish to comment briefly on Mr Hoffmann's observations. May I say first of all that the Socialist Group will approve this report unreservedly. We wish to draw attention to the fundamental importance of this report which is further underlined by the extensive statistical material which it includes. We would emphasise this fundamental importance because we have the impression that too little attention has in the past been given to transport policy considerations and too much to general trade relations. We would remind you that 6% of the European Community's work force is employed in the transport sector. Comparing that figure with the 1.7% in agriculture the

need is surely clear for more intensive study before disregarding the interests of transport and sweeping them aside.

The problems in this sector are extensive and general and apply to all the modes of transport with the exception of the railways which are in a special position because they are administered at national level with a procedure for clearing transport invoices at the same level. We have here a conflict between two systems which are so fundamentally different that they cannot really be compared and this gives rise to a whole series of problems. Mr Hoffmann has already pointed out that one of our problems resides in the fact that the Comecon countries apply controlling measures not only to transport as such but also extremely complex measures of control over cargoes. This is particularly true in the area of maritime transport. I would remind you that the Comecon countries make very intensive use of the free world market in order to fully defend their interests in the West while we have little chance of enabling our transport operators to gain any foothold in this sector. We are confronted with obstacles at the frontiers and with the non-authorization of additional loading; this is a particular problem in maritime transport and also in the road transport sector in general. The negotiations between the EEC and the Comecon countries must therefore be followed with close attention and we must not allow our transport operators to be bypassed in the last resort.

We therefore advocate free world trade in the transport sector too but we would also ask for the existing framework conditions to be made compatible and for the EEC to make its own contribution at long last to enforcing the principle of reciprocity.

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

**Mr Moreland.** — Mr President, I would like to congratulate the rapporteur on this report. It was my group that put down the original motion which the committee took up, and I can say on behalf of my group that we are delighted with the result in the Hoffmann report.

This is a very important issue, in many ways much more important than is generally realized, because transport in the Community is being eroded by competition from the Comecon bloc. Shipping rates, for example, are 30% below those obtaining round our shores. The Soviet national container organization has claimed that it is aiming to secure 25% of the trade between Europe and the Far East, and this is certainly a threat.

There are lessons for us to learn, and those are contained in the Hoffmann report. The first is quite simply that the Community has to act together. We are in danger of being played off one against the other by the

### Moreland

East European bloc. Some Community countries seem to think they have their own way of dealing with the Soviets, and as a result we as a Community haven't got to grips with this issue. Consequently, the Soviets erode our transport trade the whole time.

There are other lessons for us. We should not be content with considering some of the proposals contained in this report; we should also look at our own transport organizations to see whether they are able to match Soviet competition.

It was interesting for those of us who went to the Transport Committee meeting in Greece to find that transport organizations in Athens were not quite so worried about this competition, because they felt they were very competitive organizations. Perhaps other organizations in the Community ought to realize that part of the answer is simply to become more competitive.

I hope we shall learn these lessons, Mr President.

A final word to the Commission. I know the Commission has a report called the Prognos report, which contains a lot of details on the statistics behind this subject, and I would ask the Commission when we can expect a final report to be published, because I think a lot of the work that has been done will be useful for future action.

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

**Mr Nyborg.** — (DA) Mr President, it has by now become something of a cliché to congratulate the rapporteur on his report. But in this case I feel that I can really, with good reason, congratulate Mr Hoffmann on his report, and also express by regret that Mr Irmer's report on trade policy could not be debated at the same time.

As Mr Hoffmann quite rightly points out in paragraph 4 of the motion for a resolution, it is precisely in connection with the trade agreements that the Community's transport interests ought to be looked after, but are not. It is utopian to try and establish a transport policy *vis-à-vis* the Comecon countries if one has not first established a sensible trade policy.

As Mr Hoffmann points out in paragraph 9 of the motion for a resolution, it is completely foolish that the EEC countries still accept trade agreements where all imports into the EEC take place 'cif' conditions, and all exports take place on 'fob' conditions. Because that means that the East European countries have a free hand in the matter of transport. Since they themselves pay for the freight, they are free to choose the means of transportation. The result is that Western ships are practically excluded from goods transport

between EEC and State-trading countries. The establishment of, or association in, Community transport agencies enables the State transport undertakings of the Comecon countries to build up their own acquisition and chartering network. This is in contrast to the EEC countries which are not allowed to establish themselves in the ports of the Comecon countries. This enables the Comecon countries to pick up return loads. Furthermore they can utilize their transport capacity to the full with traffic between the Western countries.

The effects of the expansive transport policy of the State-trading countries are, amongst other things, that many of the Community inland waterways shipping companies are fighting for survival. This is due to a systematic undercutting with regard to both inland navigation and maritime shipping. On top of this the mercantile marines of the State-trading countries have been substantially enlarged in the last few years, and they constitute a threat to the EEC shipping companies. This threat to maritime shipping is directed not only against the so-called established seafaring nations to which we belong but likewise against the merchant navies being built up by the developing countries. In the long run they will not be able to stand up to this competition, as their low wage costs are not sufficient to fend off this competition from the State-trading countries. There is practically no doubt that the State-trading countries are trying to make up for a rising deficit on their balance of payments by increasing income in their transport sector. From a currency point of view it may not always be necessary that the freight rates cover the costs. Even if it can be taken for granted that the State-trading countries practice dumping, it is not at all easy to prove this, as it is impossible to draw a direct comparison because of the different systems of cost accounting.

I would like to say that I warmly recommend Mr Hoffmann's report. But I must very strongly insist that the prerequisite for establishing a transport policy *vis-à-vis* the Comecon countries is that we first — or at least at the same time — establish a trade policy.

Mr President, I have hardly — or maybe not at all — mentioned road transport, which faces similar problems. Rail and air transport are also going through certain difficult situations. However, I shall end by mentioning that during the past three years the Commission has been compiling some statistics on the transport sector. There is no longer time for statistics. Now it is time for action.

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

**Mr Contogeorgis, Member of the Commission.** — (GR) Mr President, I would first like to thank and warmly congratulate the rapporteur, Mr Hoffmann, for his well-constructed report. It contains information

### Contogeorgis

that corresponds to the true situation, because it is indeed the case that the basic difference between the socio-economic and political systems of the Eastern and the Western countries creates the preconditions for problems to arise in the transport sector, which can be characterized as problems of illegitimate competition.

In the last decade these problems have become particularly prominent. The Commission has shown special sensitivity in the face of these problems, and following a number of appropriate investigations, has reached the conclusion that in at least some sectors it had to exercise systematic surveillance, so that the Community could react directly in cases when the situation seemed to be deteriorating and in cases when these economic activities of the Member States were placed at risk.

The proposed resolution before us today will, I am sure, and I share the point of view expressed by fellow-members, contribute towards increasing the powers of the Community to overcome this situation. I would like to move on to a number of comments concerning certain points in the resolution.

First, as regards points 1 and 3. So far as collaboration with the Comecon countries is concerned, it should be mentioned that the Community has for many years taken an active part in the work relating to the transport sector within the framework of the Economic Committee for Europe, which meets in Geneva. In this connection it has established certain contacts with the Eastern countries. Nevertheless, the well known problems of an institutional nature in our relations with the Comecon countries have hindered the achievement of real progress in this direction.

For these reasons the Commission fully shares the opinion expressed in the aforesaid points of the resolution, according to which it is of prime importance that the matter should be faced by the Community as a whole, and I would like to mention that the Commission intends to investigate and prepare measures designed to improve the situation in this sector.

Concerning points 4 and 5 of the resolution, I wish to say that the notion that during the planning stage of trade agreements consideration should also be given to the transport sector and to the need for reciprocity is, of course, both useful and essential. Unfortunately, however, very few trade agreements exist with the Eastern countries. The Community has contracted agreements with Romania, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, which are limited to the sectors of steel and textile products. But the problems in the transport sector, the problems of illegitimate competition posed by these countries are not so severe, and there were accordingly no particularly serious matters to be regulated within the framework of the trade agreements in question.

Concerning points 6 and 7 of the resolution, the Commission does not deny that measures of reciprocity might well constitute an effective weapon that could be used in the event that some example of serious illegitimate competition arose, which placed at risk some sector of the Community. However, the Commission considers that such countermeasures should only be applied as a last resort.

In the sector of maritime transport, the system of surveillance in force provides the Community with the necessary information for justifying the utility or the necessity for adopting such measures. Of course, no such measures have been applied up to now, but we are fully informed and should it prove necessary, such measures will be prepared and proposed.

As you know, on 10 June, just a few days ago, the Council of Ministers was informed of the Commission's intention to apply a similar system in the case of road transport as well, in relation to third countries outside the Community.

Again, in the sector of inland waterways the recent protocol No 2 of October 1979, annexed to the Mannheim Act, empowers the countries bordering on the Rhine and the Community to deny navigation of the Rhine to vessels from third countries, such as the Comecon countries, through whose territory the Rhine does not flow, if this should create unacceptable situations as regards free competition under equal conditions.

Concerning points 10 and 12 of the resolution, I would like to comment that the Commission has completed certain preliminary work within the framework of the Helsinki Conference and the Economic Committee. Unfortunately, due to the lack of manpower, no start has yet been made on carrying out an in-depth study of these problems, which are related to the taxation of transport enterprises and the protection of personnel in Eastern countries. This is a gap which I promise you we will try to fill. Indeed, as has already been said, the protection of personnel from the Member States who go to Eastern countries in the exercise of their occupations in the transport sector is a fundamental factor, to ensure freedom of movement and protection in case of need.

Concerning point 11 of the resolution, I would like to say that the Commission is taking part in the preliminary work that is at present being carried out within the framework of the Economic Committee for Europe in Geneva, which aims at drawing up agreements to facilitate the crossing of frontiers.

Concerning point 13 of the resolution, I will tell you that the services of the Commission are examining the situation regarding the laws relating to establishment in the sectors of inland waterways and maritime transport.

**Contogeorgis**

Finally, concerning point 15 of the resolution, I announce that the Commission is participating, and will continue to participate actively, in the work of the competent international organizations in the transport sector, a fact that should focus the attention of the Comecon countries on all the problems raised in your resolution.

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

The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

18. *Activities of road hauliers*

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-317/82) by Mr Seefeld, on behalf of the Committee on transport, on the

proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-994/81 — COM(81) 716 final) for a decision on the collection of information concerning the activities of road hauliers participating in the carriage of goods to and from certain non-member countries.

As the rapporteur does not wish to speak, I call the European Democratic Group.

**Mr Moreland.** — Mr President, this is really part two of my previous speech. In one minute I will say to the Commission: first of all let us not have another study, let us have some action.

Secondly, are we really in danger of having this study blocked by one Member State? Is it not ridiculous, as this is so clearly an issue in which majority voting, I would have thought, is quite obvious?

Thirdly, how much is it going to cost? Nowhere do I see in this any mention of cost. Having said that, Mr President, we welcome the Seefeld report but, as I said, not another study on this particular subject. We would like some action as outlined in the Hoffmann report.

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

**Mr Contogeorgis, Member of the Commission — (GR)** Mr President, as you are no doubt aware, the Council of Ministers at its session of 10 June 1982 examined the Commission's proposal and sent you a related document on 17 July. Indeed, on that date the Council took into account the Commission's desire to bring the proposed work to a conclusion, but it did not express its position in a formal resolution because no opinion had yet been delivered by Parliament and the Council was not in a position to make decisions.

Nevertheless, the matter was discussed and the Council judged that the Commission's activities in this sector should not relate only to transport companies in the countries of the Eastern Bloc, as mentioned in Section II of the Commission's proposal, but that these activities should be extended to all the transport concerns in countries which are not members of the Community. The Commission accepted this view, because this would in any case avoid the blocking of the proposal.

However, it is self-evident that in the first instance, and because the problems we are encountering arise in connection with transport to and from the Eastern countries, the implementation of the decision, as soon as it is passed by the Council following Parliament's opinion, will begin with the Eastern countries.

Concerning point 4 of the proposed resolution of the European Parliament's Committee on Transport, which envisages the need to incorporate the proposed system of supervision of road transport into a single overall system of surveillance covering the other modes of transport as well, i.e. railways, inland waterways, air and maritime transport, in the case of both freight and passengers, I would like to comment that up to now the Commission has indeed operated, as it were, in an *ad hoc* way, according to the problems that arose and the difficulties encountered.

As you know, about four years ago the system of surveillance for maritime transport was laid down, which covers the maritime trade routes to Central America and Southern Africa, and this system was later, last year, extended to maritime transport to the Far East.

Moreover, as I said earlier, in the sector of inland waterways the threat posed by the merchant fleets of the Eastern countries following the opening of the Rhine-Main-Danube canal can be overcome by adaptive measures deriving from and envisaged by the second annex to the Mannheim Act.

The proposal being debated today also refers to road transport. Thus, the system of surveillance is gradually being integrated and covers those sectors in which, up to now, there have been difficulties and problems in the functioning of healthy competition in our relations with the Eastern countries in the transport sector.

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

The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

19. *Transport infrastructures*

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-214/82) by Mr Moorhouse, on behalf of the Committee on Transport, on

**President**

- bottlenecks in transport infrastructures and possible modes of finance (COM(80) 232 final)
- Community support for transport infrastructures: evaluation of 'Community interest' for decision-making (COM(81) 507 final).

I call the rapporteur.

**Mr Moorhouse, rapporteur.** — Mr President, my report on bottlenecks in transport infrastructures and on the criteria for assessing infrastructure projects of Community interest considers the implementation of a Community policy in this particular field of transport to be of paramount significance.

As a committee we believe that such a policy constitutes an essential part of any real common transport policy because of its implications, for example, as far as competition is concerned on the transport market, both between the various modes of transport and between transport companies throughout the Community. Moreover, there is no need to be an expert to realize the importance of the availability of adequate transport infrastructures for cost and energy savings. Last but not least, it is important because of its influence on the development of less-favoured regions within our Community, especially those situated on the periphery and on most of the internal frontiers of the Community.

Not only the Committee on Transport and its members consider the need for improved transport infrastructures as essential, but so do also a lot of Members of this Parliament who are not on the Committee on Transport, as is clearly shown by the great number of oral and written questions to the Council and the Commission, as well as by a fair number of motions for resolutions tabled by individual Members. We had too the excellent report drawn up by our colleague, Mr Klinkenborg, who spoke earlier in this debate.

Mr President, our aims in this report are twofold, namely (a) the development of a modern and homogeneous network of transport infrastructures that match current and future needs; and (b) a common approach in the decision-making on projects to be built, so that disruptions in traffic and unfair competition between transport undertakings in the various Member States can be avoided. It is in the context of those two aims that the comments and criticisms in my report on the Commission's papers are to be considered.

May I quickly just say a few words about the background to the Commission's reports. Back in July 1976 the Commission submitted to the Council two proposals. The first was to set up a standing committee for transport infrastructure and the second contained a proposal for a regulation concerning Community aid to projects of Community interest. Both proposals were approved by Parliament on the basis of two

reports drawn up by Mr Nyborg which subsequently were agreed by the Council. It is a matter of great regret, however, that in the Council there has been no agreement on the second proposal, as many of us know all too well.

As long ago as November 1978 the Transport Ministers called on the Commission to prepare first of all a report on the bottlenecks in the existing transport infrastructures and the various possible means of finance, and also another report on the criteria for evaluating infrastructure projects of Community interest. Now both reports should enable the Council to reach agreement on the implementation of the draft regulation on financial support for projects of Community interest.

I will now make the rest of my remarks in Danish, with an eye on the Danish presidency, if I may.

*(DA)* Let me begin by making one critical remark. In the Committee on Transport we considered this regulation as a veritable cornerstone of the common transport infrastructure policy and therefore repeatedly urged the Council with all the emphasis at our command to take some action. We feared that the Council's request to the Commission to draw up reports only had the effect of deferring the long overdue decision. I say 'feared' and 'had', because the situation has changed in the meantime. I am glad to be able to tell the House — this is of course something that the members of the Committee on Transport already know — that the Council, or at least the former President-in-Office of the Council, the Belgian Minister for Transport, Mr de Croo, has finally listened to our pleas. At its meeting of 10 June the Council instructed the Commission to draw up within three months a 'balanced experimental programme which would cover a period of three to five years and consist of practical infrastructure projects'. The Commission was also requested to set out guidelines for this programme and to indicate its financial implications.

Let us hope that the Commission can abide by this deadline and that the Council under the Danish Presidency will succeed in adopting the proposed regulation by the end of this year.

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

**Mr Klinkenborg.** — *(DE)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, we approve this report.

We appeal once again to the Council to adopt the Commission's proposal of 5 July 1976 for a regulation to support projects of Community interest which is the prerequisite for the development of our transport infrastructure.

In the context of these measures, we also call upon the Council to extend the Commission's mandate for

**Klinkenberg**

negotiations with Austria to include the financial aspect without which these negotiations are a farce. We have an urgent need for Austria as a transit country if we are to establish a European transport policy and we cannot motivate the Austrians to do anything at European level unless we give them our support.

We urge the Council yet again to make at long last its contribution to the elimination of bottlenecks and to cease its obstruction of a transport policy.

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

**Mr Clinton.** — Mr President, the Committee on Transport and its rapporteur must be congratulated on this excellent report before us this evening. In reading the report it is obvious that the Commission should also be commended for the work it has done in preparing the way for the Council to take decisions in this important area of transport infrastructures.

Whilst noting the excellent work done by the Commission, I must say that my group is not completely satisfied. The Commission's reports are incomplete. In particular, there is insufficient attention given to the problems of transport infrastructure in peripheral regions of the Community. This is all the more regrettable since the economic integration of the Community depends to a large extent on the economic activity of the peripheral regions. There seems also to be a certain lack of Community dimension in the Commission's report. Whether we speak of the transalpine motorway, the Channel Tunnel or the Belfast-Dublin railway line, we must examine these problems in a Community context. The mode of financing and execution must be looked at from the point of view of a common transport policy.

I would now like to turn my attention to the Council of Ministers. Like myself, many Members of this House were surprised to learn some months ago that our Committee on Transport proposed to bring the Council before the Court of Justice for its inaction in the transport sector. Having read the report now before us, it is completely understandable that the Committee on Transport has been driven to make such a decision. Five years ago the Commission made a proposal to the Council for a regulation to support projects of Community interest in the transport infrastructure sector. What happened? The Council has done everything possible to avoid taking a decision. Given such a record, it is difficult to believe that the Council is a serious Community institution. The time has now come for the Council to act. No further excuses can be accepted for the lack of decision. There must be no more requests for further information. The Council must say yes or no to the Commission's 1976 proposals. Then we will all know exactly where we stand.

I have said that the Commission's reports are useful documents, but I must add that this House must not be asked to examine any more reports or communications from the Commission to the Council in the transport sector. From now on this House must expect to examine only proposals for regulations to improve and expand a common transport policy.

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

**Mr Buttafuoco.** — *(IT)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the report tabled by Mr Moorhouse on behalf of the Committee on Transport, to which I belong, on transport bottlenecks and a Community contribution to transport infrastructures, has my full approval and that of my colleagues, especially when it points out, with some bitterness and disappointment, that for six years the Council has failed to adopt any decision on the Commission's proposal for a regulation on financial support for projects of Community interest in the transport infrastructure sector.

Adoption of that financial regulation is the cornerstone of a common transport policy; without it the development at European level of this important sector will evidently be impossible. This is true in commercial and economic terms and, above all, from the political angle. A Community policy for transport infrastructures is vitally important to the development of the less-favoured regions and to that of the more remote areas of the Community of Ten which will shortly be enlarged with the accession of the countries of the Iberian Peninsula.

The construction of a network of modern routes meeting the requirements of transport today is vital, in particular to those regions to which I referred previously. We in the Committee on Transport are convinced, as Mr Moorhouse has stated on numerous occasions, that a real common transport policy cannot be confined solely to the coordination of national programmes; on the contrary the Community must be able to make available the funds required for the financing of certain transport infrastructure projects of vital interest whose value to the Community we all recognize. I might mention in this connection the bridge across the Straits of Messina, the Channel Tunnel, the Milan-Adriatic waterway and the Rhine-Danube Canal link. These projects are of very great interest to the Community but surely cannot be carried out without the approval by the Council of this famous financial regulation.

The outcome of the Council meeting of 10 June last has quenched all our hopes, but do those countries which are so strongly opposed to these proposals — let me name them: Germany, France, Belgium and Denmark which now presides over the Council — really intend to persist in their negative attitude and accept responsibility for delaying progress towards a European union? We hope not.

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

**Mr Contogeorgis, Member of the Commission.** — (GR) Mr President, the Commission's two reports to the Council that you have examined, in other words the report on bottlenecks and the report on the assessment of the Community's interest in the sector infrastructure projects, constitute an important phase in the Community's action in the transport sector.

In fact, these two reports make it possible to give affirmative answers to three basic questions: firstly, is there any great need for infrastructure projects in the transport sector? The report says 'yes, there is.' Is it necessary to make provision for a mechanism for financing such infrastructure projects in the transport sector? The report concludes that such a mechanism must indeed be provided for. The third question is whether it is possible to assess the Community's interest in such plans in the context of envisaging financial support by the Community. And again the reports conclude affirmatively.

Mr Moorhouse, you have grasped extremely well the importance of these reports by the Commission, and you have examined them in a particularly detailed and constructive way. Of course, you perceived certain imperfections, in particular the fact that the need for investments was determined on the basis of proposals by the Member States, and consequently that they are influenced perhaps more than they should be by the narrower national point of view rather than by the broader Community one.

Unfortunately, however, at that time it could not have been otherwise, and in any event we feel that these reports can be considered as the starting point for some action which must be on a Community scale and which will become ever more developed and emphatic. I can confirm with pleasure that your proposals for the future coincide with the orientation of the Commission's actions.

One of the most important points is certainly that the Community's plans should be made much more clear, with the principal criterion of the broader interest of the Community. These plans must be brought to fruition promptly, and there could be some common financial support for them. However, as you emphasized along with other speakers, it is necessary, if any progress is to be made on this point, for approval to be given to the regulation that the Commission has been proposing to the Council for years, and this must be approved if financial support for plans of Community interest is to become a reality. In this connection it will not have escaped you that at the last meeting of the Presidents of the Community's three main bodies, Parliament, the Council and the Commission, it was agreed that for the initiation of new policies or the actualization of substantial budgetary expenditures, there should essentially be a Community mechanism, a

legal basis. And in this case it is essential for such a regulation to exist.

I believe that so far as this point is concerned our points of view are coincident, and I also believe that the Council is moving in this direction. In connection with the Council's request, at its last session on 10 June, that the Commission should draw up and present a programme of infrastructure projects for a period of three to five years, I would like to tell you that the Commission will respond to this invitation and I am in a position to state, right now, that the Commission will not merely confine itself to the preparation of a list of projects but will grasp the opportunity to make known its positions regarding a programme of activities in which priorities will be clearly laid down on the basis of the Community interest.

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

The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

## 20. *Inland waterways in the Community*

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-323/82) by Mr Hoffmann, on behalf of the Committee on Transport, on inland waterways in the Community.

I call the rapporteur.

**Mr K.-H. Hoffmann, rapporteur.** — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, this report is based on two motions for resolutions which were tabled by the Socialist Group and the EPP Group.

Both groups were calling firstly for the development of the Rhine-Rhone Canal and secondly for the extension of the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal. This is a difficult problem because the two canal projects are the subject of some dispute in the countries directly concerned. When I was appointed rapporteur, I therefore put a number of preliminary questions to the Transport Committee because there would otherwise have been no need to begin this work at all. The Committee on Transport is of the opinion that two great waterway transport intersections must be formed in the Community, namely the North-South link in the shape of the Rhine-Rhone Canal and the East-West link through the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal; the committee believes that the national waterways should be organically structured round this central waterway network. The Committee on Transport unanimously believed this to be necessary and that decision formed the basis for my report.

The Committee on Transport believes that this waterway intersection must be created and a coherent waterway network made available if inland waterway



**K.-H. Hoffmann**

shipping is to make its proper contribution to transport in the context of increasingly close European economic links. That being so, the network of major inland waterways should be concentrated on the two intersecting trunk routes. At the same time the Commission is requested to prepare an overall plan for the development of the waterway network in the Community showing the economic, transport, regional and development policy benefits of the individual projects and setting priorities for the Community.

The Committee on Transport favours the extension of the Rhine-Rhone Canal and the completion of the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal. It calls upon the Commission to make representations to the governments of the responsible Member States with a view to the vigorous pursuit and earliest possible completion of projects such as the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal, whose interest to the Community has already been recognized by the Commission. At the same time the Commission should study all possible ways of promoting and speeding up the completion of this project with the aid of Community funds. The committee has, however, not confined itself to studying the value of our canal system and waterways in terms of transport economics or simply of transport links with the Comecon countries; on the contrary it has placed primary attention on the value of canal construction in terms of the employment market, the significance for energy policy, regional policy and water supplies. In the case of the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal alone the benefit to our energy economy would be substantial. At present 49 hydro-electric power stations are operational. After extension the total capacity would be 414 MW of electricity, which represents a substantial additional supply of energy.

A further aspect of this subject should not remain unmentioned: Greece has become a Member of the European Community, but Greece lies on the periphery of the Community and it has become urgently necessary for transport links between that country and the heart of the European Community to be developed at a faster rate. I consider it nothing short of scandalous that the Council should instruct the Commission to negotiate with Austria as the main transit country on the extension of the Pyhrn motorway without at the same time giving it any mandate in respect of the financial aspect or the possible participation by the EEC in this important project.

The same consideration applies to the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal. If we wish to use the transit routes available in Austria we must give that country the possibility of developing its routes while protecting its own ecological balance; the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal represents a suitable form of development. These important considerations relating to the Community's external policy also speak in favour of the planned European waterway network.

**President.** — I call the Committee on Regional Policy and Regional Planning.

**Mr Karl Schön, joint-rapporteur.** — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, budgetary problems in the Federal Republic of Germany and broad public criticism of the need for and economics of the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal have resulted in a reduction in the appropriations made available from the German Federal budget for the completion of the Nürnberg-Straubing section of this canal in the years 1982 and 1983. The Committee on Regional Policy and Regional Planning, in whose name I am addressing you now, realizes that these reductions may lead to a considerable delay in completion, perhaps even beyond the year 2000.

We have the impression that the canal might then be technically obsolete when it comes to be opened and no longer meet a real transport need. These doubts are apparently already being voiced at the highest level in the Federal Republic of Germany by a well-known Minister. Although the debate as to the significance of this canal project has essentially been conducted in Germany, the problem is not simply a national one but, as Mr Hoffmann has already said, also has European implications. If the principle of the concentration of resources advocated by the Regional Policy Committee for the fund i.e. for the reformed Regional Fund regulation, is to be applied, intervention for this project will hardly be possible. To put it frankly, we can hardly maintain that Oberpfalz and Niederbayern are areas particularly hard hit by the consequences of industrial recession or the impact of certain Community policies.

The viability calculations for this project dating back to 1976 are based on an annual tonnage of 3.7 million tonnes. The loss of revenue to the adjacent rail routes must be offset against this and would necessitate a doubling of tonnage actually carried if we are to break even. Assuming that the tonnage carried on the canal does increase, which still appears doubtful, it is still impossible at this stage to evaluate the overall benefit of this canal to Europe. However, we believe that the Commission must carry out an expert study of this project concentrating on the interest of this canal from the angle of the European Community's transport policy. This canal project may certainly help to overcome regional differences within some Member States.

I believe that the new version of the regional fund regulation which will provide for a more specific regional policy programme is relevant here: practically all the key economic indicators show favourable values for Bavaria in comparison with the Community average. As Europeans we must recognize this fact. The expert opinion which we are asking the Commission to draw up must throw light on the economics and transport policy implications of the canal project. It must also take account of regional policy aspects and clarify the underlying purpose of the extension of this canal. We cannot ask the European Community to undertake additional commitments until the economics and financial risks have been assessed; otherwise

**Karl Schön**

we shall be embarking on a project which may not be in the general European interest.

I would refer you to the report which we have submitted and would ask you to give your support to the Committee on Regional Policy which has unanimously decided to defer this Rhine-Main-Danube project until clear figures are available.

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

**Mr Klinkenborg.** — (*DE*) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, in my view inland waterway shipping has an important function to perform among the other modes of transport e.g. in the bulk goods sector and we cannot simply assess planned projects in strictly economic terms. We should rather consider them from the long-term angle of the organization of our European transport policy. In that context inland navigation will have an important role firstly from the angle of environmental protection and secondly, from that, which I consider to be extraordinarily important, of energy savings. Mention should also be made of the regional policy significance.

In the Committee on Transport we have laid emphasis on the need for an overall plan and I still support that view. Our aim must be a long-term organization under which two intersecting north-south and west-east axes will be developed to enable inland waterway shipping to handle its share of overall transport activities.

We are well aware that the two main projects have come in for more than mere superficial criticism and I therefore call upon the opponents and advocates in the individual member countries to reach a balanced assessment of the two projects, not only from the biased angle of outright rejection or approval. This project is far too important in the more general transport context for such attitudes to be acceptable.

The discussion does not centre solely on the desirability of extending the Rhine-Main Danube Canal in Germany; our report is much more comprehensive and contains a number of other aspects which deserve your consideration.

We appeal once again to the Commission to enter the necessary budgetary appropriations to participate in the European part of these measures. That is the only way of convincing us that the Council and Commission take more than a superficial interest in the development of a European transport infrastructure.

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

**Mr Kaloyannis.** — (*GR*) Mr President, I feel obliged to offer sincere congratulations to the rapporteur, Mr

Hoffmann, for his work of rare quality, or rather for the treatise he has presented. From the standpoint of informativeness it is remarkable. There is special emphasis on the effect of better North-South connections and of regional developmental benefits upon the economy and upon energy, but always with the proviso of protecting the environment as much as possible.

There is a clear account of positive ideas for the priority that should be given to these projects, and there are also ample figures concerning the cost-benefit ratio. The report analyses in detail the conflicting views on each project for the creation, extension or improvement of inland waterways. Anyone reading or listening to the report is supplied in full with realistic figures, so that without having to be an expert, he can adopt a position in relation to this important and great means of transport.

The entire report is an offering to the competent Community organs for study, for the taking of correct decisions, for an integrated network of large European inland waterways which does not exist today and that could be combined very effectively with the other modes of transport.

Personally, I agree that the network of major river routes in Europe should be based on 2 intersecting arteries leading from the North Sea to the Mediterranean and from the Atlantic to the Black Sea, and that the branches should be planned in accordance with regional needs.

In my brief intervention I wish, because my country was mentioned as well, to indicate to my compatriot here present, Mr Contogeorgis, that as part of the overall review of the network of inland waterways it is essential to examine the possibility of connecting the Danube to the Axios river, a link that would benefit Greece and that fits in with the broader Community interest in the context of the report under discussion.

I would also like to mention that in Greece the Corinth Canal represents a problem of 'urgent maintenance', because it is literally in danger of being blocked because of damage to the undersea foundation walls. A financial participation by the Community in this work will be required because of the general European interest, and we Greek members have submitted a relevant motion for a resolution.

In concluding, Mr President, I too would like to echo the complaint, which I believe is a complaint of everyone in this House, that up to now the Council has pursued a tactic of general neglect in the transport sector, and has ignored proposals made by Parliament, by the Commission, and by the parliamentary Committee on Transport.

It is sad that at this moment the Transport Committee are obliged to set in motion the procedures of recourse

**Kaloyannis**

to the Court of the European Communities for inactivity and negligence.

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

**Mr Moreland.** — Mr President, I have a prejudice in this debate. It has nothing to do with being British or with being a Conservative; the prejudice happens to be that I am a canal maniac. I was born near a canal. I have a constituency with a lot of canals in it. I have as one of my hobbies looking for disused canals around my country. I have just one message for this Parliament and that is, quite simply: read the Hoffmann report. It is about the best thing that I have ever read on European waterways; it is extremely well written and covers the waterways of all our countries — not just the Rhine-Danube problem but also the canals of others countries, including the small canals of my own. We are going to need our canals in the future for energy-saving and other reasons; and therefore I hope that the message will get through to the Commission, the Member States, local government authorities and so on: give more attention to your canals and, above all, read this excellent report by Mr Hoffmann!

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

**Mr Petronio.** — *(IT)* Mr President, I shall use this minute to convey to you our approval of Mr Hoffmann's resolution which covers this major problem of European waterways. We shall be voting in favour because Mr Hoffmann has been kind enough to take into consideration our proposal relating to the Milan-Adriatic Canal in the context of the major European waterways; our colleague, Mr Buttafuoco, put that proposal forward in the Committee on transport.

We believe that this major project, the Milan-Adriatic Canal, has its part in the European waterway network as Mr Hoffmann points out in his report. He also indicates the need for the Member States to pursue policies, studies and initiatives to ensure that these major waterways are able to provide better transport links in Europe. We are in favour of all this and therefore approve Mr Hoffmann's report.

**President.** — I call Mr von der Vring.

**Mr von der Vring.** — *(DE)* Mr President, I am speaking against the Hoffmann report on behalf of a minority in the Socialist Group. I am extremely sorry to have to say this because I must confess that it is a long time since I have read such a carefully reasoned, competent and soundly based report. I wish to pay tribute to the rapporteur for that.

My objection relates to paragraph 9 of the resolution asking for the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal to be com-

pleted at the earliest possible opportunity. By approving this resolution we should be committing ourselves to financial subsidies which the Committee on Regional Policy and Regional Planning have strongly rejected.

The canal has now been half completed but strong doubts have arisen in the Federal Republic — at governmental level, in the Bundestag and in the general public. The latest expert report has lowered the original estimate as to the transport benefit of the canal by over 80% and believes that the costs would outstrip the overall benefit in a ratio of 2:1. Moreover, a vigorous ecological protest movement has arisen against the destruction of the famous Altmühl Valley by a 50 metre wide concrete basin. More than half a million signatures have been collected.

Mr President, if, despite such strong economic and ecological objections, European politicians still recommend the continuation of this project I believe that we are under an obligation to put forward convincing reasons. but the report fails to do so. It almost looks as though the rapporteur himself only took up the recommendation for construction of the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal against his better judgement. In the last resort this is really more a matter for internal political argument in Germany.

In paragraph 92 of his explanatory statement, the rapporteur writes: 'As there are insufficient quantitative criteria, the advantages of the project to the Community from the point of view of transport economics must therefore be affirmed for qualitative reasons'. I find that an extraordinary sentence. What does he mean by qualitative reasons if there are no quantitative arguments in support of the project?

In conclusion, may I point out to you that the German Minister of Transport has described this project as the greatest folly since the Tower of Babel. Ladies and gentlemen, let us not disqualify ourselves in the eyes of German public opinion by showing a lack of expert knowledge. If paragraph 9 is deleted from the resolution, we shall be able to approve the rest of the report; otherwise we shall have to vote against.

**President.** — I call Mr Schmid to speak on a point of order.

**Mr Schmid.** — *(DE)* Mr President, on a point of order, the subject that we are now discussing is of very great importance to the Federal Republic.

Can you give an assurance to the House that one of the leading specialists in canal matters, a Minister, Mr Franke, has been entrusted with a study of this problem?

**President.** — Mr Schmid, that has nothing to do with our Rules of Procedure.

**President**

I call Mr Fuchs.

**Mr Karl Fuchs.** — (DE) Mr President, however critical our assessment may be, the Hoffmann report has everything to recommend it. I live near the Danube and know how important this canal is. I know that it is closing a gap in an existing canal network and that it is already 90% and not just 50% complete. I know that it is of considerable regional policy significance in an area of the Federal Republic with the highest rate of unemployment and I would not dismiss this project as readily as Mr von der Vring who presumably does not know much about it. The need for this gap in the canal network to be closed has been rightly stressed. It would be absurd to suspend the project shortly before completion. I believe it would be highly desirable for the European Parliament to make appropriate representations to the Federal Government on this matter.

This project is also of fundamental importance to Austria and we are under an obligation to assist that country because all our transit traffic passes through Austria. The Federal Chancellor of Germany has given an assurance to the Austrian Chancellor on this matter. That point too deserves to be stressed today. The construction of power stations would cover half the cost of the canal. The supply of water which is abundant in southern Bavaria to northern Bavaria where it is needed is also an urgent requirement which would cost 200 million ECU. All these aspects must be seen in conjunction.

In conclusion I would add that the Commissioner has already removed one of our fears, namely, that on completion of the canal the Comecon waterway fleet might engage in disastrous and destructive competition with us. The supplementary protocol to the Mannheim Convention makes that impossible. Agreements must be negotiated before the vessels have access to the waterway. This would even be a very convenient instrument for us to seek better and more reasonable and equitable conditions in our overall transport relations with the Comecon countries. I would therefore welcome the broadest possible support for this plan for a far-sighted European transport policy.

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

**Mr Contogeorgis, Member of the Commission** — (GR) Mr President, I too want to congratulate Mr

Hoffmann for his excellent report on Europe's inland waterways. I concur with all that has been said in praise of this report, because it really is exemplary. I believe it was really necessary, within the framework of a constructive exchange of views, to remind ourselves of the problems arising in relation to the development of inland waterways, and to give a full description of the plans of the Member States.

Today, Mr Hoffmann's report gives us this very opportunity. In your proposed resolution, Mr Hoffmann, you emphasize the definition of priorities for continuing the development of inland waterways and for the usefulness of drawing up a master plan. The problems arising in connection with the assessment of programmes in the inland waterway sector, and with which you are well acquainted, of course make this work fairly difficult. Nevertheless I can assure you that the Commission will devote particular attention to inland waterways within the framework of its future planning activities, concerning which I have already spoken on the opportunity of the report on bottlenecks.

The Commission share the view concerning the great utility of inland waterways in the transport of freight, particularly of loose bulk freight or heavy freight between and beyond the countries of the Community.

Thus, we agree with the report overall and I think that your own views coincide with those of the Commission. Of course, I also want to express my satisfaction at the support given yet again to the by now famous proposal for infrastructure projects in this sector of Community interest. The adoption of this regulation really constitutes the means for accelerating the implementation of the plans contained in the Hoffmann report, since the Community recognizes their necessity and their urgency in its programme of action for planning, which you would wish to see developed, and which action should relate to all the modes of transport, including the infrastructure projects in the inland waterway sector, which should be linked to the results of the planning in question.

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

The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

(The sitting was closed at 12.05 a.m.)<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Agenda for next sitting: see Minutes.

*ANNEX**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)

**Denis motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-469/82): rejected**

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**Caborn motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-464/82): adopted**

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**Diana motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-452/82/rev.): adopted**

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**Cassanmagnago Cerretti motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-457/82): adopted**

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**Papapietro motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-473/82): adopted**

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**Kirk motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-461/82): adopted**

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**Delorozoy report (Doc. 1-421/82): adopted**

The rapporteur was:

— against Amendments Nos 1, 3 and 4.

*Explanation of vote*

**Mrs Desouches.** — (*FR*) The report which Mr Delorozoy has submitted states that the economy of Europe is not healthy and that there are considerable differences between the economies of the Member States. This is true. In spite of this statement, however, he proposes to impose on the countries of the Community an economic and budgetary policy which is not only the same for everyone but questionable in its guidelines. It is for this reason that the French Socialists will be voting against the report.

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**Von Hassel report (Doc. 1-304/82): adopted**

The rapporteur was:

- in favour of Amendments Nos 2, 4, 21, 22, 23, 48, 57 and 59;
- against Amendments Nos 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 24, 26, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50, 52, 54, 55, 56, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90 and 91.

*Explanations of vote*

**Mr Gontikas.** — (*GR*) Mr President, I shall vote against the motion for a resolution by Mr von Hassel because it is contrary to the basic democratic principles which the European Parliament has long recognized and applied, and because it is a product of a biased opinion in favour of the Turkish military regime, which is brutally oppressing the Turkish people.

Before European public opinion I deplore the prejudiced and hypocritical attitude of those who have so far voted for the proposal, which runs counter to the past and present policy of the European Parliament towards such regimes. I think that this resolution, as the product of political compromises of doubtful value, irremediably detracts from the European Parliament's standing in the eyes of international public opinion.

Since, Mr President, I consider this vote to be a black mark in the history of the European Parliament, I appeal to the European information media to bring home to public opinion this deplorable deviation from the democratic traditions of which the European Parliament ought to be the guardian.

**Mr Lomas.** — I shall vote against this report because I think it is an attempt to whitewash the military government in Turkey following Mr von Hassel's visit there. There has really been no progress made in the last year or, indeed, since the Fascist coup in 1980. Torture is now a systematic method of dealing with people who dissent from the government in Turkey. Hundreds of trade unionists are in prison. Scores of trade unionists are sentenced to death and this report will do absolutely nothing but bring comfort to one of the most oppressive, reactionary regimes in the world, and I shall vote against it.

**Mr Kallias.** — (*GR*) Mr President, I, like all the members of the New Democracy Party, shall vote against the motion for a resolution by the Political Affairs Committee for the following reasons.

Firstly, because it is inconceivable and contradictory that Parliament should change the policy which was recently voiced in its resolution of 22 January 1982 condemning the Turkish dictatorship, when there has been no move towards any liberalization in Turkey

in the meantime. On the contrary, the dictatorship is still there and the cruel violation of human rights, both in Turkey and in the illegally occupied part of Cyprus, is continuing.

Secondly, because tolerance and indulgence on the part of the European Parliament towards the Turkish dictatorship and providing it with economic aid may have tragic consequences in the form of wider complications, since this encourages the Turkish junta, which is not content with tyrannizing the Turkish people but also indulges in threats and intimidating shows of strength outside its borders and even against an allied country.

Lastly, because the Turkish dictatorship is a defendant before the Committee on Human Rights of the Council of Europe, and one of the countries which brought the accusation is the country which today holds the presidency of the European Council and of the EEC Council of Ministers.

**Mr De Goede.** — (NL) Mr President, developments in Turkey continue to be a source of concern to us. While acknowledging that there were plenty of repugnant aspects to the situation before the coup — after all, killing was widespread and the country was practically ungovernable — it is my view that this House should not give the slightest indication today that might lead the military regime to conclude that we are any less concerned about the present situation. Too many reports are getting through about torture, executions, political prisoners and political trials. In the light of all this, what value can we attach to the promises that the present regime is striving to ensure a return to normal and stable democratic conditions?

Permanent pressure on our part may well help to ensure that these promises are taken seriously and that human rights are respected. We are pleased that what the von Hassel Report has to say about the intention of certain Member States to bring the violation of human rights in Turkey to the attention of the European Committee for Human Rights has now been overtaken by events, because the fact is that Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden took the necessary steps on 1 July this year. We would be delighted if the other Member States of the European Community were to do the same. Mr President, we shall be abstaining on the votes on the von Hassel report. We should have liked the report to have been more strongly worded, in which case it would have received our support.

**Mr Alavanos.** — (GR) Mr President, I am giving an explanation of vote because we wish, following the amendments, to announce what our party, the Communist Party of Greece, thinks. I think that for our part we do not need to explain our vote — we are categorically opposed to the motion. It is Mr von Hassel, Mr Herman and their group who ought to explain their vote, since today they are doing the same thing to the Turkish people as they did yesterday to the Lebanese people, the same thing as the European Economic Community did to my country, Greece, during all those years of military dictatorship.

I should like to address our friends and comrades-in-arms of the Communist and Socialist Groups: are they blind to the decisions of the European Parliament? How can they tolerate and accept the efforts to increase their role when this House is in the hands of such a reactionary and dangerous majority?

**Mr Papageorgiou.** — (GR) Mr President, on behalf of the Greek Progressive Party, I voted against the motion for a resolution on the political situation in Turkey for the following reasons.

Firstly, because the military regime is imposing a bloody tyranny on the Turkish people, which it has deprived of its human rights with 30 000 political prisoners and a large number of executions.

Secondly, because in Turkey the ethnic minorities have for a long time been subjected to permanent persecution. The Armenians, 1.5 million of whom were already butchered three quarters of a century ago, were the victims of an unprecedented genocide. The Armenian minority, which at the time of the Treaty of Lausanne had been reduced to

250 000, is today barely 7 000 to 8 000. The Kurds are in danger of completely losing their national identity.

Thirdly, because precisely eight years ago, in violation of international law and with NATO weapons supplied to the Turks for other purposes, they carried out a bloody military invasion and occupied 40% of the territory of the Cypriot Republic, the inhabitants of which are by an overwhelming majority — more than 80% — Christian Greeks, 200 000 of whom are still refugees on their own island, watching their possessions being plundered by the invader.

Fourthly, because the Turkish Government has for eight years disregarded the four United Nations resolutions which call on Turkey to withdraw its forces immediately from the occupied part of Cyprus.

The present Turkish Government is continuing its occupation against international law, while at the same time settling the occupied territories with Turks from Asia Minor with a view to changing the island's population structure.

At the same time, before the indifferent eyes of the civilized and Christian West, the Cypriots are being called upon to negotiate with a pistol at their head to find a supposedly just solution.

Fifthly, because in view of the above facts, the resolution on Turkey is not worthy of the high ideals, intentions and objectives of the European Parliament, which only recently decided, when rightly lending support to the United Kingdom during the Falklands crisis, that there must be no reward for violations either of international law or of human rights, nor for *faits accomplis*.

**Mr Hänsch.** — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, in January this Parliament clearly and unambiguously stated its views regarding the situation in Turkey. We condemned the infringement of civil and human rights by the Junta and called for the freezing of the Fourth Financial Protocol until such time as Turkey has returned to democracy. Since then — i.e. since January this year — the situation in Turkey has not improved but deteriorated. The outrageous treatment dealt out to a patriot and democrat such as Bulent Eçevit is only the tip of the iceberg of arrests and trials. The repression of the trade union movement and the persecution of the freedom movement are further warnings which should persuade us in this Parliament not to vote in favour of Mr von Hassel's report.

We support the President of the Council who stated here yesterday on behalf of the Council of Ministers and in a personal capacity that so far nothing has improved in Turkey. Nothing has happened in Turkey which would justify Parliament abandoning the position it adopted with a majority in January of this year.

The Socialists have attempted to make the report acceptable by proposing amendments. We have restricted ourselves to the most central issues, in particular paragraph 5, 8 and 11. We have only been successful, however, in the case of paragraph 5. We would have liked this report to have been less vague in other areas too. Turkey has its place among the western democracies, in the western alliance. It is one of the states which we must particularly expect to observe human and civil rights, because it is, as it were, one of us. We must therefore speak out and make our demands more clearly.

The report by Mr Hassel does not speak in these unambiguous terms. The Socialists therefore reject the report and I would request a roll-call vote.

**Mrs Le Roux.** — (FR) Mr President, Mr von Hassel's report seems to want to justify the dictatorship in Turkey and to condone such intolerable actions on the part of the military junta as torture, the suppression of freedom, the throwing of people into prison and political trials. For that reason, we cannot give it our support.

Nothing can justify what is happening in Turkey today. The French Communists and Allies tabled a great many amendments which sought to formulate the resolution in a way



that was more favourable to the Turkish people. These amendments were rejected. Public opinion is going to find it incomprehensible that this House can be supportive and understanding of a junta which is continuing to torture people and to flout human rights. Basic human rights must be respected. Support must be given to the victims of the junta. That is the role which the Communists hope to see this Assembly play. The basic contents of the initial report remain unchanged. Consequently, we cannot vote for it and we will be voting against it.

**Mr Arndt.** — *(DE)* Mr President, I am deeply concerned at these things and I therefore intend to vote against the report. I should like to demonstrate to the rapporteur on the basis of two examples that, as I see it, he is prejudiced. The rapporteur has stated that Mr Demirel and Mr Eçevit had agreed in writing to keep their opinions to themselves and that Demirel had kept his promise but Eçevit had not. This almost sounds like a justification of the treatment which Eçevit has subsequently received. Does not the rapporteur realize that he cannot use the fact that someone is forced in a dictatorship to sign something as an argument here.

Your bias is also reflected in the fact that you concluded your contribution by expressing the hope that the European Parliament would come to enjoy the same rights as the Turkish Parliament under the provisions of the new constitution. It is, as I see it, scandalous to make any comparison whatsoever between the European Parliament and the military dictatorship in Turkey. This is an example of the bias which runs through the entire report and for this reason I intend to oppose it.

**Mr Frischmann.** — *(FR)* Mr President, I should like to add something to our explanation of vote.

We have received a document which appeals to the conscience of all Members of the European Parliament.

This appeal has been made by Kemal Daysal, one of the leaders of the DISK union and one of the few militants who has managed to avoid arrest.

Kemal Daysal describes the situation in Turkey, denounces the interment of ten of thousands of people, the torture of others, the thousands of demands for the death penalty, the executions that have already taken place, the trial of the 52 leaders of the DISK and the trials of many other prominent Turkish people. He then adds this appeal:

'We greatly appreciate the solidarity shown to us by international institutions and organizations. This solidarity encourages us to continue with our just and justified actions to defend human rights and living conditions in Turkey . . . No Member of your Parliament could tolerate his own country being in Turkey's situation, where violations of human rights are an insult to the dignity and honour of the country's men and women. In my capacity as one of the leaders of the DISK, I should like to say to you that the Turkish people and, primarily, Turkish workers, need your support. Whatever is said and adopted by your Parliament could be a real help towards restoring freedom in Turkey.'

The report under discussion and the explanation of vote we have already heard are, in our opinion, manifestly and diametrically opposed to the hopes formulated in this appeal. That is another reason why we will be voting against this report.

**Mrs Hammerich.** — *(DA)* We shall be voting against the report on Turkey in protest at the rapporteur's attitude on this issue.

Mr von Hassel has clearly exceeded his powers by going to Turkey, where he entered into negotiations and made public pronouncements as if he were the joint foreign minister for all the ten Member States.

The result of all that is this report, which in effect gives a helping hand to the military dictatorship in Turkey — just one example of the fortuitousness and irresponsibility which has so often characterized the foreign policy initiatives emanating from this House.

Foreign policy is the preserve of national governments and the appropriate inter-governmental institutions — first and foremost the UN — and Members of the European Parliament should not aggravate conflicts in the major political arena by assuming the stance of mini-foreign ministers.

**Mr Théobald-Paoli.** — (FR) We who are fortunate enough to be elected representatives in a democratic Europe are, more than anyone else, duty-bound to show vigilance and determination when standing up for human rights, wherever they are flouted. That is what is happening in Turkey today.

I almost gave up the idea of speaking after hearing the remarks made by the prestigious Willy Brandt yesterday, but then I remembered what François Mitterand said: 'Where freedom is concerned, every wound is a fatal wound', and I just had to speak out.

My point is that the text before us would have done us more credit as democratic Europeans if it had shown a bit more muscle and been ready to fight for such a great cause. In my opinion, it should have done more to help this strife-torn country regain the path to democracy. Our future is also involved, given Turkey's geographical position.

That is the reasoning behind the approach made by three European governments — including the French government — to the European Commission of Human Rights, whereby all governments, including moreover the Turkish government, should be able to put their point of view.

Let us hope that this initiative will help to restore human dignity in Turkey.

I nevertheless feel that we could have done more to further this aim with our vote here today.

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**Van Minnen report (Doc. 1-387/82): adopted**

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**Robert Jackson report (Doc. 1-410/82): adopted**

The rapporteur was:

- in favour of Amendments Nos 2, 7, 17, 18, 19 and 29;
- against Amendments Nos 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9/corr. II, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27 and 28.

#### *Explanations of vote*

**Mr Baillet.** — (FR) Mr President, I wish to explain why the French Members of the Communist and Allies Group will be voting against this report. The preliminary draft budget, which is the focal point of our discussions, has naturally been drawn up with regard for the deep crisis which is shaking the economy of the capitalist world. But we do not think the options proposed here will lead to any solution to this crisis — we have no illusions about this — let alone provide any serious contribution towards indicating solutions which match the interests of our citizens.

What this means is that we continue to believe, along with the French Government, that it is better to tackle inflation and unemployment at the same time. If you adopt the opposite

approach, as some people would like to, you are just going to give free rein to the market forces which are pushing our economies deeper into the crisis. The 1983 budget could express the political will of the Community to fight for jobs, especially jobs for young people. Some money for the social, industrial, energy and transport sectors could have expressed this will, but that is not the case.

As for the motion for a resolution which is before us, it has a hard job coping with the contradictions of Parliament's budgetary policy. The fact is that you are just continuing along the same mistaken road if you cling to the idea of reforming the budget, which means — for most people in this Assembly — a radical alteration to the only common policy we have, although I will admit there are shortcomings which need to be put right. Having a go at the common agricultural policy would mean throwing millions of European farmworkers out of a job and adding them to the millions of unemployed we already have. It is quite unacceptable. Anyway, it is all very well to say that the fight against unemployment needs industrial investment in the public and private sectors. If you want to achieve this aim, however, you need to go about it some other way. You ought to stop the flow of capital out of the Community in the search for considerable gains, especially by cashing in on the high interest rates which are available in the USA and on the exchange rate for the dollar, which is quite out of tune with the actual state of the American economy.

If it is generally said that a budget simply reflects a policy, we have to say that this preliminary draft reflects a policy which runs counter to the interests of our citizens and, as a result, to those of the Community itself.

**Mr Boyes.** — I am not speaking on behalf of the group, Mr President, so I get one and a half minutes.

I hope Mr Tugendhat will note that Parliament voted today to support the doubling of the Social Fund. Yesterday Mr Tugendhat stressed that we are living in a real world, and from his comfortable chair on the top floor of the Berlaymont and with a salary that is as much in one year as an unemployed man in Britain gets in a lifetime, I wonder how much he really knows about the real world. If he takes . . .

*(Cries from the European Democratic Group)*

I have only had one and a half minutes this week, so shut up.

If he takes objections to these remarks and if he believes he really does understand the real world then he should be prepared to withdraw his argument against the use of the word 'pitiful' to describe the Commission's proposed increase in the Social Fund yesterday and replace it with the words 'ludicrously pathetic'.

*(Laughter)*

I do not wish to enter into a statistical gymnastic competition, but the Commissioner . . .

*(Cries from the European Democratic Group)*

Mr President, there is a rule in this Parliament that rowdy people can be removed from the chamber.

**President.** — Mr Boyes, I know that rule. I have not applied it against you so far!

*(Laughter)*

**Mr Boyes.** — I do not mind being heckled by people who support the democratic process, but after the votes on Lebanon and Turkey, I am not that sure I am being heckled by people who support the democratic process.

*(Interruption by Mrs Kellett-Bowman)*

**President.** — Yes, indeed, Mrs Kellett-Bowman, 90 seconds have elapsed.

**Mr Boyes.** — I might remind the President, I am allowed 90 seconds speaking time to give an explanation of vote not 90 seconds of heckling by the idiots and shambles and rabble over there!

*(Protests)*

**President.** — Mr Boyes, you had 90 seconds for an explanation of vote. I now give the floor to your colleague Mr Enright for another 90 seconds.

**Mr Boyes.** — Mr President, on a point of order. I have 90 seconds worth of text carefully timed for this meeting. But I can not be responsible if you can't control the people over there. You should have known by now what kind of people they are over there.

**President.** — Mr Boyes, I have given the floor to Mr Enright.

**Mr Enright.** — Mr President, if the hooligans on the other side will kindly keep quiet I will attempt to finish in less than a minute-and-a half.

In fact I intended at one point to vote against this entire resolution, but I accept it now as a result of Amendment No 6 being carried, despite the pleadings of the rapporteur that the reason why Amendment No 4 was not carried was a purely technical one. Therefore I accept that this Parliament has said plainly and clearly the the fight against unemployment and the fight against starvation in the world which are its prime objective. It has thereby become consistent in what it is doing and I shall therefore vote for the resolution because I think that this House voted in the proper spirit.

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

**Mr Pearce.** — Mr President, we are used over here to the insults Mr Boyes hurls at us. They are perhaps what we expect from people of his kind. But I do not believe that you should permit him to insult a member of the Commission in the highly personal way he did. I would ask you to reprimand Mr Boyes for what he has said.

**President.** — I did not hear any real insult. I have concluded that it was a political attack.

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**Barbarella report (Doc. 1-477/82): adopted**

The rapporteur was:

— against Amendment No 1.

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**Adonnino report (Doc. 1-450/82): adopted**

The rapporteur was:

— against all the amendments.

*Explanation of vote*

**Mrs Scrivener.** — (FR) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I really wish to appeal to the Members of this House since I feel that the consequences of this report may be very considerable. It is ambiguous and this means that it is going to undermine Parliament's only real power. It is better to have no agreement at all than to have a bad agreement. It is better to have no agreement than one on which the two arms of the budgetary authority have not managed to arrive at a common interpretation, and that is the crux of the problem. In the circumstances, are we going to vote in favour of this simply because the three institutions have got round a table together? We are delighted about it of course, but it is naturally not enough. I think we ought to have another go and achieve something which is genuinely meaningful.

## SITTING OF FRIDAY, 9 JULY 1982

## Contents

1. Votes: <i>Mr Cottrell; Mr Harris; Mr Gautier; Mr Ortoli (Commission); Mr Barbagli; Mr Cottrell; Mrs Kellett-Bowman; Mr von der Vring; Mr Harris; Mr Papaefstratiou; Mr Notenboom; Mr Arndt; Mr Cottrell; Mr Harris</i> . . . . .	285	<i>Mr Battersby; Miss Quin; Mr Clinton; Mr Cottrell; Mr Eyraud; Mr Newton Dunn; Mr Kirk; Mr Pisani (Commission)</i> . . . . .	298
2. Headquarters staff of the European Association for Cooperation — Report by Mr Lega (Doc. 1-408/82): <i>Mr Lega; Mr Rogalla; Mr Forth; Mr Price; Mr Forth; Mr Price; Mr Forth; Mr Balfour; Mr Forth; Mr Cottrell; Mr Harris; Mr Pisani (Commission); Mr Sieglerschmidt; Mr Lega; Mr Kellett-Bowman</i> . . . . .	287	7. Medical research — Report by Mrs Pruvot (Doc. 1-423/82): <i>Mrs Pruvot; Mrs Schleicher; Mr Ortoli (Commission)</i> . . . . .	303
3. Agenda: <i>Sir Fred Catherwood; Mrs Baduel Glorioso; Mr Pisani (Commission); Mr Papaefstratiou; Mr Clinton; Sir Fred Catherwood</i> . . . . .	292	8. War-toys — Report by Mrs Pruvot (Doc. 1-288/82): <i>Mrs Pruvot; Mrs Gaiotti De Biase; Mr Hutton; Mr Fergusson; Mr Hutton; Mr Nyborg; Mr Estgen; Mr Welsh; Mr Wedekind; Sir Fred Warner; Mr Ortoli (Commission); Mrs Pruvot</i> . . . . .	304
4. Agricultural development in Greece — Report by Mr Kaloyannis (Doc. 1-411/82): <i>Mr Kaloyannis; Mr Vgenopoulos; Mr Papaefstratiou; Mr Battersby; Mr Ortoli (Commission)</i> . . . . .	294	9. Aids to maritime navigation — Second report by Mr Remilly (Doc. 1-417/82): <i>Mrs Desouches; Mr Ortoli (Commission)</i> . . . . .	309
5. Aid to hop-producers — Report by Mr Bocklet (Doc. 1-413/82): <i>Mr Bocklet; Mr Vernimmen; Mr Ortoli (Commission)</i> . . . . .	297	10. Adjournment of the session . . . . .	310
6. Conservation of salmon — Report by Mr Provan (Doc. 1-414/82):		Annex: <i>Explanations of vote: Mr Hänsch; Mr Megahy; Dame Shelagh Roberts; Mr Forth; Mrs Hammerich; Miss De Valera; Mrs Macciocchi; Mr Ryan; Mr Sieglerschmidt; Mrs Péry; Mr Chambeiron; Mr Paisley; Mrs Hammerich; Mr Griffiths; Mr Hord; Mr Martin; Mr Sutra; Mr Dalsass; Mr Marshall; Mr Beazley; Mrs Péry; Mr Sutra; Mr Israël; Mr Eyraud; Mrs Poirier; Mr Moreland; Mr Martin; Mr Irmer; Mr Habsburg; Mr von der Vring; Mr Purvois; Mr Adam; Mr Harris; Mr Petersen.</i> . . . . .	311

IN THE CHAIR: MR DANKERT

*President*

*(The sitting opened at 9 a.m.)<sup>1</sup>*

1. *Votes<sup>2</sup>*

*Colleselli report: After the vote on Amendment No 30*

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

**Mr Cottrell.** — Mr President, I am sorry to say that the gentleman occupying what appears to be seat 132 reached back and also voted in the empty seat 177, which has a card in it.

You can easily check it on the computer print-out.

**President.** — I call Mr Harris.

**Mr Harris.** — Mr President, I for one and, I believe, many people are fed up with double voting in this Chamber. We now have an opportunity of proving or disproving the allegation made by my honourable friend. May I ask that you make a check? Do not let this issue just pass. Please make a check and then report back within a few minutes about what happened at that vote.

**President.** — Mr Harris, I am having the print-out checked concerning the vote cast in seat 177. We will report back, but I cannot guarantee that we shall have the result in a few minutes.

I call Mr Gautier.

**Mr Gautier.** — *(DE)* Is the Commission prepared to accept the amendments?

**President.** — It is not for you to ask that question but for the rapporteur or the chairman of the committee.

I call the Commission.

**Mr Ortoli, Vice-President of the Commission.** — *(FR)* With regard to Amendment No 28, I think we can follow the result of the vote. As for Amendment No 30, I do not think the Commission will accept it. Amendment No 29 having been rejected, I need make no comment, on that.

The reason why the Commission does not envisage following Amendment No 30 is that it is responsible for management, and since this is a managerial matter, we shall here exercise our responsibilities.

We shall see to it that the distillation measures designed to restore the wine market do not disturb competition in the disposal of alcohol derived from agricultural products other than wine.

The Commission will therefore follow the spirit of the amendment but will not adopt the wording.

*After the rejection of the draft regulation*

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

**Mr Gautier.** — *(DE)* Can you perhaps tell me what we are to do with the paper distributed to us in the Committee on Agriculture, which is presumably the real basis of the resolution concerned in the Colleselli report? It seems to be a kind of Commission or Council directive: whatever it is not quite clear from the document. May we vote on that too, or is the House not allowed to?

**President.** — The only thing we can now do is to vote on the motion for a resolution.

*After the vote on the Colleselli resolution as a whole*

**President.** — I think we now have the situation described in Article 37 of the Rules of Procedure:

Where the Commission withdraws its initial proposal after Parliament has delivered its opinion in order to replace it with another text, or substantially amends the proposal on which Parliament originally delivered an opinion, the President shall request that Parliament be consulted once again.

Perhaps the Commission has a statement to make, now or later?

At all events, the request has been made.

I now have to deal with a problem that was drawn to my attention a few minutes ago. Mr Cottrell has pointed out that votes were cast in seats 132 and 177: Mr Costanzo, who is the occupant of seat 177, is not here today, and yet a vote has been registered from his seat. An accusation has therefore been levelled against

<sup>1</sup> For items concerning approval of the Minutes, documents received, reference to committee, petitions, transfer of appropriations, a motion for a resolution under Rule 49, and procedure without report, see the Minutes of Proceedings of this sitting.

<sup>2</sup> See Annex.

**President**

a Member whom I have not had an opportunity of hearing on this subject. I think it is better to refer this matter to the Quaestors.

*(Protests from the European Democratic Group)*

I will first ask for an explanation, if he is prepared to give it, from the Member in question.

Mr Barbagli, have you anything to say on this subject?

**Mr Barbagli.** — *(IT)* No.

**President.** — I call Mr Cottrell.

**Mr Cottrell.** — Mr President, I think we are all aware that this is an extremely serious matter. This House has, through no fault of its own, received a good deal of adverse publicity in the European press. We and you, Mr President, have been at pains over the past few days to prove our good name to those who elect us. Now that it is transparently obvious that Members of this House are breaking the simplest rule of democracy — one man one vote — we are bringing ourselves into disrepute once again.

I urge you in all seriousness not to take the course of simply referring this matter on this occasion to the Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions. I think that this House should discuss the matter now. If Members are going to abuse the Rules of the House, so blatantly that I constantly see them doing it, I think we ought to take this very seriously indeed. I do not think, Mr President, that the House should vote on any other matter until we have come to a conclusion on this.

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

**Mrs Kellett-Bowman.** — Mr President, on a point of order under Rule 70.

I have a high regard for the Members of the Christian-Democratic Group and for the individual Member who has been accused. But I do feel very strongly that if this sort of thing were to occur again, you may well have to invoke Rule 70, which reads: 'Should disturbances in Parliament threaten to disrupt the business of the House . . .' Now if in fact this sort of double voting goes on — and we have just taken a vote on a very important matter on which some of the votes were very close — it may well lead to such indignation in the House that disturbances occur. I would ask you to go into the matter right away, because it really is a matter which impinges on the honour of this House.

**President.** — I call Mr von der Vring.

**Mr von der Vring.** — *(DE)* Mr President, it is fairly clear that you cannot now begin an inquiry on the spur of the moment. But I would ask you to have it recorded in the Minutes that in connection with the voting an abuse of the Rules of Procedure by a Member of Parliament, yet to be identified, was noted.

**President.** — That is exactly what I have proposed. In the circumstances, I think that is the only thing to do.

I call Mr Harris.

**Mr Harris.** — Mr President, I am very reluctant to do this and I would not have done it if the Member who has been accused had made a personal explanation.

I think we are all aware that this has gone on too long, and we now have a case where the matter can be checked. It has been checked. The Member concerned has not given any explanation, and therefore I move under Rule 69 that the Member concerned be excluded for the period laid down in Rule 69.

**President.** — I call Mr Papaefstratiou.

**Mr Papaefstratiou.** — *(GR)* Mr President, I certainly subscribe to the views of my honourable fellow-Members, particularly those in the European Democratic Group. On the other hand, however, we all ought to recognize what has happened.

*(Interruptions)*

Mr President, I am very sorry to see that some colleagues think that procedural matters are their exclusive province.

I was saying, then, that obviously colleagues who hurry into the Chamber to vote may often make a mistake and vote from the seat immediately behind the one belonging to them. If this is indeed the case, we should not overdramatize the incident. That is all I wanted to say.

**President.** — I call Mr Notenboom.

**Mr Notenboom.** — *(NL)* Mr President, for two years now I have found these schoolmasterly goings-on on both sides of me extremely tiresome, but in this case I must say that the protest is justified, and I invite my group colleagues to state the circumstances in which this regrettable incident has occurred. This sort of thing can occur though it should not. Please make a statement now: that is much better than to say nothing.

**President.** — I call Mr Arndt.



**Mr Arndt.** — (DE) Mr President, I move that the Bureau, not the Quaestors, take the matter up and inform us at the next sitting what disciplinary measures it has taken. This is quite clearly a matter for the Bureau and not for the Quaestors.

**President.** — I do indeed wish to modify my proposal so that the matter is taken up not by the Quaestors but by the Bureau. I find it extremely regrettable that the issue is not entirely clear and that the person accused is not prepared to make a statement.

That is, I think, already a reason for going into the matter more closely. I must say that I find incidents of this kind extremely regrettable in this Assembly, since I share Mr Cottrell's view that it is not good for our reputation.

I call Mr Cottrell.

**Mr Cottrell.** — Mr President, so far as Mr Papaefstratiou's point is concerned, you have to accept that the Member concerned was not dashing into the Chamber to vote at the last minute but was sitting very comfortably in his seat and very easily leaned backwards to vote in an empty seat. Now, those are straightforward facts, Mr President.

**President.** — Mr Cottrell, it does not make any sense to go on with this debate. It is referred to the Bureau, which will look into the measures that can be taken. I have pronounced openly my disapproval of the attitude taken.

I call Mr Harris.

**Mr Harris.** — I have a motion to exclude the Member from the House in front of the House now and I have not withdrawn it. If you invite me to withdraw, Mr President, I might consider it.

**President.** — I invite you to withdraw that proposal.

**Mr Harris.** — I will withdraw, Mr President, but I would give notice that I shall expect the considerations of the Bureau to be made known publicly through the Parliament at the next part-session. If not, I shall raise another point of order then and if I do not get satisfaction, I shall consider retabing my motion.

**President.** — I can tell you, Mr Harris, that the Bureau will deal with the affair and publicly report next part-session to the plenary sitting.

IN THE CHAIR: LADY ELLES

*Vice-President*

2. *Headquarters staff of the European Association for Cooperation*

**President.** — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-408/82) by Mr Lega, on behalf of the Committee on Budgets, on the

proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-405/82 — COM(82) 285 final) for a regulation laying down special transitional measures for the recruitment as officials of the European Communities of 56 members of the staff of the headquarters of the European Association for Cooperation.

I call the rapporteur.

**Mr Lega, rapporteur.** — (IT) Madam President, the report now before us concerns the recruitment of 56 temporary agents who were on the staff of the European Association for Cooperation and are now to be incorporated in the staff of the Communities.

Two decisions have already been taken by the European Parliament and the Commission concerning the inclusion in the organigramme of the posts necessary for the recruitment of these agents. An initial resolution adopted by the Parliament in May 1979 envisaged the incorporation of this Cooperation Association, and this was reflected in a subsequent entry in the budget for 1982, when the requisite posts in the organigramme were approved. The political decision has, therefore, already been taken expressed on two successive occasions by the Parliament and the Commission, so that the item we are dealing with today is for practical purposes no more than an implementing measure. It will enable these agents to be permanently established not by the normal recruitment procedures but by a special procedure bringing immediate establishment through a joint commission of Council, trade-union and Commission representatives. It will also guarantee rights already acquired, which would not be the case if we had recourse to the normal procedures laid down in the Staff Regulations.

In this connection, I would also point out that a petition has been received from a group of officials, headed by Mr Salerno, requesting that when these agents are established due account be taken, with regard to pension rights, of the rank already held. I am sure that this has already been taken into account in the text of the regulation, but, as I have already requested in the Committee on Budgets, I should be glad to have an official reply from the Commission, if

## Legia

only to obviate legal disputes raised by those who considered themselves defrauded of these rights. I have also been asked by a number of colleagues, in particular by Mr Orlandi, to present this official request to the Commission in order to reassure the authors of this petition to the European Parliament and also to see whether there is any anomaly between the provisions of Article 3, laying down the procedure for establishing these agents, and the Parliament's two previous decisions concerning the budget and the request for these agents' establishment, which called for complete recognition of all rights acquired, including pension rights.

If the Commission gives a favourable reply, as I think is already implied in the regulation, I am prepared, as indicated in my motion for a resolution, to give a favourable opinion on the measures required for the recruitment of these 56 persons.

One last observation. We do not have the opinion of the Legal Affairs Committee, but we are here dealing with a procedure which has already been employed on many occasions by the Committee on Budgets, and, seeing that the Council has asked for urgent procedure, it seems to me that we can still make a decision, even if the opinion of the Legal Affairs Committee has officially not been received.

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

**Mr Rogalla.** — (*DE*) Madam President, first of all I regret once more that such an important question has to be debated at a time when, unfortunately, so few of our colleagues are here. The fate of our staff should mean more to us than the attendance here today would appear to suggest.

On behalf of my group, I am afraid I must express certain reservations on the procedure proposed by the Committee on Budgets and on the motion for a resolution — reservations partly of a legal nature and partly substantive. As regards the legal reservations, I am naturally as concerned as Mr Lega is to avoid legal disputes. But in matters like this which involve legislation that has been in existence since 1962 — that is to say, the Staff Regulations — we have to think not only of the persons directly concerned but also of third parties. We therefore have to find a procedure which will prevent third parties, such as the staff of the foundations in Dublin and Berlin, from appealing to the precedents it creates.

My first request is therefore that this proposal and the report be referred to the Legal Affairs Committee for an opinion, as was originally intended. It should be borne in mind that the letter from the Council is dated 29 June of this year, and however well I understand the colleagues concerned — some of whom I know personally — I quite fail to see why something like this

has to be tackled so precipitously early in July. My first request is therefore that the problem should be sent to the Legal Affairs Committee, on condition, of course, that we can debate this proposal once more in September at the latest, and then definitively.

Now for my reservations on the substance of the matter. I am deeply suspicious of exceptional measures designed to establish a group of agents — whose merits and working performance I fully appreciate — by a precipitate procedure reminiscent of the one we had to adopt, for lack of any other possibilities, on the accession of new Member States — that is, in 1973 for the British, the Danes and the Irish and in 1981 for the Greeks. These are agents who have already been working for the Community, whether within or outside the agencies of the Commission, in functions requiring expert knowledge, and it is therefore perfectly possible to recruit them as officials under the Staff Regulations, in particular Article 29 (2). This is a possibility that the Commission should make use of.

When the Commission decides to put a proposal like this before the Council, I have to criticize it and urge it to have the courage of its convictions and not to shy away from measures which may already have their precedents under Article 29. This article is a flexible one open to constructive interpretation, and there is no doubt that it provides an opportunity for protecting the rights of such officials.

I therefore urge that this item be referred to the Legal Affairs Committee for an opinion. If the House does not agree, I must state on behalf of my group that we shall not be able to vote for this motion.

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

**Mr Forth.** — Madam President, this apparently simple and straightforward matter contains within it many of the dilemmas and problems that face the Community today, and I think it deserves the closest possible attention by the House. I would like, if I may, to draw the House's attention to some of the principles which underly the, as I say, apparently straightforward matters contained in it.

The first is that we have here what, if I were in an uncharitable mood, I would call an obscure Community quango — although I am sure it does excellent work — which is a separate institution and of which we are being asked to establish a considerable number of staff. Now the first question this raises gives rise to problems in the business and industrial world as well as in the political world. If you establish staff in quite a separate organization, then you immediately build in an inflexibility to that organization which would not exist were they to be more integrated. I think this is well illustrated if one looks at the document concerned and at the staff we are being asked to approve. And it does not take . . .

**Mr Price.** — Madam President, the speaker indicated a moment ago that this measure would involve creating inflexibility. I would like to ask him in what way he feels that making the staff permanently established within the Commission would, in any way, lead to inflexibility.

**Mr Forth.** — The point I was trying to make and which my colleague has not grasped is that when one incorporates staff in a separate organization, that brings with it a degree of inflexibility, because it is more difficult then to move them between one and the other. If I may go on to try to illustrate this to my colleague and to others: when one looks at the structure of the staff involved — 14 A grades, 14 B grades, 27 C grades and 1 D grade — then one immediately sees the problem we are confronted with; and that is, that when one sets up a separate organization such as this, it becomes top-heavy and over-managed and if it is allowed to proliferate and multiply across something like the Community — and we have many cases of this with Foundations and Institutions and organizations — then one finds that one will probably have to carry an administrative and staff overhead of a greater number of senior grades than would otherwise be the case. So I think this is one of the matters which should concern us. I would add in passing, Madam President, . . .

**President.** — Mr Price, are you asking for the floor again?

**Mr Price.** — Yes, Madam President. My friend has just said that this organization would be top-heavy in view of the number of A-grade posts. I wonder whether he would care to substantiate that, indicating what percentage this represents in relation to the percentage of A-grade posts in the Commission as a whole. As far as I can see, the number of A-grade posts in very much in line with what might be typical of other European organizations.

**Mr Forth.** — To answer that question with any precision would require a mathematical ability which is not mine.

*(Cries of 'Hear Hear!')*

What I will say is this, that my colleague has raised an interesting point. He suggests that we can justify the structure of this organization by reference to the overall structure of the Commission. It has never been my position, Madam President, to defend the top-heavy nature of the Commission, and therefore I think that the arguments is invalid.

Let us turn our minds back to the matters which concern us. My next point is that permanent establishment is a one-way process, and I really believe that one of the problems that we face throughout the Community

in its various Institutions is that if we move too far and too fast in making positions permanent, we then become inflexible in what we are able to do. I have always felt that we in Parliament have been somewhat guilty of this from time to time, by establishing too many positions too rapidly and therefore not giving ourselves the flexibility to respond to changed circumstances. This applies right across the Community, and I wonder if it is the case with this particular organization. I wonder if we are satisfied that its rôle is sufficiently well — established for us to want to take this step, which in the Community is usually an irrevocable one of setting up positions and posts which we then find it very difficult to change as time goes on. That is a point related to my first one, which gives me some cause for concern.

In passing, I would note that there are already 32 permanent positions in this organization. We are now being asked to add a further 56, and this would give us — and here my mathematics are accurate, I believe — 88 permanent positions for this organization, which may in fact not be appropriate for the future.

I would like to raise one small question in passing, Madam President, and I hope this can be simply answered. In the justification, on page 8 in the very last paragraph, it says:

This regularization of the administrative position of the EAC staff must be made subject, however, to a final decision on its statute, which should be taken as soon as possible.

I hope that the rapporteur is satisfied and that the House will be satisfied that we are not, as it were, going to sign a blank cheque by giving approval to something which is subject to a further decision in which we ourselves have no part. I therefore have to ask, who is going to make this final decision on the statute and will it be with any reference to this House? Otherwise, we are being asked to do something in a conditional sense without having any control over whether the conditions are satisfied and at what stage.

I have two further points, Madam President, and then I will not detain colleagues further. The first is a very important one and one to which we return from time to time in this House. Reference is made to a resolution adopted by the European Parliament in May 1979. There is a suggestion that because this is so, we should look more favourably on it if not actually be bound by it. I think we should always carefully consider whether or not this House should be bound by previous decisions made not only by ourselves but in this case by colleagues in what we know affectionately as the 'old Parliament', for I believe that with the passage of time and with the enormous change in circumstances in the Community that there has been since 1979, we should always be free to make our own judgment on these matters, make a measured decision and then be prepared to stand by it. The mere fact that a

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resolution may have been passed in 1979 should not in itself be seen to bind this House. I would like just to ...

**Mr Balfour.** — I would like to say to the speaker, in the interests of all the other Members of the House and those who are listening to the debate, that when he is drawing our attention to a resolution which has been passed by this House, he should tell us a little about it, he should explain what the title of the resolution is, he should guide us. I have no idea which resolution he is referring to, and I am sure a lot of other people in this House have no idea. It would be extremely helpful when drawing our attention to something like this if he could be a little more explicit.

**Mr Forth.** — Madam President, I am referring to the resolution adopted by the European Parliament on 11 May 1979, *Official Journal* No C 140 of June 79, page 142. If my colleague wants further details, I shall be delighted to give him them at a later stage.

I have one final point to make, Madam President, and I really am not prepared to take any further interventions from the floor. I want to press on, and I know the time of the House is precious. In his introduction, the rapporteur referred to a petition that had been submitted, which urged us to consider that the principle of seniority should be respected. Again, I would ask colleagues not to accept that we should necessarily recognize the principle of seniority as the sole or most important one. In many ways, as the Community develops we are in danger of being ruled by a gerontocracy. I think this is something that should be avoided if possible and that we should always regard merit and contribution as the prime considerations when establishing posts or deciding on promotions.

I hope I have succeeded in trying to guide colleagues through this matter, Madam President, and that this will give colleagues some pause for thought before we go ahead, as we no doubt shall do, and approve this resolution.

**President.** — I call Mr Cottrell.

**Mr Cottrell.** — Madam President, after the interesting events of this morning, I observe that there are a large number of voting cards left in machines. Would you care to give an instruction as to what should happen to these cards and whether they should be safely removed, so that they do not fall into the wrong hands?

**President.** — Thank you, Mr Cottrell, for pointing that out. They are, I understand, normally collected by the messengers during the course of the morning and certainly by the end of the sitting.

I call Mr Harris.

**Mr Harris.** — Madam President, fortunately I can be somewhat briefer than my friend, Mr Forth, because he has covered many of the points which I had in mind. Perhaps I could ask the indulgence of my colleagues not to interrupt me so many times as they did him, because I am also conscious that time is slipping away this morning. We don't want to do anything that is going to hold up business.

Nevertheless, I cannot, I am afraid, Madam President, allow this report to pass without putting some questions to the rapporteur. I must confess that I was a little disappointed in the report. I sensed in it, and possibly also in the remarks of the rapporteur, that what this House was being asked to do today was merely to rubber-stamp this proposal. Speaking quite personally, I am always highly suspicious when we have innocuous-looking documents which simply ask for the establishment of a group of officials. All sorts of reasons are sometimes advanced for this, but in this case not very many reasons have been advanced. When I say that, I mean no disrespect to the staff themselves. What I should like to have seen put forward in this report is a justification for an extra staff of 56 people in this organization.

I would not get along with my friend, Mr Forth, when he described this organization as a quango, or implied it. I must confess I did not know anything about it until I came to this Chamber this morning, but I did a little research and I doubt if many Members could say with hand on heart what this organization did. For their enlightenment, may I tell them that it was set up in 1964 in order to organize the recruitment, posting and administration of Commission delegates, of EDF technical delegates and of technical cooperation agents. That doesn't really tell us much either about the organization, and it certainly doesn't tell us whether 56 extra established staff are needed, as proposed in this report today and in the recommendation submitted to us. Like Mr Forth, I don't with respect, think it is good enough for the rapporteur to refer to a decision taken by this House in the course of budgetary proceedings. We all know that this House approaches these matters with great haste during the budget. They are lost in an avalanche of resolutions, recommendations and amendments, and they go through on the nod. I must therefore, Madam President, confess to some scepticism about the proposal and I personally shall reserve my position.

**President.** — Does the Commission wish to comment on this report?

**Mr Pisani, Member of the Commission — (FR)** I am not sure whether all the speeches were pursuing the same object: some had the purpose of eliciting a reply, others that of prolonging the sitting. At least that is my

**Pisani**

impression. I shall therefore deal only with those that are relevant to the subject.

*(Interruptions from certain quarters)*

I see that some people feel guilty, and that is very significant.

*(Protests from various quarters)*

It is not you, Gentlemen, that I shall necessarily treat in that way, but others. However that may be, you have given every indication of wanting to draw out the debate, and I find your attitude curious, to say the least.

First of all I should like to point out . . .

**President.** — Commissioner, if you would allow me just to make a comment from the floor, the interventions that took place during this debate are perfectly in order under Rule 64 (4) of the Rules of Procedure of this Parliament, and as long as a Member wishes to give way he is perfectly entitled to do so under those Rules.

**Mr Pisani, Member of the Commission.** — *(FR)* Madam President, I am as free to speak as anyone else and I fail to see your reason for intervening . . .

**President.** — Of course you are.

**Mr Pisani, Member of the Commission.** — *(FR)* After all, the Members of Parliament are entitled to say what they like, and I fail to see why I, a Commissioner, should not be allowed to say what I think. We have to be clear in a debate of this kind.

**President.** — No one is stopping you.

**Mr Pisani, Member of the Commission.** — *(FR)* The problem is as follows. We have an European Association for Cooperation with a certain status which, for obvious reasons, is liable to change. The purpose of this association is to administer staff employed in delegations of the Commission in the ACP and Maghreb-Mashreq countries. It serves as a link between these delegations and an administrative headquarters. One of its functions is therefore to link up permanent staff at headquarters with other groups of varying and often temporary status in the delegations and the whole object of the arrangement has been to enable the headquarters of the European Association for Cooperation to be composed of officials comparable in status to those of the central administration so that they are not at one and the same time judges of, and

parties to, any dispute but can, from the central administration's point of view and on its behalf, assess these delegations, which, in contrast, need to be extremely flexible. Consequently, in reply to the question whether the new arrangement is not likely to prove more rigid, I would say that the existence of a permanently established nucleus would, on the contrary, permit much greater freedom in the management of this decentralized staff. I think I have now, in the main, answered the questions that have been raised.

Once the system has been clearly grasped — that is, that the Association's status has to be modified under the impact of legal necessities — the only problem that remains is that of effecting the transition from the present system to a new one. I will not say that there are no possible alternatives; others might have been envisaged, but after long consideration the Commission has decided in favour of the proposal now before you. I cannot promise the rapporteur that it will exclude all legal disputes, but an effort has been made to that end.

I think I have answered the most important questions which have been put to me by Parliament. The possibility has been raised of deferring the matter to the September part-session. I would say that, provided everything is done to ensure that this time-limit is not overstepped, no serious damage will be done; nevertheless, I should like to see the decision taken today.

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

**Mr Sieglerschmidt.** — *(DE)* Madam President, in view of the turn the debate has taken, I request, pursuant to Rule 85 of the Rules of Procedure and as already indicated by Mr Rogalla, that the report be sent back to the committee responsible with the stipulation that it obtain the opinion of the Legal Affairs Committee, which is here particularly necessary.

**President.** — Under Rule 85(3), this must be decided by Parliament on a proposal from the President. So I ask for the view of the House on Mr Sieglerschmidt's proposal that this be referred to the committee.

I call the rapporteur.

**Mr Lega, rapporteur.** — *(IT)* I am sorry, Madam President, you can of course, if you consider it desirable, put to the vote the proposal for reference to committee on the basis of Mr Sieglerschmidt's motion, but you cannot refer the report to a committee other than the committee responsible. That would seem to me to contravene the Rules of Procedure. If the report has to be referred, it will have to be sent back to the Committee on Budgets, because there is the danger of reaching a procedural *impasse* inasmuch as the opinion

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of the Legal Affairs Committee, which this Parliament has dispensed with on many occasions in the past, does not yet exist. This means that some people want to put up opposition: they do not want to overcome the difficulties, and if this is so it had better be said frankly.

If, however, the House is disposed to accept this point of order, I ask in all due form that it be better formulated — that is, that the matter be referred to the committee responsible and certainly not to a committee asked for its opinion.

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

**Mrs Kellett-Bowman.** — May I point out to the honourable Member who has just spoken that earlier in the week this body, under the President himself, did in fact refer something to a committee which was not the committee to which it had been sent originally.

**President.** — What I must put to the House is Mr Sieglerschmidt's proposal that it goes back to the committee responsible together with the amended proposal that it should come to the Legal Affairs Committee for an opinion if that is eventually so decided by the responsible committee.

*(Parliament adopted the proposal)*

This report, together with the proposal for a regulation, goes back, then, to the Committee on Budgets and then on to the Legal Affairs Committee for an opinion, if so decided. It will, of course, be returned to Parliament as soon as possible.

### 3. Agenda

**President.** — I call Sir Fred Catherwood.

**Sir Fred Catherwood, Chairman of the Committee on External Economic Relations.** — Madam President, may I ask the permission of the House to refer Mrs Baduel Glorioso's report on manioc to the committee for the following reasons?

It is not, Madam President, because of any problem in the report itself. It is an excellent report, which was passed by our committee at its last meeting in Como. What has become clear, however, is that this report raises questions for the future in agricultural trade and overseas developments and that the set of amendments that we have been able to get in the time contain a conflict between two different but very, very strongly held anxieties. These I am quite certain we can resolve, but the fact of the matter is that we need more time and more discussion before we do resolve them.

The whole question of imports of manioc and corn gluten into the Community raises enormous consequential problems, and it is the amendments on these consequences that are the problem and the reason why I think we have to refer them to the committee. I do not want what is a perfectly straightforward report to run the hazard of people who feel very strongly on both these things.

I realize that this poses certain practical problems for the Commission. We got the proposal from them in May; it is now July, so I think we have actually operated fairly fast. But they also have a negotiating timetable, and I hope that it helps with their negotiations if they can say in negotiation that it is not the proposals contained in it that are the trouble but the consequences for agricultural policy and development policy. I should be much happier if I could get the amendments agreed on in September so that we can get this proposition, which they want and on which they have been negotiating, through. I hope, with that assurance, that they can hold the matter over until September and that by then we can achieve some resolution of the conflict and agreement on the amendments to enable us to put the thing forward.

So I would ask that we deal with this proposal at a special meeting of the Committee on External Economic Relations early in the September part-session and put it on the agenda in September.

I move reference committee.

**President.** — Rule 85(3) states that proposals for reference to committee shall be voted on without debate, but I am going to make the following ruling: since the rapporteur is here I will ask the rapporteur's view; I will then ask the Commission if it is a matter of urgency and will then have one speaker in favour and one against. I have at the moment two speakers, Mr Enright and Mr Clinton. If they are one for and one against I will give them the floor.

I call the rapporteur.

**Mrs Baduel Glorioso, rapporteur.** — *(IT)* Madam President, the request for urgent procedure on this report was originally made by the Council on 6 May in order to make it possible to adopt a regulation on the import system applicable in 1982 for subheading 07.06 A of the Common Customs Tariff. Subsequently, as I have already pointed out during the debate on urgent procedure, the Commission has itself, in its turn, requested urgent procedure.

We have therefore proceeded in accordance with the time-pressures imposed upon us, first by the Council and then by the Commission.

Nine amendments have been tabled to the motion for a resolution, of which one would replace the entire

### Baduel Glorioso

text, even though, in effect, it closely resembles that of the motion tabled except for certain points. In any case, it cannot be disputed that owing to the complexity of the problem, attitudes on it vary widely in this House even though, owing to the day and the time, they are not fully represented here.

The only point I find difficult to accept is the one put by Sir Fred Catherwood. I fail to see what use there could be in reconsidering the problem in committee, in view of the fact that we already have the amendments tabled to a document which has already been approved in committee and is now submitted to the House. I therefore consider that if a request for reference to committee is adopted, we should discuss this problem at the next part-time session in September.

It is up to the House to decide whether that is convenient or not. I repeat that the text of the report has already been drawn up and that it is to this that the amendments concerned have been tabled.

**President.** — Before giving the floor to the Commission, I must point out that we cannot decide here at what sitting this particular report will be taken. If it is referred to the committee, it has to go first to the committee before coming back to the floor of the House.

I call the Commission.

**Mr Pisani, Member of the Commission.** — (FR) With those remarks, Madam President, you relieve me of all hesitation. If a debate in September had been certain, I should have very little to say; but since this is not the case, I ask the House to deal with the matter today because the arguments advanced by Mr Andriessen and those I am about to add become all the more forceful.

Can the Parliament seriously decide to defer an item concerning an agreement that is valid for one year until the October or November of that very same year? If it does so, will it not have completely lost touch with reality?

Secondly, some of our partners in this business have opened negotiations with us which appear promising, and in the absence of Parliament's opinion the Community may find itself prevented from following them up.

Thirdly, two countries have already accepted voluntary self-restraint agreements and are putting them into practice. These partners would find themselves penalized for their pains in relation to those who have been unwilling to take the same course and who might reserve their freedom of action under the pretext that no decision had been taken by the Community.

For technical reasons and also for the sake of our relations with our partners — relations which are inher-

ently difficult and require a certain amount of discipline and strictness — I repeat that it is important for the Parliament to deal with the matter today.

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

**Mr Papaefstratiou.** — (GR) Mr President, I regret having to raise a point of order at this juncture. According to the agenda for the day, the report by Mrs Baduel-Glorioso comes after those by Mr Kaloyannis, Mr Bocklet, Mr Provan and Mrs Pruvot. Consequently, the whole question of whether or not to send the report back to committee should be raised when its turn comes, because we all arrange our programmes according to the sequence of the reports on the agenda.

**President.** — Mr Papaefstratiou, the fact is that the request was made and the Parliament has to respond when a request is made.

I call Mr Clinton.

**Mr Clinton.** — Madam President, I just want to say that this is the second time this week that the chairman of the Committee on External Economic Relations has attempted to prevent this measure from going through the House. He was beaten on his first attempt when we had a full House. This is the kind of parliamentary footwork which I personally do not admire on a Friday morning when there is a very reduced number in the House.

He is now using another device to block a very important measure. You heard what the Commission has to say about this. They regard it as important. My understanding is that some of the agreements that have been reached come into effect on 1 August, not in October, as has been claimed. I may be wrong or I may be right about this, but we want it to be effective this year, because imports have suddenly escalated in a matter of a few years from 3 000 tonnes to 15 000 tonnes and they are replacing 8 000-10 000 acres of barley. This is a very serious matter for the Community. It is not just serious for cereal growers alone, it is serious for taxpayers throughout Europe. No reasonable case can be made for blocking it, particularly when this plea has been made by a group in the House which traditionally and continually has decried the cost of the common agricultural policy and the cost of disposing of surpluses.

**President.** — I call Sir Fred Catherwood.

**Sir Fred Catherwood.** — I have been personally attacked as the chairman of the committee. I would

### Catherwood

simply say that if I am asked whether I agree or do not agree with urgent procedure and I state that I do not agree for the reasons I have given, that is not blocking something; that is simply giving my opinion to the House. That is what I did. I am not blocking it now. We have a report from my committee. I want to get that report through. I am advising the House that it would be better to take it later on. That is not blocking, that is trying to get the report through.

**President.** — We shall now proceed to the vote on the proposal to refer this report to the committee. If this proposal is adopted, I would request the committee to see that it jolly well gets on with the job and does it as quickly as possible in view of the comments that have been made.

*(Parliament approved the request for reference to committee)*

#### 4. Agricultural development in Greece

**President.** — The next item is the report by Mr Kaloyannis, on behalf of the Committee on Agriculture (Doc. 1-411/82), on the

proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-36/82 — COM(82) 72 final) for a regulation on the acceleration of agricultural development in certain regions of Greece.

I call the rapporteur.

**Mr Kaloyannis, rapporteur** — (GR) Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, on the Commission's proposal for a regulation on the acceleration of agricultural development in certain less-favoured regions of Greece, I would refer you *in extenso* to my written report, which was approved, together with the motion for a resolution and the two amendments, by the Committee on Agriculture. The opinion of the Committee on Budgets was also positive.

In general, the sector of agriculture must not be allowed to run down, because once a certain level of decline has been exceeded drastic interventions will be needed, with social consequences analogous to those observed in certain sectors of industry. Any neglect of agriculture will discourage those occupied in it, and result in a migration of the agricultural population from the country to the urban centres, so producing a further source of unemployment.

The proposed regulation envisages a programme covering the hilly areas of 22 provinces in mainland Greece, extending over 4.64 million hectares and corresponding to 50% of the total extent of the country's mountainous territory. These areas were selected

because they are particularly disadvantaged areas characterized by a total dependence on agriculture, by the very low incomes of their inhabitants, and by a continual dwindling of their population which has resulted in an inversion of the age pyramid to an extent that endangers the viability of these areas.

Here are some statistics that illustrate the condition of these areas. During the period 1961-71, the population declined by 22%, whereas elsewhere it rose by 15.5%. The road network to such areas ranges from inadequate to primitive, or is even nonexistent. Only one-third of the inhabitants are served by a network distributing drinking-water. About half the area is meadowland and one-quarter forests. The cultivable land amounts to only 17%, but to 30% in other regions. Finally, the gross agricultural product per hectare, or per holding, is not even as much as 30% of what it is in other areas.

According to the proposed regulation, specifically Article 1(3), the Community's financial contribution from the Guidance Section of the EAGGF sets itself the aim of promoting the rural infrastructure, irrigation, land improvement, the development of livestock-breeding, facilities for agricultural training, forestry improvement and the water supply. Quite rightly, the programming of these targets is assigned to the Greek Government. Further on, in Articles 2 and 3, the features to be included in the programme by the Greek Government are specified.

I find fairly satisfactory the quantitative order in which the various measures are to be financed. My only reservation, and that of the committee, concerns the existence of an upper limit on constructional expenditure for irrigation projects. Instead, we believe that the cost of such projects should be monitored by whatever means the Community would prefer. It is reliably estimated that the upper limit of 4 800 ECU per hectare is far too low, because today the cost per hectare amounts to 6 500 ECU. So we are informed.

I also want to present two amendments tabled by the Committees on Agriculture and on Budgets. With regard to Amendment No 1, the effort made during the preparation of the proposed regulation to predict accurately the work entailed in each activity of the programme ensures at least some correspondence with reality, but in practice, as the programme is implemented, it is certain that both positive and negative deviations will occur, of the order of up to 20%. According to the amendment tabled by the Committee on Agriculture, which I too support, it would be senseless if appropriation not fully absorbed by one operation were returned unused to the Fund instead of being transferred to other operations. We do not say that such transfers should take place at the discretion of the Greek Government once an operation has been abandoned, but we do say that once an appropriation has been used for the operations for which it was intended, if, for objective reasons, there is a deviation



**Kaloyannis**

such that 20% has not been used, that 20% should be transferred to finance some other operation of the development programme in question, subject to guarantees as emphasized in the amendment. I quote:

The need to transfer appropriations between operations shall be confirmed by the Greek Government in its report to the Commission, in which it shall explain and justify the need to do so in detail. The Commission shall thereupon approve by decision the transfer of these appropriations.

You will see how clear the amendment is about the matter of transferring even such a small proportion. Once again I emphasize its importance, because these works are to be carried out in very mountainous areas and it is impossible in advance for anybody to predict complete absorption or shortfalls.

The other amendment, which originated from the Committee on Budgets and was approved by the Committee on Agriculture, is Amendment No 2, which would add a fourth paragraph to Article 18, saying that the total amounts referred to in paragraph 2(b) of that article are purely indicative. The justification for this is self-evident, because a similar provision is to be found in Article 16 of the same regulation, which says:

The total contribution by the Fund to the cost of the common measure is estimated at 198.6 million ECU. This figure is purely indicative.

In other words, it is a discretionary paragraph for the total amount involved, and the amendment would extend the feature of indicativeness to Article 18, which relates to the part-payments. This is logical, since there would otherwise be a contradiction: in the article it would be stated that the overall sum was given indicatively, whereas in the breakdown itemizing the expenditure there would be no mention that the sums were indicative.

With these brief comments, I advocate the adoption of the report as approved by the Committee on Agriculture after the opinion delivered by the Committee on Budgets.

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

**Mr Vgenopoulos.** — (GR) Madam President, the regulation that the Commission has submitted to the Council envisages a number of measures for accelerating agricultural development in certain disadvantaged areas of Greece. Similar measures have already been implemented in other parts of the Community where there were analogous problems.

Agriculture in Greece suffers from organizational weaknesses which were described analytically in the memorandum submitted by the Greek Government to the Community. Coexistence with countries having a

developed agriculture and a high degree of economic development creates problems that can lead to an *impasse* in the agrarian economy and, by extension, to the country's farmers and farmworkers.

More specifically, the regions with which the programme is concerned are in a very serious situation. The lack of any basic infrastructural, economic, educational and social facilities forces the inhabitants of these regions to abandon their agricultural activities and leave the countryside. The selection of the 22 provinces covered by the programme was based on the fact that these are particularly disadvantaged regions characterized by an almost exclusive dependence on agriculture and by the very low income levels of their inhabitants. The small size of the cultivated plots, with low productivity due to their mountainous location, and the isolation of these areas from the large commercial and cultural centres, owing to the inadequacy of the road network, make life very difficult in such areas.

Thus, to keep the population in these areas, we must carry out infrastructure projects and supply powerful incentives. Up to now Greek agriculture, notwithstanding its enormous deficiencies, has not shared greatly in the grants awarded by the Guidance Section of the EAGGF. The socio-organizational measures we approved last month in this Parliament have not, unfortunately, been applied in Greece, because, as the Commission itself admits, there are very few farmers capable of implementing a development plan, a fact that is attributable to the peculiarities of Greek agriculture. Apart from this, there is some discriminatory treatment against Greece in as many of these measures as have been applied. For example, while in other countries there are 50% returns on the programmes implemented, in the case of Greece the proportion is only 25%.

On the principle of equal treatment, Greece should enjoy at least the same advantages as other parts of the Community. On this point the Council is committed to adopting a decision during 1982, and we hope that this injustice will thereby cease.

I would also point out that several structural programmes for Greece are still outstanding which have been submitted to the Commission and whose approval is being unreasonably delayed.

With regard to the proposed regulation, I wish to make the following comments. Provision has been made by the Guidance Section of the EAGGF for financing programmes of agricultural development in disadvantaged areas. The total sum available is expressly indicative and can be adapted, but the amount available for any particular programme is presented as being definitive. We think that this will lead to difficulties in the implementation of the programme, because the budget is bound to be exceeded, and that therefore the ceiling given should be only

**Vgenopoulos**

indicative so that it can be revised and adapted to requirements when carrying out the programme.

Moreover, the Commission's statement that the programme under discussion, for the acceleration of agricultural development in Greece, will be approved by July 1983 is unacceptable. The Greek proposal was submitted to the Community in June 1981, and the procedure for approving the programme will have to be speeded up so that its full implementation can commence in 1983.

Within this logical framework, the proposed regulation submitted by the Commission to the Council is quite right, though we think it absolutely essential to incorporate the two amendments adopted by the Committee on Agriculture to ensure the implementation of the programme.

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

**Mr Papaefstratiou.** — (GR) Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the European People's Party, I wish to state that we are in favour of the motion for a resolution because its purpose is to apply correct and fair measures for speeding up agricultural development in problematic areas of Greece.

It is common knowledge that there is an appreciable difference in the rate of development of several of the Community's Mediterranean regions on the one hand and the northern and central regions on the other. This unbalanced development makes it urgently necessary for the European Community to intervene in search of ways to meet the special needs of the disadvantaged agricultural areas in Greece. In any case, it has been pointed out by the Committee on Budgets that the EAGGF programme is not being fully applied in Greece, and we hope its implementation will commence very soon.

Thus, I fully applaud this report by my friend and colleague, Mr Kaloyannis. It is concerned with regions in mainland Greece where farms are small, the territory mountainous and infertile, and the people dependent mainly on agriculture. I also support the amendment concerning the transferability of appropriations to ensure that the programmes are flexible, practical and effectual. The programme proposed here by the Commission, in conjunction with the previously approved programme for aid to the mountainous and island areas of Greece, will certainly result in an improvement of agricultural incomes and in keeping the population in the areas in question, particularly in view of the notorious unemployment crisis that besets our countries.

At the same time, of course, accompanying measures must be forthcoming from the Community to stimu-

late the development of all regional activities in the agricultural areas of Greece.

I should like to take this opportunity to remind the Commission, and through them the Council, of the well-known and fair demands of my country, submitted in the form of memoranda both by the previous government, the New Democracy, and by the present government, concerning the need for special measures to revive the Greek economy and for implementation by the EEC of integrated programmes designed to reduce differences in the degree of development between the North and the South in the Community. We await prompt and just decisions.

The future of our Community will depend to a large extent, particularly in view of the forthcoming accession of Spain and Portugal, on the elimination of certain important differences that mark the economic development of the various Member States. This will facilitate the achievement of homogeneity among the millions of our European fellow-citizens and help us to progress towards the political union of a free, democratic Europe that can, in the future, fulfil the part it merits in world affairs.

**President.** — I call Mr Battersby.

**Mr Battersby.** — Madam President, I must first of all explain that I am speaking personally. I spent a considerable part of my youth in the mountains of Greece and have had the honour and privilege of working for many years with the Greek people in the mountainous areas. I owe them a debt of honour and I must speak for them.

Life in the mountainous regions of Greece, which we are discussing, is very hard indeed. There are few roads. You measure distances in hours, not in kilometres. It can take you two hours to cover 1 kilometre as the crow flies. There is little water. There is no electricity. There is no shade. There are no trees to hold the winter rain. The plots are small and very stony. Harvesting is by hand. It is a very different world from the lush flatlands of Northern Europe — of Northern Italy even — and even in Greece the crop-yields in these regions is only 30% of the yield you get in the irrigated areas.

Yet this land can be made to flourish and it can be made to support the people whose home is in these mountains — people who have lived there for centuries, whose roots are there. We can give them a higher standard of life, we can make a quantum change in these regions by giving them the necessary practical aid. I have seen myself what can be done by wise policies in Central Macedonia, where I used to live, where a semidesert is being converted into an agricultural paradise by wise government. With this report we can make a positive gesture to the people of the Greek mountains and to Greece's subsistence fishermen.

**Battersby**

The main need is for water. More money must be provided for irrigation and for afforestation: money to hold the water. Drinking-water must be provided to the villagers. How much human energy, how many millions of man-hours are wasted every day in carrying water from the spring to the village, when all you need is a few pipes and a few electric pumps?

I personally believe that the ceiling of 4 800 ECU per hectare for irrigation is far too low. The cost of irrigation even on flat land in Greece is 6 500 ECU, and inflation has not been included in the calculations. Similarly, more financial flexibility between the chapters is needed, so that no project is held up for lack of funds when other money is lying dormant and unusable in other sections of the funds available.

This report is a positive expression of our welcome to Greece into the Community and of our wish to help the Greek people in the less-developed areas of their agriculture and fisheries, and I personally shall be supporting Mr Kaloyannis and the amendments to his report.

**President.** — Does the Commission wish to comment?

**Mr Ortoli, Vice-President of the Commission.** — (FR) Madam President, I join all those who, with good reason, have congratulated the rapporteur on his work. Coming as I do from an island which has been described as a mountain in the sea, I well understand the expressions of concern that we have just heard.

Dealing with the more general aspects mentioned by the rapporteur and other speakers, I wish to say that we have by no means made up our minds to put off adopting the programme until July 1983. As soon as the regulation has been adopted, a programme will be submitted to us and we will work as rapidly as possible to ensure that it can be put into effect. In this connection, therefore, I do not want to fix any date. Everything depends on when we get the detailed programme from the Greek Government, but I note the concern expressed by the committee and we shall do everything possible to see that the programme is rapidly put into effect.

My second point concerns the flexibility which is asked for in two amendments. I fully understand the rapporteur's and the Committee's concern, but I must first point out that the provisions we envisage may be found in all the programmes of this kind in existence today. Consequently, we are faced with a question of principle.

Moreover, we want a programme, and we want it to be thoroughly thought out. You know we are working with Greek experts to make it as good, as well balanced as possible, and I should not like there to be any doubt on the main directions the work is to take. If

one introduces too much flexibility, such doubts may well emerge.

On the other hand, the problem raised does exist, and obviously, if it is found that progress is not sufficiently rapid to use up all the appropriations provided for today, I think that when the fourth year comes along and the report that we have to make comes to be considered, we shall have to propose a modification of the programme and the transfer of certain appropriations to operations which have turned out to be more urgently necessary than those we have envisaged today.

Consequently, though I may not be the rapporteur for the Committee on Budgets, I can tell you that the question that has been raised and the spirit in which it has been put by the committee have our full understanding, and when the proper moment arrives, we shall take the necessary steps to restore whatever degree of flexibility seems necessary.

**President.** — The debate is closed.<sup>1</sup>

#### 5. Aid to hop-producers

**President.** — The next item is the report by Mr Bocklet, on behalf of the Committee on Agriculture (Doc. 1-413/82), on the

proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-312/82 — COM(82) 244 final) for a regulation laying down, in respect of hops, the amount of aid to producers for the 1981 harvest.

I call the rapporteur.

**Mr Bocklet, rapporteur.** — (DE) Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, this report on aid to hop-producers was unanimously approved by the Committee on Agriculture. It also received the unanimous approval of the Committee on Budgets — not least, presumably, because the sum set aside in the budget for the expenditure covered by this report is 9 million ECU, while the actual expenditure will amount to 5.1 million ECU.

What is it all about? I will put it briefly. It is a matter of providing the income support necessitated by fluctuations in production and the need to stabilize the hop market. This aid to producers is a practical instrument for stabilizing and limiting the hop market.

My main concern is that between 1974-75 and 1980-81 Community imports from the United States

<sup>1</sup> For the vote, see Annex, For the item on membership of Parliament, see the Minutes.

**Bocklet**

increased fivefold while Community exports to the United States showed only a very small increase. It must be emphasized that since 1978 the United States has increased its area under hops by more than 4 600 hectares, or by 40%. All stabilization measures, everything done in the way of aid to producers is undermined when such developments are tolerated by certain trading partners on the world market, and I would therefore urge the Commission to negotiate with the United States on the possibility of achieving a certain amount of coordination and stabilization in this field.

Hops, I know, are not so important or so problematical as soya or other crops, but all the same our efforts on the European market are liable to be frustrated by developments such as this in America. We do not want a war with the Americans in this sector, but we do want the Commission to talk to them frankly. This, I think, would be in the interests of both sides.

These are the reasons why I ask you to adopt the resolution. This would be our contribution towards ensuring reasonable incomes in a very sensitive sector.

I wish to thank you once more for adopting urgent procedure. By doing so, you have helped to ensure that the aid to hop-producers can be paid out this summer and will not have to wait until the autumn, when the next harvest is due.

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

**Mr Vernimmen.** — (NL) Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, I shall be brief. As Mr Bocklet has pointed out, and in my opinion too, the Commission's proposal is a well-balanced one. Mr Bocklet's report gives a fair and realistic picture of the present situation. It is a conspicuous fact that in the last few years the pattern of production has changed fundamentally. It is essential that we maintain our own Community production and continue to promote investments, which are fairly high in this sector, particularly in the field of research.

Beer consumption, which depends on hop-production, is stable, but there are developments which we must not lose sight of. Clearly, the question of quality and the various varieties of hops is important, and we must concentrate our attention on this problem, on this small production sector, which is of great importance to a great many people. I therefore consider that this proposal deserves our support.

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

**Mr Ortolí, Vice-President of the Commission.** — (FR) Madam President, I can be brief, since the proposal we are submitting is directly related to the con-

cerns expressed by the rapporteur and by the Member who has just spoken. In particular, quality development is a central point in our policy.

As regards the more general problems raised by the rapporteur, I listened very attentively to what he had to say and we share his concern, particularly with regard to the problem of relations with the United States. We have the contacts that we need there, and I hope we shall succeed in improving the state of affairs, even though, as he has said, this is by no means easy.

**President.** — The debate is closed.<sup>1</sup>

*6. Conservation of salmon*

**President.** — The next item is the report by Mr Provan, on behalf of the Committee on Agriculture (Doc. 1-414/82), on

the recommendation from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-25/82 — COM(82) 76 final) for a decision concerning the conclusion of the Convention for the conservation of salmon in the North Atlantic Ocean.

I call Mr Battersby, who is deputizing for the rapporteur, Mr Provan.

**Mr Battersby, deputy rapporteur.** — Madam President, I have undertaken to speak on behalf of Mr Provan on this most important report.

The salmon is an endangered species, and hardly any are being caught presently in the rivers of the Community. The reasons are many, over-fishing in Faroese waters, poaching; there are many reasons. And we can only welcome the creation at last of an international convention on the North Atlantic salmon and the location of its headquarters in the Community in Edinburgh.

The North Atlantic salmon is a migratory species. It moves from Greenland to Iceland, to the Faroes, down the east coast of Britain to the river Humber, to Ireland and then to France. It is caught in British, Irish, French and Norwegian waters.

The report before you was agreed in the Working Party on Fisheries and in the Committee on Agriculture with sizeable majorities.

In it you will see a technical reference to the use of monofilament nets. The uncontrolled use of these nets, and their use in non-regulated fisheries — although these nets are extremely efficient in catching

<sup>1</sup> For the vote, see Annex.

**Battersby**

salmon — is causing some concern, and there is a belief that their use should be restricted.

However, on the north-east coast of Britain, between Sperrin Head and North Shields, there is a small fishery for salmon. Many small fishermen could be put out of business if restrictions on the use of these nets were too severe. We must be very careful and be fully informed before we take action. Consequently the report is asking at this stage for a serious, detailed study to be made by the Commission to examine the effect on the species and on stocks of the use of monofilament nets in unregulated fisheries.

There are four amendments before us which aim to strengthen this aspect of the report. As rapporteur, I must point out that Amendment No 4 was presented in committee and was not accepted, and I, as rapporteur who took part in the debate, must personally vote against this one. On the other three amendments, Nos 1, 2 and 3, I leave the decision to the good judgement of the House after it has studied them.

I recommend the Provan report to you as an important step forward in the protection of the North Atlantic salmon.

## IN THE CHAIR: MR PFLIMLIN

*Vice-President*

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

**Miss Quin.** — Mr President, the Socialist Group welcomes the approval given in the Provan report to the conclusion of the Convention for the Conservation of salmon.

We are aware, of course, that the salmon is very much an international fish — in fact one of the most international of fish — and we are aware therefore that catches of salmon in one part of international waters may very much affect salmon catches in other areas. They may also affect, as is pointed out in the report, the numbers of fish returning to the salmon spawning rivers.

We believe, too, that the dangers of pollution need to be highlighted, and we therefore welcome the fact that paragraph 10 of the motion specifically refers to this and calls for action.

Paragraph 5 refers to the use of monofilament nets in Community waters. The Socialist Group feels that, while we have no objection to the Commission's looking at this problem, it would be quite wrong to pre-

judge the results of any such investigations, and for this reason the group is not in favour of the amendment which talks about the damage caused by the use of these nets and the need to phase them out. We feel that this is quite wrong and would prejudge the outcome of any investigation at this stage.

Speaking personally as someone who represents an area where fishermen use these monofilament nets and depend on them for their livelihood, I feel most strongly that the fishermen themselves should be consulted before any action is taken, as they feel they have a good case which is in great danger of being overlooked at the present time.

I am convinced too that the legal and controlled use of monofilament nets off the North-East English coast should not be made a scapegoat for illegal fishing and poaching, which is, I believe, a much more serious factor in the depletion of salmon stocks.

However, despite this reservation on paragraph 5 of the report, I and the Socialist Group can accept it in its present form, and indeed welcome many parts of it.

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

**Mr Clinton.** — Mr President, like Mr Battersby, I consider that this is a very important report. It arises from the Commission's proposals for a Convention for the Conservation of Salmon in the North Atlantic Ocean. I feel that the Commission should have taken action much sooner, before very serious damage had been done to some of the stocks.

It is much more difficult to correct a situation when it has been allowed to get seriously out of hand and when catches have been permitted to an extent far in excess of what is consistent with a prudent policy for the management and proper development of the salmon-fishing industry.

What we want to remember is that stocks have been allowed to reach a dangerously low level and that the countries where the salmon are produced in the first instance are the worst hit. I know only too well that the Commission has been hampered and restricted in what it can do in circumstances where the Community has not yet reached agreement on a common fisheries policy. This, of course, is the main reason why we have so much chaos and dissatisfaction in so many sectors of the fishing industry. This cannot be said too often.

In this case, there are many people to blame, but the culprits are the Faroese, whose catches have increased from approximately 50 tonnes a few years ago to a level in the region of 1 000 tonnes now. There, 90% of the catch is immature salmon grilse of about 6-7 lbs.

**Clinton**

Greenland is also taking too much, as are the drift-netters. Fishing methods have become too sophisticated and too efficient. Nets of a quality that damage and kill small salmon should be banned. Unless we have a properly controlled and regulated fishing industry, we are heading for a chaotic situation where many species will become extinct and the people who suffer the most damage are those whose livelihoods largely depend on fishing. Small inshore fishermen who have no other means of support are looking to us to protect them. What we are setting out to do here today is, I hope, only a first step which will be followed up until optimum use is being made of this valuable resource.

The Commission's proposals have been accepted by the Committee on Agriculture almost unanimously and without amendment but with certain reservations which should not be overlooked by the Commission. This report draws attention to the damage done by pollution and the steps that must be taken to overcome this. There is also a need to pay attention to arterial drainage schemes, as a result of which conditions for spawning are seriously upset for years, and it may be possible to avoid this by an inexpensive adjustment of these schemes.

Finally, where bog development is taking place, there is the problem caused by peat floating down spawning rivers and covering up the gravel-beds in which spawning should be taking place. These are important details which I feel the Commission should bear in mind.

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

**Mr Cottrell.** — I think the problem before us is absolutely simple. I think it is not even confined to fishing or the technical kinds of fishing-gear which are used. It is my belief that the North Atlantic salmon is actually faced with extinction. I fully applaud the efforts that the Commission have made to undertake deep-sea conservation measures and I think, as has been amply said by every speaker so far, this House is bound to support those measures; but there is no point whatsoever in undertaking conservation of this particular species at sea if we fail to take adequate conservation measures within our own national waters and in our own rivers.

This is where we reach the question of monofilament nets. These nets are already banned entirely throughout the Republic of Ireland, in Scotland and the south-west of England. The British Government has been asked on a number of occasions to consider a nationwide ban. It has indicated its reluctance to do so, so far, but is at the moment undertaking a new study, the results of which are expected to be published in October in the United Kingdom.

In the meantime, abundant evidence is coming in from all quarters to show that what Mr Clinton, I think, has described as too sophisticated fishing gear is actually contributing towards the extinction of the species at a very fast rate. The Norwegians have shown that some 80% of salmon now being caught in Norwegian waters or Norwegian rivers show up to 80% scale-damage. Monofilament nets are the underwater equivalent of vacuum cleaners. Those fish which are lucky enough to escape them escape only at the cost of severe damage to themselves. In the rivers with which I am familiar in my own constituency, there has been a drastic reduction this year in the number of salmon both caught and observed, and this is becoming an annual pattern. We have traditional salmon fishermen on the Severn who say that if poaching or legal fishing with monofilament nets continues at the present rate, then there will be no salmon at all in the Rivers Severn and Wye. That is clearly a view which is already extensively held throughout the United Kingdom, since our most --economically valuable salmon-fishing area, Scotland, has already banned the use of these nets.

I shall take issue with my colleague Mr Battersby, who referred to Amendment No 4, tabled by myself, as having been rejected in committee. That having happened, I in fact rephrased it and said that we might suggest on the basis of evidence that these monofilament nets are injurious and should be phased out over a period of time while alternative satisfactory fishing-gear could be developed in order reasonably to protect the livelihood of the salmon and the salmon fishermen.

I believe that most of all we must be persuaded in the House today that the real issue is whether the salmon will survive and whether we shall allow it to survive.

**President.** — I call Mr Eyraud.

**Mr Eyraud.** — (FR) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the conservation of salmon in the North Atlantic obviously depends on catch quotas, suitable net-meshes, combating marine pollution and other measures contained in this recommendation for a Council decision. Today, however, I should like to draw the attention of Community authorities to the fact that this fish spends the greater part of its life in fresh water, whereas the recommendation speaks simply of the 'territories' of Member States without mentioning rivers and streams and the motion for a resolution contained in the report has a single reference to river pollution.

As mayor of the town of Brioude, situated in the Department of the Upper Loire on the River Allier, a thousand kilometres upstream from the Atlantic coast, I should like to submit a few figures for your consideration.

**Eyraud**

In the first half of this century, at least fifteen thousand salmon, each of them weighing between six and twelve kilograms, were caught each year in the Allier-Loire basin, more than half of them below Nantes by permanent fisheries. Today, the size of this catch varies between less than 100 and — to take a favourable figure, that for 1979–1980, of which 750 fell to the Upper Allier.

Thanks to action taken by the public authorities, including the French Fisheries Council, which provides for catches of females on the point of spawning, thanks also to natural reproduction in 200 hectares of potential spawning-grounds, 5 million salmon may be and sometimes actually are born every year. Studies have shown that, in practical terms, this may mean, in a good year, 800 000 young males with a chance of reaching the Atlantic. If one assumes that they are caught at an average weight of three kilograms, this represents an annual catch of 2 400 tons from a single river, or more than five times the catch quota of 450 tons authorized by the Conventions.

All this presupposes, however, that the life-cycle is completed in favourable conditions, and this acquires especial interest in view of the fact that the Loire-Allier salmon is a race apart. Markings have shown that even though, at sea, it may come into contact with salmon from other European or Canadian river basins, the Loire-Allier salmon comes back to this river and not to others. As with most other kinds of Atlantic salmon, they rarely lose their way.

Therefore, if only for economic reasons, we should do what we can to make these migrations easier, for the hazards they face are well-nigh innumerable. Survival depends on the quality of water, and on this point young salmon are extremely particular. The parent fish have to pass through nets installed in the Loire estuary below Nantes before negotiating a series of dams and weirs put up to serve hydro-electric plants or quite simply to provide pleasure facilities.

City sewage and sand and gravel pits are the cause of further biological barriers difficult to negotiate, while the construction of a water-cooled nuclear power-station would mean the total disappearance of the species as a result of disturbing the river's natural equilibrium.

These are the main obstacles encountered by the parent fish when they return upstream to spawn. Their young, as they descend the rivers, are even more susceptible; many perish in the turbines or succumb to chemical or biological pollution.

Admittedly, a 'salmon plan' was put into operation by the French public authorities a few years ago, but its technical and financial resources are far from adequate for the purpose. It therefore seems to me essential that the Community should take up the problem. This problem is particularly acute in the case of the Loire and the Allier rivers, which together represent the

longest course that salmon have to cover; nevertheless, it exists for all the rivers of the Community where this species is reproduced.

Urgent measures are therefore called for, and I should like to see the Commission submitting without delay a further document on this subject containing technical and financial proposals. What is at stake is the survival of a species but also of an entire sector of Community and international economic activity.

I may have exceeded my speaking-time, Mr President, but I should like to cite one more figure. A salmon's egg imported from Canada costs in the Community 45 centimes — more, that is to say, than a hen's egg, to which we devoted hours of debate when dealing with battery hens.

I hope, therefore, that the Community authorities at every level will give due thought to this problem and that you will pardon me, Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, for having taken up so much of your time on a subject which is particularly close to my heart.

**President.** — I call Mr Newton Dunn.

**Mr Newton Dunn.** — I wish to speak to paragraph 5 of this motion for a resolution. Apart from that paragraph, I find the report fairly acceptable.

I have tabled Amendment No 1 to replace paragraph 5, because I think it is utterly unacceptable.

The report of Mr Provan has two profound defects. The first reminds me of the famous detective in English fiction called Sherlock Holmes. You may remember, Mr President, that there was a detective story about a burglary which none of the ordinary policemen could solve: only Sherlock Holmes pointed out the significance of the fact that the dog guarding the house that had been burgled did not bark. Well, one of the defects of this report is something very significant that is not written there. It entirely fails to mention the anglers, the people who also catch salmon in the rivers before those salmon can get upstream to spawn the next generation. By putting all the blame on the coastal fishermen and ignoring the other factors, one of which might be overfishing by the angler, I feel that Mr Provan has misbalanced the report. I point out something which he has buried in the explanatory statement, which has not been debated and which has not had to be amended by the committee. I quote from Mr Provan's explanatory statement: 'The Commission should plan for the run-down of all offshore salmon fishing'. Can that really be true? Can that be sensible? It is ridiculous.

The second major defect of the report is that Mr Provan has presented no adequate evidence of the damage caused by these nets. There may be damage, there may

**Newton Dunn**

not be: that is a very important thing to find out, and we are asking the Commission to look at it. But paragraph 5 prejudices the issue; it talks about 'the damage', and my amendment seeks to put this thing into a proper perspective by talking about an investigation into 'alleged' damage, which is surely far more balanced and reasonable at this stage. Apart from this worry, I am happy to support the report.

**President.** — I call Mr Kirk.

**Mr Kirk.** — (*DA*) Mr President, as Miss Quin has pointed out, we are dealing with a species of fish which is international, which moves around the sea and comes up the rivers, so that it is clear that there is a variety of reasons why this species of fish is caught. There are the professional fishermen, who, very often in very small boats, sail out into international waters and fish for salmon; there are those who fish rivers, etc., merely as a hobby; finally, there are the coastal fishermen who, naturally, are interested in catching the fish when they are near the coast.

The problem with the report now before the House on a proposal for a convention for the conservation of salmon stocks in the North Atlantic is that we are prohibiting those fishermen who for generations have sailed out into international waters to fish for salmon. We are forbidding this type of fishing, while at the same time permitting coastal fishermen and those who fish for pleasure to catch fish in the rivers.

Therefore I feel that it is not right for us to impose this kind of blanket prohibition on the occupation of these men who have invested large sums in boats and fishing-gear, thereby making it impossible for them to continue to work in this way. I therefore welcome the fact that the Committee on Agriculture has adopted my amendment and included paragraph 9 in Mr Provan's report, where we call on the Commission to grant a transitional period to Community salmon fishermen during which they can continue fishing in international waters.

I realize that it is difficult to convince the various countries who are to sign this Convention that this is appropriate, since they do not have fishermen fishing in the waters in question. I greatly hope, however, that the Commission will take paragraph 9 of the Committee on Agriculture's report into consideration and really make an energetic effort to persuade other countries to accept a transitional arrangement in order to provide a reasonable period of time to pay off the money invested in the boats in question.

Finally, with regard to salmon-fishing, I should like to say that we have always criticized deep-sea fishing as the reason why salmon are unable to return to the rivers, etc., and the original Provan report makes no mention of what I consider to be the basic problem,

i.e., the fact that in recent years pollution of European rivers has increased to such an extent that it is perhaps the real reason why salmon no longer appear in the rivers in question. I am therefore pleased that we have succeeded in committee in having paragraph 10 included, in which we call on the Commission to make every effort to curtail the pollution of the sea and the rivers, since it is a well-known fact that certain Member States which are loudest in calling for a ban on salmon-fishing in international waters in order to encourage salmon to return to their own rivers are the ones most guilty of causing pollution. I can name a particular Member State which dumps some 6 million tonnes of waste into the sea every year, thereby damaging the living resources of the sea.

I hope, therefore, that Parliament will adopt the resolution as it stands, since I shall then be able to vote for it. I also hope that the Commission will take into consideration the two paragraphs I mentioned and try to find a solution to the problem.

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

**Mr Pisani, Member of the Commission.** — (*FR*) I could give quite a number of reasons for presenting myself as a specialist on this subject. I had just been appointed prefect of the Upper Loire, for which Mr Eyraud is Member, when the miners at Sainte-Florine went on strike because salmon-fishing rights had been allocated to firms from outside the Department and as a result anglers could no longer pursue their hobby near their homes. I have never in my life experienced a strike more impossibly difficult to settle since it had nothing to do with the work or with trade-union matters within the mine. Hence the special place that salmon has occupied in my life since the beginning of my long career.

First of all, I am gratified that the committee expresses approval of the convention under consideration. This convention should, I think, be regarded as a first step towards what all those who have spoken so far have been calling for — that is to say, studying the dangers to which the salmon is exposed during the periods of its life spent in fresh water, to which it is exposed by pollution or the appearance of a new type of fishing equipment — the nets that enable one to fish day and night, which had not been possible before. On behalf of the Commission, I undertake to see that a study is made of the resources and of the dangers run and that specific replies are given in writing, within a reasonable space of time, to all the questions that have been raised.

**President.** — The debate is closed.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the vote, see Annex.



### 7. Medical research

**President.** — The next item is the report by Mrs Pruvot, on behalf of the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection (Doc. 1-423/82), on

the proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-633/81) for a decision adopting a sectoral research and development programme of the EEC in the field of medical and public-health research (concerted action, 1982-86).

I call the rapporteur.

**Mrs Pruvot, rapporteur.** — (FR) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the concerted action with which this report is concerned comprises medical research activities which are decided on, carried out and entirely financed by national institutions, leaving only their coordination to the Commission.

This programme comprises three sectors: health problems, health resources, and the environment of the individual (nutrition and pharmaceuticals).

This type of action has various advantages. First of all, it avoids burdening the Community insofar as the actual research is financed by the Member States themselves. It rationalizes exploitation of the results of the research done by these national institutions, since the Commission has the function of avoiding all duplication in research as well as that of encouraging Member States to specialize in those areas of research in which they are especially competent and well-advanced. Priorities are determined by the Member States *via* the Scientific and Technical Research Committee.

Programmes for concerted action are too little known in the Member States, while the Commission, for its part, is not always kept regularly and precisely informed as to what is going on in the national institutions. In fact, information on the progress of research in the Member States goes to the COMAC's.

The Community's first and second medical research programmes were modest enough and called for the coordination of no more than about 10% of publicly-financed medical research, with an annual budget of approximately 500 million ECU. The proposals for a third programme, covering the period 1982-86, now envisages the coordination of around 20% of such research, and I may say here that the Committee on Budgets gave this programme its approval in the favourable opinion adopted at its meeting of last Tuesday.

If these teams are to work together permanently, the Community budget must envisage furnishing a certain logistical support. The national funds made available

for promoting medical research are in general adequate, and the gaps are mainly to be found in the coordination of various teams working on the same problems: this should be improved with the object of arriving at a truly European 'medical research area'. In the end, the whole of publicly-financed research should be covered by this Community coordination.

The medical research programme should be primarily aimed at assimilating the various national structures for organizing such research. Some countries, such as the United Kingdom, have a centralized organization, while in others, such as the German Federal Republic, it is decentralized. This latter type has a negative effect upon the coordination of research, making it more difficult and in the end incomplete.

Another idea would be the establishment of genuinely European research teams and of 'specialist centres' in the various Member States. In the United States, the Centre for the Study and Treatment of Heart Diseases, at Houston, bears witness to the advantages of putting together highly-skilled research teams on the basis of a subject of research requiring a multi-disciplinary approach. Here the Community programme should play the part of a promoter. We already have the first positive results. In the field of research into the aging of the crystalline lens of the eye, for example, Community coordination has led to the emergence of a research team which now has a worldwide reputation.

The results of medical and public-health research are not only of interest to the researchers themselves or those professionally concerned with their work. The general public — that is to say, people already in need of medical treatment and those who may one day need it — also, no doubt, wish to know what is going on in this research at the European level, and an effort could be made to improve and accelerate the publication of relevant information.

The level of research carried on in the Member States is satisfactory, and investments in Community research are not desirable. In addition to coordination, the Community must aim at organizing, centralizing and, I would say, guiding the policies of the Member States with regard to medical research. Organizing and guiding this research at the Community level means encouraging its specialization and, at the same time, its diversification. It also means avoiding the need for Community citizens to seek treatment at medical centres in the United States: here the Commission might well submit proposals for harmonizing the organization of research in the Member States, and this, quite apart from the advantages accruing to researchers and improvements in the research itself, might well encourage patients to seek treatment within the Community. These could then choose whether they wished to be treated in Dublin, Lyon, Milan or Cologne, since they would then be sure of receiving

**Pruvot**

sufficiently specialized treatment without having to go to other continents in search of it.

In conclusion, I wish to put a question to the Commission. We were very surprised to learn from the press that the Council had decided, at the end of June, in favour of a compromise fixing appropriation for the programme at 16.9 million ECU. Could the Commission comment on this decision and tell us what the situation really is, for we have found this information somewhat disquieting?

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

**Mr Schleicher.** — (DE) I thank Mrs Pruvot for her report, in which she raises some very important problems. Since the Commission is to make its contribution to a concerted action in the field of public-health research, I should like to draw your attention briefly to two points to which I attach especial importance.

We are concerned that countries which so far have done little in the way of medical research may feel called upon to neglect their own work even further in order to participate in this concerted action. This must in no circumstances be allowed to happen. The aim of such action can only be to coordinate what research is actually being done and not to cause the further neglect of research in countries where already little is being done.

Secondly, the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment has noted that a number of public-health programmes contain political aspects that have to be taken into account. The Economic and Social Committee has called on the Commission to make sure that this work is carried out in a scientific and objective spirit without any ideological slant. My group would also like to see this view respected. When scientists are being chosen for this work, we must make sure that their work will be objective and free from ideological bias.

The group of the European People's Party supports the amendments that have been tabled.

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

**Mr Ortoli, Vice-President of the Commission.** — (FR) Mr President, the quality of Mrs Pruvot's oral presentation relieves me of any need to go over the substance of the Commission's proposals. I shall therefore confine my reply to two points: the amendments that have been tabled, and the question raised by Mrs Pruvot on the present state of affairs.

We agree to the amendments tabled to Articles 4 and 6, but I do not accept Amendment No 1, concerning the opinions of CREST.

Why? Because we have every reason for wishing to work in close cooperation with the Member States and also with this committee, which, for us as for the Council, is permanently at hand, and this means that we have the best possible conditions for such cooperation. One of our objects is to coordinate the work at the first and, if need be, at the second stage, and I think it would be very unfortunate if we were to neglect this opportunity of discussing matters with those responsible for research. I would go so far as to say that we want CREST to play an even bigger part in coordinating research policies with other policies of the Community. We therefore have our reservations of Amendment No 1.

As for the information concerning a decision taken at the last meeting of the Council of Ministers of Research, I think the simplest thing would be to read out to you, not what the newspapers said, but the communiqué issued following this Council meeting: 'Pending reception of the opinion of the European Parliament', — and this is the point that troubled Mrs Pruvot: of what use is an opinion if the decision has already been taken? — 'the Council discussed the Commission's proposal for a third research programme in the field of medical and public-health research. The Council expects to be able to take a rapid decision on this programme as soon as it has received the Parliament's opinion.'

**President.** — The debate is closed.<sup>1</sup>

8. *War-toys*

**President.** — The next item is the report by Mrs Pruvot, on behalf of the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport, on war-toys (Doc. 1-288/82).

I call the rapporteur.

**Mrs Pruvot, rapporteur.** — (FR) Mr President, a number of our colleagues have tabled a motion for a resolution calling for a ban on the manufacture and sale of war-toys. I imagine that the Commissioner will tell us in a few minutes' time what we can and what we cannot do with regard to this question. I, for my part, do not believe that we are entitled to impose a ban. Some of our colleagues have, to say the least, strong feelings on this subject, to which they have given ample expression when voicing their doubts as to the seriousness of our work.

Be this as it may, who can deny that toys are an important factor in children's development and, I

<sup>1</sup> For the vote, see Annex.

**Pruvot**

would add — having spent 28 years of my career working with children aged from 2 to 6 — their education? To judge by the many letters I have received from representatives of parents' and teachers' associations in the United Kingdom, this problem would appear to be a cause of tremendous concern to all those who feel themselves responsible for the future of children in that country. The report I now submit for your approval calls for action designed to instil a love of peace and non-violence. We are disturbed by the proliferation of war-toys, more particularly those known as 'exact replicas', and it behoves us to find the best way of eliminating them.

Let us take the educational aspect first, since that is the most important. What we should aim at is being able to offer our children toys that appeal to their imagination, their creativity and their intelligence. We all know that children like to play with toy weapons, which, if they do not receive them ready-made, they make for themselves; but is this not because we have failed so far to offer them something else — that is to say, toys which encourage their sense of logic, their ability to think, rapid reflexes, a sense of balance, etc.?

There is no end to the list of toys one could offer to develop children's physical and mental faculties: sporting gear, musical equipment and electronic toys, which offer innumerable possibilities, without counting the de-militarization of certain toys or their modification in a few details of form or colour.

Manufacturers must realize that children will always want to play and that parents will always want to buy them toys, that if they cease the production of war-toys, they will produce and sell others and just as many at that. I would remind my colleagues that this sector of industry keeps many people employed — about 25 000 in the German Federal Republic and 18 000 in France, and to suppress this production at one fell swoop without offering any assistance to enable plants to switch to other types of production would jeopardize the employment of tens of thousands of people.

Nevertheless, I cannot ignore the danger to children's bodily safety which comes from their use of exact replicas of military weapons, especially in countries that are at war.

We therefore submit to you, ladies and gentlemen, a resolution which is reasonable, which has been drawn up with great care in a very realistic spirit and which may well assist the Commission in submitting proposals on the subject. I would ask you, when the moment comes, to give it your support.

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

**Mrs Gaiotti De Biase.** — (IT) Mr President, we might well have spared ourselves the trouble of dealing with

this report. I find it regrettable that a parliamentarian of the calibre of Mrs Pruvot, who, in this part-session as in the past, has produced excellent work, should have been obliged to busy herself with a report which at best is pointless because it goes beyond this Parliament's sphere of influence and, at worst, is not free from a taint of hypocrisy.

My group fully appreciates the importance of the choice of toys for our children if we are to bring them up in a peace-loving spirit, and the intelligent ideas expressed in this document have our support. But can a society which is incapable of abolishing sales of real weapons save its conscience by banning children's toys? Is there any sense in planning aid for the mass communications media when these, our own tragic adult toys, are the ones to force upon children daily visions of war, for example on the television? In Britain, the sale of miniature Harriers has grown enormously following the war in the Falklands.

In the face of these crying contradictions, above all the failure to define what a war-toy is, my group can only recommend abstention, even though, when the moment comes to vote, some of our members may think otherwise.

In particular, paragraphs 12 and 13 should be suppressed, since they contain incomplete statistics on the European toy industry and overlook the much larger part played by Italy, which is a net exporter of war-toys, even to France and Germany. If this is not done, we shall ask for a separate vote, paragraph by paragraph.

An educational and cultural policy aimed at encouraging a spirit of peace in the younger generation must be achieved by positive action and not by means of prohibitions that are ineffectual and belied by our own example. Mrs Pruvot's excellent and wise reflections would find a better place within the complex framework of such a policy.

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

**Mr Hutton.** — Mr President, I hope you will not take it personally if I appear to threaten you with this cheap plastic water-pistol,

*(The speaker brandished a water-pistol)*

but I wonder whether you think that this is a war-toy. Is it really the intention of this Parliament to make extinct such frivolous objects as this? It is with great regret that I have to disagree with my favourite colleague in the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport, Mrs Pruvot. As the father of two boys, one of 4 years and the other of only 4 months, I am acutely aware of the dilemma facing parents who have to choose the toys their children

**Hutton**

should play with. It so happens that my wife and I have chosen not to give the 4-year-old guns or tanks or rockets or any such toys, but I am not convinced that even if we had it would have made my little boy an aggressive little beast who would grow up with a keen desire to kill. The resolution nobly wants a wider range of creative or constructive toys, and I do not disagree with that; but my experience as a father who has showered creative and constructive toys on his son is that the little boy uses his constructive toys to build guns which he then runs round the house with firing at his despairing parents.

*(Laughter)*

Now, of course, I am worried that he will come to regard guns as forbidden fruit to be sought and enjoyed in defiance of his parents . . .

**Mr Fergusson.** — Mr President, this is the second time the honourable Member has brought weapons into this Chamber. The last time, if I remember, it was a real weapon. Now it is only a toy, which is an improvement. But is this going to go on?

**Mr Hutton.** — Mr President, Members who seek to catch planes have little enough reason to interrupt.

What are ordinary parents to make of this resolution? If they buy a bow and arrow or a water-pistol, are they to feel they are corrupting their children? I am afraid the connection between toy guns and a later love of war is well meant, but it is just not proved by experience. I do think, however, and I do agree with Mrs Pruvot here, that there can be a real danger from those replica weapons which are such good imitations that they can be mistaken for the real thing, and I certainly believe that Member States could and should make these so hard to obtain that there is no possibility of them being sold as toys.

My group, Sir, does not believe that the Parliament or the other Institutions should be interfering in the playroom. That belongs to children, not politicians.

**President.** — I call Mr Nyborg.

**Mr Nyborg.** — *(DA)* I shall try and say what I wish to say as concisely as possible.

Recital I, which states that war-toys may present a danger to the physical well-being of children, is too terse to be correct. Take also the view of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs that, for example, a stone is more dangerous than a plastic hand grenade!

The problem is also dealt with in paragraph 5 of the motion for a resolution. With regard to recital J, the

wording chosen by the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport is misleading or, at any event, does not go far enough. Consequently, the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs tabled the following, more explicitly worded, amendment:

Points out that the EEC Treaty provides no scope for the Community to prohibit the manufacture or sale of war-toys . . .

We run the risk of making ourselves look ridiculous if we adopt a resolution calling for something which is impossible under the Treaties.

I should then like to point out that paragraph 15 of the motion for a resolution talks of economic support. I should like to ask the question, which sectors are most in need of support. Moreover, I should like to add that in my view it is not up to the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport to adopt a position on this on Parliament's behalf.

Moreover, it appears illogical, when calling for a prohibition on the manufacture and sale of war-toys, not to try and define what a war-toy is. Is a cowboy pistol a war-toy? If so, is a cowboy holster to hold the pistol also a war-toy? We cannot possibly talk of something as nebulous as that. We must have a definition if we are going to adopt a position at all.

Mrs Pruvot spoke as if by forbidding these kind of toys we should guarantee a mass of other toys which were better and more educational. Madam Pruvot, let us not get carried away! There is an ocean of good, educationally useful toys, etc. I can tell you that the trade catalogue lists 26 000 items, so there is no lack of goods on offer.

We must recognize that when children play they imitate the world of adults, and they will continue to do so as long as it provides them with inspiration. If what we are trying to do is to make any sense, we should also prohibit war-films and forbid newspapers, books, etc., to give descriptions. In order to prevent Parliament becoming a public laughing-stock, I propose that we reject this motion for a resolution.

**President.** — I call Mr Estgen.

**Mr Estgen.** — *(FR)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, who among us here could be impervious to an attempt to build a more peaceful world for the generation of tomorrow? Who could refuse support for a campaign to educate young people in a spirit of non-violence, an essential feature of Christian thought? Who could forget that the very idea of the Community itself is based on the rejection of war and terror? It is in this light that I see, and appreciate, Mrs Pruvot's report. It is the expression of will of an optimist and idealist, of a sensitive person to whom I pay tribute for her moderation.

**Estgen**

Although I can subscribe without reservation to the general ideas underlying the report, I nonetheless, as a teacher, have some difficulty in accepting certain phrases in the resolution. In my view, one should not exaggerate the moral danger to which a healthy child living in a well-integrated family is exposed when playing with toy soldiers or weapons. Everything depends on the spirit of non-violence and respect, on the ethical, even aesthetic atmosphere in which he is brought up — in a word, on the harmonious environment which every child needs to develop properly.

I am convinced that a family background of violence and aggression, between parents or between them and their children, and the scenes of violence shown on the television leave a much deeper impression on a child than the pleasure he may have in playing with war-toys, where, for him, the love of adventure is mingled with fantasy and the attraction of the adult world in replica. Indeed, it has been proved that the repression of these things may have disastrous consequences. On the other hand, the part played by the communications media in inciting to war and violence must not be underestimated, and I shall be glad to support Mrs Squarcialupi's amendment on this point.

I would go so far as to say that war-toys may sometimes serve the function of exorcizing or catalysing violence and aggression, just as for the weak-willed they may be a source of imaginary power. On the other hand, the danger of unduly faithful imitations of weapons is a real one, and on this point I support the amendment tabled by Mr Hutton and Mr Eisma.

One cannot overdo one's support for instructive and creative toys, and here I cannot follow Mr Hutton and Mr Eisma, who consider that there is already a more than adequate range of such toys on the market. In Luxembourg, I am President of Action Familiale et Populaire, which for twenty years has been organizing annual children's exhibitions with a big display of educational and creative toys, and in the course of these twenty years we have never yet displayed a single war-toy with the object of recommending it to parents. Here I agree with our colleagues Mrs Viehoff and Miss Hooper that we should ban visual and oral publicity for war-toys.

Nevertheless, we have sometimes found difficulty in getting together an adequate number of genuinely creative toys for all age categories. In fact, those that are sold as being such are often not creative at all.

As for the economic aspect, I would point out to Mrs Pruvot, who cited France and Germany as the principal manufacturers of war-toys, that to my knowledge Italy is, relatively speaking, the biggest manufacturer of this type of toy.

In conclusion, I should like to say a word to the authors of the Glinne resolution. Far be it from me to suggest that our Socialist friends who tabled the reso-

lution on which Mrs Pruvot's report is based are without the most respectable of ethical and humane motives. I am personally acquainted with at least a dozen of them, and I have too high an opinion of them to overlook their good intentions. Nevertheless, I would ask them to consider whether the moral deterioration of our children is not due rather to their having been deprived of parental care at an over-early stage than to the use of war-toys, to the fact of their having been left in nurseries at a very young age because both parents, in a manner of speaking, have had to abandon them in order to earn a living. This question is worth reflecting on.

I am convinced that the purpose of toys is to help a child to integrate itself gradually into the adult world, and as long as we adults manufacture and sell weapons, often for basely selfish and materialist purposes, we have no right to ban the manufacture of inoffensive replicas of these murderous war-machines. Our aggressions and our wars are no game, and to forbid our children to imitate them only makes us look hypocrites.

In any case, it is clear that neither we nor the Commission have any competence to envisage a Community directive forbidding the manufacture and sale of war-toys. This is not permitted by the Treaties, and I am grateful to Mr Nyborg for having said so clearly.

This in no way reflects upon the profoundly humane value of this report by Mrs Pruvot, whom I congratulate once more on her work.

**President.** — I call Mr Welsh.

**Mr Welsh.** — Under Rule 86, Mr President, since a wide-ranging series of views have been expressed and in view of the lateness of the hour, I would like to move the closure of this debate and an immediate vote.

**President.** — Is your motion supported by at least ten Members?

*(The request was not maintained by the requisite number of Members)*

We shall therefore continue the debate.

I call Mr Wedekind.

**Mr Wedekind.** — *(DE)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, if we are to talk about war-toys, we must first, I think, define what a war-toy is. We have already had a number of examples to show how difficult this is. I should like to add a few more, in connection with which one has to ask oneself whether they are war-toys or not.

**Wedekind**

If I take such innocent games as draughts, ludo, dominoes or Go and consider them historically — or marbles too — then I very soon come to the conclusion that all these games conceal some form of warfare presented in the abstract or in the form of a game.

Even where the case is not so clear, I have to draw a line somewhere. What is a war-toy and what is not? If I give a child a water-pistol which has a military look about it, that is without doubt a war-toy; but if we suppose it is an imitation of a police weapon, does it then cease to be a war-toy? Or is it still one? What is it otherwise? The same question arises for bows and arrows, toy catapults or whatever one needs for cowboys-and-indians. Are these things war-toys or not?

To go a step further, should we not try to get the pentathlon and decathlon banned in the Olympic Games? There they shoot with pistols and guns. I won't go now into all the kinds of gear which can be regarded from one point or another. In the town I come from, they set great store by marksmanship; there are shooting competitions, marksmen's associations with their own youth-groups, who fire at targets with guns and pistols. Does not all this too have a warlike background? If so, they also should be banned.

I will cite two cases which show quite clearly how difficult it is to define what is a war-toy. One of the oldest classical games that we have is chess. That is a war-game without any reservations. It is even a class-conditioned war-game, for here pawns are 'sacrificed', as they say in chess, for the queen, the king, a bishop, a knight or a castle. If we are to ban war-games, we must ban chess first of all.

There are a thousand things that are not manufactured but which one can make a war-game of. One can collect pebble-stones, for example, and make them skip over the water. That is, of course, not a war-game. Pebbles cannot be forbidden; you can find them anywhere. But I must point out that on one occasion in history they played a very important part: the first battle between the Israelis and the Palestinians was won with a pebble when David used one to kill the commander of the Philistines, or Palestinians.

If we, therefore, can find no definition for war-toys, we should launch a campaign against toys that glorify war. In any case, we should be very cautious about imposing bans and similar measures.

**President.** — I call Sir Fred Warner.

**Sir Fred Warner.** — Mr President, as far as most of us are concerned the holidays started 45 minutes ago and therefore I shall only make one remark.

When I became aware of this debate yesterday I telephoned my children in London. They are aged 10 and

7. They said 'Papa, please don't vote for that resolution'. The elder one said there must be a lot of children like him who liked soldiers and indeed I understand that there are some 45 million children in Europe of soldier-playing age. The younger one, aged 7, said: 'I'd rather play with my tank than bash my brother Valentine.' I see that he has there a deep psychological point. I suggest that we should not vote to remove from the children of Europe something which for them contains much excitement, much fantasy, much pleasure, much colour and which stimulates their imagination. It is up to the parents to see that this does not become an obsession. It is up to the parents and the teachers to see that this is simply a way of venting the imagination and of contributing to their sense of courage, honour and decency. I do not think that by passing resolutions of this kind we shall achieve anything at all, and I hope that we shall vote against it.

**President.** — I call the Commissioner.

**Mr Ortoli, Vice-President of the Commission.** — (FR) Mr President, I too shall be very brief. Mrs Pruvot's report is an interesting one, but if we carry on, we shall find ourselves raising the really important questions, which concern the responsibility of the family, education, the organization of a violent society and modes of information. That I do not think we can do on the occasion of this report.

To take what is laid down in the Treaties, therefore, I would say that a proposal to limit or ban the sale of war-toys in the Community can scarcely be entertained. There are no obstacles to the free circulation of these goods in the Community, no discrepancies in the regulations, and no such ban has been considered in the programmes adopted at Community level for protecting the consumer. One other aspect, that of the safety of toys, I leave aside, since on this subject the Commission has submitted a draft directive which is awaiting Parliament's opinion.

Finally, I would remind you, as some speakers have already done, that the manufacture of toys is very important from the economic and social points of view. This is a sector which in the Community has its ups and downs. We must not forget that some tens of thousands of people are employed in an economic activity which is of importance for certain regions, and I think we should be careful about adopting any regulations that might have undesirable effects in the short-term — that is to say, at a time when we are trying to do the very opposite and resuscitate our activity. I do not wish to express any judgment on the report, but simply to say that from the strictly Community point of view I fail to see that we could do anything else but improve the information provided and work on the particular aspect of physical safety, which I mentioned just now.

**President.** — I call the rapporteur.

**Mrs Pruvot, rapporteur.** — (FR) Mr President, since I am not sure whether there are twenty of us at this moment in the Chamber; I request that the vote be deferred to the next part-session. I therefore ask ten of my colleagues to stand in support of my request that a quorum be established.

*(More than ten Members rose to their feet in support of this request)*

**President.** — We shall therefore take a vote to see whether or not a quorum is present.

*(By putting indents A to H of the preamble to the vote, the President established that there was no quorum)*

The vote on the motion for a resolution is accordingly entered on the agenda for the next part-session.

#### 9. Aids to maritime navigation

**President.** — The next item is the second report by Mr Remilly, on behalf of the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection (Doc. 1-417/82), on

the proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-577/81) for a decision adopting a concerted action project for the EEC in the field of shore-based maritime navigation aid systems.

In the absence of the rapporteur, I call Mrs Desouches:

**Mrs Desouches.** — (FR) It is rather odd, Mr President, to speak on a motion for a resolution that has not been presented by the rapporteur. Anyway, here goes.

During the May part-session, I pointed out how often the region I come from — that is to say, Brittany — had suffered from extremely serious marine pollution as a result of numerous oil-tanker accidents. This region is particularly threatened, as a million tonnes of oil passes its coast every day. Another daily threat which must not be forgotten is now the transport by sea of methane and radioactive waste. On behalf of the population of this region, exposed as it is to constant danger, I can but support and approve any measure that is likely to enhance the security of sea transport.

I should nevertheless like to make a few observations on the motion for a resolution. Extending the research programme to cover patrol vessels, aircraft and satellites seems to me to be unrealistic and, so far as satel-

lites are concerned, to risk duplicating the work done by specialist technical bodies, even though paragraph 4 says that the risk of such duplication must be avoided.

Moreover, it seems to me it would be unnatural to allocate research work among the Member States so as to take account of existing national research programmes and of the economic importance of shipping to these countries. I should have thought it was essential to take also into account the risk of accident incurred by the Member States, if only because of the economic effects of these accidents.

Finally, the memorandum signed in Paris on 26 January 1982 comes into effect on 1 July 1982 and not on 1 July 1985, as stated in the motion for a resolution. This latter date is the one by which the inspection of ships entering the harbours of the signatory countries is due to reach what I would call its cruising speed. The competent French authorities consider that if all these countries really do inspect 25% of all merchant ships entering their harbours, the inspection will in effect cover 100% in view of the number of countries that have signed this memorandum.

Subject to these few observations, I support, of course, this motion for a resolution.

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

**Mr Ortolì, Vice-President of the Commission.** — (FR) Mr President, Amendment No 1 suggests that we should alter the title to speak of 'aid systems in coastal areas'. In our view, this would unduly widen the scope of this decision. What we are concerned with is definitely the littoral, and if we were to speak of coastal areas, which would include the sea, we should be entering the sphere of competence of international organizations such as the International Association of Lighthouse Authorities or the Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization. So let us hope that the title will be left as we have proposed it.

With regard to Amendment No 2, we ask that no provision be made for granting part of the funds available under this project for the development of common standards — not because there is no need for common standards but because, at the present stage, we need this money to analyze the technical and economic feasibility of a European system of aids to navigation. When the right moment comes, we shall have — and not only we, but internationally — to consider the question of standards, and it is at this second stage that we should be prepared to consider whatever steps appear necessary.

The third and last amendment on which we have our doubts is Amendment No 5, which would extend the committee charged with assisting the Commission in the coordination of research work to include represen-

**Ortoli**

tatives of international organizations, ship-owners and port authorities. I am not sure that this would greatly enhance the work of this committee, though this does not exclude the *de facto* possibility of recruiting, if need be the *ad hoc* participation, as observers, of international organizations or experts in the work of the committee.

One last word in reply to a question that has been raised on paragraphs 9 and 10 of the resolution. The Commission has not withdrawn its proposal for the enforcement of international standards in Community ports: this proposal is still on the table and may be brought before the Council if the memorandum adopted in Paris on 26 January remains without effect. This was conveyed to the Parliament's Committee on Transport last February.

**President.** — The debate is closed.<sup>1</sup>

**10. Adjournment of the session**

**President.** — Ladies and gentlemen, permit me to wish you, the last faithful few, and also the officials who have assisted us right to the end, a happy holiday.

I declare the session of the European Parliament adjourned.

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

<sup>1</sup> For the vote, see Annex.

<sup>2</sup> For items concerning membership of committees, motions for resolutions entered in the register under Rule 49, time-limits for tabling amendments, forwarding of resolutions adopted during the sitting, and dates for the next part-session, see the Minutes.



## ANNEX

### Votes

This Annex indicates rapporteurs' opinions on amendments and reproduces the text of explanations of votes. For further details of the voting, the reader is referred to the Minutes.

*Fergusson report (Doc. 1-1083/82): adopted*

### Explanations of vote

**Mr Hänsch.** — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, in a week when the majority of this House found no time for a debate on the dead and wounded in the Lebanon, victims of a murderous war which may set the world ablaze, in such a week you expect us to waste time voting on a masquerade.

Instead of installing further empty chairs, it would be better for the image of this House to begin by ensuring that those that are already empty are filled.

Those peoples that are not in a position to belong to the Community today need, not empty gestures, but a practical Community policy of *détente*, disarmament, security and cooperation.

The Socialist Group rejects this masquerade with a buckshee chair.

**Mr Megahy.** — On this tenth anniversary of Monty Python it gives me great pleasure to nominate Mr Fergusson as the Euro-Minister for Silly Works!

To this resolution, apart from the political objections that have been made, there are severe logistical objections. I can guarantee him at least 300 empty seats for that debate but if he wants some suggestions where they might be, perhaps he could consider the 81 seats that are waiting for Spain at the moment and which may never be occupied if certain policies are continued or, alternatively, the one seat that will be vacated by the Member for Greenland when Greenland leaves the Community. We should therefore need for the benefit of visitors in the gallery some kind of Parliamentary marker buoy to indicate where the empty seat is and I can just imagine them peering over the gallery to try to see — my God, there it is, the symbolic empty seat — as one or two Members come in!

*(Laughter)*

If we have very many motions like this, I will offer my seat, because I am not coming into this Chamber. You can put the parliamentary marker buoy here and I will abstain from coming into the Chamber on that particular day as a symbolic act.

**Dame Shelagh Roberts.** — Mr President, it is, of course, very easy to mock a serious idea — one of the easiest things in the world . . .

*(Mixed reactions)*

Though it is clear from the last speech that Mr Megahy has great talents as the court jester of the European Parliament. I hope that when he is making his noble gesture of abstaining from participating in the proceedings of this Parliament, he will also abstain from drawing his salary on those days.

*(Mixed reactions)*

I deprecate the fact that the first speaker chose to use the explanations of vote to air his frustration because this Parliament exercised its democratic right not to debate a subject in which he was particularly interested. This resolution is a serious intention by Mr Ferguson: it is offering the hand of friendship and a ray of hope to all those nations behind the Iron Curtain who do not enjoy the freedom of speech which the two previous explanations of vote have indulged in here today to say what they like, when they like.

We believe that the European Community is upholding the finest ideals of democracy and this Parliament itself is the symbol of the democratic right of men and women to exercise free speech and free will. We believe that it is an object of envy to those who are imprisoned behind the Iron Curtain. Mr Ferguson's resolution, if it is passed by this Parliament, will extend to them the hope that in the future they too will be able to enjoy the democratic rights which Members of this House so freely indulge in.

**Mr Forth.** — Mr President, I am going to try to do something slightly original this morning. I am going to say a few words about this subject without mentioning the number of empty chairs in the Chamber. But what I want to say before that is that I was surprised and, indeed, amused at Mr Hänsch's comment. Coming from the Socialist benches, which have been responsible for more breathtakingly irrelevant resolutions in this House than any other over the 3 years since we have all been here, it was, I thought, a piece of impudence that has been rarely equalled, and so I think we can safely reject the allegations made from that side of the House. When the Socialist Group comes to this House with matters of genuine urgency and relevance to the peoples of Europe, then, I think, we can start to listen to this sort of comment with more seriousness.

But the reason why I shall not be supporting this resolution today has nothing to do with what has been said up to now, and I agree with Dame Shelagh Roberts that it is very easy to mock something like this. What concerns me about it is the ritual request for annual debates. As each committee and each person bring forward their own pet theory and idea, they are very much attracted by the thought that we should have an annual debate. We have had a suggestion about annual debates of many different things, and I have yet to see evidence that this House pauses and thinks to itself that every time it agrees to an annual debate, it is committing its agenda for such a long period ahead that we shall soon be able to respond to nothing spontaneously and might as well all go away because we know what we are going to say for the next 5 years. It is for that reason that I personally am going to vote against this report, and I shall do so this morning.

**Mrs Hammerich.** — (DA) We are against the motion for a resolution because:

- we are opposed to all these proposals for union together with all their pompous symbols;
- the motion for a resolution is completely ridiculous;
- there is no lack of empty seats in the Chamber to symbolize the zeal and serious attitude of this Assembly;
- the motion for a resolution reflects a chauvinistic European attitude and hostility towards nations which think differently.

We were, however, strongly tempted to support the motion for a resolution, since we are always pleased to give our fellow-countrymen a good laugh.

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*Tyrrell report (Doc. 1-318/82): adopted*

The rapporteur spoke

- *in favour* of Amendments Nos 7, 18/corr. and 19/corr.; and
- *against* Amendments Nos 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9/rev., 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17.

*Explanations of vote*

**Miss De Valera.** — Mr President, Irish law in relation to extradition for political offences is in line with the practice of States and with generally accepted principles of international law. One of these is the principle of non-extradition for political offences. The view in Ireland is that the enactment of legislation to permit extradition for such offences would represent a departure from those principles and would consequently be repugnant to Article 29(3) of the Irish Constitution. The Irish Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act of 1976, however, deals with those who commit serious crimes in one jurisdiction and flee to another. The act makes it a criminal offence in Irish law to commit outside the State certain offences which if committed within the jurisdiction would constitute an offence. This has proved to operate efficiently.

In paragraphs 10 and 11 of his explanatory statement, Mr Tyrrell makes references to the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism and refers to Ireland as not having signed the Convention, the reason being, of course, that it would have been unconstitutional to do. However, while most European countries have signed the Convention, there is so much by way of qualification that its acceptance by Ireland, if it had been constitutionally possible, would not have been of great significance. France, Germany and Belgium do not extradite their own nationals at all, whether the offence be political or non-political. Cyprus, Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Portugal, Sweden and Italy have entered reservations as to their right not to extradite for political offences.

Paragraph 16 of the explanatory statement refers to the Dublin Agreement of 1979, which all the nine Member States at the time signed. It is based on the principle of 'try or extradite'. The Dublin Agreement, however, has not been ratified by any Member State, as its ratification has been linked with a separate Convention, namely, the Rome Convention, which has run into difficulties with Holland and France.

We believe that the Commission has no competence whatsoever in the matter of such laws and regulations, whether they be dealing with political or purely criminal matters. Such interference in the inalienable right of the national governments to constitute such laws would be a gross misrepresentation of the objective of the Treaty of Rome. Suffice it to say that the Commission themselves have denied that they have any competence in these matters.

With regard to paragraph 10, we feel strongly that the constitutional position of each Member State must be respected.

I wish, Mr President, to remind the House that the words uttered by Mr Paisley yesterday afternoon condemning the Irish Government were uttered by a man who has set up an illegal army, which he proudly and openly marches on the Antrim hills against the laws of the State to which he professes to be loyal.

I want to conclude, Mr President, with a point of information for Mr Hutton. Mr Richie Ryan is not 'off his head', as he put it . . .

*(The President urged the speaker to conclude)*

He is not present here, but I want to make the point that Mr Taylor did issue such a statement at 12 noon yesterday with regard . . .

**President.** — Miss de Valera, your speaking-time is over.

**Mrs Macciocchi.** — *(IT)* Mr President, I am opposed to this motion for a resolution. I consider this to be an unhappy day for Europe, and I subscribe to President Pertini's view when, in Paris, he described this Assembly as an 'empty Chamber'.

In view of the approval given by the majority of this Parliament to a resolution which merely aggravates all the problems of freedom and resolves none concerning terrorism, this Assembly reveals itself as a Chamber empty of feeling, devoid of understanding of the younger generation and ill-equipped to appreciate the background to terrorism. In fact, Mr Tyrrell does not offer in this resolution a single definition of what he understands by terrorism.

This is not the Europe of freedom: it is a 'judicial area', an idea much in vogue at the time of Giscard d'Estaing, when it was invented to turn Europe into an area of repression. At least, that is what it was judged to be.

I am astonished that so many colleagues should have voted for a diminution of our liberties when we still lack a Charter of Rights of the European citizen. This is a very important resolution, and perhaps they have failed to realize the fact, seeing that we raise our hands here without even knowing what we are voting for . . .

Finally, the amendments limiting the range of terrorist crimes have all been rejected, as a result of which I myself or anyone else who tomorrow suggests or takes part in a demonstration along these lines in Europe may fall victim to this demand for extradition. Fortunately, however, it may be said that directives of this kind are only worth the paper they are printed on . . .

**Mr Ryan.** — Mr President, I speak on behalf of my Irish colleagues in the Group of the European People's Party (Christian-Democratic Group). We voted against paragraph 6 because it proposes not to apply within the Community basic rules of international law on extradition. We believe it is unwise to seek solutions outside the rule of law.

We abstained on paragraphs 7 and 8 because they purport to call on the Commission to take action beyond their competence, as the Commission itself said yesterday. Parliament does not enhance its own image by asking for the impossible; but as it does no harm to vote for a proposal which can never be put into effect and because the intention of the resolution is good, we will, subject to our legal reservations, support the resolution in the knowledge that the people of Europe want us to take action to stamp out terrorism and because we must, in the spirit of the resolution show a united front against terrorism and in favour of extradition or other proper legal methods to deal with this scourge. If we cannot prevent terrorism, we must find better legal ways of punishing those involved.

I was attacked yesterday by Mr Hutton for criticizing Mr John David Taylor because he did not speak in the debate. But, as Miss De Valera said, Mr Taylor yesterday issued in his own handwriting a vicious statement, a copy of which I can furnish to Mr Hutton, criticizing the people of Ireland. Surely we cannot accept that because somebody fails to speak in this House he is immune from criticism for what he does outside it.

Finally, I want to say this. I think Mr Taylor could have helped his cause much better by being here to vote against terrorism and in favour of extradition. He was not here at any time during the debate nor was he here last night to vote, nor is he here this morning to vote.

I am in favour of the resolution.

**Mr Sieglerschmidt.** — (GR) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I shall not be voting for the motion for a resolution, for two reasons, one of which is the request to the Commission to pursue the suppression of terrorism by proposing directives. I am not at all happy about what the Commissioner, Mr Narjes, has had to say. When he says he accepts proposing directives as a possibility and then tells us that there is no prospect in the foreseeable future of such draft directives' taking effect, he is making a fool of the European citizen.

Moreover, paragraph 6 oversimplifies by abolishing recognition of political motives, political offences and consequently also political asylum in the European Community, which, as we all know, is having a hard time with this problem. A little more should be said about it than what we find here.

I shall, however, refrain from voting against the resolution in order to avoid giving the false impression that, together with many of my political friends, I am definitely opposed to a ratification of the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism, drawn up by the Council of Europe, and the Dublin Agreement on its application. I shall therefore abstain.

**Mrs Péry.** — (FR) I wish yet again to draw my colleagues' attention to the dangers inherent in the adoption of the Tyrrell report in its present form, more particularly paragraphs 2, 6 and 7.

My own abhorrence of murderous acts of terrorism, of blind force, is not one whit less than the rapporteur's, particularly when it is used in a democratic country where human rights are genuinely respected. Nevertheless, the history of Europe has known many occasions where violence engendered violence. Our Greek, Spanish and Portuguese friends have had to suffer dictatorship in a past that is still quite recent, and some of the scars are still not healed. There are large numbers of political refugees living in France, especially in my region, and many of them have been there for years. Some have been the subject of requests for extradition by a neighbouring country soon to be a member of the Community, and so it seems to me essential that we define precisely in paragraph 2 what we mean by terrorism and what are the objective criteria for regarding an act of violence as a terrorist crime.

Paragraphs 6 and 7 call for the establishment of common principles for extradition and for abolishing recognition of political motives within the Community. The application of these paragraphs would place France in contradiction to itself, for the principle of non-extradition in political cases is enshrined in French law and the right of asylum is incorporated in the preamble to our Constitution. Moreover, this principle is in conformity with the Geneva Convention of 1951 on the problem of refugees.

Generally speaking, I am strongly opposed to the possible abuse of this resolution, and I shall therefore vote against.

**Mr Chambeiron.** — (FR) Mr President, the rejection of the amendments strengthens me in the view I have already expressed in the Legal Affairs Committee, which is the view taken by the French members of the Communist and Allies Group.

It goes without saying that we subscribe to the condemnation of terrorism contained in Mr Tyrrell's motion for a resolution. We have already said enough to show what our views are on these blind methods, which in the end only damage the best of causes, and there is no need to dwell upon the point.

It would, however, have been worthwhile giving a more precise definition of terrorism, particularly when one bears in mind the tone of the opinion given by the Political Affairs Committee, which opens the door to every kind of interpretation. Allow me to say that if this text had been adopted under the *ancien régime*, the people of Paris would not have captured the Bastille without laying themselves open to a charge of terrorism.

In our view, the legal basis unearthed by the rapporteur is not a solid one. Cooperation in the fight against crime does not enter into the field of application of the Community Treaties. What to us is more serious, however, is that the Tyrrell motion throws doubt upon the principle of non-extradition in political cases, a fundamental principle which is enshrined in the law of some countries, at all events in French law. This would put an end to the right of asylum, which in my country is guaranteed by the Constitution: for us the tradition of political asylum is an integral part of democratic rights.

Because we have no desire to see these rights called into question and because we consider it would be out of place to call on the Commission to prepare a directive establishing a European judicial area, since this would constitute an abuse of the rules of the Community, we shall vote against the motion in the conviction that the Council of Ministers, meeting in the autumn, will take a more realistic approach to these matters than that proposed to us today.

**Mr Paisley.** — Mr President, it comes as no surprise to me that my colleague John Taylor and myself should have come under attack in this debate from the representatives of the Irish Republic.

I think it ill becomes Mr Ryan, when a Member of this House travels in a Member State and the authorities in that state suggest to him that he should travel in a state car under protection because he is liable to attack, keeping in mind that the IRA tried to murder Mr Taylor, to criticize him for doing that and to abuse him when he is not in this House. I think also it should be put on record that it was the party of Miss De Valera that spawned the Provisional IRA, as was confirmed in the Dail by her friend Mr Blaney, who sits in this House.

If I, Mr President, led an illegal army, the British Government, who have no love for me, would have me behind bars immediately.

**Mrs Hammerich.** — (DA) We are against the motion for a resolution because:

- it constitutes a step towards the creation of a common judicial area for EEC countries, which, taken together, would mean far-reaching surrender of sovereignty: all our legal systems would be subordinated to the central European legal system, which profoundly conflicts with the Nordic legal tradition;
- a common legal system including 'combating terrorism', 'legal aid in criminal cases', the 'duty to give evidence' and 'extradition of prisoners', far from protecting the Danish community against 'terrorism' and crime, will, on the contrary, increase violence in what is otherwise a relatively non-violent community.

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*Colleselli report (Doc. 1-412/82: adopted)*

The rapporteur spoke

- *against* all the amendments.

#### *Explanations of vote*

**Mr Griffiths.** — Mr President, as the bulk of the amendments put down to this report have been rejected, I shall be voting against it, particularly in view of the failure of Amendment 27 to be carried. All those people who are in favour of the Colleselli report on the protection of jobs in the Mediterranean have singularly failed to give any assurance whatsoever regarding the thousands of jobs which could be affected in the United Kingdom, Germany and other parts of Northern Europe: these are being left completely at the mercy of the market, since the introduction of subsidized agricultural alcohol could take their livelihood away from them.

I should be quite happy to support a motion to help wine-growers in the South, but not when it puts thousands of other people out of jobs in the North.

**Mr Hord.** — Mr President, first of all I should like to say that my group is very disappointed, since the rapporteur had indicated that he was going to support some of my amendments put down on behalf of my group, particularly Amendment 24 on the question of the price of wine alcohol. Clearly the rapporteur and fellow-members of his group support unfair competition, because that is what the consequences of this amended wine regulation will be for the grain-alcohol and synthetic-alcohol market.

I think it is fair to say, Mr President, that my group would have been prepared to support the Colleselli report if that amendment had been carried. But regretfully, we shall not be able to do so.

May I just draw your attention to the fact that this particular saga on the Colleselli report has been extremely unsatisfactory. We have in fact, Mr President, voted on a report or a proposal from the Commission which is now for practical purposes dead. It has been superseded by this document, which the Committee on Agriculture considered. Therefore, I fear that constitutionally we have failed to give any opinion to the Commission and that we shall need to reconsider this document again formally, because the Council and the Commission have not presented this document to the presidency of the Parliament.

So, Mr President, whilst we are very unhappy and feel that this should in all honesty be sent back to the committee because of the unsatisfactory constitutional situation, may I say that, because we are conscious of the needs of wine-producers in Southern Europe, we are not going to do anything to impede this report. But in saying so we feel that it has been a most unsatisfactory situation and that more will be said about this later.

**Mr Martin.** — (FR) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, we indicated during the debate that the vote of the French Communists, mindful of the progress embodied in the Colleselli report, would depend on whether the amendments tabled by Mr Gautier and Mr Hord would be rejected.

Since these amendments have now been rejected, and also for the reasons which we advanced yesterday, we shall vote for the Colleselli report. In doing so, we shall be renewing our support for the action taken by the wine-growers of our country and their organizations to achieve a guaranteed and worthwhile income. We shall also be reaffirming our determined opposition to the enlargement of the Community, which would defeat the object of the positive measures contained in this report and hit thousands of French wine-growers.

**Mr Sutra.** — (FR) Mr President, we shall vote for this report because it will bring about considerable improvements in the arrangements now in force.

The Commission must take account of the improvements contained in this report to the proposal for a regulation: this, I think, is the interpretation we have to place on the Assembly's reaction this morning to the Commission's proposals, which, with 59 votes on either side, are neither approved nor rejected. We shall vote for this report, since it proposes improvements to proposals which were already heading in the right direction.

I should add that I do not quite understand Mr Hord. Mr Hord had spoken of the importance he attached to Amendment No 30: now that it has been adopted and the Commission has stated that it will follow the spirit of this amendment, I fail to understand why he is disappointed; on the contrary, it seems to me that he should be pleased.

**Mr Dalsass.** — (DE) Mr President, my group will be voting for this report. In contrast to the previous speakers, I should like to say that for us it was a duty to vote against the Commission's proposal for a regulation and the amendments tabled thereto, since, as the rapporteur has already pointed out, there were certain contradictions between the Commission's proposal and the rapporteur's motion for a resolution and there would have been no point in maintaining them.

As I emphasized yesterday, this report, with the proposals it contains, is a first step in the right direction: wine is now being treated in much the same fashion as northern products, and I therefore find it very regrettable that some people should think that a special régime is being created for wine. I am also sorry to find the Conservatives not voting for this report, for it would have been a goodwill gesture to do something for Mediterranean produce too.

I hope the majority will vote for this report and for the motion it contains. My group, at all events, will be doing so.

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*Almirante report (Doc. 1-319/82): adopted*

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*Pruvot report (Doc. 1-328/82): adopted*

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*Pruvot report (Doc. 1-327/82): adopted*

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*Rieger report (Doc. 1-325/82): adopted*

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*De la Malène motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-496/82): adopted*

*Explanation of vote*

**Mr Marshall.** — Madam President, I think that all of us in this House must feel very sad indeed that the French Government is threatening to veto the accession of Spain to the Community. There is no doubt that the accession of Spain may create short-term economic problems, but what we have to ask ourselves is what will happen if Spain does not accede to the Community. I believe that within Spain democracy is a very tender plant and that if, as a Community, we do not show a welcome to Spain as a potential member of this Community and an early member of this Community, then that tender plant may very well die. And I hope that no Member of this House would want to have that on his or her conscience.

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*Diana motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-503/82/rev.): adopted*

*Explanations of vote*

**Mr Beazley.** — This House knows I am very strongly in favour of the accession of Spain and Portugal to the Community and I intend to vote for these resolutions. However, I must state that I am extremely dissatisfied with the inadequacy of the information provided by the Commission in these debates, including last night, which I think leaves this House with a concern that the state of the negotiations is not being fully explained and that the difficulties which we all know to exist are, perhaps, not being tackled as resolutely as we should like them to be. This naturally means that the date on which accession of Spain and Portugal may be achieved is very much in doubt, and one might fear that if the two countries' accession dates are taken together, Portugal may be delayed in achieving its aim. I, therefore, wish that the Commission would take note of my statement and see to it that it gives to this House a full explanation of the position of these negotiations at our next part-session.



**Mrs Péry.** — (*Fr*) Madam President, we are for the accession of Spain, but the choice of date — 1984 — does not seem very serious so long as we are still waiting for the outcome of the economic negotiations, more particularly in the fields of agriculture and fisheries. This latter field is unjustly neglected, and yet it is known to be one of the biggest problems in the negotiations. It is generally known that the waters of the Community cannot at present take any more Spanish vessels than are already there.

Consequently, I could have voted for the Diana motion for a resolution in its original form, but with the amendment that has just been adopted, particularly the date 1984, I shall be obliged to vote against.

(*A cry of 'Hypocrite!'*)

**Mr Sutra.** — (*FR*) Madam President, I protest at the attitude just taken by the colleague who hurled an insult — which I shall not repeat — at Mrs Péry while she had the floor.

Our position on this subject has been the same since Spain applied for accession. Others may have changed their minds since then; at all events, those who, in 1978, were saying, like Mr Giscard d'Estaing, that all the problems had been resolved and who one year later were blocking the application had nothing to do with us. As far as we are concerned, we have been absolutely consistent for the last five years.

**Mr Israël.** — (*FR*) Spain and Portugal have their place in the European Community. The negotiations now going on are proving difficult, but we hope that they will reach a successful conclusion as soon as possible.

So far, progress has been slow. To some extent, those taking part have been beating about the bush without tackling the difficulties, perhaps even without wishing to tackle them. This is unacceptable, for Spain and for the whole of Europe.

Something has got to happen on 1 January 1984: either formal accession, if the difficulties have been resolved; or accession in theory with full participation in political cooperation; or the admission as an associate member, leaving on one side the problems still awaiting a solution and with Spain's participation in the search for a solution.

At all events, it must be realized that the difficulties experienced are not confined to France, for the national economies within the EEC overlap to such an extent that the problems of farmers in South-West France, of fishermen or of shipyards concern the whole of the European Community and not just France alone.

What we must not do is to admit Spain to the Common Market and then to bewail a Europe in the throes of a crisis, the grave structural faults of the Community and its inability to master its own difficulties.

The accession of Spain must be welcomed with gratitude — in the name of history, of geography, of our conception of a freedom-loving Europe. But we must be equipped beforehand to defuse the crisis that may occur. Perhaps we shall have to reconsider the principle of a single agricultural market; perhaps we shall have to envisage a two-tier structure for European agriculture.

In any case, the only thing that really counts today is our common political will, our determination to succeed, whether it be a matter of the Common Market or of political cooperation. In this latter domain, Spain and Portugal will naturally want to benefit from what has already been achieved by the Community with regard to foreign policy.

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*Paulhan report (Doc. 1-326/82): adopted*

The rapporteur spoke

— *in favour* of Amendment No 1.

*Explanations of vote*

**Mr Eyraud.** — (FR) Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, the purpose of this draft Council regulation is to extend, for certain non-member countries, the right to total or partial exemption from customs duties on certain products of the sheep- and goat-meat sector.

It might well have been harmless enough had it not been for certain health and political considerations. It should be pointed out straight away that it concerns fresh, refrigerated, frozen or salted meat other than that of domestic sheep or goats. What we are therefore concerned with are imports of game.

Here it has to be stated that throughout the Mediterranean Basin wild animals, including those of the deer, sheep and goat families, are infested with parasites. Apart from strongylosis and flukeworm, which are less dangerous, their flesh often contains tapeworm cysts: cysticercosis, as this parasitic infection, transmittable to man, is known, can only be detected upon very close examination and the parasites are destroyed only after the meat has been kept at a temperature of  $-35^{\circ}\text{C}$  for three weeks. This is, of course, not the case of meat that has been salted, merely refrigerated or even deep-frozen for normal periods.

There are, however, even more serious objections. 'Certain' countries 'of the Mediterranean basin': that means essentially Turkey, a subject we spent a long time debating the day before yesterday. All the same, it is worthwhile pointing out yet again that it is a country ruled by a military junta. The re-arrest, early this week, of President Bulent Ecevit is deplored by the entire democratic world. We Socialists have ourselves had to bear the affront of finding the doors of highly-placed persons in that country slammed in the faces of a delegation from our group. Is any further evidence needed that human rights there are flouted?

That is why I tabled an amendment stating that account should be taken of the political situation and of health conditions. This amendment having been adopted, we suppose that the Commission will simply suspend the advantages conferred upon imports from Turkey.

The Socialist Group will therefore vote for the motion for a resolution.

**Mrs Poirier.** — (FR) The Paulhan report enables us to see how seriously people take the interests of French sheep-breeders who have had to stick up for their right to live in what has come to be known as 'the English lamb war'.

The Community regulation which resulted from the discussion on a common organization of the market in sheep- and goat-meat lay down a system of import levies on certain products of this sector. This protection of imports from Spain is justified when one bears in mind that the cost of producing sheep-meat in that country is 35% lower than in France.

By accepting the suppression of this levy, the Paulhan report sacrifices the interests of French sheep-farmers. It is a step on the road to the enlargement of the Community which, for our part, we reject categorically.

In defence of French sheep-farmers, who have not been spared by the diminution of farmers' incomes, we shall vote against the Paulhan report.

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*Hoffmann report (Doc. 1-203/83): adopted*

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*Seefeld report (Doc. 1-317/82): adopted*

*Explanation of vote*

**Mr Moreland.** — Madam President, my group will support the Seefeld resolution because we are in favour of the extension of the monitoring of traffic between the Comecon countries and the rest of Europe. We support the extension to road haulage.

However, I would repeat our general reservation that time and time again the Commission comes to us with further monitoring studies on this particular subject and indeed on other transport subjects, but we never seem to get any action at all. In other words, it is lots of studies but no decision. That has really got to change. I recognize that the problem does not lie entirely with the Commission but partly with the Council for not getting its act together on the subject of relations between the Community and the USSR. Therefore we do have the reservation that we should like to see an end to requests for further studies.

The other point I would make, Madam President, quite simply relates to the debate last night. I and one or two other Members on this and the previous debate on the Hoffmann report did put points to the Commission. We received no response at all from the Commissioner, no acknowledgement of our points. I do think we deserve some response to points that we make, even if I am to be told that they are rubbish. As a matter of respect I think we should have that, I hope we shall have that in the future.

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*Moorhouse report (Doc. 1-214/82): adopted*

The rapporteur spoke

— *against* Amendment No 1.

*Explanation of vote*

**Mr Martin.** — (FR) These two reports from the Commission on 'bottlenecks in transport infrastructures' and 'Community interest' in these infrastructures are welcome contributions to a realistic cooperation among countries of the Community in working for a better-balanced organization of transport networks.

The French members of the Communist and Allies Group consider that, outside the infrastructures serving primarily national purposes, there is room for extensive cooperation, whether bilateral or Community-based, in the realization of large-scale projects of Community interest.

The motion for a resolution containing Parliament's opinion on these two reports, insisting as it does on the desire to see the Community participate directly in the realization of transport infrastructures, is on the whole to be welcomed. Although we consider excessive the Community's claim to be alone capable of achieving a coherent transport policy, and although we do not share the regret, expressed in paragraph 6, that national considerations should take the upper hand with regard to projects eligible for Community support, we shall vote in favour of this motion.

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*Hoffmann report (Doc. 1-323/82): adopted*

*Explanations of vote*

**Mr Irmer.** — (DE) Madam President, I shall have to vote against the Hoffmann report, and I shall be sorry to do so, because it is an excellent document. Now that paragraphs 9 and 11 have been adopted, however, I must vote against it, because I have great doubts about the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal.

This canal is hotly disputed. No one can say — and I am no expert — whether it is sensible to continue with its construction or not. Until the negotiations between the Federal Government and the Bavarian Government are concluded, I think it is a very doubtful procedure for this House to take sides and recommend that work on the canal be continued, for its economic benefits are extremely dubious. A further point is that completion of the canal would destroy beyond all repair one of the most beautiful landscapes in the Federal Republic.

For all these reasons I do not consider it appropriate that the European Community should recommend its further construction without reservation, let alone take part in financing it.

**Mr Habsburg.** — (DE) Madam President, I am sorry to say that my view is absolutely opposed to that of my friend Mr Irmer. In my opinion, the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal, a European project of very long standing, shows that we have confidence in the future of Europe. We are not European-with-blinkers like those sitting on the benches over there, for whom Europe ends at the point where the tyranny they bow down to begins. We say quite clearly, it must be the *whole* of Europe! We are working for the future, not for the past, and therefore we wholeheartedly approve of the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal.

As for the argument that this would spoil the Altmühl Valley, which I too am very fond of, there are some very good studies on this subject. In almost every case so far, a canal has contributed to a landscape rather than spoiled it, and so I too believe that the Altmühl Valley has nothing to fear from the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal.

On the contrary, we should at long last learn from the French the lesson that waterways may be of decisive importance for the economy. We should therefore give this project our support. As for certain expressions of disapproval that are to be heard from Bonn, I must say that unfortunately Bavaria has only too often been a victim of purely party-political discrimination.

**Mr von der Vring.** — (DE) Madam President, a concrete channel, 52 metres wide, is to be built through the Altmühle Valley. Just imagine that we were to build the same concrete channel, 52 metres wide and filled with water — perhaps even with pure water — down the valley of the Loire! That, after all, is an argument.

On behalf of the minority of my group, I should like to say to Mr Friedrich, with whom I here disagree, that the report is an excellent one but there are difficulties — considerable difficulties — with regard to economic considerations and also the environment. The question is on what basis the European authorities have to decide when confronted with objections of this kind, and the criteria named by Hoffmann are unconvincing.

He says himself that there is no quantitative yardstick for assessing the usefulness of this project: therefore — so he says — he is in favour of it for qualitative reasons. Mr Hoffmann remarks in his report that we would, of course, not go so far as to build a canal through the Alps: this is not to be doubted; all the same, the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal is to pass through a range of hills 100 metres high.

Now that paragraph 9 has been adopted, neither I nor a minority of my group can, unfortunately, vote for this report, even though I must say that the document produced by Mr Hoffmann is of remarkable quality.

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*Kaloyannis report (Doc. 1-411/82): adopted*

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*Bocklet report (Doc. 1-413/82): adopted*

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*Provan report (Doc. 1-414/82): adopted*

The rapporteur spoke

— *against* Amendment No 4.

#### *Explanations of vote*

**Mr Purvis.** — Mr President, the salmon is one of the glories of our marine ecology. Unfortunately for the salmon, it is also one of the glories of the European table and I am afraid that, as a result, greed has overtaken consideration for its future and indeed for the future of those who derive their livelihood from the salmon.

I am delighted that at last there seems to be some movement forward, on a concerted North Atlantic basis, to ensure some protection for the salmon. It does not go nearly far enough and has a lot further to go. But I would appeal to all those who support the interests of monofilament nets and all the rest of it, they should be concerned for the rest of it, they should be concerned for the long-term future of the salmon and of those who make their livelihood from the salmon. That should be the overriding consideration.

**Mr Adam.** — Mr President, I shall support the Provan report now in view of the result of the vote on the amendments, because those of us who are interested in the salmon industry agree that it is a valuable addition to the cooperation agreement between the Community and other Member States. I deplore, however, the gratuitous introduction of the reference in the report to monofilament nets and particularly the attempt to prejudge the issue. Let us be quite clear about one thing: inshore fishermen are just as entitled to use the safest and most efficient means available to them as workers in any other industry. If we followed the logic of Mr Cottrell we should be condemning our coalminers to go back to picks and shovels.

*(Cries of 'Hear, hear!' from the Socialist Group)*

There is no disagreement that we need very adequate conservation measures: they have got to be based firmly on quotas, net-sizes and adequate enforcement measures. If the Parliament wants to give advice to the Commission, the advice we should be giving is, 'Do something about the Scottish poachers'. That is where a great deal of improvement could be made.

*(Mixed reactions)*

We have no right, Mr President, to urge the Commission to undermine the safety and economic viability of the inshore salmon-fishing industry in favour of private and wealthy sporting interests, for that is what that amendment would have done.

*(Mixed reactions)*

Their interests are not to protect the salmon but to protect their licence-fees.

*(Cries of 'Hear, hear!' from the Socialist Group)*

I am glad that we have had the opportunity of clearing the air this morning and that the House has reached a decision which allows all of us to support the report.

**Mr Harris.** — Mr President, I deplore the final remarks of the last speaker, Mr Adam. I do not often disagree with him in this House; we normally see eye to eye. My concern, quite frankly, is not with private sporting interests, as he suggested. I think that is a great irrelevance, although I think anglers have a right to pursue their sport within limits. My actual concern is with my neighbours who live just down the road from me on a Cornish river and who make their livelihood, as their forefathers did for many years before them, as traditional salmon fishermen by netting. They tell me — and I was down there a few weeks ago — that although the season had been open for several weeks, they had not caught a single salmon in the river Lynher, which is a tributary of the Tamar. Fortunately, while we were there with the leader of our group, Sir Henry Plumb, some of the fishermen came back with the first two salmon of the season.

I think what we are all agreed about in this House is the basis for this report, and that is that the salmon will become an endangered species unless something is done about it. Why I go along with the report in particular is that it does call for an inquiry into the use of monofilament nets offshore. I agree with Mr Cottrell in wanting a ban on monofilament nets in the estuaries and the rivers, but there is a question further out to sea. My plea to the Commission is not to put this report on the shelf, as it does with so many other things, but actually to initiate the inquiry into monofilament nets with urgency and before it is too late.

I would urge the House to support the report, and I certainly shall do so.

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*Pruvot report (Doc. 1-423/82): adopted*

#### *Explanation of vote*

**Mr Petersen.** — (DA) By its very nature research is international, so I naturally support cooperation in appropriate areas of medicine. I do not, however, find the second sub-programme in the Commission's proposal on health resources relevant to our purpose, since, in the view of the Danish Social-Democrats, health policy is not covered by the Treaty of Rome. I am therefore against paragraph 2 of the motion for a resolution in the Pruvot report, which refers to 'a Community health policy'.

From this general point of view I shall vote against the report. However, I have since learned that the Committee of Experts set up by the Commission has changed the second sub-programme to comply with the reservations expressed by the Danish Government. I can in fact approve the proposal, even though for quite formal reasons I shall abstain.

Moreover, this particular development clearly raises the question how often it happens that Parliament gives its opinion on a Commission report which has already *de facto* been changed in the Committee of Experts or the management committee to bring it into line with the views of a particular country.

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*Second Remilly report (Doc. 1-417/82): adopted*

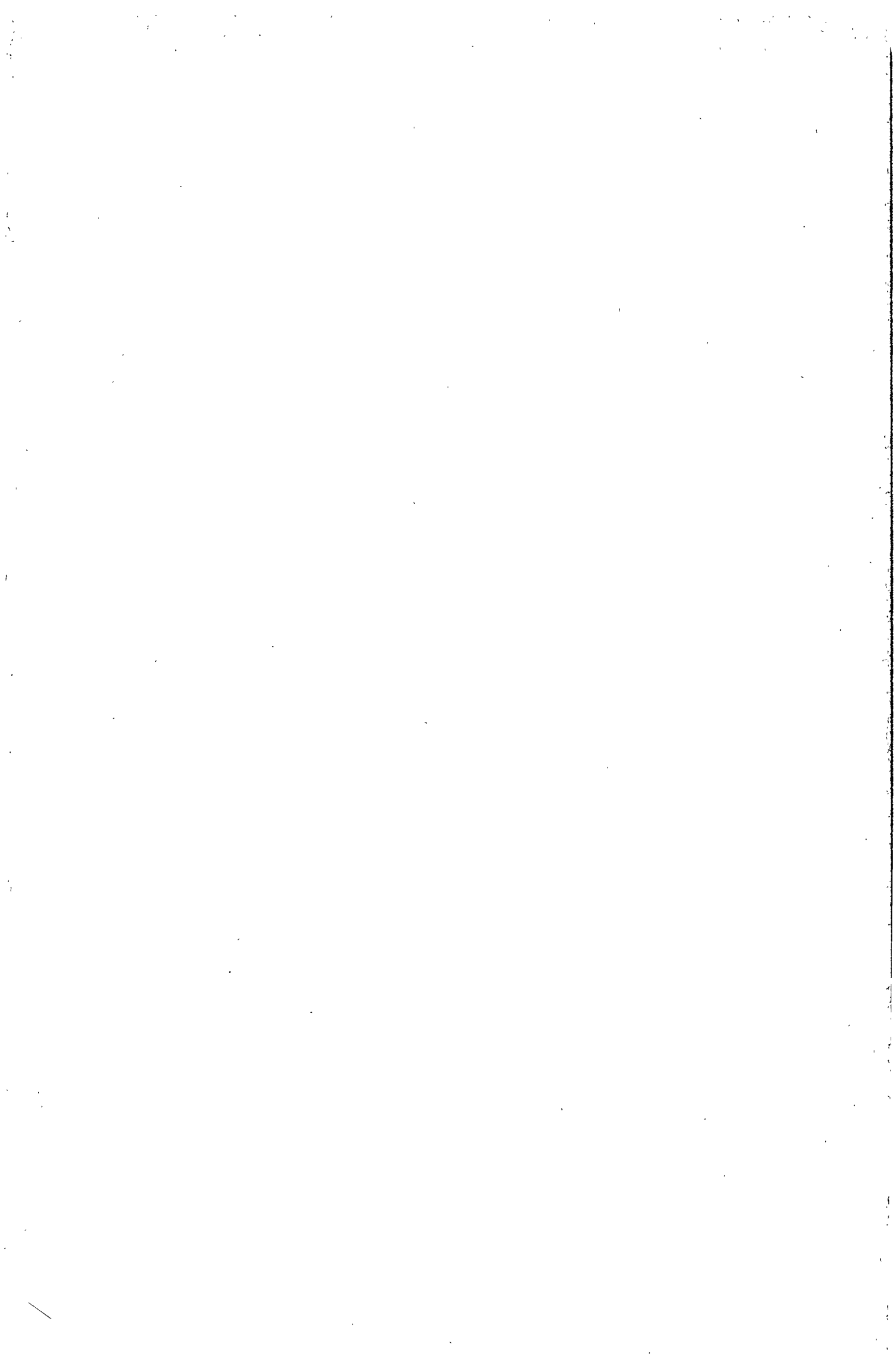
*Explanation of vote*

**Mr Petersen.** — (DA) On behalf of the Danish Social-Democratic movement, I wish to explain why we cannot vote for the Remilly report. In our view, Denmark has no interest in participating in work in this area, since excellent and effective bodies already exist for concerted action. I am thinking in particular of the cooperation between the FN and IMCO and among the Baltic countries.

In his report, Mr Remilly himself gives an example of the kind of concerted action he has in mind — namely, that which was established between nine of the Community countries and Norway, Sweden, Finland, Spain and Portugal on controls to establish whether merchant ships entering the ports of the countries in question comply with international standards.

In our view, the EEC should only take responsibility for areas in which the individual Member States cannot act effectively and should avoid creating at any price Community policy where international bodies for concerted action can deal with these problems better and more effectively than the EEC. The EEC is still struggling to solve major problems currently affecting the Member States, particularly the problem of solving the current crisis and abolishing unemployment. Let us therefore concentrate on doing what we have to do rather than extending the activity of the EEC into areas where it is neither necessary or appropriate.

Therefore, Mr President, we shall vote against the motion for a resolution.









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