

Annex

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English edition

Debates of the European Parliament

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 from 7 to 11 February 1983
 Europe House, Strasbourg

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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.

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2. Agenda

President. — At its meeting of 12 January 1983 the enlarged Bureau drew up the draft agenda which has been distributed.

As agreed, the chairmen of the political groups have endeavoured not to modify the draft agenda as drawn up and distributed.

However, the Council has referred to us draft supplementary budget No 1 for 1983 and two proposals for regulations, one concerning supplementary measures for the United Kingdom and one on energy.

The Council and the chairman of the Committee on Budgets, Mr Lange, have requested that these matters

President

be dealt with by urgent procedure.

Consequently, we are obliged to adjust the draft agenda, in particular by making provision for the consideration of and vote on supplementary budget No 1 and the relevant proposals for resolutions. This means that we shall have to postpone until a later part-session, Mr Seitlinger's oral question with debate on a uniform electoral procedure and the two reports by Mr Carossino on transport.

At this morning's meeting, the chairmen of the political groups agreed that I should propose a certain number of changes to the House.

(The President read the changes for Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday)¹

With regard to *Thursday*: the two Carossino reports have been withdrawn. The debate on draft supplementary budget No 1 and on two proposals for regulations concerning supplementary measures for the United Kingdom and special measures in the energy sector will, however, be held from 3 to 5 p.m.

The vote will be taken at 5 p.m. and not at 6 p.m.

The oral question with debate to the Council by Mrs Schleicher, on EEC-EFTA Free Trade agreements will be entered after the vote.

Also on Thursday, Sir Henry Plumb has requested that the Prout report be brought forward and placed immediately after the Kirk motion for a resolution on the setting up of a parliamentary delegation to GATT.

Sir Henry Plumb (ED). — Mr President, as you have just said, the Kirk report has been withdrawn in the name of my group, which is anxious that it be discussed in the Committee on External Economic Relations before any consideration is given to it in the House. I would ask, therefore, that, if it can be brought forward, the Prout report, which deals with Commission proposals relating to consumer credit, be put on the agenda in place of the Kirk report.

President. — Sir Henry proposes that the Prout report be taken immediately after the vote on Thursday.

That means that the Prout report comes immediately after the Gerokostopoulos question on the EFTA relations, which follows the vote on Thursday next. The Kirk report has been deleted because it will be dealt with first in the Committee on External Economic Relations.

(Parliament approved Sir Henry Plumb's request.)

¹ See Minutes.

Miss Hooper (ED). — Mr President, as you know, I had tabled an oral question for debate to be taken together with the Carossino report. You did not mention this, but naturally enough I hope that it will be taken in due course with the Carossino report. However, I do wish to object most strongly to the withdrawal of this report. It is a very important one on the formulation of a common ports policy, and a number of people have done a lot of work in order to prepare for it. Indeed, a number of people will be coming to hear the debate and no doubt the relevant Commissioner himself was intending to be here. I do think it is a most regrettable practice, if we wish to be taken seriously as a Parliament, to chop and change the agenda in this manner. If necessary, I think in future we must consider the possibility of having the chairman of the relevant committee take over a report if the rapporteur is not able to be present.

(Applause)

May we therefore know the reason why the rapporteur is not able to be here?

Mr Seefeld (S), Chairman of the Committee on Transport. — *(DE)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the European Parliament's Committee on Transport has dealt in depth and at length with the ports policy and we were very pleased that Mr Carossino, who hails from a port town, was able to help us here with his expertise. But precisely because we want to exploit his expertise here in the Chamber too, we in the Committee on Transport decided unanimously, and with the agreement of Mrs Hooper's group, that this report should be discussed not during this part-session but at the next one.

Mr Carossino requested this for personal reasons, but the committee was entirely in favour of accepting the wishes of this distinguished expert. That is why I called for a postponement. May I ask Mrs Hooper to ask her own group to confirm that this is not an arbitrary decision but one taken in agreement with the committee.

President. — Miss Hooper if you want to withdraw the report, then I have no objection to a vote. If you do not so propose, it will remain on the agenda.

Miss Hooper (ED). — Well, Mr President, to know the reason why the rapporteur is not able to be present. I have not had time to understand at the last moment. Obviously that is a very important report, but I would like to know the reason.

President. — I propose to take the vote on the agenda. There is so far so much to do on the agenda.

Mr Forth (ED). — I will propose to maintain it and I'll tell you why, Mr President. You are aware of course that the Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions has given you an interpretation which said that the absence of a rapporteur is not sufficient reason for leaving something off the agenda. It is incumbent on the committee, and the committee chairman particularly, to ensure that Parliament is allowed to proceed with its business, and that a report be taken over and that the mere absence of a rapporteur, for whatever reason and however regrettable, is not sufficient reason for a matter to be left off the agenda.

This, I believe, is the interpretation we should adhere to by leaving the matter on the agenda for Parliament to deal with it as has been anticipated. I therefore move accordingly.

President. — Mr Forth, I have to point out that the absence of the rapporteur is not the only reason for not dealing with it on Thursday. In addition on Thursday's agenda we now suddenly also have the supplementary budget No 1 concerning the British contribution and that presents some complications.

You propose to keep it on the agenda. Is there anyone against?

Mr Seefeld (S), Chairman of the Committee on Transport. — (DE) I am naturally against, as must be clear from my earlier statement. May I ask you to accede to the wishes of the Committee on Transport — and, I am sure, of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs, for its chairman has sent you a letter to that effect, — and not to put these two reports on the agenda of this part-session.

(Parliament rejected Mr Forth's request)

Lady Elles (ED). — On a point of order, Mr President. While totally accepting the vote of this House, I feel that, where a committee has decided unanimously to withdraw a report from the agenda, Members should at least be informed that that report has been withdrawn and that it is not in the published agenda as of today, since people still expect to debate this matter.

President. — Lady, Elles, the enlarged Bureau proposed an agenda including the Carossino report. Then came the proposal of the committee chairmen to delete it from the agenda of this session. It remains the responsibility of the enlarged Bureau to decide whether or not — completely in line with what Mr Forth said — this report is part of the agenda. For different reasons the enlarged Bureau this morning decided not to have it on the agenda. But in principle I would agree with the ruling of the Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions that the absence of a rapporteur

is not in itself a sufficient reason to delete a report from the agenda.

Mr Schieler (S). — (DE) Mr President, you stated earlier that Mr Seitlinger's oral question would be deleted from Tuesday's agenda. Will this item be discussed on another day during this part-session or is it to be deleted entirely.

President. — Mr Schieler, I proposed that this item be taken at a later part-session, possibly in March.

(The President read the changes for Friday — the agenda thus amended was adopted.)

Mr Israël (EPD). — (FR) Mr President, in October 1982 when I was its chairman, the working party on human rights submitted an oral question with debate on Turkey. So this question dates back to 12 October 1982 and the Bureau has still not dealt with it. Now I find that the Bureau has usefully put forward various oral questions for Question Time but has not included the question on Turkey.

Mr President, could it be discussed next Tuesday, during Question Time, in the presence of the Council, or can I be given an undertaking that it will be discussed at the next part-session?

President. — Mr Israël, the agenda has been established. However, I undertake to ask the Bureau to find a date for dealing with this matter during the March part-session.

Mr Pannella (TDC). — (FR) Mr President, I only wanted to say that our agendas are becoming less and less parliamentary, closely reflecting the situation which has been developing for years. For when the President of the Council is here, Mr President, we do not hold a debate. What sort of a parliament is it that is more inclined to listen than to debate?

Mr President, I think we are doing a great disservice to the very motion of the European Parliament.

President. — Mr Pannella, the statement by the President of the Commission on the 16th General Report will be followed by a debate in his presence. I also feel that your remark is not justified in the case of the Council either.

I would inform the House that the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Mr Kohl, will be in the House during Thursday morning's sitting.^{1,2}

¹ Deadline for tabling amendments — Speaking time: See Minutes.

² Action taken on Parliament's opinions: See Annex II of the Minutes.

3. Votes¹MACCIOCCHI REPORT (DOC. 1-546/82
'CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION')

Mr Eisma (NI). — (NL) Mr President, the debate on conscientious objection was wound up at the January plenary sitting without any reaction from Commission or Council, and I feel this must be very disappointing, not just for the rapporteur, Mrs Macciocchi, but equally for those participants in the debate whose questions to the Commission and the Council have gone unanswered. Even at this advanced stage I would still appeal to the Commission and the Council, before we proceed to a vote, to give their views on the contents of the report and on the questions tabled. After all we are not debating here for our own amusement but rather with a view to formulating, in conjunction with the Commission and Council, a Community initiative. I would therefore appeal to the representative of the Commission and/or Council to make some reaction.

Paragraph 3 — Amendment No 2

President. — I have a request from Mr Hutton for a split vote. This means that we shall vote twice, the first vote will be on that part of the amendment which states: 'notes that military service... equal bases'. After that we shall vote on the second phrase.

Mr Sieglerschmidt (S). — (DE) If the first sentence is adopted and the second rejected, then point 3 of the committee report will have to be dropped. I imagine that is hardly what Mr Hutton wants and therefore ask whether he wants to add the first sentence to point 3 of the committee report rather than replacing that point with this sentence.

President. — Mr Sieglerschmidt, I cannot deal with that. Mr Hutton's proposal simply asked for a split vote. The Members are intelligent enough to decide for themselves how they should proceed.

Paragraph 8 — Amendment No 16

Mrs Macciocchi, rapporteur. — (IT) Mr President, I would like to point out that this important question is

dealt with in the last point of the motion for a resolution.

Mr Janssen van Raay (PPE). — (NL) Mr President, should you have a copy of the Dutch text you will see that there is a statement which reads 'This amendment is not applicable to the Dutch language text'. I should like to know whether this is no more than a purely linguistic matter or whether it conceals a political angle? In addressing myself to you, Mr President, I am essentially seeking clarification from the rapporteur.

Mrs Veil (L). — (FR) Mr President, this is merely an editorial change which, in French, is quite justified. The amendment proposed by Mr Pannella reads more correctly in French, but it is still purely editorial.

Mrs Macciocchi, rapporteur. — (IT) Mr President, I believe that paragraph 8 has been formulated correctly, at least in the Italian text of the motion for a resolution.

President. — Mrs Macciocchi, it so happens that in the languages other than Italian, the text is not clear. The translations which are not quite correct must therefore be changed.

Mr Beazley (ED). — Mr President, the amendment before us in English is meaningless. Unless we have the French and other texts there is nothing we can vote about. Therefore I would support your original proposal that we correct it if that is necessary.

(After paragraph 8 — Amendments Nos 17 and 19/corr.)

Mrs Macciocchi, rapporteur. — (IT) The Committee opposes Amendment No 17 insofar as it goes beyond the limits of the position we have jointly adopted. I am in favour of Amendment No 19, although I feel obliged to mention that it was rejected by the Legal Affairs Committee.

Mrs Veil (L). — (FR) Mr President, the committee voted against, in fact. I think a distinction must be made between the opinion of the rapporteur and the opinion of the rapporteur speaking on behalf of the committee concerned.

IN THE CHAIR: MR ESTGEN

Vice-President

PRUVOT REPORT

(DOC 1-686/82 'GOOSE CRAMMING')

¹ See Annex I.

President. — On the Pruvot report, I have received a request by Mr Spencer, under Rule 85 of the Rules of Procedure, for referral back to committee.

Mr Spencer (ED). — Mr President, I wish to move the referral back, under Rule 85, on the grounds that since our very interesting debate of last month on the question of goose cramming, a large number of submissions have come in from people who know the facts of goose cramming across Europe — whether it be the Dutch Society or the French Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. We have a mass of new information, and Members themselves, I think, will have received a letter from the Eurogroup for Animal Welfare that systematically and point by point refutes the facts reportedly contained in the Pruvot Report.

But, colleagues, what I am proposing this afternoon has nothing to do with whether you are for or against goose cramming. It is merely a question of the proper procedure for this Parliament to follow. I want the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection to go back and look again at both sides of this question. Whatever one feels about goose cramming, we ought to be confident that when we come to vote the committee that did the report for us has taken evidence from both sides. At the moment that is not the case. Therefore I request a referral back.

President. — I shall have to call one speaker for and one against the motion.

Mr Caborn (S). — Mr President, as the author of the original resolution on goose cramming, I should like to draw the attention of the House to the resolution that is before you. In my resolution, in indent 3, there was presented to the committee a memorandum that went into the question of goose cramming in some depth. It is quite evident now that the resolution that is before you has taken no cognisance at all of that report, because it clearly goes back to the decision of the Council of Europe in 1974. That memorandum clearly contains a further convention of the Council of Europe — the European Convention on the Protection of Animals kept for Farm Purposes, which was issued in Strasbourg on 10 March 1976. I read from Article 6: 'No animal shall be provided with food or liquid in a manner, nor shall such a food or liquid contain any substance which may cause unnecessary suffering or injury.' That is very important in the context of the resolution that is before you, because it has totally ignored that convention of the Council of Europe.

I therefore say, in line with the reference back, that this evidence should either be looked at again or indeed for the first time. In view of the number of people that have written to me as well as to other Members of the European Parliament, I think it is incumbent on this House that all the evidence be seen before we pass judgment, through a resolution, on this particular subject.

Mr Sutra (S). — (*FR*) On a point of procedure, Mr President, I am very surprised that you did not ask the rapporteur's opinion. When a rapporteur draws up a report, he takes on a great deal of work, lasting many weeks and sometimes even months. It would be a good idea at least to hear his opinion before proposing the referral back of his report.

President. — I was about to do so, Mr Sutra. I shall, of course, ask the rapporteur for his opinion, but I shall do so last so that his opinion can be given with full knowledge of the facts.

Mrs Poirier (COM). — (*FR*) I think that we now have all the information we need, that the Committee on the Environment worked very hard and that it took its decisions in full knowledge of the facts.

The manoeuvre of referring this report back is an attempt to tone down all its positive aspects, in my view. That is why I think we should take a stand on it today: I am therefore against the proposal.

Mr Enright (S). — On a point of order. I can find nothing in the Rules of Procedure, Mr President, that says that when we refer a report back to committee a rapporteur must speak. I would be grateful — unless you are setting some precedent — if you would refer me to the appropriate Rule.

President. — I would ask you to read Rule 82 of the Rules of Procedure. It stipulates, with regard to motions referred to under letters (a) to (e) that only the mover of the motion, — who has already spoken — one speaker for, one against and the chairman or rapporteur of each committee concerned shall be heard, each for not more than three minutes.

Mrs Pruvot (L), rapporteur. — (*FR*) Mr President, I have the floor, to my great shame.

I am really ashamed to speak on this subject again, after the vote that has just been held on such a far more interesting subject. But since I must, I shall confine myself to two remarks. Firstly, this report was adopted unanimously, minus three votes, by the Committee on the Environment; the question of referral back to committee was discussed at the last meeting of

Pruvot

our Committee on the Environment and was rejected by one vote. Secondly, as regards the question of information, may I say that we have discussed it for two years and that we could easily continue to discuss it for another two years. Now, if Parliament takes this road, why should we not also try to defend the fish that are caught on the hook and which suffer much more than the geese, or fish which are caught in drag-nets and die of asphyxiation, etc.

There are human rights to be defended; the Scott-Hopkins report is on the agenda of this part-session. I think the best that could be done for this Parliament is for us to vote now and finish with this business.

(Applause — Parliament rejected the request for referral back to committee)

Paragraph 3 — Amendment No 10

Mr Irmer (L). — *(DE)* The German text of Amendment No 6 must either have been misprinted or mistranslated. For here it says that the word 'ducks' is to be added after the word 'geese'. But that would mean that goose liver paté can be made from duck's liver. Surely that is not the case.

(Laughter)

It should at least propose that 'or duck liver paté' be added after goose liver paté.

(Laughter)

4. The 'tourniquet' system

President. — The next item is the second report (Doc. 1-1078/82) 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.

Mr Sieglerschmidt (S), rapporteur. — *(DE)* Mr President, honourable Members, the matter under discussion has a history which began with objections as to the validity of the appointments of certain French colleagues. This report deals only with the validity of appointments, and the vote too should be confined to this. It is not a question of the vacation of seats, for Parliament has instructed the Committee on the Rules of Procedure to draw up another report on that subject. Nor is it a question of the political assessment of the 'tourniquet' system, i.e., — to make it clear to the Assembly — the system under which the members of a particular group undertake in advance to leave Parliament prematurely after a specific term. If it were a question of political judgment, I am fairly certain that

Parliament would by a large majority agree that this represents a challenge to the parliamentary system.

Here, however, we are concerned only with the legal questions arising from these objections. Firstly, we need to know whether the 'tourniquet' system infringes the provision of Article 3(1) of the electoral Act which states that a Member of Parliament shall be elected for a term of five years.

We now have the approval of the Legal Affairs Committee, after its report was referred back in July this year, with the simple result, as will presumably turn out, that the Legal Affairs Committee now also says what was to be expected of it.

So the Committee on the Verification of Credentials finds that it is not the duty of Members to remain until the end of the parliamentary term, but it is their right. Otherwise the electoral Act, or the relevant French electoral law for European elections, would have to include a restriction on the right to resign. The electoral Act does not even contain the word resign and French electoral law formally leaves it up to the Members concerned to choose to resign or not, i.e. to vacate their seat.

Other objections were raised with reference to Article 4(1) of the electoral Act, which states that Members shall not be bound by any instructions. According to the Committee on the Verification of Credentials, this cannot mean that the Members may not accept any instructions. In a sense that is what we are constantly doing. We accept instructions and mandates from our constituencies, from party conferences and as a result of group decisions. That is not the point; what is important is that Members may not be the subject of legal proceedings or be excluded from Parliament if they act counter to such instructions or mandates.

Some people say that a compulsion arises from the mere fact that the Member may not be put up again by his party or will lose party offices or suchlike if he does not follow the 'tourniquet' system. May I make it quite clear that that is an occupational hazard of being a Member. Anyone who is not prepared to accept that risk will not, in my view, be a genuine politician. We have before us the example of the eight DIFE list Members who did not follow the 'tourniquet' system and stayed on longer.

So the Committee on the Verification of Credentials recommends that you should formally state that the 'tourniquet' system does not infringe the electoral Act of 20 September 1976.

Mr Janssen van Raay (PPE). — *(NL)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the rapporteur, Mr Sieglerschmidt, quite rightly pointed out that the sole question at issue here is whether, in the wake of French

Janssen van Raay

RPR MEPs being replaced in the course of their 5 year term, in accordance with a rotation ('tourniquet') system practised by that group with the prior approval of its members, the Committee on the Verifications of Credentials must withhold its approval of the credentials of the new Member nominated by the aforementioned party. That is the question under discussion; we are not passing a value judgment on the desirability or otherwise, of the 'tourniquet' system. Indeed I can assure the House of the PPE's unanimous disapproval of the system.

The work of the committees is disrupted when a colleague who has just found his footing after a year or so and whose commitment, intelligence and expertise have begun to earn the respect of his fellow committee members, is suddenly removed and replaced by the national political party to which reference has already been made. Consequently I have no hesitation in appealing to the Members present today, on behalf of my group, to spread the word throughout the Member States that arrangements such as the 'tourniquet' system are of a dubious nature. I have no doubt that such internal party political arrangements, be they in the Netherlands, the Federal Republic of Germany, or anywhere else, for that matter, are legally void. In other words any Gaullist MEP who refuses to give up his seat in this House to make way for a replacement nominated by party headquarters has no reason to fear Mr Chirac's legal ability to summarily remove him. As already mentioned such action would be totally illegal. However, that is not the point at issue. The Committee on the Verification of Credentials has been asked to rule on the question as to whether we ought to withhold our approval of the new nominee. If we proceed from here the fences are down.

Speaking on behalf of both the Committee on the Verification of Credentials and the Legal Affairs Committee, I believe them to be fully justified in declaring that, whereas Article 3, section 1 of the Act of 20 September 1976 stipulates that 'MEPs are elected for a period of 5 years' this is in no way synonymous with a commitment to serve the entirety of those 5 years. After all, how many colleagues have we seen abandoning their mandate, through lack of interest, or to take up distinguished positions in the French government, in national parliaments or even in the Commission. Under such circumstances how can we make an exception of one particular category of Member?

I would therefore appeal to the sponsors of the original resolution who intend to persevere notwithstanding to inform the Committee on the Verification of Credentials in the course of this debate on what precise legal basis such approval can be withheld.

Mr Fergusson (ED). — Mr President, may I, as the Member who originally brought this matter to the attention of this House, remind the House, new-comers included, why I voiced the general objection to the

compulsory and systematic rotation of party membership of this Parliament. It was not primarily because I consider the practice illegal, but because I thought it to be politically objectionable. Indeed, the frustrations it induces among those who are trying to make the parliamentary process work has already damaged the reputation of this institution, a reputation which is not so robust that we can afford to imperil it unnecessarily.

Now what is wrong with the tourniquet? It is not just that if every group used it fully, there would be a turn over of membership of nearly two and a half thousand in a single parliament. There is the futility, which Mr Janssen van Raay mentioned, of getting to know and like and admire a Member and to learn how he thinks only to find him rapidly replaced by somebody else — a stranger. Even now I understand that there is a Member under orders, to which he has submitted in advance, to yield up his seat, in consequence of which a report which bears his name is being hurried through committee and Parliament to accommodate those promises.

Finally, my objection to the tourniquet is that it is difficult to justify this Parliament as an exercise in parliamentary democracy if those who sit here are not those for whom the voters voted. Twice over now the Committee on the Verification of Credentials has decided that the tourniquet is not illegal. The second time round, the report was unchanged except that the opinion of the Committee on Legal Affairs was appended. Neither committee, I am sorry to say, seems to have taken any account of all the evidence about political pressure under the tourniquet contained, for example, in the French press over the last year or two. The Legal Affairs Committee, many of whose members sit on the Committee on the Verification of Credentials, also finds that the tourniquet is not illegal. But it comes — just comes — to the real kernel of the matter which is its political aspect. Its opinion states quite firmly that frequent and numerous resignations, pursuant to such a system, are likely adversely to affect the proper conduct of the business of Parliament.

Now it may be right that the tourniquet is legal under the Act and under our own Rules at present, but that does not make it either proper or acceptable.

Mr President, if the tourniquet is not against our Rules, we can change those Rules. If the abuse of those Rules is making a monkey out of this Parliament, then we *must* change them. Let us, therefore, accept the views of our two committees; let us thank them for their work; acknowledge their wisdom and let us set about changing the Rules which permit what we find politically unacceptable.

I invite the House to support my amendments which do not reject the committee's findings, but do carry them to a sensible conclusion.

Mr Chambeiron (COM). — (FR) Mr President, as rapporteur for the Legal Affairs Committee, I have

Chambeiron

come to exactly the same conclusions as the Committee on the Verification of Credentials, although not without some debate. We found no opposition to this 'tourniquet' system in the Community provisions. That is why we regard it as a purely internal RPR matter. It is the RPR's sovereign right to decide as it thinks fit about the appointment of its Members. I would like to add that Mr Fergusson seemed somewhat inconsistent just now. His first arguments looked like an attempt to establish a legal foundation whereas now he says that it is political question, a question of the functioning of Parliament. On this latter point I am inclined to agree with him. I think that it could in fact raise administrative problems.

As for the political aspect, may I say that I myself have taken part in this electoral campaign. And it was the voters who decided. The voters knew that the RPR wanted to apply the 'tourniquet' system and they voted for its list, without raising the least objections to this system. We are therefore faced with a purely internal problem. I do not think it is up to Parliament to tell a parliamentary group or a national political party how it should define its criteria for choosing a Member or how to run its electoral campaign. Now if we wish to amend the Rules of Procedure, as has been proposed, there are appropriate procedures for this and there is an article which allows for such an amendment of the Rules. But that is another question.

Mr Nord (L). — (NL) Mr President, as everyone would expect my group does not intend to vote against the Sieglerschmidt report. For all that, however, I cannot say that we shall vote for it with any enthusiasm. As we have come to expect of him, Mr Sieglerschmidt has once again excelled himself by coming up with a first rate legal analysis. We feel, however, that it is lacking in one dimension. It is not sufficient to say that neither the Act of 20 September 1976, nor the Treaty of Rome, nor for that matter our own internal Rules of Procedure, make it possible to present a specific political group using the 'tourniquet' system to rotate Members. It is not good enough even where the wording of the resolution is such as to almost — but not quite — 'regrettably' forbid such procedures. One could also add that the 'tourniquet' system is not only deplorable but even contains shameful aspects which are tantamount to contempt both of this Parliament to which Members have been directly elected and of the citizens who elected them.

I fully appreciate that this is, legally speaking, irrelevant, but I cannot help feeling that a report such as this should not confine itself to the purely legal aspects. When one realizes — and examples have already been given — the adverse practical effects of the 'tourniquet' system, one can well imagine the consequences of a widespread adoption of such a system throughout the Member States. It is clear that any motion condemning the 'tourniquet' system would be adopted by a considerable majority of this House, as the rapporteur himself has indicated.

We regret that the Sieglerschmidt report failed to consider this aspect, or dimension. In short, Mr President, our group will not be voting against it, because we cannot contest its legality, but some of us, myself included, intend to abstain rather than vote in favour.

Mr Pannella (TCD). — (FR) Mr President, this business has been going on for months. It is a rather sad tale and I fear its end will be rather sad too. We are not here to give a legal opinion, in the strict sense of the word, i.e. in the sense of a company asking for legal advice. What we must do is to adopt a parliamentary and political position.

First, I believe there is a genuine self-reproach implicit in this report, for not to have mentioned, in such a detailed and comprehensive report as Mr Sieglerschmidt has drawn up, the quite shameful doings of Parliament — dishonest letters, false signatures, extorted letters — is an omission. Does not this in a way reflect on the morals, sensitivity and style of our Members? I am not trying to pronounce sentence here, Mr Sieglerschmidt, but surely we ought to have said that as a Parliament we have sinned by a certain lack of elegance, to say the least. We should have stated this and have not done so.

But what is this 'tourniquet' system?

The expression stems from the jargon of the political subculture. Yet surely our political and parliamentary repertoire contained many other ways of making it clear that we do not accept something, even if we do not dispute its legality... I think here we have an uncalled-for excess of legal zeal. It shows total ignorance of the political and parliamentary problem involved. Incidentally Mr Chambeiron fully understood this for it is the tradition on his benches for the party to decide everything. So, tourniquet or no tourniquet, a Member must leave if the party so wishes. That is a different parliamentary concept, it is that of the 'parliamentary diet'. Luckily it is not followed by France, the United Kingdom or Italy. It has never prevailed here.

Mr President, since I consider it useless if not dangerous to refer in a document by our Parliament to a system which is no system and use a term which means nothing in order to imbue it with a certain dignity and legality, I shall vote against. I must say this takes some courage, for I willingly admit that Mr Sieglerschmidt always displays great legal and technical ability in his work. But politically speaking I think we must reject this report.

Mr Sieglerschmidt (S), rapporteur. — (DE) Mr President, a brief remark on the powers of the Committee on the Verification of Credentials.

I want to come back to two points raised by Mr Nord and Mr Pannella. What has not, I think, been realized,

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is that the Committee on the Verification of Credentials is the only committee of this Parliament whose powers are formally restricted to one specific area. Otherwise it would be called the Legal Affairs Committee, the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs, or whatever.

Rule 96(1) of our Rules of Procedure states that '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 why the committee could not answer political questions. But it had to answer the legal question. Its task was, in a manner of speaking, to ensure that legal agreement prevails in this Parliament in respect of any further objections of this kind.

Mr Ephremidis (COM). — (GR) Mr President, we are in agreement with the report presented by Mr Sieglerschmidt and Mr Chambeiron, for political, legal and constitutional reasons. In other words, we think that the provisions of Articles 3 and 4 of the Act of 20 September 1976 constitute a guarantee of independence for the parliamentary body and its membership against any kind of collective recall, but also that according to a firm, constitutional general directive, they also constitute a guarantee for the electorate itself. However, the provisions that establish the guarantees I have mentioned do not in any way interfere with the right to voluntary resignation, which is also a general principle. In fact the system of resignation by rotation, which both our rapporteurs accept, is nothing more than an exercise of this right. The system of serving in rotation is not a system of recall, but operates on the basis of resignations tendered voluntarily by the Members, to comply with a political obligation that they undertook by entirely free choice. Consequently, this system is not in conflict with directives 3 and 4 of the Act. Indeed, I should like to add that if any amendment at all to the 1976 Act were required — and I realize that procedurally, this is not the time to propose amendments — I would be very much in favour of a proposal to amend the 1976 Act so as to allow the replacement of an elected Member for a session, or even for a period of twelve sessions, i.e. for a whole year. This would have the positive and practical result that Members who, for reasons beyond their control, cannot be present and fulfil their duties, could be replaced by deputies carrying the same voting card. This would raise no problems since on the voting card itself the choice is defined on the basis of guidelines set by the parties that put forward the Members to begin with.

President. — The debate is closed.

The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

5. Community law

President. — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-1052/82) by Mr Sieglerschmidt, on behalf of the Legal Affairs Committee, on the responsibility of Member States for the application of Community law.

Mr Sieglerschmidt (S), rapporteur. — (DE) Mr President, I hope Members will not find it boring to hear two reports by me in succession. Yet I think those who have remained here are aware of the importance of this matter.

The number of proceedings instituted for breach of the Treaties has recently increased, as has the number of cases where infringement has been established. This does not automatically mean that the number of actual infringements has also increased for it must also be submitted, to use a legal term, that the figures for the past are unknown.

There are four reasons for the increase in the number of proceedings. Firstly, the Commission has instituted proceedings more often because it was more able to record breaches of the Treaties. Recently, thanks to data processing, it has a better overall view. Moreover, it has laid more emphasis on safeguarding the existing laws.

The second reason is as follows. As I pointed out in my first report on the responsibility of the European Court of Justice for safeguarding Community law, the consolidation of Community law, i.e. the progress of integration, has naturally also led to greater friction between national law and Community law.

Thirdly, as is only too well known, the unfortunately far-reaching power of decision of the Council has led the Member States to adopt measures to fill the gaps which have arisen because the Council did not take a decision.

Fourthly, and lastly, in times of crisis, the Member States naturally tend more to combat the crisis at national level, that is to say at the cost of the Community. In other words, every man for himself.

That is why it is so important to consider during such times how best to protect what has been achieved, how to prevent the erosion of the European Community as a legal community, since that is its foundation.

The Legal Affairs Committee unanimously proposed a series of measures on this matter, which were supplemented and further improved by amendments.

In view of the short time available, I shall mention only the most important. The Legal Affairs Committee proposes that the possibility which previously existed only under the ECSC Treaty be extended to the entire

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field of Community activity, i.e. that the Court of Justice can impose sanctions on States which do not comply with its judgments and act in breach of Community law. In the Legal Affairs Committee's view, these sanctions must, however, have a direct connection with the infringement and not be a sort of penalty payment or fine.

Secondly, we call for the consistent application of Article 169. I am not alleging that the Commission has not applied this article consistently in recent times, we only want to encourage it to continue, where appropriate, to institute proceedings for infringement of the Treaties, not necessarily in order to bring a case but to deal with these infringements by a preliminary ruling. If the European Court of Justice establishes in a preliminary ruling that a Member State has infringed Community law by a national legal act, that Member State should be prepared as a general rule to amend its law voluntarily and to make a declaration to that effect.

Paragraph 12 of the resolution states: 'Hopes in this connection that the Court of Justice will confirm in the proceedings pending before it its case law on the direct inapplicability of national legislation which it has already found to be incompatible with Community law'. Unfortunately I only learned this weekend that these proceedings, initiated following a request for a draft law by the *Tribunal de grande instance de Paris*, have been concluded.

I would therefore ask you, or the President-in-office at tomorrow's vote, to agree that we amend Paragraph 12 accordingly. Parliament can only welcome this important decision of the Court of Justice and hope that the Member States will observe it, now and in future, and that the courts and authorities of the Member States will in fact act in compliance with the Court of Justice's decision of mid-December.

We further propose, and hope the Commission will agree, that in future it will also submit an annual report, like its annual report on competition, on infringements of the Treaties by Member States, classified under executive, legislative and judicial, on which the Legal Affairs Committee could then draw up a report to establish quite openly to what extent the Member States are observing the Treaties.

This report would then be forwarded to the governments of the Member States, the Ministers of Justice and, most important, the parliaments of the Member States which often do not know that through pure carelessness, to put it bluntly, they have infringed the Treaty and not incorporated directives promptly.

I hope everyone in this Parliament will agree with this report and that together with the Commission and the Court of Justice we will preserve the level of integration, harmonization of laws and the legal community we have achieved.

Mrs Van den Heuvel (S). — (NL) Mr President, one sometimes gets the impression that the elaboration and safeguarding of Community law is the exclusive domain of the experts, which, in this case means the lawyers among our Members. Time and again I have noticed that those Members of this House who are in the habit of calling themselves the real politicians are inclined to make disparaging remarks on the subject of Community law and I consider this most unfair because the Community can only function properly on the basis of the enactment and observance of good Community legislation.

I believe the Sieglerschmidt report to be a serious chronicling of the functioning of the European Community as a legal entity. On reading the report one may cautiously conclude that the smooth functioning of the system is subject to the occasional hitch. Thus in the period from 1973 to 1982 the Court of Justice of the European Communities had to deal with 72 cases of violations of the Treaty of Rome. Furthermore, 40 judgments rendered by the Court had not been implemented by the Member States concerned, at the time of the report's publication. One need only imagine a similar scenario within one of the Member States. Such flouting of the law by one section of society would be universally and roundly condemned as being incompatible with the State's duty of guaranteeing the equality before the law of all citizens. At Community level, however, such a scenario can take place without causing any noticeable stir among its citizens. Member States who will shortly be waxing eloquently on European unity in the run up to the 1984 elections simply cast aside judgments rendered by the Court of Justice without further ado. That preeminent of Community institutions, the Commission, has heretofore regrettably not been especially active in this sphere either. Granted, there has been a reappraisal of Commission policy concerning the application of Community law, to which the Sieglerschmidt report refers, if only its negative conclusion that the political context for the introduction of more Community law is ever-diminishing. Nevertheless there is a total absence of an active, alert Commission policy.

Just a few comments on the motion for a resolution. The Treaty of Rome contains no enforcement provisions in relation to the measures outlined therein. At the time of its elaboration it was considered a foregone conclusion that European cooperation implied *per se* respect by the Member States of the obligations incumbent upon them as a result of the Treaty. The Sieglerschmidt report makes it abundantly clear that such trust was misplaced, and my group believes that the time has now come for a careful appraisal of measures for the implementation of sanctions against offending Member States. If only to boost the confidence of the non-offending Member States it will be necessary to react against non-compliance with Community obligations. I feel that the amendments to the Treaty of Rome, as envisaged by the Sieglerschmidt report, would be the most effective means of achieving

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this.

Paragraph 8 of the Sieglerschmidt motion for a resolution urges the Commission to spare no effort in endeavouring to convince the offending Member States, on the basis of existing procedures, of the errors of their ways. Without prejudice to the Commission's efforts to reach amicable arrangements wherever possible, the determining factor should be that of equality before the law rather than political considerations. In this respect I consider transparency to be desirable. My group considers that an annual report, similar to that for which the rapporteur pleads in paragraph 14 of the motion for a resolution, is indispensable from a parliamentary control viewpoint, and that such a report should contain further details regarding amicable arrangements.

Furthermore we believe that such an annual report should set time limits within which infringements which have not been rectified would automatically invoke sanctions. That this is in no way an unnecessary luxury may be seen from an example which came to my attention over the past few days in relation to the first two directives on equal treatment of men and women. It would appear that the infringement proceedings instituted under this heading in 1978 have still not been submitted to the Court. I would be grateful for more detailed information from the Commission on this point. I feel, Mr President, that it is high time that the Commission began to take its responsibility in this area seriously. It is certainly not too much to expect an active and, more especially, a transparent policy from the Commission which ought to be well-disposed towards the fortunes of the Community.

Mr Janssen van Raay (PPE). — (NL) In introducing his report Mr Sieglerschmidt has been unduly modest in expressing the hope that the House will not be bored by his second appearance before us today. I have always found it a pleasure to listen to his contributions and to read his reports, and I should like to commend this report as meriting particular attention given the overriding importance of the subject matter.

Mr President, colleagues, as Members of the European Parliament we realize that the European Community is anything but democratic when we consider that our Parliament is almost devoid of power. To reiterate, Mr President, ours is not a democratic Community, for the powers of this European Parliament are noticeably less than those which are to be bestowed upon the Turkish parliament under the new Turkish constitution, and yet this House constantly directs the main thrust of its criticism at the lack of democracy in Turkey! But, although our powers are noticeably less than those of the new parliament in Ankara, we have always been able to take comfort and encouragement from the fact that the Community was at least a legal entity in which the rule of law was universally applicable. As long as that remains the case we

ought to gently proceed in the knowledge that in this respect we should in any event be granted the minimum authority delegated by the 10 Member States to their State bodies.

However it is becoming clear that an axe is being taken to the very tree trunk of the European Community itself and that is the mortal danger which the Sieglerschmidt report lucidly illustrates and which requires our immediate attention. A Community founded upon legal principles implies universal acceptance of the supreme legal authority's judgments — which in the case of the European Community means the Court of Justice — by the citizens but also, and primarily, by the Member States. I can assure the preceding speaker, Mrs Van den Heuvel, that I remember the general attitude which prevailed at the time the European Coal and Steel Community, as well as that of Euratom and the European Economic Community were set up and there was indeed a presumption that verdicts rendered by the Court would of course be respected by the Member States. It now appears that such faith was ill-founded.

I am especially happy to see that Commissioner Andriessen has had the patience to remain in the House throughout the day and I should like to address a few words to him in particular given that there is in this field a joint task for Parliament and Commission, each in its own sphere to do its utmost to assure implementation by the Member States of the Court's judgments. Detailed indications and concrete suggestions are contained in the Sieglerschmidt report. I am particularly pleased to see that paragraph 12 has already been superseded by the Court's clear pronouncement. Without doubt we must proceed in this direction in the interest of preserving the Communities founded upon the legal principles as enshrined in the Treaties.

Mr Forth (ED). — Mr President, I very much welcome this report and this resolution, partly because it goes to the very heart of the Community and its law and its future, and partly because it was initiated by a resolution put down by myself and my colleague Mr Cottrell some time ago because we were concerned about the apparent lack of attention being paid by the Community institutions to this very important problem of the status of Community law and the extent to which the Community was able or was prepared to address itself to the problem of the flouting of that law.

We all know that the European Court of Justice is one of the most respected institutions of the Community, and I am sure that we are all most concerned to ensure the integrity of the Court and to see that its rulings are duly adhered to by all Member States.

Unfortunately, this has not been the case in the past, and what we must find now is an answer to the prob-

Forth

lem of the regrettably large number of cases of Member States who feel unable or unwilling to adhere to the rulings of the Court of Justice. The resolution was initially intended to draw attention to this problem, which has been picked up and pursued by the Legal Affairs Committee with its usual vigour and expertise and has been laid out most excellently in the report by Mr Sieglerschmidt. I very much welcome this report because I think it takes a well balanced view of the subject, draws attention to the problem as it exists and allows this Parliament to do what it should be doing, which is to take an initiative in this matter and lead the Community institutions by drawing attention to it in a balanced and reasonable way and pointing out the direction in which we might reasonably go. I do not think that anybody believes that we can go too far or too fast in this matter, but paragraph 5 is, I think, of the essence and points the way for the future.

I hope that all colleagues will be able to support this report, which acknowledges the important rôle of the Court of Justice, recognizes the importance of this problem and points to a reasonable and practical way ahead. I therefore very much support the report and I beg all colleagues to do so as well.

Mr Chambeiron (COM). — (FR) Mr President, I will be very brief because I understand that I have a limited speaking time. The question for me is the following: I personally think that what the Commission understands by infringement of the Treaty is out of date. For I wonder by what criterion one should judge a country or decide whether or not a country is respecting the Community rules. If it is by a criterion put forward by the Commission and its economic and industrial services I think this is most arbitrary. Of course I also understand why certain members of the Commission find it difficult to accept that my country has moved towards policies which are not necessarily in line with what the Commission regards as economic management policy. Thus I noted that the Commission protested against French policy for textiles although we helped substantially to reduce the number of job losses. May I also point out that the Commission's industrial policy contributed, on the contrary, to further recession and job losses.

In agriculture we have succeeded for the first time in preventing farmers' incomes from falling as they did in previous years. And now the Commission is questioning the product offices decided upon by the French Parliament. So I ask myself the following: who respects the Treaty of Rome; what does respect for the Treaty of Rome mean today; does it help resolve the crisis?

I think it is time to ask the real, basic questions, for what I think is important here is the criteria for the management of the common policies, which take precedence over the necessary respect for fundamental rules and agreements which, I must remind you, now date back 30 years.

Mrs Veil (L). — (FR) Mr President, we have often had occasion in the Legal Affairs Committee to stress that the problems we are dealing with are not purely legal, but also political. I think today's debate shows this even more clearly than usual; one might well have expected that instead of a discussion this evening before a few empty rows of benches we would be holding a major debate on the relationship between national law and Community law and on the role played by the Court of Justice in the Community's institutional balance. I think the question must be put in political terms.

It is necessary to the survival of our Community that Community law be applied correctly, and I thank our rapporteur for pointing it out so clearly. People often discuss the legal nature of the Community: is it a confederation, is it a *sui generis* institution...? All that can be said, and it is this that marks it out clearly from all the other regional institutions, is that it has a Community law which is sanctioned by the Court of Justice. That is the essential and specific quality of our Community. So it is essential for the Court of Justice to ensure respect for the Treaties and the harmonization of Community law, without which there would no longer be a Community.

And then, at a time when — we must admit it — this legal Community is threatened by the proliferation of Community laws, which leads to friction, Mr Chambeiron gives priority to national law which, in his view, is more effective. I would say that, on the contrary, we must form closer links, strengthen the Community and combat protectionism.

It might look as though there were some incoherence in our discussions this afternoon; we have discussed very diverse matters. We have discussed conscientious objection, we then discussed goose-cramming and now we are discussing this matter. First of all, we discussed human rights and we acknowledged that we are linked to one another, even if it is not possible in the present state of progress to have this principle sanctioned by Community law. We are a genuine community of values.

Then we spoke of goose-cramming, and I thank Mr Forth for his words, which I think were an important addition to Mr Sieglerschmidt's report, i.e. the call for respect for our traditions and for our pluralism.

There would be no Community if we could not respect these traditions and remain true to our cultures.

But loyalty to our own culture means realizing that when this proves necessary and when there is a Community law, it is essential to respect that law. That is why the Liberal Group will fully support the motion for a resolution and Mr Sieglerschmidt's report; it fully endorses the proposals for sanctions and for supervision by Parliament, for I think that is consistent with the very necessary democratic spirit.

Veil

A single exception, however. As regards supervision by the European Parliament, we wonder whether in institutional terms it is really appropriate and serves the sound running of the institutions for the European Parliament to have direct and constant access to the Commission's data store; for we fear that some regulations might then not be implemented although the Commission and the governments might still reach agreement. Apart from this, we will fully endorse this report.

(Applause from the right)

Mr Eisma (NI). — *(NL)* Mr President, like Mrs Van den Heuvel I am also not a lawyer but, as a politician I find it a highly remarkable that Member States do not comply fully with Community law. When such practices are allowed to continue it becomes apparent that the object of our activities as a Community is to some extent destroyed. For in common with the Commission and the Council, we as Members of the European Parliament work on the elaboration of legal measures which are destined to be binding on the Member States. It is therefore bewildering and alarming for us to realize the shameful manner in which Community legislation is applied, that is to say, in many cases not at all. We are especially grateful to the rapporteur, Mr Sieglerschmidt, for the clarity with which his report exposes these practices and we intend to extend to him our unreserved support.

As the institution having the monopoly on the elaboration of proposals for improving the enforcement of Community law, the Commission has heretofore been lax, and in saying this I intend it to be construed as a serious reproach. Fortunately the Commission has of late given more thought to its powers in this area.

In those cases which the Commission has referred to the Court of Justice there has been considerable reluctance on the part of the Member States indicted to comply with the Court's ruling. It is obvious that a matter of such vital importance can only be satisfactorily resolved by amendments to the Treaty of Rome. This would pave the way for the imposition of sanctions against an offending Member State.

Such a goal appears to me to be desirable although not immediately attainable. Even if the proposed amendments to the Treaty were eventually adopted such a procedure would take many years. Consequently it would seem desirable to give priority to the other measures envisaged by the rapporteur for dealing with infringements of the Treaty by Member States.

In conclusion, Mr President, I would once again draw attention to the fact that Italy is far and away the most serious offender concerning the total number of infringements of the Treaty as chronicled in the list on page 13 of the report. It alone is responsible for more than half of the total recorded. I would therefore

make a special appeal to our Italian colleagues in the House to question their ministers through the Parliament in Rome. The same applies, though to a lesser extent, to the other Member States. There is in this area a task ahead of us all.

Mrs Boot (PPE). — *(NL)* The subject under discussion today is one of considerable legal importance and it may be said to form a new chapter in the series 'who is responsible for the enforcement of Community law?' Mr Sieglerschmidt has produced a another masterpiece of outstanding quality.

As the members of the House will no doubt be aware, the means whereby the application by Member States of the legal obligations accruing from the Treaty of Rome are monitored may be divided into judicial and non judicial. Within the Community the judicial supervision has been entrusted to the judges of the individual Member States as well as to the Court of Justice as the supreme court. The non-judicial supervision is the responsibility of the Member States and of the Commission. But what role does the European Parliament play in all of this? Although the European parliament was not specifically given the task of overseeing the activities of Member States it can nonetheless exercise an incidental and indirect role in the overall monitoring of Community law. The Sieglerschmidt report now under discussion is one expression of that role although the term 'incidental' would have to be omitted given the ever constant vigilance exercised by the Legal Affairs Committee of this House in assuring the implementation and enforcement of Community law.

Mr President, I should like to use the limited time at my disposal to elaborate on two of the amendments tabled by me. They are recommendations which complement those already put forward by the Legal Affairs Committee. Amendment 6 would make provision for official notification of the European Court of Justice and of the Commission in cases where the Member State judges' final verdict does not uphold Community law. Amendment 7 covers new ground in that it provides for appeal in the interest of upholding the law, particularly by the Advocate General, to the Court of Justice. Once the latter is in possession of the final verdict rendered by the national Member State court and should the Advocate General be of the opinion that such a verdict contravenes Community law or of the interpretation bestowed on it by the Court of Justice, that is, should the national verdict fail to recognize the supremacy of Community law then a means must be foreseen to rectify such a miscarriage of Justice. At national level such a provision would be both entirely normal and, from the point of view of legal security, desirable. Hence my desire to bring this amendment to the attention of the House. I appreciate that it raises a new aspect and I look forward to the Commission, which is represented in the House this evening, taking up this idea and expounding on it.

Mr Prout (ED). — Mr President, Mr Forth has eloquently expressed the admiration and enthusiasm of this group for Mr Sieglerschmidt's report. I simply wish to add two points of detail.

First of all, we urge the House to support paragraph 5 of the motion for a resolution. This calls upon Member States to amend the Treaty, as suggested by the Court of Justice, to provide effective sanctions against a Member State in default of a judgment. In particular, we believe that the Court should be able to specify the precise steps that a Member State must take to comply with a judgment and to supervise its execution. We trust the Commission will propose a suitable text.

Secondly, we would like to stress the importance of paragraph 6. This calls for the standardization of provisions on compensation for acts in breach of Community law by national authorities. Indeed, we wish to go further, as Mr Tyrrell indicates in Amendment No 2. We consider that 'in cases where the European Court of Justice has declared certain taxes or levies incompatible with the Treaty, the subsequent introduction of a provision under national law, limiting in any way the right to recover the illegally levied tax or levies, thereby enabling Member States wrongfully to retain the benefit of the illegal tax or levy, is incompatible with the spirit of the Community and should be abrogated'.

I would like to suggest that such measures may, in any case, be prohibited by the Treaty. In my view, Article 5 requires Member States to provide individuals with appropriate legal remedies or protection to ensure that obligations arising out of the Treaty are fully respected.

Mr Sieglerschmidt (S), rapporteur. — (DE) In all fairness I think I must make one comment, since Mr Eisma referred to the number of Italian breaches.

Statistics of that kind can of course only indicate the number and not the gravity of the breaches. Some of the things I referred to in my report outweigh a whole series of breaches.

Mr Andriessen, Member of the Commission. — Mr President, there are two ways in which the Commission could wind up such an important debate as this. It can decide to make a detailed report to Parliament, in the light of the numerous suggestions which have emanated from the House. Alternatively it can confine itself to a succinct summary of the Commission's viewpoint. Since the time available for parliamentary

debates is limited, I have opted for the latter approach but that presupposes that the Commission is quite prepared to take the next available opportunity of dealing with the suggestions in greater detail, preferably in the Legal Affairs Committee. If such an arrangement is amenable to the House, I shall restrict my comments tonight to making a few clear statements.

Firstly the Commission considers that the time allocated for such a debate can never be considered commensurate with the importance of the subject matter. This is tantamount to saying that the Commission believes the preservation of the legal character of the Community to be of paramount importance. The Commission has been rebuked for not taking this into account in the past. It has, however, been conceded that the Commission has mended its ways of late.

Mr President, I can assure the House that the Commission will continue to seek improvements in its policy on the enforcement of Community law. It has very recently finished a survey into the extent to which sanctions could be imposed in the wake of infringements of the Treaty of Rome's competition provisions on State subventions, a point raised by Mr Chambeiron, among others. But I hasten to add that the whole question of sanctions is a very delicate one requiring a great deal of circumspection.

Concerning transparency, Mr President, the Commission is prepared, under the proviso that confidential information at its disposal will not be divulged, to make an annual report of the cases which have come to its attention and of the action it has taken in this respect, thereby guaranteeing the democratic function of transparency in this field in the interests of upholding Community law.

Mr President, there are a number of aspects of the motion for a resolution on which the Commission, without necessarily being in disagreement, would like to have a more detailed discussion but I believe the Legal Affairs Committee to be the most appropriate forum.

May I once again state that the Commission is favourably disposed to the views that have been voiced in the House today and its determination to continue to act in the spirit of those statements.

President. — The debate is closed.

The vote will be taken at the next voting time.¹

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

¹ Agenda for next sitting: See Minutes.

ANNEX I

Votes

The Annex indicates rapporteurs' opinions on amendments and reproduces the texts of explanations of vote. For further details of voting, the reader is referred to the Minutes.

**MACCIOCCHI REPORT (Doc. 1-546/82
'Conscientious objection'): ADOPTED**

The rapporteur was:

- IN FAVOUR of Amendments Nos 11, 13, 14 and 21;
- AGAINST Amendments Nos 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 15, 17, 18/corr. and 20.

Explanations of vote

Mr Schwencke (S). — (DE) Ladies and gentlemen, the Socialist Group welcomes the report and the motion for a resolution by Mrs Macciocchi on the refusal to perform armed military service for reasons of conscience. Our colleagues in the group, Mr Sieglerschmidt and Mr van den Heuvel, gave our reasons at the last part-session. The Socialist Group objects to the current practice in Greece and regrets the attitude of the Greeks, particularly the Greeks in our group. Luckily the relevant amendments were rejected by a majority in this House. We also welcome the fact that Mr Galland's amendment was rejected.

Conscience is free. No man can pass judgment on the conscience of another. Only the individual himself can do so. In my view it is incompatible with human dignity and therefore immoral for any commission of any kind to try a person's conscience.

Anyone who refuses armed military service for reasons of conscience is claiming a fundamental right. A State that refuses its citizens this right is infringing human dignity. Refusal to perform armed service is a human right.

The words of the Bible, that swords will be made into ploughshares, have still not come true. Perhaps armed service is essential, but it must not become an absolute requirement.

The victims of two world wars are the evidence in Europe of where such concepts as pre-military training, fitness for military service and other supposed soldierly values can lead us.

Alternative civilian service without arms is not an inferior service but an entirely valid one. It must not be made prejudicial by excessively long duration of service or in any other way.

Europe's great tradition, of which we can be proud, the heritage of Christianity and humanism, would be at risk if the European Parliament did not also endorse the request of the Evangelical Church in Germany for the governments of East and West to ensure the protection of those who refuse to carry out armed military service for reasons of conscience.

In our endeavour to safeguard the right to freedom, we must formulate new values. Here the European cultural heritage can be of great help. May I refer to the words of Reinhold Schneider: in its true form Europe is a passionate protest against any simplification, any plausible solution, any attempt to bring people and nations down to a common denominator.

We therefore ask this House to endorse this motion for a resolution.

(Applause)

Mr Ephremidis (COM). — *(GR)* We would have no objection to voting in favour of this resolution, since it in fact protects the personal rights of anyone who, for reasons of religious conviction but also, we should add — in accordance with Resolution 337 of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe — for reasons of philosophical, ideological etc. convictions, refuses to be conscripted. However, we shall take no part in the voting because we consider that a subject of this sort, which is related to particular conditions and traditions and to actual events in any given country, should remain subject to the competence of the national parliaments.

I would also like to add that while the resolution deals with the matter in a satisfactory way, it omits any mention of the cases of individuals who, while not refusing compulsory military service, find that during their service they are persecuted and suffer penalties for reasons of political, ideological and philosophical conviction. Such phenomena are familiar in my own country because of the reactionary, fascist legislation that unfortunately persists to this day, even though we have a democratic government.

Mr Plaskovitis (S). — *(GR)* We proposed three amendments to the Macciocchi report, which seek to avoid certain exaggerations and to achieve some degree of alignment with the constitutional directives of some Member States, including Greece. These directives decree the equality of the obligations and rights of all Greek citizens, and specify compulsory military service, even in a non-combatant capacity. We also believe that any benevolent democratic State is completely justified in subjecting to scrutiny the sincerity of a declaration submitted by anyone who refuses to serve even in a non-combatant military service.

Our amendments were not adopted. However, the Greek Socialists of PASOK cannot ignore and neglect the provisions of their own national and democratic constitution. I would stop at that point, Mr President, were it not for the fact that one speaker from the Socialist Group — I am sorry to say — has made a clear attack against my country. I would like to point out that Greece has never initiated aggression against anybody. On the contrary, in both world wars it was she who was attacked, and that is why she has every right to protect her national integrity in any way that she feels will safeguard not only her rights as a nation, but indeed democracy throughout the world.

Mr Beyer de Ryke (L). — *(FR)* I could have refrained from taking part in the vote. There are hundreds of reasons, good or bad, to explain one's absence, and who would have held it against me? Or I could vote against, sheltering behind the opinion of the Political Affairs Committee to which I belong and which believes that this report should not be discussed. Well, I shall not do so because I have no liking for deceit and pretence.

So I want to speak and explain my position. Conscientious objection is said to be a fact of society. True. What is even more so is the disproportionate attention devoted by a society to its fringe elements; not that they do not merit attention, but a society loses vitality if it gives priority consideration to those who refuse to defend it and offers them privileges over those who give society proofs of their active solidarity. The broken gun leads to what my colleague Mr Bettiza referred to once in an editorial as 'the pacifism of assault'. My respect for tolerance and individual rights stops me from voting no; my desire to defend our society against external and internal aggression directed against it stops me from voting yes. In abstaining, I am not unaware of these means of escape; mine is a considered abstention.

Mr Gerokostopoulos (PPE), — *(GR)* I give notice that I shall abstain from voting on the proposed resolution relating to conscientious objection, for several reasons.

Firstly, because I agree with the opinion expressed by the Political Affairs Committee, and consider that the proposed resolution is a premature initiative in view of the fact that fun-

damental differences exist between the governments of the Member States where this matter is concerned. It should be added that the proposed resolution's call for closer alignment of the legislations in Member States concerning the right to refuse military service is impracticable, because in some of the countries concerned, any amendment of the relevant legal situation in force would require the revision of basic constitutional directives, which presupposes considerable procedural complexity.

Mr President, with particular reference to Greece, and in response to the puzzling attack directed against my country by Mr Schwencke, I would like to make the following comments:

The said conscientious objections are confined, for the moment at any rate, to the followers of the heresy known as 'Jehovah's Witnesses' which contests the right of the State not only to impose compulsory military service, but also to regulate other basic matters. Notwithstanding the reaction of the overwhelming majority of public opinion . . .

President. — Mr Gerokostopoulos, your speaking time is up.

Mrs Desouches (S). — (*FR*) Since I have often witnessed the heartsearching which many young people undergo where military service is concerned, I think that all States should introduce a genuine code for conscientious objectors. And having appeared as a character witness for young people requesting to be accepted as conscientious objectors, I am convinced of the uselessness of an inquisitorial procedure. It is impossible to assess sincerity. Having been pained and scandalized by the implacable way in which some of my colleagues who had returned their military papers were pursued by the courts, and who were saved in the nick of time by the election of François Mitterand, I am in favour of the possibility of requesting objector status after carrying out military service.

For all these reasons, I will vote for the motion for a resolution, although I do have one regret. It is a pity one cannot adjust the length of service, whether civilian or military, to its difficulty, constraints or dangers, excluding all other considerations, instead of speaking of alternative service and military service as opposites, as we are doing.

Mrs Veil (L). — (*FR*) The amendments tabled to this motion do not affect its basic meaning. On the contrary, they no doubt accentuate the principle of solidarity by adding that young people who choose alternative service can perform it in the developing countries.

Therefore, and given that, in response to the wishes of the rapporteur and of the committee which adopted the report by a very large majority, we are certainly discussing this matter within the framework of human rights, I believe we are affirming a right of the individual which is appearing more and more to be an essential right, namely the right to decide for oneself not to bear arms while at the same time remaining loyal to one's country and accepting whatever alternative service that country demands. Under these circumstances I shall vote for this report and will say to an honourable Member who thought this was a question of fringe elements, that the law always intervenes either to protect minorities or to settle special cases.

May I add that I am voting in favour of this report because I think it recognizes the fact that a nation has the right to defend itself, while yet accepting that some individuals may hold an opinion which they are determined to uphold.

(*Applause*)

Mr Hutton (ED). — I have been a parachute soldier in the reserve forces of my country for 19 years. I am one of those unfortunate individuals whom the one-sided disarmers want to send onto the battle-field stripped of any realistic defence against the truly hideous weapons the Warsaw Pact is pointing at us now.

But although I will be prepared to defend my beliefs, my country and my community if they are attacked, I do not believe that anybody should be forced to bear arms if his conscience will not support him. I deeply deplore organized attempts to abuse the right of conscientious objection, and while I am not happy with all the wording of this resolution, I will vote for it to help ensure that this right remains open in our Europe, unlike the dark cynicism and cruelty which surrounds compulsory military service even by schoolchildren in that other Europe behind the wire of the Soviet Empire.

Mr Vankerkhoven (EPP). — (FR) We are asked to confirm the right of conscientious objection out of respect for the conscience of the individual. I as much as anyone in this Parliament believe in the inalienable rights of the individual and the inviolability of conscience, but I also know that enlightened consciences realize that rights also involve duties and that the best way to guarantee respect for the former is not to deny tacitly the existence of the latter. In this respect, the resolution before us suffers from a basic imbalance. It does not refer to our collective duty to defend, where necessary, the national, political and cultural communities of which we are the citizens, the pledges and the heirs. It remains silent about the legitimacy of the moral principles which justify resistance to aggression and which, thanks to the respect for them shown by those who preceded us, enable us to speak freely today in this Chamber. It seems unaware that the manipulation of pacifism and of conscientious objection in our democracies is part of the vast strategy of totalitarian and militarist powers who expertly exploit our noble principles, which they scoff at daily. In doing so, these powers have no other purpose than to undermine our political and moral cohesion in the hope of speeding up our decline and establishing their hegemony. They certainly know that a community which tends more to justify those who . . .

President. — Mr Vankerkhoven, you have gone well over your speaking time.

Mrs Van Hemeldonck (S). — (NL) I welcome the opportunity which the vote on the Macciocchi resolution offers of expressing the distaste of violence of all kinds, and in particular, armed violence, felt by the people on whose behalf I speak in this Parliament. The law cannot and may not replace the conscience of citizens but must rather afford more opportunity for individual expression. This is precisely what the Macciocchi resolution aims to achieve. In these times of economic crisis the social distress is growing ever greater on a world level, there is a chronic shortage of qualified assistants in the developing nations such as teachers, medical and nursing personnel. Is it so strange that young people prefer to offer their help in this context than to fill the Community's military barracks as part of the obligatory military service contingents? In our very own Member States insufficient attention is being paid to the problem of illiteracy, the familiarization of migrant workers with the language and institutions of their adoptive countries, care of the handicapped and the elderly or to equal opportunity for the young. One certainly renders a far better service to one's country and to humanity by providing assistance to ameliorate such suffering in the context of an alternative social community service as opposed to lending one's services to the folly of militarism.

Mr Baillot (COM). — (FR) The report on conscientious objectors deals with an important and complex problem which involves not only the legitimate exercise of the rights of the individual and respect for human rights but also has defence implications. That is to say conscientious objection necessarily implies military service and therefore national defence, of which military service is an essential aspect. So to discuss the status of conscientious objectors here means, willy nilly, to embark on a discussion of policies which lie outside Parliament's terms of reference.

Moreover, the legislations on military service in the ten Member States are different and it is not possible to draw up a common code for the ten Member States. In France, for instance, we have a code for conscientious objectors which takes account of legislation on military service based on compulsory conscription. Studies are now under way with a view to enacting legislation to amend this code and to improving its terms. Nevertheless, these amendments must not prejudice the very principle of military service which is, in our view,

the basis of popular and national defence as defined by Jean Jaurès early this century. Since we do not want to impose our concept of military service and conscientious objection on others, we will not approve Mrs Macciocchi's report. We shall abstain.

Mr Nordmann (L). — (FR) I would have liked to vote in favour of a text based on the freedom of the individual. I shall not do so and shall abstain because of what I see as a serious deficiency in the text.

It is to the honour of liberal societies that they leave very great autonomy to the individual conscience; but it is also to their honour that they establish the principle that there is no liberty without corresponding responsibility. Here, the central issue is that of alternative service. It is the dividing line which can separate a fair text from lax text, since it offers an indisputable means of establishing the conscientious objector's sincerity.

A fair legislation must offer the conscientious objector the right of appeal, but not moral support still less an easy way out. From this aspect, the fifth paragraph of the resolution is inadequate. May I say at once that in the proposed text we are, alas, closer to politics than to mystique. Mystique means dying for an idea, politics living for it. Conscientious objectors have had their martyrs, but there must not be any profiteers from conscientious objection!

Mr Pannella (TCD). — (FR) In defence of this right of freedom of conscience, three secretaries-general of my party have languished in French or Italian military prisons: Jean Fabre, Roberto CiccioMessere and Alberto Gardin. We are grateful that Maria Antonietta Macciocchi, our Socialist comrade, elected by Italian radical electors, has put her name to this resolution which does our Parliament honour.

We have to thank Winston Churchill for pronouncing the definitive words on this subject, during the Nazi bombing in 1941. To those who wanted to restrict the right to conscientious objection he replied that one could only hope to fight and overcome the enemy by asserting against them the freedoms, rights and traditions of our countries.

It is to our Greek socialist comrades, to those others who have adopted a different position, to my friend Beyer de Ryke who instead affirms the right of the State and who, himself a man of culture, makes of conscience a marginal factor, that I recall the resolve expressed in 1941 by the United Kingdom, at a time, I repeat, of Nazi bombings which is still relevant today. In this area too, comrades, we must defend freedom and *a fortiori*, socialism.

Mr Schall (EPP). — (DE) I am giving my explanation of vote on my own behalf, not on behalf of my group. I shall abstain, and would like to explain why. But first I must make it clear that I fully and entirely support the refusal to carry out military service, and therefore logically also armed service, for reasons of conscience, not only as a German citizen loyal to his constitution but also on grounds of personal conviction.

It is for a higher, European reason that I will not vote. Like many Members of this House I am in favour of working together to build a Europe of cultural traditional and national plurality, a Europe in which all this will be settled centrally, once we have achieved our aim of a European Union with its own constitution, executive, legislature and judiciary.

Mr Prag (ED). — I appreciate the spirit and indeed the kindness behind Mrs Macciocchi's report. There is no excuse for the persecution or prosecution of conscientious objectors, for their imprisonment, for their re-arrest when a penalty has been paid or for refusal by a government to grant reasonable alternative service.

But I am afraid, Mr President, that this report spoils its whole case by leaving the realms of realism and going much too far. That is why the Political Affairs Committee rejected it lock, stock and barrel.

Two paragraphs are particularly unrealistic. Paragraph 3 — you cannot subject matters of law solely to the judgement of the individual concerned; there must be a tribunal to judge applications for conscientious objector status.

As regards paragraph 6; if we had, Mr President, a common defence policy; if we had common rules for military service, we might talk about the approximation of legislation; but we do not have either of these. I would be strongly in favour of a European defence policy and then I would be in favour of European legislation on conscientious objection. But in the present circumstances, the whole thing, I am afraid, because of paragraphs 3 and 6, is nonsense. This Parliament merely renders itself ridiculous by such pyrotechnics; of which the Member States will take no notice of whatsoever. That is why I shall vote against it and I hope the Parliament will redeem its reputation by also doing so.

Mr Kallias (PPE), in writing. — (GR) I shall vote against the motion for a resolution contained in the Macciocchi report, for the following reasons:

1. It extends the freedom of religious conscience, in itself fully worthy of respect, to such a large extent that it leads to an unacceptable inequality between citizens in relation to the fulfilment of their obligations, by giving conscientious objectors an unfair advantage.
2. It regards as a penalty any increase in the period of compensatory service, whereas the intention of such a provision is only to equalize the fulfilment of obligations to the State and to society as a whole. In other words, the period of less onerous service is extended to create a fair equivalent to the more onerous service of those who conform with the law.
3. It does nothing to guard against cases where conscientious objection is put forward as an excuse, to avoid the fulfilment of obligations to which all other citizens are subject.
4. Because according to the criteria and the general spirit of the Macciocchi report, some countries could be characterized as contravening human rights, whereas in fact they respect these rights deeply and safeguard them as well as, if not even more substantially than other countries that show less concern about the danger of abusing the privileges accorded to conscientious objectors.

Mr Patterson (ED), in writing. — I am voting for the Macciocchi resolution for two reasons:

I do not consider that the State has the right to coerce an individual into action which conflicts with his or her fundamental beliefs, unless, by refraining from such action, the individual harms or threatens others. Refusal to serve in the armed forces does not, in my opinion, constitute such a harm or threat in present circumstances.

In so far as it is necessary to determine whether such a belief is sincerely held, every attempt must be made to ensure that a case is fairly heard: e.g. through equal legal representation. In the last resort, a matter of individual conscience cannot be proven; but there must always be a presumption of good faith;

Mrs Théobald-Paoli (S), in writing. — (FR) The socialists, like the communists, regard conscientious objection as a right.

Those who, in the name of their own high moral convictions refuse to devote a period of their life to the essential military protection of their country must have the possibility of being released from armed national service.

They must be enabled to exercise their responsibility to protect the social group by other means.

The great merit of Mrs Macciocchi's report is that it is the first official statement of this right in the Community.

Since we share a common destiny, founded on our belief in democratic values, our endeavours must be aimed at approximating the principles underlying the status of conscientious objector in our Member States.

In my view, the procedures for alternative service for conscientious objectors must in no way give the appearance of sanctions. That does not necessarily mean that the duration should be equal to that of active military service, however; in France volunteers who choose to carry out their military obligations by working on cooperation projects in the scientific or health field, or by teaching abroad, serve nearly 18 months instead of the prescribed 12. These candidates, who are in general very eager and feel enriched by the task entrusted to them, do not complain.

So, for the conscientious objector, alternative service must never be interpreted or felt as a sanction, nor as a privilege.

**PRUVOT REPORT (DOC. 1-686/82
'Goose-cramming'): ADOPTED**

The rapporteur was:

- IN FAVOUR of Amendment No 5;
- AGAINST Amendment No 1.

Explanations of vote

Mr Eisma (NI). — (NL) It is most regrettable that the various animal protection societies throughout the Community, such as the Dutch 'Animal Lovers Foundation' ('Stichting lekker dier') only forwarded their data to the Parliament at the last minute. They have nevertheless been given an opportunity of bringing to the attention of the Members of this House the untold animal suffering caused by goose-cramming for the production of foie gras. This was made possible largely thanks to the decision (albeit unwittingly) of the rapporteur to ask for the vote to be held over for one month. We therefore regret that there is so far no sign of majority support for the animal protection supporters' arguments. Nevertheless we still hope that a majority of the House will join with us in rejecting the Pruvot report.

Mr Moreland (ED). — I shall be voting for Mrs Pruvot's report.

Perhaps I can tell Mrs Pruvot that as Mr Newton Dunn and myself voted consistently for the majority position throughout, she can thank Mr Newton Dunn and myself for the way the voting has gone so far!

My view is consistent with my previous position on animal welfare issues, but I must say that there is a question that should be put to the majority in this debate. Is it consistent with their position on animal welfare issues, and I refer in particular to their position on seal culling? Now some Members may say: Ah, but culling seal pups is more cruel. Maybe, maybe not. All I would have thought is that if you look at the wide range of reports on both subjects, you cannot come down on one side or other and say one is distinctly more cruel than the other. But there is a more important aspect. Outsiders will say that the real difference in this debate is that one issue is within the Community, the other outside the Community, and that that is what has determined the votes on those particular issues. Canadian observers, for example, have noted that the Council took a decision on harp seals but not on Mediterranean seals. Here we are dealing with an issue in the land of chauvinism.

So I ask this House to be a little bit consistent in the future. I think Mrs Pruvot's report is right. I happen to think the Maij-Weggen report was wrong, but I hope that the lesson is that we must concentrate on conservation issues in animals and not animal welfare.

Mr Spencer (ED). — Mr President, I shall ignore the trivial cynicism of Mr Moreland's reasons for voting against this report. I would merely point out to colleagues that he signed my amendment and therefore chose to cast his vote in a way that would maximize the interests of Canadian seal clubbers.

On the actual question of substance, I shall not make any comments of my own but confine myself to giving the House the comments of the French Society for the Defence of Animals. I am only a Briton, and if I quote a French society in this matter, it might carry more impact.

Firstly, this report flies in the face of the European Convention on the Protection of Food Animals. Secondly, we could feed 1.4 million children in the world on the grain which we choose to turn into this delicacy. Thirdly, and this is a direct quotation from a publication of the Société nationale pour la défense des animaux: 'Those geese and ducks that do not die of a burst gizzard, infection, heart disease or cirrhosis are slaughtered when dying. As soon as the animal, now crippled and lying on its bedding, emits a sort of rattling in the throat from its half-opened beak, that is the sign that it is time to sacrifice it'. That is taken not from a piece of propaganda against this practice, but from a manual supporting it.

Mr President, after the closeness of some of these votes, we shall be back!

Mr Saby (S). — (*FR*) Mrs Pruvot's report is excellent and in my view the arguments put forward against it are more sentimental than sensible, more inclined to fantasy and esotericism than to serious scientific knowledge of the animal kingdom. If we had to obey all the supporters of these arguments about the mineral and vegetable kingdom, we would have to prohibit miners from digging in coal mines on the pretext of protecting the animal kingdom. What frivolity, Mr President!

But to come back to reality. The reality is that man today has not found a way of feeding tens of millions of humans and that he is responsible for this situation.

In this context, there is a region of France, the Midi-Pyrenees region, where 29 000 family smallholders live off the production of foie gras, without doing any injury to the animal kingdom. I am saying this loud and clear! Since speakers have referred to food chains, may I say that the goose is a product worth considering in a smallholding wishing to reward family labour and transform the cereals crop into finished products. That is the reality! So, no sentimentality, which would dishonour our Parliament; let us assume our responsibilities, both in the economic and in the human field!

Mr Gautier (S). — (*FR*) Ladies and gentlemen, I will vote against this report with pleasure. Personally I consider the whole business a 'holier than thou' procedure. If this Parliament had got three million signatures against goose-cramming, the opportunists in this House, opposite me, — I happen to see Mr Bangemann there — would probably immediately be against it. So I think we should be a little more consistent.

When one reads that the geese are actually yearning to be crammed so full that their livers become diseased, one can only laugh, as I do. Then people talk of culture and tradition, which must be respected. Does this also apply to shooting birds, culling seals and so on? When it is a question of the Member States' material interests, it becomes clear that most of the people in this House couldn't care two hoots about animal protection, as can be seen from the example of battery hens and now of goose-cramming.

We shall take note of this and bring it up when other members of the Christian-Democratic or Liberal benches once again harangue their voters about animal protection.

Mr Forth (ED). — I would draw the House's attention to the fact that this matter arose from a resolution first tabled in October 1980 and was considered very carefully by the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection in June and September 1982 and was then adopted unanimously.

But more important than that for me, Mr President, is paragraph 2, to which I would draw colleagues' attention, I would particularly draw the attention of my British colleagues to paragraph 2 because it recognizes the great importance that many people in the Community attach to the value of particular national cultural differences and traditions. I know, as all my colleagues know, that one of the things which concerns them and their constituents most about membership of the Community is what people wrongly see as the threat of the Community to individual national traditions, characteristics and cultures. I am delighted to see that this report recognizes these differences, and long may it be so. It is for this reason that I am going to vote wholeheartedly for the Pruvot report because I believe that it is this matter more than any other which is of importance as much to British people as to anyone else. We must never put ourselves in the position of setting the Community up as a body which will interfere gratuitously and unnecessarily in very deeply felt and deeply rooted national cultures and traditions. This report, I think recognizes that, and I therefore welcome it and I will vote for it with great joy.

Mrs Seibel-Emmerling (S). — *(DE)* I will vote against this report and I greatly regret that the rapporteur did not agree with the proposal that it be referred back to the committee.

It was said in the committee that this report came from the animal protectionists in the Council of Europe, who did not consider the method of cramming as harmful to animals. But now we know that this report was not drawn up by all the animal protection organizations but only by a small number. This alone would have been reason enough to withdraw the report.

I very much regret this and for the rest I agree with Mr Gautier's explanation of vote. This Parliament cannot urge the protection of animals in far distant countries, such as seals, while tolerating a system in the Community which some of our countries, thank God, have already condemned.

Mrs Weber (S). — *(DE)* The European Parliament has won a name for itself in combating cruelty to animals. We have protested with all our might against the killing of baby seals to satisfy the luxury tastes of a few.

Geese are crammed purely to satisfy the luxury needs of some few individuals. I do not think we can allow the culinary eccentricities of a few people in the Community to be satisfied. That has nothing to do with normal consumption. I have once again put pictures in your files showing the cramming methods and the torments these animals have to suffer.

Those Members of this House who have opposed a long-standing tradition of the Canadian people must not of course, now vote in favour of cramming just because it is a French tradition. We should be consistent. For the rest I hope this Chamber will embark on an equally committed debate when cruelty to humans is at issue.

Mrs Squarcialupi. — *(IT)* It is always nice to see a Parliament become enthusiastic in the course of a debate, even if the object of this enthusiasm proves to be disappointing on closer examination. Neither would it be desirable for this Parliament to be divided into good members and bad members, according to their positions on a certain issue.

In reality, the confrontation taking place in this Parliament has become a clash between industrial civilization and agricultural civilization. It is true that the latter does not commonly handle animals with kid gloves, but it is equally true that the former is no gentler in its treatment of human beings.

Although I do not agree with some of the views expressed, I will vote in favour of Mrs Pruvot's report, for I am familiar with the ways of agricultural society. I would like to conclude with a question, however: when Spain becomes a member of the Community, do we intend to abolish bull-fighting?

(Applause)

Mr Marshall (ED), in writing. — I believe I am one of a small minority in this House. I have *seen* the force-feeding of geese and ducks. What I saw so upset me that I am no longer able to eat *paté de foie gras*. I believe that the force-feeding of geese does involve unacceptable hardships to the birds involved and should therefore be banned. That is why I believe the Spencer amendment was right and why I shall vote against the Pruvot report.

Mrs Pery (S), in writing. — (FR) Foie gras is part of our culture. It began millennia ago on the shores of the Nile. The Egyptians fattened their geese and passed on this tradition to the Greeks and the Romans.

The breeding and cramming of geese was introduced into France towards the fifteenth century. The preparation of carefully cooked foie gras began in the nineteenth century, in Strasbourg!

French production of fresh foie gras is concentrated in the south-west. Of the 2 000 tonnes produced in 1979/80, 97% came from Aquitaine and the Midi-Pyrenees region.

This helps 2 000 smallholders to live in regions where farming is difficult, and helps maintain a number of jobs in our region.

The Council of Europe's committee of experts found no evidence of cruelty in the breeding of geese by cramming, when it observed cramming techniques and visited farms.

Cramming is an operation which objectively consists of exploiting the goose's natural predisposition towards bulimia. So there is no reason to prohibit or curtail this production, especially since one third of the foie gras is imported.

Imports nearly quadrupled between 1968 and 1980, half of them from Hungary. Japan is beginning to become a formidable competitor. In the north of Japan, goose rearing is carried out with breeds imported from France.

So I will vote in favour of this report for the four reasons I have set out.

Mrs Poirier (COM), in writing. — (FR) I welcome the fact that the amendment tabled by the English Conservatives has been rejected.

The abolition of goose-cramming would in fact mean the end of family undertakings where foie gras makes a vital contribution to agricultural incomes.

Our amendments were aimed at improving the Pruvot report by insisting on the economic importance of this commodity, by calling for its development and by providing better protection against imports so as to ensure adequate returns for family producers.

All our amendments were not adopted. But I welcome the fact that, on the basis of our proposal, harmonization in any form was rejected and an undertaking was given to improve scientific research in this area.

So far, so good.

It only remains to adopt the Committee on the Environment's motion for a resolution.

ANNEX II

Commission action on European Parliament opinions delivered on Commission proposals at the December 1982 and January 1983 part-sessions

This is an account, as arranged with the Bureau of Parliament, of the action taken by the Commission in respect of amendments proposed at the December 1982 and January 1983 part-sessions in the framework of parliamentary consultation, and of disaster aid granted.

A. *Commission proposals to which Parliament proposed amendments that the Commission has accepted in whole or in part*
(December 1982 and January 1983 part-sessions)

1. Report by Mr Moreau: Resolution closing the parliamentary consultation procedure on the proposal for a decision empowering the Commission to contract NCI loans with a view to promoting investment within the Community.

On 13 January 1983 the Commission forwarded to the Council an amended proposal embodying some changes which Parliament had called for, as it had indicated it would do at the debate on 15 December 1982.

2. Report by Mr von Wogau: Resolution closing the parliamentary consultation procedure on the Commission proposals to the Council for

- I. a Directive on simplifying formalities and checks in the carriage of goods between Member States.

The Commission plans to submit a proposal under Article 149 EEC amending its proposal for a Directive on simplifying formalities and checks in the carriage of goods between Member States, the new proposal embodying some changes called for by Parliament.

Parliament will be informed in due course.

- II. a Regulation on simplifying formalities in intra-Community trade,
 - a Regulation amending Regulation (EEC) No 2102/77 introducing a Community export declaration form,
 - a Regulation amending for the fifth time Regulation (EEC) No 222/77 on Community transit.

The Commission plans to submit to the Council under Article 149, 2nd para EEC a proposal making to its original proposal the amendments desired by Parliament, save

- that to Article 4 (2), which could pose more legal problems than it resolved, although in substance the Commission agrees with Parliament's aim,
- that to Article 8, which in the Commission's view has more properly to do with the rules of application of Article 10 of the Regulation,
- that to Article 14 (3), which raises an institutional problem needing to be dealt with in a more general framework.

Parliament will be informed in due course.

3. Report by Mr Ruffolo: Resolution closing the parliamentary consultation procedure on the proposal for a Directive on the supervision of credit institutions on a consolidated basis

An amended proposal has been drawn up in the light of Parliament's opinion; it was adopted by the Commission on 25 January 1983 and forwarded to the Council and to Parliament for information.

4. Report by Mr Notenboom: Resolution closing the parliamentary consultation procedure on
- I. the proposal from the Commission of the European Communities to the Council (COM(82)412 final) for a Regulation (EEC, Euratom, ECSC) amending and extending Regulation (EEC, Euratom, ECSC) No 2892/77 implementing in respect of own resources accruing from value-added tax the Decision of 21 April 1970 on the replacement of financial contributions from Member States by the Communities' own resources;
 - II. the proposal from the Commission of the European Communities to the Council (COM(82)316 final) for a Regulation (ECSC, EEC, Euratom) amending Regulation (EEC, Euratom, ECSC) No 2891/77 implementing the Decision of 21 April 1970 on the replacement of financial contributions from Member States by the Communities' own resources.

The amending proposals are in preparation, and the Commission expects to adopt them in February.

5. Report by Mr Schinzel: Resolution closing the parliamentary consultation procedure on the Commission proposal to the Council for a Regulation on loans for projects under prospecting programmes for non-energy mineral raw materials in Member States' territories.

The Commission has decided to submit an amended proposal for the above Regulation to the Council. Parliament will be informed in due course.

The procedure is in progress.

B. *Commission proposals to which Parliament proposed amendments that the Commission has not felt able to accept*

6. Report by Mr Vgenopoulos: Resolution closing the parliamentary consultation procedure on the Commission proposal to the Council for a Regulation amending Regulation No 136/66/EEC setting up a common organization of the markets in fats and olive oil.

Though the Commission has not felt able to accept Parliament's proposed amendments, hon. Members may care to note the following with regard to particular items in the Resolution.

Para 6

The Commission is aware of the problems in this connection, and is currently considering what more can be done to ensure effective monitoring.

Para 10

The Commission will very shortly be proposing to the Council as part of the Mediterranean integrated programme measures for the restructuring and if necessary reconversion of Community olive-growing.

Para 11

A first publicity campaign to promote consumption of olive oil has already been arranged by the Commission and is now in progress, a good deal of it devoted to impressing on the consumer the nutritional value of the product. Another campaign is to follow, starting in the spring of 1983.

7. Report by Mrs Squarzialupi: Resolution closing the parliamentary consultation procedure on the Commission proposal for a draft Directive on limiting noise from helicopters

The Commission does not feel able to amend its proposal as urged by Parliament, nor can it go along with the suggestion that the implementation of the Directive should be decided without reference to the Community. In its view, to leave out of the Directive any provision as to when it was to take effect and to have standards vary from Member State to

Member State would so detract from the advantages of the internal market as to be gravely prejudicial to the future of the sector concerned: environmental aims and technical progress in helicopter design and manufacture should be pursued by way of the single European market.

It undertakes, however, to do its utmost to ensure that any change in the ICAO standard for helicopter noise consequent on technical development and economic constraints is allowed for in the Directive.

C. *Commission proposals in respect of which Parliament delivered favourable opinions or did not request formal amendment*

8. Report by Mr von Wogau: Resolution closing the parliamentary consultation procedure on the Commission communication on the 1982 customs union programme.

1. As concerns para 2 of the Resolution, the Commission will shortly be submitting a report to the Council on tax allowances accorded to private individuals, in which the whole subject of tax allowances will be gone into in detail.
2. As concerns para 6, the Commission on 17 January 1983 sent the Council its report on the transitional provisions applying in connection with the common VAT system.
3. As concerns the points in paras 7 and 9, the Commission would stress that Article 28 (5) of the Sixth Directive cannot be implemented until the principle of taxing intra-Community passenger transport has been accepted in all the Member States.

The principle of taxing in the country of departure presupposes not only discontinuing present exemptions but discontinuing zero-rating.

Unless and until this looks like happening, it would be premature for the Commission to submit a proposal on the procedures for implementing a principle that will only become fully meaningful when temporary departures from it are no more.

D. *Disaster aid provided since the last part-session*

I. *Emergency aid within the Community*

300 000 ECU for landslide victims at Ancona, Italy

II. *Emergency aid to third countries*

a. Financial aid

100 000 ECU for flood victims in Ecuador
 500 000 ECU for drought and civil-war victims in Chad
 150 000 ECU for victims of Cyclone Elinah in the Comoros
 500 000 ECU for expellees from Nigeria

b. Food aid

1 350 tonnes flour for earthquake victims in Yemen
 300 tonnes milk for drought victims in Swaziland
 5 000 tonnes cereals for Mauritania (destruction of harvests)
 5 000 tonnes cereals for flood victims in Ecuador

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IN THE CHAIR: MR DANKERT

President

(The sitting opened at 9 a.m.)

1. Approval of Minutes

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

Are there any comments?

Mr Seitlinger (EPP). — (FR) Mr President, my dear colleagues, the oral question with debate addressed to the Council which I was privileged to put down on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party was originally on the agenda for this morning. Yesterday we were informed that it had been put back to a later sitting. I appreciate that this does not necessarily mean that it will be adjourned *sine die*, but nor does it afford any guarantee that we will be allowed to put it at the next part-session in March. Mr President, I know that you personally are aware how urgent this question is. If it does not receive attention soon, it will be too late. I am therefore relying on you to ensure that it is given time at the next part-session in March and also that conciliation between the Council and Parliament at last becomes effective in the meantime.

President. — Mr Seitlinger, your statement has been noted. Tomorrow the enlarged Bureau will draw up

the agenda for the March part-session. Your comment will be considered at that time.¹

(Parliament approved the Minutes)

2. Commission: Sixteenth General Report and the programme of work for 1983

President. — The next item is the presentation of the Sixteenth General Report of the Commission on the activities of the Community in 1982 and the presentation of the annual programme of work of the Commission for 1983.

Mr Thorn, President of the Commission. — (FR) When the President of the Commission addresses Parliament in February, he traditionally takes stock of the past year and sets out the Commission's programme for the year ahead. I propose to break with that tradition this year. The parlous economic and social situation, the bleak prospects, the plethora of problems and challenges facing the Community — not least, the situation created when the supplementary and amending budget for 1982 was rejected last December — all compel me to adopt a different approach.

I shall therefore dispense with the time-honoured new-year speech. In any case you are all familiar with what the Commission is doing, and those of you who care to question me on any particular point will have a chance to do so during this debate or other debates.

¹ Topical and urgent debate (Announcement): See Minutes.

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Nor am I going to take you through all the problems considered in the programme of Commission business for 1983.

Instead, my colleagues and I have chosen to focus on what to our mind is the top priority for the Member States and the Community alike: the need, as we see it, for us to improve our performance in the fight against unemployment and industrial decline by exploiting the European dimension, common disciplines and Community solidarity.

We have deliberately chosen this approach, for in the present grave economic climate neither Parliament nor the Commission can afford to devote all its attention to the budget problem — though I will be returning to that in a moment. It is a time of great concern to 270 million Europeans whom you represent and for whom we have a responsibility.

The expected economic recovery in 1982, which would have eased our minds, did not take place. Instead a further deepening of the recession and associated unemployment brought the jobless total to 12 million. This figure is higher than the entire population of several of our Member States. If this deterioration continues in 1983 — and it probably will — we will be talking in a year's time of 14 million out of work, and a high proportion of them will be young. Together with their families this adds up to the fifth largest State of the Community. And it would seem that in some families there are already fathers and sons out of work. Investment is declining at a time when more investment is urgently needed, while Japan and the United States have created far more new jobs than we have. Incomes in real terms have fallen again. World trade has declined this year. Everywhere prospects for growth in 1983 are poor. We are in danger of being dragged into a spiral of economic decline leading we know not where.

Today 270 million Europeans are looking to the Community for more constructive action. We cannot let them down.

The battle against unemployment and industrial decline is a battle for the future of our nations and the future of the European idea. Our performance to date is disappointing, especially when compared with that of the United States or Japan. Europe's economic growth is lower, and the Community seems incapable of creating new jobs. Only in Europe is unemployment rising for the eleventh year running. Not so very long ago a clear-sighted economist said that we could live with 5%, or perhaps 10% unemployment, but not for more than 5 years. The pattern of the Community's external trade in manufactured goods shows just how far Europe is lagging behind the Americans and the Japanese in some of tomorrow's industries.

I doubt whether there is a simple explanation for all this. But there is every reason to believe that we are

not making full use of the scope offered by the European dimension and Community solidarity, despite the fact that this is one of the keys to success. The Community can still hope to succeed where individual Member States are bound to fail. Today, to paraphrase President Mitterand, fate hangs in the balance. It is time to press forward, to decide on a strategy which would allow the Community to beat the crisis, by making its own special contribution and creating a multiplier effect to enhance action by the Member States, and thus hold out new hope for our economic future.

This is what I will attempt to do here today. But let us be realistic. I cannot claim that all the unemployed would find jobs tomorrow if the Commission's proposals were applied. On the contrary. There is a long, hard journey ahead of us. The Commission is not going to rush headlong into action. It has been aware of the economic and social crisis, and of the limits to the Community's role, for some time. We are not advocating a miracle cure, nor do we propose bowing to the inevitable and accepting our poor performance. In short, we are preaching neither revolution, nor resignation.

At a time when the slightest *faux pas* could be fatal, we must be careful not to rock the boat and, above all, not to precipitate a Community crisis. What I am saying on the Commission's behalf is this: because so much is at stake, the fight against unemployment and industrial decline must be central to our strategy, for, given our role and our limited resources compared with those of the individual Member States our main concern is that of determining strategy. It merits top priority, and it will be the acid test of our countries' ability to exploit and develop the Community which is their creation. The survival of the Community as a venture with future potential will depend on its ability to manage the crisis. That is why the Commission is telling this House, and through it the people of Europe, that it is on this ground that the Community must demonstrate that it is capable of getting to grips with a vital priority. Our ambition is to do just this. It is for each and every one of us to accept the consequences of this choice, which puts the European debate back in the centre of the social and political stage and of the everyday aspirations of our people. Between the Community's internal functional problems on the one hand and the fight for survival of our fellow citizens on the other, it is not difficult to identify the priority areas.

*
* *

With regard to the Community's contribution to the fight against unemployment and industrial decline the Commission has always maintained that if we are to return to growth without refuelling inflation, productive investment must be at the heart of our strategy. As you are aware, the Commission has been driving home

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this point for years now. If Europe does not obey this fundamental imperative it will never pull out of the economic crisis which is assailing it and rebuild a modern, competitive economy.

Investment is the only lasting solution to the problem of unemployment; investment is the key to technological development; investment is the key to improving the Community's competitiveness and getting industry moving again. So we have three good reasons for making investment the focal point of our efforts in the 1980s.

The Community has an indispensable role of its own to play here. It offers a continental dimension and a large internal market, a consistent framework, shared disciplines and specific budgetary and financial instruments. This is not a bad start.

The Community's contribution must be based on simultaneous action in five priority areas. These are improving the economic and social environment, completing and consolidating the single market, rebuilding Europe's industrial strength, reinforcing the Community's budgetary and financial instruments, and finally improving the international climate.

On the matter of improving the economic and social environment our first objective here must be a higher degree of convergence between the economic strategies of the Member States. This is not a new objective, but it has been all too rarely attained because of doctrinal differences between the Member States. Yet compatible strategies are essential in present circumstances. The business world needs to be convinced that the Community is determined to overcome the crisis. Otherwise national policies will lack credibility.

The degree of economic interdependence between the Member States is now such that no one can harbour any illusions about the chances of isolated national action proving successful. In the annual report recently laid before you, the Commission highlighted the need to work together to exploit the available room for manoeuvre in an attempt to stimulate growth and thereby halt the rise in unemployment.

I am pleased to see that, although the great fight against inflation has not been abandoned, the possibility of more active support for economic activity, albeit in different forms in different countries, is gradually becoming a central theme of the economic debate. The Commission undertakes to translate words into joint action in 1983, the latter to take shape in the course of the European Councils scheduled for 1983.

I welcome your decision to set up a working party to examine the causes of unemployment and devise remedies. I fully share your concern; and if you want the Commission's help, you have only to ask.

The second point I would like to make is that better use of public funds is central to improvement of the

economic situation. Public expenditure in the Community has reached very high levels, around 50% of GDP. Attempts to contain it have tended to depress investment expenditure, since it is easier to cancel a motorway project than to question the volume and structure of current expenditure. I am not suggesting that we go back on social progress. I am well aware of the plight of the poorer sections of our society. But when we give consumption and certain forms of social protection priority over productive infrastructure, we are pandering to the comfort of the current generation and handing the bill to generations to come. As I see it, our inability to think of the future in our public spending decisions is an alarming manifestation of society's overriding concern to protect and preserve the *status quo*.

There must be a shift in public expenditure towards investment programmes that make for economic development. The same thinking should guide aids to industry. All too often aid is used to preserve outmoded structures, slowing down the process of adaptation that is sorely needed, and undermining efforts to create new jobs.

Need I say that there will be no revival of private investment if there is no prospect that it will be profitable. Changes in the tax system could be helpful here.

My third point is that convergence also depends on the European Monetary System. Here we have a framework in which we can display our solidarity and exercise the necessary discipline, and the foundation for a coordinated economic policy. The businessman can look to the EMS for the security and stability that mean so much to him.

Consolidation of the EMS remains one of the Commission's major objectives. The EMS has yielded closer monetary cooperation and stability of exchange rates, and this has done much to protect intra-Community trade from upheavals elsewhere.

Consolidation means both conserving what has already been achieved and expanding the system. Full participation by sterling and the drachma would bring the Community closer to attaining its objective — the establishment of an area of monetary stability in Europe.

(Applause)

Those Europeans who call for a greater degree of security and solidarity would do well to bear that in mind right now. In March last year the Commission put forward proposals for strengthening the EMS. They concerned improvements to the machinery, achievement of a higher degree of convergence, promotion of the ECU and currency cooperation with non-member countries. This House supported them, but the Council threw them out. The Commission is sticking to its guns, and still hopes to see its proposals

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adopted so that progress towards final establishment of the system can be made in 1983. We are mindful of the fact that the intermediate stage cannot be allowed to last too long, for there is a danger that the system will degenerate into an empty ritual — all procedure and no substance. Our immediate objective must be to consolidate what we have already achieved. I have given you an idea of how we can do this.

Incidentally, I am very pleased that one of the measures recommended in March 1982 — increased private use of the ECU — is beginning to emerge in the form we proposed with your support. The ECU now ranks as the fourth most important currency on the Euro-bond market. The market has thus recognized Europe's monetary identity; it is up to us to formalize it.

In support of this trend, the Commission will soon be putting forward ideas for integrating the European capital market.

Now I come to my fourth area of concern: access to employment, especially for young people; vocational training; and working conditions.

May I say again that investment and growth are essential to a solution of the unemployment problem. But various ancillary measures can and must be taken at the same time. Let me describe three of them.

The fight against youth unemployment. We must never lose sight of one fundamental consideration: unemployment is not only a waste of economic resources, it is also, and above all, a social problem. How can we come to terms with a society which denies people, especially young people, the dignity of earning their living? We are all aware that young people are particularly hard hit by unemployment. They must have first claim on our attention, and we must respond by introducing schemes to ease their transition to working life. Our main objective is still to protect the 16 to 18-year-olds from the painful experience of unemployment. The Commission has already tried to do something about this in its proposal to the Council last October regarding the review of the Social Fund and in its draft resolution on vocational training policies. It will also propose an expansion of aids to youth employment by the end of March this year.

A greater vocational training effort is called for in the light of technical change which confronts workers with a difficult process of adaptation. The process will be eased if governments come up with the requisite resources and infrastructure, in particular for vocational training. This is the price we have to pay if those affected are to accept change. The Commission would therefore urge Member States to step up their training programmes.

As to the reorganization of working time, this can help improve the employment situation if it is handled

properly. But if we are to succeed — and we are determined to do so — we must proceed with caution, otherwise the sole outcome could be a decline in competitiveness. Economically we have suffered considerably in recent years through an unduly rigid attitude; we must take care to guard against ill-considered generalizations, flexibility being the order of the day. The Commission's intention will henceforth be that of guiding the discussions with and between management and labour with a view to laying the groundwork at Community level for an agreement between Member States on the reorganization of working time.

With regard to the completion of the internal market, the existence of such a large, fully-unified market would be a decisive factor in rebuilding Europe's industrial strength. Every industry stands to gain from the resulting economies of scale and from the security provided by access to such a vast market. Every business, large or small, stands to gain. It would be a boon for small firms in particular, for with their more limited means and fewer connections they are more vulnerable to the discriminations and hazards which menace them in a fragmented market.

The great advantage of a unified market is conspicuous by its absence. As matters stand today, too many industrialists are wary of organizing themselves on a European scale because of discrimination in public procurement, standards and financial incentives, and yet they are exposed to competition from groups based outside the Community.

As a result Community firms are tempted to adopt a different strategy, regarding the other Member States as foreign markets, albeit closer and more familiar than most, and cooperating with non-Community firms in groupings which, while relegating them to a subordinate role, at least give them access to the international market where, paradoxically, they enjoy greater security than on the Community market because of their alliances. If the Community is to break this vicious circle, it must resolve to bring the process of unifying its internal market to rapid completion.

(Applause)

Must one remind our fellow citizens that 'common market' means more than simply 'foreign market'. Only if they are convinced that this is being done will businessmen, seeing that national markets are being opened up to them, change their strategies. Then and only then will we see European firms coming closer together and forming groups, which without reducing competition within the Community, are powerful enough to escape the grip of large corporations elsewhere. This is also the way to give small and medium-sized undertakings the stability and security without which they cannot hope to flourish.

Hence the Commission's primary objective at the beginning of this year is to win the battle of the inter-

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nal market. The Commission has already made a large number of proposals in fields of particular concern to the business world, some 80 in all: technical barriers, public procurement, company law and the free movement of people and services. Given the Council's inability to act on these proposals, the Commission recently selected approximately 30 priority areas on which it asked for early decisions. Although this battle is not won, indeed far from it, there is an increasing awareness among the heads of State and government of the need for action in this area. The Copenhagen European Council recognized the value of this procedure, and the Council is now holding meetings with agendas devoted entirely to the internal market. The first such meeting was held at the beginning of this month, with promising results. The Commission will attempt to have the decisions concluding this first phase taken quickly; then, by the end of 1984, it hopes to secure the removal of technical barriers to trade, the liberalization of public procurement, free movement of the principal services, decisive progress towards creating a European context for business activity, and relaxation of frontier formalities. We are relying on the European Parliament to seize every opportunity in order to underline the necessity of completing this task.

(Applause)

Concerning the third priority area, that of rebuilding Europe's industrial strength, it should be stressed that apart from completing the common market we also need to implement a Community industrial strategy which gives the same kind of impetus to the process of modernizing industry as the abolition of customs duties and establishment of a common external tariff did in their day. If we do this, Community preference will at last become a reality.

We can strengthen our industrial base in three ways: by breaking new ground and developing our strong points, by reorganizing our basic industries, and by securing independence for our energy supplies.

If we are to break new ground and develop our strong points we must first make a great effort on research and development, which in turn means exploiting the European dimension in order to master the new technologies and take our share of emerging world demand. With this in mind we have drawn up an R & D outline programme for the period from 1984 to 1987, covering all national and Community initiatives. We are planning a budget of 4 000 million ECU, which will be channelled towards technological development and increased competitiveness. I think I can say that never before have Community research programmes been so coherently and clearly directed towards investment promotion and hence job creation. The Commission has also developed the ESPRIT programme or, to give it its full title, the European Scientific Programme of Research in Information Technology. ESPRIT is a programme financed jointly by

industry and the Community which links the best R & D teams from the European giants and the most dynamic small and medium-sized undertakings. The Community has done what no Member State could hope to do — it has got major European companies from different countries to work together. If this original concept is properly implemented it could serve as a model for closer cooperation in other areas. But this will depend to a great extent on the Council's ability to keep pace with the Commission and industry. The main ESPRIT programme will have to be approved no less quickly than the pilot projects, which means by the summer.

In 1983 we will concentrate on biotechnology, where we will adopt a similar approach. Commission proposals can be expected by the end of June this year at the latest.

Rapid progress should, and indeed can be made, in telecommunications this year. The time is coming when Member States will no longer be able to reject Community strategy in an attempt to keep their national preserves, principally through public procurement. We are all guilty in this respect. These are too vulnerable and at the mercy of stronger competitors. If Member States do not relinquish their national preserves in favour of a Community programme, we shall soon have neither the one nor the prospect of the other. And we will have lost a vital part of our independence and prosperity. Is it not a sorry spectacle to behold the Community's foremost industries winning public procurement orders in non-Community States while being denied them by other Community Member States?

Reorganization of our basic industries is the second condition for industrial revival. This is every bit as important as breaking new ground. One offers hope, the other will restore confidence.

The Community is fully committed to restructuring the iron and steel industry, and it must be realized that we have only been able to embark on this in an orderly and economical manner by working on a European scale. You have already approved the broad outlines of our strategy on iron and steel so there is no need for me to go into it here. But let us not be under any illusions: the remedies for our ills will be painful themselves. 1983 already looks like being the worst year ever in terms of production, a year in which output will drop to that of the first year of the ECSC. And in addition to the quota system that is currently operating, we shall have to make a very great restructuring effort if we are to restore equilibrium. It will require considerable sacrifice and attention for otherwise the efforts made heretofore will be jeopardized and will have to be renewed.

The Commission will issue a directive on the various Member State restructuring plans for the iron and steel industry before the end of June. At such a critical

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moment it behoves us to be mindful of both the human element and the decline of the steel-making regions. Consequently it intends to provide two indispensable types of support for such regions.

One will be a four-year programme of social measures for steelworkers costing 300 million ECU. The broad lines of this programme were approved recently. The other will promote conversion in steel-making areas using loans and grants to create jobs, especially in small and medium-sized undertakings.

The Community must not skimp on funds for this project. It must bear part of the financial burden imposed by the rules it lays down. It accepts its responsibility in full.

The third point I would like to make on the revitalization of industry is that we must introduce a Community energy strategy. This is a priority sector, if ever there was one, given the Community's dependence and the lack of proportion between what the Community needs and what the Council has decided so far.

The Commission and Parliament have jointly fixed the objectives. The time has now come for action.

Last December the Council at long last recognized that the case for coal needs to be looked into again. Now that it has obtained this initial response after fifteen years of silence, the Commission will present an outline strategy for solid fuels this month. Concerning the rational use of energy it is hardly necessary to underline the increasing need, in a period of falling oil prices, for care in the use of energy, for a variety of reasons, economic, industrial and energy-related.

Admittedly this drop in price does ease the burden on importing countries and demonstrates the strength of the market economy. Indeed I cannot understand why some people are complaining. But this respite will set us up for fresh disasters if we fail to develop our own energy potential. Our task must be to stave off a third oil shock. There are a number of relevant proposals before the Council: support for investment in the rational use of energy, increase in research to develop our potential, support for industrial development by means of a programme of demonstration projects, continuation of the loans policy, especially in the nuclear sector.

For far too long the Community's energy policy has been confined to encouraging words.

The Commission's proposals for energy programmes of Community interest in the United Kingdom and Germany show what could be done in the Community and for the Community if we had adequate funds. Once the supplementary budget is adopted, who in the Council could dispute the need for an energy strategy? This is the context in which this House ought to approach the debate on the supplementary budget.

This new situation should be the starting point for a new policy. In 1984 the Commission could then replace projects of Community interest by a Community policy.

On the matter of reinforcing the Community's budgetary and financial instruments the Commission intends to mobilize its budgetary and financial resources in support of investment and job creation. However, there is no point in having more money available if we do not overhaul the instruments through which it is channelled, the Regional and Social Funds for example. This effort must also be closely coordinated with national programmes and objectives so that those fitting into a Community approach can be given priority support.

The main features of the Community's budgets in the years to come will be as follows:

Expenditure on innovation, research and development will have to be doubled in real terms within five years at the most. It will then be possible to continue or speed up work in progress and launch new projects with the Member States.

The first task in connection with infrastructures is to draw up a transport infrastructure plan and programme of Community interest. The Community's budgetary and loan instruments will be put to work around this programme and within the framework of a common transport policy.

The Commission shares your disappointment at the Council's failure to act in this area.

We must now seize the opportunity to relaunch the integration of the common market in the context of a common transport policy while respecting economic and geographic differences inherent to the Member States. With this aim in mind it is vital to attain an immediate relaxation to be followed by the ultimate removal of existing barriers and the Commission intends to present proposals in four overall directions before the end of September. The first of these is a programme of cooperation in rail transport. Secondly we must remove protectionist measures in road transport, especially among the Member States. Thirdly we must introduce a greater degree of free trade in air transport and finally we must initiate a multiannual master programme on transport infrastructure.

For structural expenditure in general, the Commission will propose that expenditure from a Regional Fund and a Social Fund reflecting our proposals be doubled in real terms over a five-year period. Operations backed by the EAGGF Guidance Section and programmes for the Mediterranean area will receive a similar stimulus. The proposal for integrated Mediterranean programmes has already been subjected to an initial scrutiny and will be presented at the end of this month. It is true that we are running late, but this is

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simply due to the volume and complexity of the work required in drafting coherent and effective proposals. Our desire is to grant the best possible aid to these areas which deserve a special display of solidarity.

Finally, for energy, apart from mobilization of the Community loan instruments which this year will be providing over 2 000 million ECU to finance energy projects, expenditure will be concentrated on the rational use of energy, demonstration projects and investment in the coal industry.

The increase in budgetary funds which I have just outlined is necessary if Community aid is to reach the critical level at which it becomes really effective by triggering off the multiplier. This must not lead to any overall increase in the burden borne by Europe's taxpayers. It is high enough already. Our aim, rather, is to achieve a saving in management costs by replacing uncoordinated national spending by coherent Community action.

(Applause)

The Commission considers that these resources are essential to the priority objectives it is proposing. It will therefore refuse to engage in this action if it is not supplied with sufficient funds. The European Parliament is perhaps best placed to appreciate this approach. The Commission will not even pretend to have a policy if it is not given the money to pay for it. In this situation, the Commission would prefer to withdraw its proposals and lay the blame fairly and squarely at the door of those responsible.

The Commission has been constant in its policy of boosting the Community's lending operations in parallel with the budget. And this House has always given us stout support. Our financing operations will exceed 5 000 million ECU this year. This is already a significant contribution. It represents 1% of total investment and over 10% of investment in some priority regions; in some countries it makes up 10-15% of investment in the energy sector. But there is still room for expanding these activities. The Commission will use this margin to raise an even greater volume of loans, to an extent compatible with the capacity of the capital market. This is the background against which we should view the Commission's proposal to raise a further three thousand million ECU under the New Community Instrument to be used to speed up the modernization of the economy, especially the industrial sector, with particular reference to small and medium-sized undertakings which form a dynamic and promising network within the Community. This Commission proposal, into which Parliament's amendments were incorporated, was discussed in the Council yesterday and we understand the initial outcome to be promising. The decision must not take as long as the NCI II decision.

We must now consider the international climate, for some of the factors which are crucial to Europe's

economic recovery are matters for international concern. They include the functioning of the monetary system, financing growth and structural change in the developing countries, coordinating the macroeconomic policies of the major industrialized countries and finally the functioning of the international trading system established under GATT.

Recent trends in all these areas have further aggravated the crisis.

In this they reflect the declining efficiency of the international economic system — a decline which is particularly marked in the monetary area and in North-South cooperation.

The Community must cultivate its world status if it is to help improve the international climate. Individually, no Member State can hope to exert any great or sustained influence on these issues. The Community alone can hope to do so. But two conditions must be satisfied. The first relates to internal cohesion. The Community must agree in advance on common positions in areas in which it intends to exert an influence. At the moment these are largely confined to commercial matters but logically monetary and financial matters should be included too.

The second condition relates to affirmation of Europe's identity to the outside world. This implies that the Community must speak with a single voice. It has had some success when it has done so, through the Commission, on such difficult questions as trade in steel with the United States, the operation of GATT and economic relations with Japan. When the Community sticks together, the Commission can defend its basic interests at the negotiating table.

(Applause)

The Community must above all assert its influence in three areas — monetary, financial and macroeconomic. I am not going to talk about the world trading system since the Community is already fully exercising its powers there and has undertaken, with its major partners, to work for the preservation of the open trading system. Let us look at the international monetary system first. The disarray of the monetary system has greatly dampened our prospects of economic recovery, and is still doing so. We have no wish to recreate the old system but a return to monetary stability and a secure climate are needed. An attempt was made following the Versailles Summit, but we have not made enough progress, or made it quickly enough. The Commission, exercising the discretion required in these sensitive areas, has been urging the Council to recognize that the Community as such needs to develop its negotiating capacity here and to devise procedures and objectives to be recommended to its main partners. Real progress in discussions with the authorities responsible for the major non-European

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currencies is now of crucial importance to all the Member States.

The second area is the international financial system. There are a number of shortcomings here, particularly as regards the external debts of many developing countries. I welcome the recent agreement by the Group of Ten to expand the resources and scope of the General Agreements to Borrow and to increase IMF quotas at an early date. The Fund's credibility depends on this, and the Community was, of course, actively involved in bringing the negotiations to a successful conclusion. We must now build on this progress. It is essential that the international community should be better equipped to avert the mishaps — or worse — which could be provoked by the level and scheduling of foreign bank debt. Agreement must also be secured quickly on increasing the funds available to the World Bank and associated bodies, especially the IDA, so that they can tackle the problem of financing the current account deficits of developing countries while encouraging the requisite structural adjustments. If this is not done, the decline in the import capacity of these countries will deprive world trade in general and that of the Community in particular of one of its essential props. This is a risk which the Community cannot afford to take.

The negotiations with the ACP countries for renewal of the Lomé Convention, scheduled for the second half of the year, will give the Community an opportunity to give practical expression to these concerns and to the vital importance it attaches to the problem of hunger in the world and implementation of food strategies designed to bring the developing countries closer to self-sufficiency.

This brings me to my third area. At the forthcoming Williamsburg economic summit and in bilateral discussions with the United States and Japan, the Community will have to step up its efforts to reach the following goals: a smoother-running international economic system, especially along the lines I have just described as regards monetary and financial matters; a consensus on the scope available for reinvigorating the world economy, persuading Japan to make a larger contribution — commensurate with its economic strength — to the smooth running of the international economic system. The Commission and its negotiators in Tokyo are well aware of the scale of the problem — which is more than a purely commercial one — and of the importance of securing worthwhile results quickly.

A further goal is that of working with the United States to establish a basis for dialogue acceptable to both sides, notably on farm produce — there can, of course, be no compromise on the fundamental principles of the common agricultural policy. The warning signs on the horizon are now such as to leave no observer indifferent to the danger of a possible escalation of the underlying friction. Finally, securing a common approach to East-West economic relations,

which are so important to the Community, is a constant source of preoccupation. I shall now turn to the ways and means at the Community's disposal. I have just outlined the priorities that the Commission would propose to the institutions, the governments and the people of the Community so that our efforts can be coordinated, directed and stimulated at European level. Europe's finances must measure up to its policies. Europe must be capable of taking decisions and taking them in time. The Community cannot hope to convince the all too numerous sceptics or to rouse the general public from its indifference until it has rid itself of the shackles which are restricting its capacity to act: the budgetary constraint, which has been holding it back for four years, and the institutional constraint, which it has had to bear for seventeen years now.

The limit on own resources has almost been reached. If we force the Community to remain within this limit we are tying its hands. I can think of no instance from the past of an institution being encouraged to develop and yet arbitrarily deprived of the means to act.

(Applause)

But why does the Community need new own resources? It is a fair question. The answer is simple. Even if we can achieve savings thanks to tighter management of budgetary funds, and funds allocated to the common agricultural policy in particular, new own resources will be needed to bring Community intervention to the critical level at which it will have a real impact and provide the stimulus and guidance we expect of it. We are all aware of the burden already being borne by Europe's taxpayers and national budgets. You may rest assured that the Commission's requests for new own resources will be strictly limited to policies and projects of genuine benefit to Europe.

The Commission's green paper is before you. In it we discuss various types of resources which could be tapped rapidly. You may wonder what principles guided our choice. We had two fundamental criteria in mind. The first was that the Community's financial position should be secure for many years, say a decade. It would obviously be disastrous if the Community were to be confronted at more frequent intervals with the need to create a new margin for manoeuvre. A balanced approach is called for.

Our second criterion was the need for balanced contributions. Parliament has drawn attention to the importance of this in the context of burden sharing. Indeed such was the approach of this House. The Community needs an equitable, balanced financing system which can be accepted without reservation by present and future Member States. This makes political sense, because we will have to secure national ratification of these new financial provisions. We would do well to keep in mind that seven years elapsed before the Community was finally granted its own

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resources by the Council. Now that the Commission has outlined its priorities and ways and means of achieving them, I would urge you to proceed to an early debate on the green paper which the Commission wishes to use as a basis for a real consultation of Parliament and, via this House, the public at large.

Such a feedback is essential before Commission and Council undertake any action of consequence. The Commission needs your views before it can make formal proposals. Once these have been presented it will ask the June European Council to get discussions under way and provide the political will and impetus which are essential to success. The Commission expects the Council and Parliament to give top priority to this matter in the months ahead. I need hardly remind the house of what is at stake. Let us be quite clear on this point to avoid all possibility of ambiguity and misunderstanding. New own resources and the development of new policies and activities will gradually reduce the scale of the 'British problem'. But the problem will not disappear overnight. One must endeavour to take a cool hard look at the issues involved, even where their budgetary impact is not calculable with any great degree of exactitude. In the first place some common policies — the fisheries policy for instance — do not and will not have much impact on the budget.

We must be wary of falling into the trap of seeming to promote policies which involve expenditure. In the second place there are policies — the Mediterranean programmes are an obvious example — which only apply to certain areas of the Community. But this is hardly a reason to abandon them.

As I see it, if a policy is in the Community interest, it should be applied throughout the Community — a sentiment often echoed in this House — even if the budgetary consequences are sizeable and complex. Your rejection of the supplementary budget on 16 December last was a blow from which the Commission and the Council are still drawing their conclusions. But the Commission refuses to contemplate the creation of new resources and the development of new policies for the sole purpose of solving the budget problem. We must guard against transforming new policies into a mechanism for adjusting the budget. Such a course would create deeper political and intellectual distortions than a straightforward budget rebate. What is more, there is no guarantee that it would work.

Can we really expect to arrive each year at the figure for expenditure on new policies that tallies exactly with the United Kingdom's deficit? There is no denying that the deficit is serious. But if we attack on two fronts — resources and expenditure — and if we remain true to the letter and spirit of the Treaty, on which the House has brought us to book, we will gradually solve the problem. In this context, the Commission's ideas on the development of structural

expenditure can make a valuable contribution. The ball is now in Parliament's court.

Much too will depend on whether farm spending can be brought under control. We must face up to this reality. Which is why I would urge this House to endorse the Commission's farm price proposals which, while respecting the principles of the common agricultural policy, follow the budgetary approach you advocate. The issue has more critical overtones than heretofore in the wider international economic context.

And I would ask you to keep these considerations in mind when you debate our new supplementary budget later this week.

If we can give Europe sound finances we will make it free to follow sound policies. But more than that, we will help the countries which are asking to join in our venture. If we are to demonstrate to Spain and Portugal that Community solidarity is no empty slogan, we must have the means to help them meet their economic development needs and promote social progress. An early solution to the own resources problem would be a good way of speeding up the accession process and laying a firm foundation for the future Community of Twelve.

Concerning the institutional constraint the first condition for sound, efficient management of Community affairs — as of any form of human endeavour — is that the necessary decisions be taken in good time. It is the Commission which exercises the power of initiative here, subject, of course, to supervision by this House. But the final result depends on the Council's ability to take decisions.

I do not wish to dash too many hopes, but I feel I must remind you of a number of realities. The Treaties themselves require unanimity for major decisions, in particular for action in new fields outside the strict confines of the Treaties. I am referring, of course, to Article 235, which is the basis for most of our new policies, such as our policies on energy, research, innovation, regional development and monetary integration. To open up the way for new policies we are forced to rely on the political will of governments and the political pressure exerted by Parliament and public opinion. But once the first steps have been taken and the foundations of a new policy are firmly laid, decisions on its further development must be taken by the majority laid down in the Treaties for the common policies they establish. At this point constitutional amendment gives way to executive management of European affairs.

In addition to this institutional constraint, there is the Council's insistence on unanimity on every question, even where the basic legislation does not require it.

It is high time we turned our back on quarrels about the Luxembourg compromise which has been increasingly detrimental to the Community of Nine and the

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Community of Ten and which, if the practice it instituted were to persist, would completely paralyse a Community of Twelve.

(Applause)

It is no longer acceptable that Community decisions, when they finally emerge, can only be described as 'too little, too late'.

Swift decision-making is crucial in a period of crisis. A decision that is constantly deferred ceases to be of any use and the Community loses further prestige and credibility. I have already cited the example of the New Community Instrument. A decision is needed now, for it is now that we need to encourage investment. Yet it can be seen from the history of the Community — even in recent times — that substantial progress has been made by a majority decision, or at the very least by a threat to call a majority vote. Indeed I can assure you that there is scarcely a Member State which has not sorely felt the need to have recourse to the majority vote over these past ten months. At any rate the Commission has decided to proceed as follows. On major issues vital to Europe's future, it will begin by endeavouring to secure a universally acceptable agreement on the substance as a guarantee of lasting success. But, since all major issues need a quick, clear decision, it will ask the Council to vote if the talking goes on too long, leaving the Council with the responsibility for either taking or ducking the decision.

The Commission gave the institutional question pride of place in the inventory of problems relating to enlargement which it presented to the last European Council. I do not propose to go into the details here.

Suffice it to say that the Council, which is to begin considering our proposals shortly, is asked to delegate more executive tasks to the Commission and to accept that there should be more majority decisions. These decisions would require the formal assent of this House, which would thus be more closely involved in the Community legislative process.

To conclude, then, the Commission's objective is to restore the Community's capacity to act, without which it will never achieve its ambitions. Effective decision-making capacity can only be guaranteed by a more widespread resort to majority decisions.

In conclusion, I would inform the House of the Commission's firm conviction that it has made the right choice in giving absolute priority to the battle against unemployment and industrial decline, and to the need to improve performance substantially, by exploiting the European dimension and strengthening the Community.

The priority package I have outlined does not cover all the tasks to be tackled in the short term, still less the whole long-term future of the Community. It is geared

to a clearly-defined objective and it is this, rather than any novel components, that make it worthwhile.

I have deliberately refrained from mentioning areas of key political importance — enlargement, reform of the common agricultural policy and interinstitutional relations — to which the Commission is devoting so much time and energy.

But the package contains the minimum of measures which the Community must take if it is not to lose the battle and, consequently, forfeit the achievements of 25 years of European integration and fall short of its political goal.

No one will misread the package. What I have proposed does not lack ambition. Its implementation would constitute a qualitative advance within the Community and augur well for successful completion of the final stages of European integration. If it is to serve its purpose it must be implemented rapidly and in its entirety.

How are we to imbue the governments, ministers and administrations of our ten countries with our ambition? Exceptional situations call for exceptional measures. I have already spoken — and so have you, Mr President — of a 'new Messina', a special, lengthy, top-level meeting which would formulate the political commitment of the institutions and the Member States to the action to be mounted in the next decade. I believe the idea is slowly gaining ground, despite initial reluctance and the economic clouds darkening the horizon.

But we must not tarry. The Community needs a clear signal. I hope it will come from the European Council next June. In the meantime we will work all-out on the internal market, research, energy and social policy; we will take a decision on the three thousand million loan; we will re-open the currency discussions, make progress in the accession negotiations and present proposals for new own resources. The European Council can then take note of our successes and perhaps deal with some obstacles. But, more importantly, it can give the political impetus that will ensure rapid development of new policies, set budgetary discussions in a new context and help to overcome institutional diffidence.

The Commission will expect a reaction to its proposals from this June meeting. We will work towards this deadline with dynamism and determination. We trust that we can count on your support and look forward to your contribution.

With you, we will then move on towards a better, more closely-knit Europe, so essential for the Community and the Member States. In this year in which more coherence and solidarity will be badly needed we must turn our attention towards the perspectives of the year 2000 — such a short time in historical terms, a

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mere sixteen years from now. And we must make a clean sweep of the obstacles and shackles which have so restricted our room for manoeuvre over the past ten years, while at the same time endeavouring to find a solution to the most serious economic crisis to have befallen us in 50 years. Such is the task which lies ahead of us and we must approach it collectively and without delay. Should we be successful I have no doubt that you, as the elected representatives of the Community's citizens, will rally popular support for the Community at the ballot box in 1984 — support which is particularly crucial for all of us.

President. — I would remind the House that the debate on this item will be held tomorrow morning, at the beginning of the sitting.

3. Draft supplementary budget No 1 for 1983

President. — The next item is the presentation of Draft Amending and Supplementary Budget No 1/83 (Doc. 1-1222/82) of the European Communities for the 1983 financial year drawn up by the Council on 1 February 1983.

Mr Tietmeyer, President-in-Office of the Council. — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, supplementary budgets are nothing new to this House and its agenda although they are, thank God, not evergreens. I should like to start by briefly referring to the background to this supplementary budget.

In December 1982 the European Parliament felt unable to approve draft amending and supplementary budget No 1/82 drawn up by the Council. The reasons for this rejection are clearly explained in the resolutions of 14 and 16 December. In an attempt both to take account of these reasons and to avoid jeopardizing the substance of the compromise offered by the Council on 26 October 1982 as far as possible, the Commission wasted no time in submitting in January 1983 a new preliminary draft supplementary budget No 1/83, which contained a number of new proposals.

As the President of the Council said on 11 January when announcing the Council's programme to the European Parliament, the German Presidency regards the solution of this outstanding budgetary problem as a priority. The Council is therefore very grateful to the Commission for taking action so quickly. It itself began its deliberations immediately on receipt of the Commission's proposal and was not long in completing them. The Council is also grateful to the European Parliament for reacting quickly both by resuming the dialogue and by finding room for a budgetary debate in its heavy agenda for this part-session. We regard this rapid reaction, which has meant the European Parliament and particularly its Committee of Budgets

refraining from objecting to deadlines, as a sign of willingness to reach a favourable joint conclusion as soon as possible in the interests of the Community.

The dialogue that began in December was resumed at the meeting of Parliament's delegation and the Council on 26 January and further discussions between the Committee on Budgets and myself, as President of the Council, on 27 January. The Council believes that the outcome of this very intensive dialogue with President Dankert and his delegation and also with Mr Lange and his colleagues on the Committee on Budgets was very positive. This dialogue between the two parts of the budgetary authority, which, though independent, cannot in the long run get along unless they agree and act together, has undoubtedly contributed to better mutual understanding and therefore, it is to be hoped, to an early and final agreement in this matter.

Following these discussions, the Council — or at least a majority of its members — felt able to withdraw its original objections and on 1 February to adopt draft amending and supplementary budget No 1/83, which you will be debating this week.

Speaking on the Council's behalf, I very much hope that the Commission's proposals and the exchange of views that has taken place during the consultations will now enable the European Parliament to approve the draft during this part-session.

When it rejected the amending and supplementary budget in December, the European Parliament referred to the need to observe three fundamental principles which should apply to budgetary procedures of this kind. First, a political guarantee that specific compensatory measures will not recur. During the discussions in the Committee on Budgets I found that a German phrase has now assumed a European meaning: '*Nie wieder*' — never again.

Second, the *incorporation* of this expenditure in the *Community's policies*, and third, the *classification* of expenditure.

I should like briefly to state my position on these three central issues. I will begin with the question of the recurrence of specific compensatory measures. In view of the European Parliament's objection to certain compensatory measures, the Council declared on 24 January that it too supported the goal set out in the Commission's statement of finding a Community solution to the budgetary problems and that it hoped the decisions needed for this could be reached by the Community institutions as quickly as possible.

With this declaration the Council has expressed its firm political will to seek a permanent solution to the financial imbalances, although opinions still differ in the Council on whether this should be achieved on the expenditure side or the revenue side or both sides. I

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say this because the President of the Commission has just stated his position on this subject.

The European Parliament has been informed today by the President of the Commission, Mr Thorn, of the practical measures which the Commission has proposed or will propose as a permanent solution to the budgetary problems in response to the request made by the European Parliament in its supplementary resolution of December last. The Council feels that each of the Community institutions must now take appropriate decisions as quickly as possible. It is in everyone's interest that a permanent solution should soon be found to the budgetary problems. Despite all the good will that has already been expressed and the intention to find this permanent solution as soon as possible, the Council cannot, however, give an absolute guarantee that special supplementary measures will never recur. It has done what it can do at the moment, and that is state that it has the firm political will to seek and as soon as possible find a permanent solution within the framework of Community policy.

Secondly, incorporation in Community policy. The Commission has taken full account of the European Parliament's concern in its preliminary draft. About half of the draft amending and supplementary budget is devoted to measures in the energy sector, which, as Vice-Presidents Tugendhat and Davignon have said, complies with the European Parliament's repeated demands for a Community policy and corresponding budget estimates.

In the development of a policy for this sector, the Commission exceeded the amount proposed by the European Parliament in December by allocating 35 m ECU to energy measures, and I am able to tell you that the Council has approved this proposal.

In this connection, the Commission and Council have also complied with the European Parliament's call for stricter supervision of expenditure by the Community. Firstly, a new line has been created in the budget for any surplus provisional payments. This will make it possible for logical adjustments to be made in the light of actual figures. A line has also been created in the budget for the repayment of aids which are not used. I know how important this point is for some Members of the House . . .

(Interjection by Mr Bangemann: For all of them!)

. . . so much the better: for all of them. Secondly, the Commission has proposed — and the Council agrees — that 10% of the payments should be retained to ensure the stricter checks advocated by the Committee on Budgetary Control. The representatives of this committee, headed by Mr Aigner, discussed this matter with the United Kingdom authorities late last year. Although the Council and Commission have not

adopted the 50/50 arrangement, the Council's request has been substantially met.

(Laughter)

I am sorry: Parliament's request. You see, the Council and Parliament are sometimes so identical that even a slip of this kind can occur.

Thirdly, as regards the classification of expenditure, the Commission stated in its proposals that the 610 m ECU in expenditure on energy measures should be classified as non-compulsory. This proposal was a fundamental departure from the position the Commission and Council had adopted in December. In this case, it undoubtedly cost the Council a great deal of effort to agree with the Commission and the European Parliament. The Council did not find it easy to reach a majority decision because many of its members feel that questions of principle need to be discussed and decided here. It nevertheless took this majority decision in the interests of compromise and in the light of the constructive discussions I had with the Committee on Budgets on 27 January, which enabled me to report to the Council that I believed it was unlikely Parliament would change the 600 m ECU in Article 707 even though it was classified as non-compulsory and that it would not be taken into account when the increases were calculated for the 1984 budget in application of Article 203 of the EEC Treaty. This report led the Council to approve by a majority the Commission's proposal that the 610 m ECU should be classified as non-compulsory.

As regards the 692 m ECU for additional measures in the United Kingdom, the Council still believes that this is compulsory expenditure. They are exactly the same kind of measures as those for which the 1982 budget provided and which both sides agreed at the time should be classified as compulsory expenditure. The proposed regulation on which they are based is also of exactly the same kind as the one it replaces.

The Council is therefore on the whole confident that Parliament will find that amending and supplementary budget No 1/83, the political declaration the Council has made and discussed with Parliament and also the two proposals for regulations, on which it would like Parliament's opinion as soon as possible, largely, if not completely, eliminate the doubts expressed by Parliament. The Council has at any rate endeavoured to find a compromise on the basis of the Commission's proposal which is acceptable to all three institutions.

As President-in-Office of the Council of Budget Ministers, I would urge all Members of this House to give their approval during this part-session to the compromise which has been reached by our joint efforts. For Europe and the Community that would be a demonstration of the ability of the Community's institutions to overcome misunderstandings, disputes and problems in a spirit of compromise and willingness to

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cooperate. At a time of economic difficulties and problems Europe and the European countries need such demonstrations of the ability to take decisions and of solidarity more than ever before.

I have some pleasant news to add to the report and the statement by the President of the Commission. After a comprehensive discussion of the matter, the Council yesterday decided — or at least reached a compromise in principle — that the New Community Instrument, NIC 3, should be introduced with an endowment of 3 000 m ECU. What remains to be decided is no more than a formality. A positive decision of principle was taken on this question yesterday. I believe that this is further evidence of the Council's ability to take decisions.

(Applause)

IN THE CHAIR: LADY ELLES

Vice-President

President. — I wish, on behalf of this House, to thank the President-in-Office of the Budget Council for his speech, and I remind Members that the debate on this item will take place on Thursday from 3 p.m. to 5 p.m.

4. ACP-EEC

President. — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-975/82) by Mrs Cassanmagnago Cerretti, on behalf of the Committee on Development and Cooperation, on the outcome of the proceedings of the ACP-EEC Joint Committee and the Consultative Assembly.

Mrs Cassanmagnago Cerretti (EPP), rapporteur. — *(IT)* Madam President, I am pleased and honoured to present the report of the Committee on Development and Cooperation on the outcome of the proceedings of the Consultative Assembly and its Joint Committee.

This report — the third of its kind — provides our Parliament with a particularly valuable opportunity to draw up a balance sheet concerning our cooperation with the ACP countries and to re-examine the current Community policy of aid to development. To subject this policy to a critical analysis is the best way to ensure that it will produce the desired results, that is, true economic development for the countries in question.

Madam President, Europe — and the rest of the industrialized world, with the exception of Japan — is

now going through what has been called a crisis. It would be more correct to call it a transformation. The economies of all the European countries are undergoing a radical modification. The end of industrial society poses great problems. The most painful — and the most politically difficult — consequence of this transformation is unemployment, which is reaching ever more disturbing proportions. Everyone is aware that Europe cannot reabsorb its unemployed unaided.

I could not do otherwise than refer to this situation, which is not a favourable one for the policy of development and cooperation. Indeed, this policy is often considered — and wrongly so — to be based on solidarity alone, at the expense of our own interests.

This is not at all the case. It is rather a question of creating conditions within the developing countries to promote an economic development advantageous to both parties and vital for the preservation of our own prosperity over the long term. We are not offering charity in order to ease our own consciences: such a policy would create a state of economic dependence harmful for both the developing countries and for the countries of the EEC. The Lomé Convention is based on far different principles. It is dedicated to creating the conditions for a true partnership, where ACP countries and EEC countries meet as equals, with responsibilities as well as rights.

The Community has always been proud of the Lomé Convention, held up as a model for relations between developing countries and industrialized countries. It could eventually have a positive influence on the relationship between North and South. However, although everyone has heard of STABEX, the protocol on sugar, the European Development Fund and other aspects of the Convention, the ACP-EEC parliamentary institutions, which are among its most original and truly innovative features, are less well known.

Madam President, nothing is more harmful for an institution intending to advocate and execute a policy than to succumb to the temptation of complacency. Even though the Lomé Convention does in many areas constitute a model, this generally positive picture is still marred by present and future difficulties, as the Vergeer report makes clear.

It is precisely in this area that the activities of the Consultative Assembly and the Joint Committee are proving to be of concrete utility. Indeed, the essential role of this body is to perform a critical and systematic analysis of the application of the Second Lomé Convention. It is important to stress that this task is performed by the EEC parliamentarians in cooperation with those of the ACP.

I stated a moment ago that this is the third report on the proceedings of these institutions to be submitted to the European Parliament. I would like to take the

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opportunity it affords to underline certain recent tendencies which have received particular mention in the report.

The first is the reinforcement of the parliamentary character of both the institutions. This development coincides with the second tendency, that is, the increase in democratic control exercised by these bodies on the implementation of the Lomé Convention. The attention that the Consultative Assembly and its Joint Committee have paid and will continue to pay to the political and economic situation in Southern Africa — where serious tensions are a threat to peace and stability — is symptomatic of what could be called a process of sensitization rather than one of politicization. In this context it is necessary to stress the importance of the ACP-EEC fact-finding mission, instituted by the Consultative Assembly, which visited three of the 'front line' countries in February of 1982. This mission is the first of its kind to include both members of the European Parliament and representatives of the ACP countries.

The new avenues opened up by this mission and by a whole series of discussions and debates held in the Consultative Assembly and the Joint Committee demonstrate that this so-called politicization is not general and indiscriminate; rather it stems from the desire to make a positive contribution toward enhancing stability in this part of the world. All this goes to demonstrate that the Consultative Assembly and its Joint Committee provide a vital political impulse, without which cooperation and development are in danger of becoming the prerogative of the 'experts'.

The fruit of our Community work, carried out in cooperation with the ACP countries, is represented by a series of concrete proposals, aimed not only at implementing the existing Lomé Convention, but also at exerting a greater influence on the negotiations for the next Convention, and thereby on its content.

I have spoken of the ACP and EEC parliamentary institutions as the source of a political impulse for cooperation, and as bodies exercising supervision over the application of the Convention, providing the forum for a true dialogue between ACP parliamentarians and European parliamentarians. In so doing, I do not wish to give the false impression that the European Parliament is alone in pursuing the policy of cooperation and development aid.

The third actor of note on this stage is the Commission, which participates in this dialogue and often provides the topics for it. We can safely assert that the ideas for reforming the existing policy contained in the Memorandum presented by Commissioner Pisani demonstrate that the Commission shares Parliament's conviction that a European development policy which does not directly involve the beneficiary countries and the EEC in the choice of programmes and the formulation of policies worthy of the name is condemned a

priori to failure. The discussion of the Memorandum with the ACP countries will continue in Kingston, Jamaica, with Commissioner Pisani. The political commitment made by the Assembly and the Joint Committee, which is embodied in their activism, in the proceedings of the working groups, in the resolutions they have adopted — all this would be nullified if it were not to obtain the support of the European Parliament. Without this support we cannot cherish any illusions about its effective contribution to the Community.

The motion for a resolution which I submit to Parliament reconciles the needs I mentioned a moment ago. It is a balanced document, unanimously approved in the Committee on Development, and it follows the line taken in the two previous resolutions on the proceedings of the Consultative Assembly and the Joint Committee, which Parliament adopted. If we endanger this balance, we endanger the credibility of the ACP-EEC institutions. This would have consequences for our relations with the ACP countries which it is our duty to avoid.

President. — I would point out to the House that we have a considerable list of speakers to speak before the Commission replies, and therefore, if there is nobody in the House now who wishes to add his or her name, I close the list of speakers.

Mr Cohen (S). — (NL) Madam President, I should like to begin by extending my congratulations to the rapporteur, Mrs Cassanmagnago Cerretti, on her excellent report. The Socialist Group supports its contents and the motion for a resolution wholeheartedly as evidenced by the total absence of amendments. By its very nature this report on the outcome of the proceedings of the ACP-EEC Joint Committee and Consultative Assembly, as provided in the Lomé Convention, is not the kind of report on which detailed discussions are possible or necessary. It is in no way controversial, being more of a summary of the activities of the various associated bodies during the period in question. It does not try to conceal the various problems: STABEX, SYSMIN, financial cooperation, the successes and failures of industrial cooperation, the deficiencies in trade relations, the measures which must be taken to alleviate hunger in the Lomé countries. The activities of the working party 'Hunger in the world' are referred to in the report, as are those of the working party 'Energy' as well as those of a working group on the fishing industry. All of these activities are given full coverage in the report without the slightest controversial aspect, which is in many ways only to be expected, given the background. This report, the third in a series, owes its existence to a conviction that the Lomé Convention agreement, which still accounts for the lion's share of Community development aid — whether justified or not — ought not to remain the exclusive preserve of a group of experts within this

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House but should be made more accessible both to the other members of this Parliament and to the public at large.

Unknown, unloved, they say. I can not help feeling that 'unknown' is also synonymous with ineptness in negotiating. It is not a rare occurrence that standpoints are defended and resolutions adopted at meetings of the ACP-EEC Joint Committee and Consultative Assembly. This in turn implies at least tacit agreement by a majority of Community participants for they could not have been adopted otherwise. Resolutions are often adopted by these bodies which reflect a totally different tone to that which the relevant Committee on Development and Cooperation members of this House appear to defend as soon as they return to the familiar fold of their respective political groups. Agricultural policy and — through a happy coincidence a topic which is on today's order of business — southern Africa are just two examples of these double postures. What can be said in Africa may not, apparently, be reiterated in Europe.

The foregoing is an additional reason for welcoming the report, providing as it does in the course of this debate an opportunity of bringing such practices to light. Annex 5 of the Cassanmagnago Cerretti report contains the declarations made on the subject of southern Africa during the ACP-EEC Joint Committee and Consultative Assembly and I especially commend the resolution to the House as a whole, and to the press, so that the disparity between what is said here and what is said there will become abundantly evident to the public at large.

Mr Bersani (EPP). — *(IT)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the text proposed by Mrs Cassanmagnago Cerretti presents an effective picture of the proceedings of the joint parliamentary bodies provided for in the Lomé Convention, and it illustrates the results obtained in the meetings in Harare and Rome. The restoration of the custom of directly informing Parliament of the proceedings of international bodies in which it participates under terms to be found in no other international agreement is important, and we note its accomplishment with satisfaction.

Once again — despite some redundancies which must be suitably adjusted — the joint parliamentary institutions have demonstrated their ability to make proposals and to provide an impulse for the better practical implementation of the agreements. In addition to this, they have confirmed their role as critical conscience of the agreements, as a politico-democratic forum where opinions can be freely exchanged and general approaches worked out for the problems of international cooperation.

Time compels me to limit my remarks to three points: the present state of the Convention; the reform of the parliamentary institutions; the resolution on southern

Africa, which is connected with the report drawn up by the fact-finding mission sent to certain front line countries.

The Second Lomé Convention, at little more than two years from its inception and a few months from the beginning of the negotiations for its renewal, is in a delicate phase of its existence. Our present task is to act as effectively as possible during the time remaining before the launching of the new Convention, planned for 1 January 1986. This considerable period should be used for experiments and practical adjustments which, without contradicting the formal commitments of the Convention, can pave the way for the Third EEC-ACP agreement.

North-South relations in general, as well as those between the EEC and the ACP, are feeling the effects of a particularly difficult period. The rapporteur Mr Vergeer, whose work I fully appreciate, has provided, both at Rome and in his general report, a broad, complete and realistic picture of these difficulties.

Certain 'strong points' of the Convention, such as STABEX, are in crisis, taken by surprise by the unforeseen dimensions of the world economic situation disastrous for many products linked to its activities. Together with the temporary as well as lasting effects of an overall situation unfavourable for the prices of agricultural products fundamental to EEC-ACP trade — among these, sugar is particularly important, and it will be a topic of further discussion in Kingston — there are other events which have upset the balance of certain regions already hard-hit by natural disasters or world economic tendencies. We have only to think of Ghana, of the disastrous drop in the price for its cocoa, and of the frantic wave of refugees arriving from Nigeria.

The stalemate in global negotiations aggravates an overall situation which is catastrophic for the developing countries, and therefore for the ACP countries, which include two-thirds of the world's least developed States. Due to an interdependence often acknowledged but rarely allowed for in fact, this situation has for some time been affecting the industrialized countries as well, above all those of the EEC, which have the closest ties with the developing countries. What should we do? Should we refuse adequate qualitative and quantitative support for the International Monetary Fund, and then, on the spur of the moment, decide on a substantial increase in its financial resources, compelled to this step by the danger of the disruption of the international banking system?

Should we continue to live from day to day, systematically postponing global negotiations, putting off the work from conference to conference, vacillating between declarations in favour of free trade and policies of protectionism? Should we persist in the continuous pursuit of other objectives which use up immense resources? The Lomé Convention, which already

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includes half of the world's countries, should receive additional support for its essential features, such as, for example, the organic multilateral policy, in contrast to the prevalent bilateral policies pursued by the member countries of the EEC. Instead, these countries continue to grant to the Lomé agreements only 11% of their overall commitments for development.

The experience obtained in the context of the Convention can suggest possible ways to deal with the existing situation. In any case, it is necessary to arrive at a responsible coordination of international economic policies. The guidelines contained in the Memorandum drawn up by Commissioner Pisani, whose considerable efforts I wish to acknowledge, constitute a contribution in this respect. This, however, should certainly be accompanied by a decided and genuine change of front; capable of involving the other industrialized countries as well.

The parliamentary institutions, which constitute one of the most essential elements in the system of the Lomé Convention, were founded with a considerable handicap: the 'political' inability, on the part of the ACP, to dispense with the presence of a representative of each country in all the bodies, including the Joint Committee. With the increase in the number of ACP countries from 46 to 63, the Joint Committee has taken on an increasingly parliamentary structure. Thus it virtually duplicates the Consultative Assembly.

The meeting in Rome served to highlight the negative aspects of the existing situation. Recent talks with certain bodies suggested by the ACP themselves indicate the political possibility of an overall reapportionment of the institutional system at its various levels.

The proposals presented by the rapporteur Mr Vergeer and adopted by Mrs Cassanmagnago Cerretti represent a concrete approach to this question which in general seems to be fully acceptable.

The Cassanmagnago Cerretti report presents, together with the report of the fact-finding committee in the front-line countries, the resolution on Southern Africa drawn up in Harare and subsequently adopted with minor changes in Rome. These documents received considerable attention from international public opinion, from both supporters and critics. The almost simultaneous debate on the Scott-Hopkins report on the political situation in southern Africa makes comparison inevitable, and underlines the topical nature of the problem. Mrs Cassanmagnago Cerretti has already spoken of the relevant political problem, a problem of consistency and credibility, represented by the relationship between the objective autonomy of the proceedings of the European Parliament and the participation of its members in the activities of institutions in which Parliament itself is a partner. Responsible action on the part of the EEC is increasingly solicited by the deteriorating political situation in the ten countries of Southern Africa, the most populous and potentially

richest in resources of the entire continent; it is made necessary by the persistence of many problems, particularly the system of apartheid in Pretoria and the development of an overall policy of destabilization pursued by South Africa in regard to the other countries of the region.

Alongside disturbing symptoms of further deterioration certain changes are taking place — although too slowly and without affecting the crux of the problem — in a situation too long distinguished by compulsory immobility in favour of the *status quo*, by stern repression in the area of human rights and by the endemic spread of aggression, of intervention by foreign troops, of guerilla warfare. It is on this situation, continually adversely affected by so many internal and external forces, that the EEC and the member countries must exert a greater influence. They must provide concrete support for solutions which respect the basic rights of all the various ethnic components of the population. We must work for a gradual stabilization on a democratic, multiracial and peaceful basis. The welfare of 24 million citizens of southern Africa demands such action; the right of Namibia to independence demands it, as does the situation in Angola, where for more than ten years now the population has been living in despair and poverty. The state of other neighbouring countries, the perennial targets for numerous destabilizing initiatives, compels us to act; so also do the principles which underlie our democratic convictions, and our own economic and strategic interests.

Without strong international pressure, a definite and rapid alteration in the situation is extremely improbable: this is the crux of the matter. In any event, the Assembly and its Joint Committee, despite differences on certain specific points, have attempted to make a positive contribution to stability in this part of the world.

Mr C. Jackson (ED). — Madam President, I would like to thank Mrs Cassanmagnago Cerretti, both for an admirably short resolution and for an admirably informative explanatory statement. The more I have worked with the Consultative Assembly and the Joint Committee, as well as with ACP/EEC working parties, the more I appreciate what the Assembly can achieve both in understanding and in action. The kernel of it is a learning process.

We parliamentarians deal with an enormous range of matters concerning developing countries and European countries, on all of which it is impossible for us to have detailed knowledge. The Consultative Assembly enjoys two great merits. First, it meets regularly and continuity of contact between members from over 70 countries in Europe, Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific. Second, and perhaps even more important, its members meet in a positive spirit in which, despite differences of view and occasionally blank disagreement,

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they remain on friendly terms. This means that we can with frankness and friendliness explore difficult issues. I think our ACP colleagues may have in the past been rather better than us at expressing themselves frankly, but we are now emulating their example.

This was particularly true in the discussion on southern Africa which is the subject of our next debate, and I shall keep my substantive remarks until then. But I must refer to the vote which took place. In it the two sides, admittedly sometimes narrowly, approved the text appended to Mrs Cassanmagnago Cerretti's report. While I fully agree with the criticism it expresses of apartheid, I must disagree strongly on behalf of my group with its call for economic sanctions to be included in a programme of increasing pressure on South Africa, and for reduction of investments and economic contacts with South Africa. On the contrary, I think it is important that we expand contacts as a means of defeating apartheid.

I hope Parliament will also disagree with those parts of the resolution (Doc. ACP-EEC 33/81) appended, as I say, to the Cassanmagnago Cerretti report. One important paragraph was also not included in the southern Africa resolution. It was in the form of an amendment which was supported by the majority of our European Parliament colleagues but voted down virtually unanimously by our ACP colleagues. It was a paragraph referring to the importance of human rights right across southern Africa. I must register my sense of dismay at the application by our ACP colleagues of double standards — a willingness to condemn offences against human rights in southern Africa, but not to call for observance of human rights elsewhere in Africa where we are well aware that flagrant breaches of basic human rights have taken and are taking place.

At this point I must refer to a constitutional issue and to my Amendments Nos 2 and 3. The resolution before us, and I earnestly ask my colleagues to mark the words most carefully, in paragraph 2 'instructs' European Parliament committees to 'endorse' the resolutions passed in Rome by the Consultative Assembly, including those paragraphs to which I have referred. The words are absolutely vital. I believe they were a product of linguistic confusion in the committee and it would be utterly wrong to endorse them. Now, may I explain? The Assembly and this Parliament are essentially autonomous bodies and there can be no question that a selection of Members of this Parliament can commit the European Parliament as a whole. It is, of course, right for us to take cognizance of the Consultative Assembly's resolutions and indeed to study them carefully, but we cannot and must not be bound by them, least of all when they make proposals of major political significance such as those to which I have referred on South Africa. My amendments, which I commend to the House, aim to set this constitutional issue right while retaining the sense of Mrs Cassanmagnago Cerretti's report.

Having pointed out various matters of concern, Madam President, I would have liked to highlight some of the items discussed and agreed, which I wish the Parliament to endorse, but I will restrict myself in closing merely to one. I very much hope that this Parliament will endorse the call for effective action on the cultural front in giving ACP students more scholarships and bursaries. I give notice of my intention to seek an amendment to the 1984 budget to make provision for this. Mrs Cassanmagnago Cerretti has produced an excellent report, but on the constitutional issues I mentioned, it is vital that it be amended. With that proviso I am glad to welcome it on behalf of my group.

Mr Chambeiron (COM). — (*FR*) Madam President, the parliamentary institutions set up under the Lomé Convention have evolved at the same pace as this Parliament. It is certainly not by chance that the Consultative Assembly, having concerned itself with the actual working of the Convention, has gradually turned its attention to its international environment, for instance in its adoption of positions not only on the North-South dialogue but also on the situation in southern Africa. In so doing it has reflected the problems coming to the fore in the Community's policy on development. It has helped to ensure that they are taken into account more fully, and sometimes to find solutions to them.

Since the first Convention was signed, these parliamentary institutions have demonstrated how worthwhile and valuable they are. They derive this value primarily from their joint composition, as a result of which they have become a forum for dialogue which we must keep in existence come what may. In this connection, where problems of mutual interest are concerned, we must avoid any temptation to impose unilateral decisions on our partners. This applies, for instance, to the structure to be given to the second part of the fact-finding mission to the 'front-line' countries or the new institutions under the next Convention.

The second important aspect of the Consultative Assembly and the Joint Committee lies in the fact that, in practice, they are entrusted with the role of monitoring application of one of the policies of the Community, namely its policy on development. They are made up of ACP representatives who are directly concerned with development issues and Members of this Parliament who specialize in this field, and they deliver opinions and pass resolutions which carry weight and should therefore guide our deliberations on these matters. It is indeed to this effect that we have tabled an amendment clarifying the report by Mrs Cassanmagnago Cerretti, particularly since both the Joint Committee and the Consultative Assembly have always displayed a willingness to take up a subject and examine it in detail, to set up working parties or to send a fact-finding mission such as the one which visited the 'front-line' countries, following which the

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European and ACP members reported on the evidence of South African aggression that they had seen on the spot. Thus, it is incumbent upon us to take the fullest account of their work, in view of the weight that it carries. Our partners would naturally have difficulty in understanding how we could fail to vote here in Strasbourg to endorse votes taken previously in Harare or Rome in the Joint Assembly.

Finally, as was stressed at the Rome Assembly, the follow-up of work done also needs to be improved. I am therefore pleased to note that, on the initiative of the Communist and Allies Group, provision is being made for future meetings of these joint bodies to take stock of action taken on their previous resolutions. These various developments will enhance further the quality of the work done by the Consultative Assembly and its Joint Committee which, I am delighted to note, has recently taken up such firm positions in favour of a clear improvement in the Lomé Convention, the immediate opening of global negotiations under United Nations auspices and application of economic sanctions against the apartheid regime.

IN THE CHAIR: MR KLEPSCH

Vice-President

Mr Sablé (L). — (FR) Mr President, my dear colleagues, Mr Commissioner. This debate on the outcome of the proceedings of the ACP-EEC Joint Committee and Consultative Assembly comes just before we discuss the Scott-Hopkins report on southern Africa, and I should like to take this opportunity to express concern at the prospect that this Parliament will tomorrow take up a position which is different from that adopted by one hundred and twenty six MEPs and one hundred and twenty six ACP States in Rome last November. In Harare and Rome, representatives of all the political groups — more than a quarter of our Members — approved the resolution on the situation in southern Africa submitted by the fact-finding mission which visited the 'front-line' countries. In particular they considered that economic sanctions should be incorporated into a programme of increasing pressure on South Africa. This is the first time that the Joint Committee and the Consultative Assembly have adopted a relatively moderate resolution on southern Africa.

Hitherto, motions passed have been expressions of pious hopes, resolutions of the type associated with the UN. It is not long before we shall be going to Jamaica. My dear colleagues, our credibility among our Lomé Convention partners is at stake. We cannot present ourselves before them with two different texts. It is

therefore time that this Parliament stated its position, once and for all, on the issue of sanctions.

Speaking as a Liberal member of the Committee on Development and Cooperation, I believe that we have a duty to seek to avoid a dreadful tragedy in South Africa by bringing pressure to bear on that country's government to put an end to the odious apartheid regime. Sanctions are instruments of international law.

I, along with many others, believe that certain carefully selected economic sanctions can help to bring matters forward. I do not of course refer to generalized sanctions, for we must also assess the effects of any sanctions on the people living and working in South Africa, especially the black population. The aim of economic sanctions must be to put an end to injustice, so that care must be taken to ensure that they do not make matters worse for the victims.

Before ending, my dear colleagues, I should like to draw attention to another prospective area of divergence between the Lomé institutions and this Parliament. This is the issue of sugar and competition between cane sugar and beet sugar. At a time when improvements in productivity are making beet sugar extremely competitive on the world market, to the extent of posing a threat in the longer term to the very viability of cane-sugar production in most of the ACP countries, it has to be asked whether it is not rather unrealistic to expect the imposition of a ceiling on Community sugar production, with no concession in return. Now that beet sugar enjoys the edge in purely economic terms, the sugar industry has become an explosive issue for the ACP parliamentarians.

Mr President, I have drawn attention to just two contradictions in the policy of development and cooperation, a policy which is essential to the balanced construction of Europe; there are others which could be mentioned. In common with Mrs Cassanmagnago Cerretti, I was anxious to impress upon our colleagues the need for the positions taken up by the European Parliament and the ACP-ECC parliamentary bodies to be as consistent as possible with each other in future.

Mr Pannella (CDI). — (FR) Mr President, on a point of order, I should merely like to say that the list of speakers appears to have been closed while our group was at a meeting. I note this, but feel that the President, mindful that all groups normally speak on topics of such importance, could perhaps have exercised the available discretionary powers. I am sorry that we are not being given an opportunity to speak.

President. — Mr Pannella, as Vice-President, Lady Elles stated quite correctly that she would close the list of speakers at 10.20 a.m., and in fact did so. However, I fully appreciate that a problem has arisen since yours would, as a result, be the only group unable to speak.

President

Perhaps you would instruct your group secretariat to be sure in future, to enter the speakers from your group in time. Since your group would otherwise not be able to speak, I shall call you when your group's turn comes. I can only do this if you speak as group speaker.

Mrs Ewing (DEP). — Mr President, on behalf of my group I have great pleasure in supporting the report. We know that the rapporteur is a great friend of the Lomé Convention and how dedicated she is to the work that we do.

I am exceedingly proud to be a member of the Convention Committee. Of all the things in my life, perhaps it is the thing that has given me the greatest satisfaction, because I believe it is the best international partnership that has yet been found in the world. It is a true partnership; it is not a partnership of Jonah and the whale. It is a true partnership, and to that extent the trust that has been built up, making the world smaller, is something that is so precious that I think all of us in the European Parliament feel that, if the European Parliament never accomplished anything else, this is one of the flowers of its achievement.

Having said that, I have two points. One is about fish, which will not surprise anyone who knows me, and the other is about the fact-finding tour to the front-line States that I had the honour to be on with Mr Bersani presiding.

First about fish. I would like there to be a fisheries committee. I am not going to go into it, but I think when you take the simple fact that a third of the world is hungry and that fish could solve the problem, no more needs to be said. If you give people a fish they have enough to eat for a day. If you teach them to fish they can eat forever as long as their waters have not been despoiled, as many of the waters in the northern hemisphere have been. We have got the awful warning of the northern hemisphere before us. We have no excuse if we allow the southern hemisphere to go the same way. And as we sit here today one out of every eight fish in the world is taken from the sea by Russia and taken back to feed the people of Russia who could quite well feed themselves from their own land. Now why they choose not to do that — I do not know whether it is to control their people, — I do not know, but the Africans are waiting for joint ventures to come from the EEC. They must allow those to fish in the waters who are going to give them any help at all, so we cannot blame the Africans and the others if they enter into arrangements with the Koreans, the Japanese and the Russians. But having said that, these countries are taking the fish away from these seas, they are overfishing and they are taking them back to their own countries and on the whole nothing much is left behind in terms of a permanent plant or methods of getting the fish from the coast inland. The EEC has projects all around. Some of them are so sensibly

suited such as teaching people in villages to smoke fish on the coast and take them to the villages. These kinds of projects, I think, are very worthy and I am very happy to say that we are going to see some more of them in the other countries near Jamaica soon.

But I think the work that we are doing in our small committee with Mr Fich of the Socialist Group and Somali and Mauritania is so important that we are just at the beginning of it and I would plead for those interested that a full committee would make a report.

Secondly, on the fact-finding tour I would say this. We were unanimous on that tour. I thought that was quite remarkable, since it represented all the parties in this House. But I could say that there is such a lot of hypocrisy about. There is really no point in our being hypocritical and blaming sportsmen when every day aeroplanes are going from every capital of the EEC loaded with businessmen doing business with South Africa. That is happening today as we sit here. We pick on the cricketers and so on. I am not saying we should not pick on the cricketers. I am against anyone going there. But I think that until we show that we have eliminated the real hypocrisy behind this we will not really persuade South Africa at all to mend its ways. This is a thing that the ACP are looking to us for. They really take this extremely seriously. Until we eliminate that hypocrisy, I do not know whether that partnership will have the credibility it deserves.

Mr Pannella (CDI). — (FR) Mr President, it would be desirable for us to debate this matter in greater detail at a future date. I am in agreement with what has been proposed by Mrs Cassanmagnago Cerretti, but there are perhaps other matters to which we should be addressing ourselves. First, it is clear that the institutional aspects of Lomé II are working very unsatisfactorily. The fact that the ACP-EEC Council of Ministers did not even consider holding an extraordinary meeting or giving any sign of its existence as such in response to the events in Nigeria demonstrates that these institutions very often have no life other than on paper.

Secondly, there is another matter to which we should pay attention: the voting seen in Rome was once again unusual, or, unfortunately, it was not unusual, since the pattern is being repeated often. On twenty-four occasions, the ACP representatives voted one way and the MEPs another, with one or two exceptions. Consequently, as we approach what may be called Lomé III, but especially in view of the proximity of the Kingston meeting, we should perhaps be setting our sights somewhat higher not only as far as follow-up is concerned but also in regard to decisions and coming to grips with the reasons for the crisis besetting the parliamentary aspect of Lomé II, for there is a crisis and we should be aware of it.

Mr Ziagas (S). — (GR) Mr President, in congratulating Mrs Cassanmagnago Cerretti on her report, I

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would like to stress two points that I consider vital for the substantial development of relations between the Community and the ACP States.

It is of course a positive factor that the number of Members representing ACP States is to be increased, but this development should be accelerated and supported, so that within the framework of the institutional changes that must form a part of the imminent third Convention between the European Communities and the ACP States, it will be possible to have a genuine political dialogue, and for the voices of the elected representatives of the ACP peoples to be heard clearly concerning the vital economic and political problems that may arise in our relations.

The foundations of this dialogue should be laid right now, so that they may have a decisive and positive influence on the formulation of the new Convention.

Mr President, the decisions we adopt here, in the European Parliament, must not only harmonize with those taken by the common ACP-EEC bodies, but should be inspired by a logic that is consistent with our frequent declarations in favour of equal collaboration and the creation of sincere relations to our mutual benefit.

Mr Kyrkos (COM). — *(GR)* Mr President, Mrs Cassanmagnago Cerretti has produced a very carefully thought-out piece of work and her report contains many notable and positive proposals. As a member of the EEC-ACP Consultative Assembly, I too would like to stress how unacceptable it would be for our Parliament to adopt, here, resolutions other than those adopted jointly with our colleagues from the ACP States in common meetings. An example of such, as it were, two-faced behaviour will become evident when we come to debate the Scott-Hopkins report on southern Africa. It is well known that our relations with the developing countries are not of the best. The result of our much-advertised collaboration is that the trade balance of those countries with the EEC has deteriorated, their development has not been promoted, and hunger and malnutrition have not been combated. This is confirmed by the findings of the Joint Committee, the Consultative Assembly of Rome, and by Commissioner Pisani's penetrating memorandum, the Commission's sixteenth General Report presented to us not long ago. I do not have time for a more general analysis, but I too cannot avoid repeating that equal relations between the North and the South, within a new international economic order, and the active role of the EEC in this do not constitute an act of charity but a measure of prudence, a prerequisite for our own development, and a contribution towards overcoming the crisis. And on this point I would like to draw your attention to a recent proposal by a candidate for the Chancellorship of West Germany, Herr Vogel — as I read in the Athens press — that a common fund of both Western and Eastern

countries should be created, with a diversion of resources away from the frenzied arms race and towards the financing of development in the countries of the Third World.

Mr President, one can only hope that during the negotiations for a new agreement on collaboration between the EEC and the ACP, negotiations due to commence next September under the Greek Presidency, these self-evident demands will guide our thoughts. Besides — and on this note I shall end — my own country, which is not burdened by a colonialist past as are some others among us, and as recently stated by the undersecretary responsible for the EEC Mr Varfis, places great weight on the collaboration between the EEC and the Third World, and I am sure that during the period of its Presidency the Greek Government will do all it can towards this end.

Mr Beyer de Ryke (L). — *(FR)* Mr President, my reading last evening alternated between Emerson and the Cassanmagnago Cerretti report. In Emerson I found the following epigram: 'He who is best able to write a sermon is best able to fashion a rat-trap.' I am afraid that this seems to apply to Mrs Cassanmagnago Cerretti's sermon, although I do not condemn everything in it. I am happy to say, Madam, and I emphasize the point, that it contains some excellent passages. It has been praised, and with good reason.

However, the general philosophy is marred by an important passage to which I cannot subscribe, that in which the rapporteur calls for sanctions against South Africa. As experience has shown, sanctions are ineffective as a general rule. And if they were to prove effective, there would be even more reason for rejecting them.

You may wish to know why this should be. Let it be understood very clearly that apartheid is a philosophy which we abhor, abominate and condemn. But it would be unjust to ignore the deep currents that are now running through South African society. Apartheid, hitherto the credo, is now under debate even within the Nationale Partij, the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk and the Broederbond, the three pillars of the South African establishment. Granted, you will tell me — rightly — that this still falls short, very short of the mark. However, is it right for us to disrupt these developments with vengeful motions and sanctions of doubtful value? I for my part would issue a different warning from yours, Madam, to South Africa: Pretoria is once again taking over the reins in Namibia, blocking the experiment of the Prime Minister who had turned his back on apartheid and distanced himself from South Africa. Let Pretoria beware that, in applying a policy which would moreover be contrary to the real trend in South Africa, it does not become the cat's paw of SWAPO. Contrary to the belief held in some quarters, SWAPO would not bring freedom to Namibia, but the yoke of government by one ethnic group imposed on all others.

Beyer de Ryke

The West should therefore stop making a rod for its own back, it should desist from its tireless efforts to overthrow regimes such as that of the Shah, which for all its many faults was pro-Western, to let in the Khomeini regime which, as well as being intolerable in terms of human rights, is anti-Western to boot. It was Lenin who said that one day the West would be turned by Africa. To cast Lenin and all his followers in the role of defenders of Antigone is a piece of foolhardiness which would be laughable if it were not suicidal. That is why, Madam, your otherwise praiseworthy report contains one section too many, and that is the rat-trap to which Emerson was referring.

Mr Pisani, Member of the Commission. — (FR) I shall not fall into the trap of straying from the topic of this debate and discussing the problem of southern Africa. Sir James Scott-Hopkins will shortly be speaking to a report that he has drawn up on behalf of the Political Affairs Committee and that report should, I believe, be the focus of our debate on that important subject. I therefore propose to confine myself to the activities of the Lomé Convention parliamentary bodies, discussing their functioning and the progress that has been made in recent sessions.

Regarding the functioning of these bodies, I should like to make three points. First, I wonder whether there is not too much of an overlap between the Joint Committee and the Consultative Assembly: when both sit during the same week, there is likely to be repetition. It seems to me that the way in which the system is organized could be changed to advantage, although the Joint Committee could still meet between sessions of the Consultative Assembly, thus maintaining continuity.

The second problem that I should like to raise is concerned with the actual composition of these bodies. I feel that an effort should be made with a view to the ACP countries being represented increasingly by members of elective assemblies, rather than by their ambassadors, which they generally are at present. There are really two contradictions here: a first contradiction in the fact that Europe is represented by holders of elective office whereas many of the ACP countries are represented by ambassadors, and a second contradiction within the ACP group itself, which wants the State to be involved simultaneously in analytical debate and practical administration, which is contrary to the separation of powers.

The third aspect of the institutional problem that I should like to mention is the relationship which can and should exist between the proceedings of these parliamentary bodies and the European Parliament itself. It would be quite wrong to go to extremes in this matter. It would be excessive for the European Parliament to take no account of the proceedings of the Lomé Convention parliamentary bodies. It would be equally excessive for the proceedings of the Lomé Convention

parliamentary bodies to dictate those of the European Parliament. It is for this reason that I venture to suggest that the Parliament adopt the report as presented, without any amendments in one direction or another.

I should now like to outline some of the most interesting aspects of the sessions that I have attended, in which I have indeed, I trust, taken an active part.

Of the matters debated in Rome — apart from the situation in southern Africa which, with your permission, we can leave until the appropriate time — a number no doubt warrant more detailed examination in this House, since they have implications which extend beyond the scope of the EEC-ACP relationship.

The first set of problems consists of various aspects of ACP-EEC economic relations. Foremost among these is the sugar problem. Mr Sablé touched on it a moment ago. It is a problem which calls for analysis, but this must be done in the context of the common agricultural policy itself.

How can the Community operate an agricultural policy which results in considerable development of European sugar production at the same time as a policy on cooperation with the ACP States the effect of which is to increase the European surpluses by the amount of the quotas guaranteed to the ACP countries? A conflict between contradictory interests is bound to come to a head sooner or later, if this stage has not already been reached. The advantage of these ACP-EEC meetings is precisely that they bring such contradictions out into the open and prompt us to study them. We for our part are working on this particular problem in the Commission, and it will eventually come before this House.

The second problem which was discussed in the economic field — one calling for urgent attention — is of course the operation of STABEX. I can report in this connection that the Commission has undertaken to submit suggestions on the administration of the Lomé III STABEX even before discussions begin on the new guidelines which could be adopted for the Lomé II STABEX prior to Lomé III, and that arrangements have been made for an extraordinary meeting of the ACP-EEC Council of Ministers to be held in Brussels at the end of March, solely to discuss the problem of STABEX and its current difficulties.

The document that the Commission is now drawing up and will shortly complete, will be brought before this House at the same time as it is referred to the Joint Committee and the Consultative Assembly.

I should now like to move on to another type of problem which has received much attention in the proceedings of the ACP-EEC bodies; I refer to the very spectacular and in some respects very exciting emergence of the problem of the cultural dimension of EEC-ACP cooperation. This is not a matter — let us be clear on

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this — of affording the local cultures that we meet on their respective territories opportunities for expression of their traditional folklore. Nor is it a matter of giving artists, even modern ones, access to a public in Europe. No, the proposition is concerned with assimilation of the concept of development into the concept of culture, with finding ways of promoting development which do not interfere with the fundamental characteristics of each of the countries with which we are dealing, the special features that they derive from their history and geography.

The report inspired by Ambassador Schall, which has been the subject of interesting debates during recent sessions, undoubtedly deserves to be taken into consideration. We can rest assured that it will be an important aspect of the forthcoming negotiations. I feel that the importance of this report lies not only in the fact that it may lead to a special protocol taking account of certain new dimensions, but also in the fact that it will inevitably lead to a fundamental review of development, of the model for development. Do we see development as consisting in transferring technology and behaviour patterns to countries whose culture and civilization are not the same as ours? Or do we take the opposite view and see development as a matter of helping cultures to fulfil themselves and to realize their potential to the full? This is a fundamental debate which we shall have to hold among ourselves if we wish to enter into the negotiations for the next Convention in a positive frame of mind.

Mr President, the proceedings of the ACP-EEC parliamentary bodies would deserve more extensive coverage, but I shall end here, stressing that these are useful proceedings in which each side is learning from the other and that, with the passage of time, this learning process will make for real complementarity between our civilizations and countries.

Mr Denis (COM). — (*FR*) Mr President, in view of what has just been said by the Member of the Commission and the report by Mrs Cassanmagnago Cerretti, I withdraw my amendment No 1.

Mrs Cassanmagnago Cerretti (EPP), rapporteur. — (*IT*) Mr President, I will make use of these two minutes to thank my colleagues, but I would especially like to say to some of them that they have apparently read not the resolution, but rather the guidelines approved by the ACP. The resolution on sanctions is not mine. I quoted the article approved by the ACP and the EEC at the meetings in Rome and Harare. I wished to make this clear. Probably the smoke and the lateness of the hour contributed towards obscuring this point.

I would also like to stress that, on 16 December 1981, this Parliament adopted the resolution presented by one of our colleagues. I quote from the French:

Souligne l'exigence d'une cohérence entre les délibérations des organes parlementaires ACP/EEC et du Parlement européen et, dans ce sens, invite les commissions concernées du Parlement européen à tenir compte dans les travaux

(Stresses the need for consistency between the deliberations of the ACP-EEC parliamentary bodies and those of the European Parliament, and urges the relevant committees of the European Parliament to take account of this requirement in their work;)

I wished to quote this point in order to emphasize that last year we approved this approach, and that the line included in my report is: 'Charges its competent committees to study them, to support them, and to integrate them into their own activities.' In conceptual terms, this exactly corresponds to what was approved last year. I felt it was important to point this out.

President. — The debate is closed.

The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

5. Southern Africa

President. — The next item is the report by Sir James Scott-Hopkins (Doc. 1-657/82), on behalf of the Political Affairs Committee, on southern Africa.

Sir James Scott-Hopkins (ED), rapporteur. — Mr President, I am glad to have this opportunity, at long last, to speak to the report which stands in my name and which has taken such a very long time to reach the floor of this House. It was conceived way back, at some time last year, but now it is at last before us. Perhaps I ought to start off by saying that there really is not going to be enough time to go into all the amendments — approximately 180 of them —, which have been put down, and I apologize to honourable Members if I do not actually mention those particular ones in which they have an interest.

Briefly, I should make one other thing quite clear. We have just had a debate on the Cassanmagnago Cerretti report which basically deals with the ACP-EEC Convention meeting. They are an autonomous body and have every right to take any decision that they so wish; but there is no need for this House slavishly to follow it. Indeed, I hope we shall not necessarily do so.

Turning to my own report, Mr President, this deals not only with South Africa, but also southern Africa, and that is a point I hope honourable Members will keep in mind. Quite obviously, the Republic of South Africa dominates that region, both militarily and economically. There is no doubt about that, and therefore

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it is of prime importance when one is discussing the affairs of the region.

To turn to South Africa, therefore, first everyone in this House condemns *apartheid*. In varying degrees, we all agree that that regime is unacceptable, whatever the terms one cares to apply to it. So that is not what divides us. What does divide us in this House is how one is going to deal with it. One has to persuade the South Africans that *apartheid* must be abandoned, and abandoned at the earliest possible moment. The problem is what is the best method of doing so. In my report I have tried to lay out the various ways and means of doing this and what I think is necessary to achieve it. Let us look at the various alternatives that exist.

There is one current of opinion in this House and there is one side of public opinion which holds very strongly to the view that everything the nationalist government in South Africa does is abhorrent, dreadful and must be condemned at all costs. They see no light in the darkness whatever. There have been various very eminent gentlemen writing to me over the past months and explaining, in all sincerity like Bishop Trevor Huddleston, how, in their view, there is only one answer and that is to sweep away the existing government and to install a new one at almost any cost. This is an extreme view which I myself cannot support, even though I have said that I can understand the clear and reasonable motives that prompt these extreme views. I want — and I think the majority of this House wants — to see changes in South Africa come about without the letting of blood; changes which will bring about what we want here; that is that every man and woman should be free to express their views in South Africa as they wish and that all men and women should have the ability to play their part in the governing of their own territory.

And so I turn to alternative means. There are many amendments put down by honourable Members of this House who want to go, not to the very extreme of sweeping everything away in a bath perhaps of blood; but who want to exert the maximum pressure they can at every possible point by means of economic sanctions, military sanctions, nuclear sanctions, fuel sanctions, every kind of sanction that can be imagined. I do not believe that they will work, Mr President. I think we have learnt over the years that economic sanctions can only be applied for a very short time and for a very definite political purpose, and then only as a backup to other action. We have seen that in recent months. But where it is a long drawn-out affair, frankly they do not work. You have only to recall the examples of Zimbabwe, or Rhodesia; of what happened when the Russians invaded Afghanistan, or in the case of Ethiopia, to see that long-term sanctions are inevitably and invariably broken and they very rarely affect the people who are meant to be affected. And so I say to this House that to go along the lines of applying economic sanctions would be folly because

they would not work. South Africa is not a weak country; she is a strong one; inevitably they would be counterproductive in the end, and so I hope this House will not follow this line of action.

The only alternative must be to use other means to persuade the South African Government to move quicker in abolishing their *apartheid* laws than they have been doing. They have made strides, and let us welcome this; they have made strides in the past few months and years. There is no doubt about that; of course they have, and we should be foolish not to acknowledge the fact that they have done so; but the fact that they have not gone far enough is also arguable. The fact that there are now going to be three Chambers — one white, one coloured, one Indian — is a small step along the road. The fact that they have abolished *apartheid* laws in several areas where they have existed in the past — the blacks, for instance, can take part in local government now — is a welcome advance, but it is only a small step. There is talk now, I see, in the papers over the weekend that further advances are to be made to bring the blacks into actual participation in government in some form or other. That is what we are looking for; but it is a long time coming, Mr President, and I say here and now that unless the South African Government hurries up and moves quicker than it has in the past, there will not be time left. I would put the maximum amount of time at 5 years, before there must be proper participation by the black community of South Africa in the affairs of South Africa.

Steps, as I say, have been taken. Indeed, as far as sport is concerned, there is no doubt that *apartheid* has been abolished, and there is an enormous amount of hypocrisy in the West concerning the application of restrictions against the sporting community. Nevertheless, there are still vast areas where it does exist still, and that has got to be done away with. People must live where they want to. They must be able to take part in activities — in trade unions and so on — without let or hindrance. Those things are all important.

Time flies, Mr President, and I cannot go on about that. Turning to Namibia, I was struck when I went there before Christmas to see how *apartheid* laws had been completely abolished in that country. That was very welcome, and I deeply regret that Mr Mudge has seen fit to resign and that the South Africans have taken over the government of that territory again. I hope that very soon that situation will be terminated.

I must be careful here, Mr President, because I understand that there are secret negotiations going on at the moment between the South African Government and the Government of Angola over certain issues concerning a withdrawal of both sides from the frontier area.

I hope they are successful. We in this House must do all we can to bolster our own five countries in doing

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what they can to help the two parties — the South Africans and the Angolans — to come to an agreement whereby Namibia can become free and free elections can be properly held, properly supervised, without fear, or threat of force. That is absolutely essential in my view. I believe that the South Africans accept this fact. At least, I hope they do and that very soon we shall see that taking place.

As I said, there is another aspect of my report, which is southern Africa. It is absolutely essential that what used to be called the front-line States — Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Angola and Mozambique — should be strengthened. The Lomé Convention is a very good method by which this can be done. I think it is essential that we in this House should do everything we can to further that. The stability of those neighbouring States is absolutely crucial for peaceful change in South Africa. If that can be achieved and we ourselves in this House can help to improve and encourage this stability, by economic means, then, indeed, that is well worth doing. We must continue to do whatever we can.

My final word, Mr President. In my report I have tried to keep a balance. I have tried to say that although the South Africans have made advances which we welcome, they have not gone far enough. We have to go further. This House must encourage stability throughout the area. So let us hope that we shall be able to encourage the South Africans to move much faster than they have in liberating their people. We do not want bloodshed, and I hope they do not. Therefore, everything we can do in that sphere must be welcomed. So I hope the balance of this report will be kept and that we can encourage, therefore, advance for all the peoples of South Africa.

(Applause)

Mr Lezzi (S), *draftsman of an opinion for the Committee on Development and Cooperation*. — (IT) Mr President, the aggression in Lesotho, the repeated acts of political, military and economic destabilization in Angola and Mozambique, the thousands of arrests for violation of the pass laws call for a firm condemnation and immediate, vigorous political action on the part of the European Parliament. It is necessary, however, to obtain a broad consensus for a resolution which should represent a synthesis of different approaches sharing certain basic aspects.

There is a widespread awareness of the urgent need to conclude the negotiations for the independence of Namibia, an independence recognized by the international Community, and therefore necessitating the participation of SWAPO.

Namibia independence and the consequent stabilization of Angola will have a positive influence on the entire region. It will further the development of race

relations in South Africa, give new impetus to the North-South dialogue, to EEC-SADCC regional cooperation and to cooperation with the whole African continent.

There is also a widespread awareness that apartheid is not only a moral issue, but a question of international politics as well, one which arouses public opinion and calls upon Community Europe and the European Parliament to formulate precise and realistic objectives, without which no effective political action is possible.

The policy of verbal protests accompanied by a substantive collaboration with South Africa has up to now served only to safeguard financial and commercial links with Pretoria, without in any way facilitating a peaceful but radical solution of the racial problem.

In fact, the so-called cosmetic measures, the gradual constitutional reforms, recently designated as a 'trap', the policy of the 'Bantustans' represent no change in the nature of the system of apartheid; they aggravate the abuses inherent in this system and arouse profound anxiety in the South African intellectual, religious and economic elites which represent the English-speaking minority. They incite the non-white population of South Africa to fight for a socially and economically integrated society, with equality before the law.

A persistent involvement of Community Europe with Pretoria would be not only a hindrance to the development of relations with the rest of the African continent, but it would also favour the destabilization of the entire region, allowing further opportunities for foreign political and military intervention. The supply of raw materials would be endangered, and, more serious still, international relations and world peace jeopardized.

On behalf of the Committee on Development and Cooperation, we affirm the validity of the results found by the fact-finding mission, and we express our full support for the Harare and Rome resolutions, for their objectives and the means chosen to pursue them.

It is not a question only of improving the scope and control of the application of the code of conduct; it is also a question of respecting the embargo on arms, petroleum products and nuclear technology, and of halting any sizeable capital investments: direct and precise sanctions, for a limited period of time.

The defeat of the Five in Geneva, back in 1979, and the resulting failure of western policy in Namibia should serve to demonstrate that without adequate means to exert pressure, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to find the desired peaceful solution to the problems of Namibian independence and the racist regime in South Africa.

(Applause)

Mr Pisani, Member of the Commission. — (FR) Mr President, the Commission considers it appropriate to intervene at this stage of the debate to clarify a number of points, even though it may be necessary later on for me to reply on specific aspects raised by the many speakers listed.

I should first like to state clearly that the European Economic Community has maintained consistent positions on the political problems presented by this part of the world; it is probably as well to reiterate these positions.

On the apartheid system, the Member States renewed their position in September 1982 at the United Nations General Assembly. They did so unambiguously.

On the problem of Namibia, in 1978 the Member States decided to work towards a solution founded on Security Council Resolution 435. Three Member States played an active part in the contact group and are still trying to help to find a solution.

In December 1982 the Member States collectively made a declaration in the most open and demanding terms possible before the United Nations General Assembly.

As regards the Southern African Development Coordination Committee (SADCC), the European Economic Community has been constantly involved in helping to set up this organization and only recently, in January 1983, at Maseru in Lesotho, both the Community as such and the Member States gave undertakings which will help to promote development of the economic action that is needed.

Regarding the armed incursions made by South Africa into the territory of SADCC countries, in August 1981 the Community through its Council condemned the attacks on Angola and in December 1982 it condemned the raid on Maseru.

As to South Africa's action aimed at achieving economic and social destabilization in the region, in January 1983 all the Member States represented in Maseru signed the communiqué which specifically mentions the destabilizing role played by South Africa in this region of the world, which the European Economic Community regards as an important region and a dangerous region to which we in the European Community should pay the closest attention.

Secondly, so that the facts are clearly established, I should like to stress the substantial nature of the aid granted by the Community to the countries in this region. The annual amount of aid provided by the Community to the SADCC countries is roughly 175 million ECU, including the 70 million ECU under the regional programme. This aid is directed primarily at reducing the southern African countries' dependence on South Africa in four essential areas: transport

and communications; reliability of food supplies and agriculture; education and training; energy and development of mineral resources.

I should like to take a few moments at this point to emphasize that the European Economic Community has committed itself in a fundamental way in taking this course. There is a tragic aspect to the situation in which the southern African countries find themselves, in that they are economically and technically dependent on a country which they cannot regard as other than their enemy; as they attempt to achieve development through their own efforts, there are considerable pressures on them to allow themselves to be manoeuvred into greater dependence on their neighbour. The European Economic Community and the Member States are therefore making a considerable political commitment when seeking, through their economic and all manner of other interventions, to give the SADCC countries the means of achieving a degree of autonomy which would change the nature of relations between southern Africa and South Africa. Action to promote development always has a political content, but this is doubly true in this case, since the aim here is to enable a group of countries to release themselves from their dependence on their turbulent neighbour.

In running down the list of Community initiatives in this region, I should also mention the decisions taken by the Community in favour of a resumption of aid to Angola and Mozambique, these being the coastal countries in the region, affording access to both the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, and countries whose involvement in the region's development is clearly essential in the eyes of all concerned. Moreover, as we know, Angola and Mozambique are due to take part as negotiators in the forthcoming negotiations on the third Lomé Convention.

Finally, the European Economic Community — and the Parliament is aware of this — is active on behalf of Namibian refugees through non-governmental organizations, notably the United Nations Organization.

Having outlined the position of the European Economic Community as represented by its executive institutions, I should now like to go through the Scott-Hopkins report pointing out those areas where the line adopted is not absolutely consistent with the Community's position. Before doing so, however, I have to say that these differences are not always as dramatic as some people would make out.

A small criticism that I would make — but Sir James Scott-Hopkins will point out that this is the fault of the calendar — is that the report contains no reference to South Africa's most recent military action in Lesotho. This military action is nevertheless significant and seriously calls in question the basis of the optimism shown by some Members of this Parliament regarding South Africa's behaviour towards its neighbours. I am not convinced that South Africa has opted

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for any fundamental change in its behaviour. I simply believe that, faced with the groundswell of international opinion, it is trying to give itself the appearance of a more liberal country while maintaining an intransigence or indeed aggressive attitude locally.

I should also like to point out, again in connection with the Scott-Hopkins report, that the tone that it adopts in its references to SWAPO does not chime with the fact that SWAPO has been recognized as an interlocutor of the contact group States, so that there is likely to be a contradiction between this implied or explicit criticism of this organization and the fact that it is otherwise regarded as a valid party to efforts to find a solution to the fundamental problem of Namibia's independence. I should also like to say that Sir James Scott-Hopkins approaches the problem of Walvis Bay as though it could be dealt with separately from the problem of Namibia itself. This is no doubt what South Africa would like to see, but it is not consistent with the fundamental approach adopted either by the Namibians or by the southern African countries. This is therefore one problem to which attention should be drawn.

Coming back to my earlier remarks, I should like to stress that the action being taken by various countries and international organizations to promote the cause of self-determination perhaps deserves more prominence in the report and the resolution than it has so far been given.

A final remark before I come to the problem of sanctions. I should point out that Sir James Scott-Hopkins, on behalf of the committee for which he has acted as rapporteur, has clearly avoided all discussion of the economic destabilization that South Africa is attempting to achieve in the region. I would remind him of what I was saying a moment ago: in the final communiqué issued after the Maseru conference a week ago, the Member States, all of which were present at Maseru, put their names to a communiqué which referred specifically to South Africa's role in this respect. In other words, I find that the Scott-Hopkins report is based on the hypothesis of a spirit of goodwill, a changing mood in South Africa, a hypothesis which Sir James was expounding a moment ago in his speech and which appears to me to be optimistic in many respects.

I should now like to discuss the problem of sanctions, which was raised in the debates of the ACP-EEC parliamentary body held in Harare and then Rome.

During those debates — and I wish to make this clear to everyone present — sanctions were described as constituting one among various means to be employed in a policy of bringing pressure to bear on South Africa, not as the starting-point or the only weapon that the Community should use against South Africa. The use of sanctions was approached in the context of

this more general process, as the last resort if other means failed.

The prospect of using sanctions fills me — and here I speak for myself — with grave misgivings. First, if sanctions were applied by the European Economic Community — let us assume this for argument's sake — but not by other key developed countries such as the United States or Japan, they would be an ineffectual and *ipso facto* despicable weapon. Secondly, it is far from certain that South Africa would not be able to shift a substantial proportion of the burden of sanctions taken against it onto just those southern African countries that they were intended to liberate. Southern Africa's dependence on South Africa is such that it is inconceivable that any system of sanctions applied to South Africa would not have serious effects on the southern African countries; I am well aware that the SADCC States have accepted this risk, and I respect their determination, but I believe that we must analyse it very carefully. Thirdly, I am convinced that it would be unrealistic to suppose that such sanctions would not have adverse effects on the European economy, and this too must be taken into account.

On behalf of the Commission I should like to say that, despite the uncertainties, difficulties and dangers of sanctions, the South Africans should be under no illusion that they are permanently immune to pressure, which will become increasingly intense and constraining, more and more critical of their behaviour.

If the South Africans were not convinced that the European Economic Community had decided gradually but irreversibly to bring pressure to bear on them, there would be little likelihood of their changing their ways, unless — and I hope that this solemn message will not be lost on their leaders — irresistible forces rise up within their country to put an end to white rule. That is what we must try to prevent; we must work towards the establishment of a multiracial society. This is a pressing problem, and the longer it is put off, the more tragic it will undoubtedly become.

A final word. The code of conduct is a matter for political cooperation, falling outside the Commission's remit. A report on implementation of this code will shortly be brought before you for your consideration.

Mr President, were I called upon to draw any conclusion from these observations at this stage of the debate, I would say that the Commission regards the problem of southern Africa as one of the important problems that we have to face up to, not only because of our commitments under the Lomé Convention and our development policy, but because, in an uncertain world, southern Africa is a potential focus of confrontation which could represent a threat to stability throughout the world.

Mr Pearce (ED). — (FR) The Member of the Commission has made no comment on the support given by

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the rapporteur to the action taken by the Government of the Republic of South Africa to do away with some aspects of the apartheid system, particularly through the setting-up of parliamentary chambers, or 'colleges', for the coloured population and the Asian population. Could he do so at this stage?

Mr Pisani, Member of the Commission. — (FR) I am pleased to answer Mr Pearce's question. It is based on the hypothesis which I have already challenged, according to which the South African Government has adopted a significant change of course. That is very much open to debate. I am still convinced personally that the anti-apartheid forces which are beginning to express themselves in South Africa are marginal and that they are being kept firmly on the sidelines.

I therefore reiterate that the Commission considers this to be a particularly important region of the world which poses a major risk to the general balance. The Commission will continue to promote the economic and technical development of the southern African countries so that they can become less dependent on South Africa, which would enable them to entertain different relations with this neighbour. At the same time, however, it believes that constant reaffirmation of the Community's position on apartheid and independence for Namibia is a political necessity.

Mr Lomas (S). — Mr President, I hope that every Member of this House will condemn the odious regime in South Africa, where citizens are oppressed simply because of the colour of their skin. Our President, Mr Dankert, summed it up when he addressed the International Conference on Women and Apartheid last year. He said that apartheid is the most unacceptable of all social systems because it institutionalizes and perpetuates a totally false type of inequality, i.e. inequality because of race.

It has been suggested that there have been reforms in South Africa, but I think that, as Mr Pisani said, most people have seen through these so-called reforms as, at best, a cosmetic exercise and at worst, as the quite respectable British newspaper *The Observer* described them, a con trick. And I quote from the *Observer* editorial: 'So many people have longed to see South Africa change its ways for so long that the wish has become father to the thought.' The South African Government has become skilled at exploiting this. Dr Verwoerd's homelands policy was a political confidence trick. Tokenism in sport is another and Botha's new constitution is the latest. Our own Committee on Development and Cooperation, in its opinion, says no improvement has taken place in human rights.

Of course there have been no improvements. The cruel resettlement policy of South Africa continues with the forced removal of millions of blacks from their homes. The obnoxious pass laws are being inten-

sified, and *The Times* reported recently that over two thousand people were arrested in one month in areas of Cape Town where blacks can work but are not allowed to live with their families. Torture is widespread, as are deaths in custody. Killing on the streets is commonplace, and Soweto and Sharpville and other incidents are proof of that.

So we all condemn these abominations, but adopting resolutions will change nothing. This resolution as it stands, I regret to say this, will not worry South Africa in the least. They are quite used to resolutions condemning apartheid. What we have got to do is something positive, and in my view that means imposing financial and economic sanctions and boycotts. Otherwise we stand accused of condemning apartheid in our speeches, while supporting it financially.

And if we do agree to call for sanctions, Mr President, we shall line up with almost the whole of world opinion. Our Committee on Development and Cooperation calls for it, the United Nations by 130 votes to 8 called for it, even the Church of England has called for sanctions and said that the five thousand million pounds of British investments was, and I quote, 'but-tressing the most vicious regime since Nazism'. I thought it quite disgraceful, Mr President, that the IMF recently agreed to lend over 600 million pounds to prop up a regime despite a vote in the UN of 121 countries against that and only three in favour of it. Why did the IMF not lay down conditions and insist that South Africa behave like a civilized nation before they start lending them such enormous sums of money?

Of course, there is the argument, and it has been used, that sanctions would hurt the blacks, but it is the blacks themselves who are calling for sanctions. SWAPO, ANC, and all sorts of voices from black southern Africa have urged us to do this. It is also argued that sanctions do not work. But, you know, we stand accused of hypocrisy if we rush into imposing sanctions against Argentina and Poland and the Soviet Union and then say that they do not work when it comes to imposing them against South Africa.

There is something else we can do which would be positive, and that is to support the demands made in the report and amendments for stricter controls over the code of conduct. There are far too many companies making enormous profits there and paying wages lower than the minimum wages laid down in the code. The British press has on many occasions drawn attention to this. Only recently a list of companies was published that are paying less than what are after all pretty low wages anyway: British Electric Traction, Quinton Hazell, a subsidiary of Burmah Oil, Dunlop, Guest Keen and Nettlefold, Lonhro Low and Bonar, Turner and Newall, Wimpey, all paying below the pitifully low rates laid down in the code of conduct. There are others too, like Rowntree Mackintosh, for example,

Lomas

which has been the subject of much criticism in our media for its appalling record there.

This list of companies, Mr President, is a roll-call of shame. In referring to this code the motion actually contradicts itself. In the preamble it refers to the meagre results of the code — and that is an accurate description — but then it goes on to refer later to the valuable contribution the code is making. Well, both statements cannot be right. The first one is the correct one, and I hope that we shall delete the second.

Mr President, I have referred to the repression within South Africa, but the South African Government is also guilty of aggression against its neighbours, particularly against Namibia and Angola, but also against other frontline States. The latest horror in Lesotho, where South African troops gunned down innocent women and children, has already been condemned by this Parliament and shows the appalling record of armed aggression by that State.

I want to turn now to the particular problem of Namibia, which is still occupied illegally by South Africa despite the fact that its mandate ended there 17 years ago. South Africa has used one excuse after another to prevent the Namibian people from gaining their independence. It is regrettable that all the main policies of South Africa against Namibia are not in fact reflected in this motion.

Let us take first the objection to Cuban troops in Angola. Angola, a non-aligned nation, asked for assistance from Cuba, another non-aligned nation. Oh yes, they are the presidents of the non-aligned countries, and you really ought to keep up with events if you do not know that. Angola asked for assistance to defend itself against repeated attacks by the South African forces, and then only after the large-scale invasions of Angola in 1975 and 1976. They had every right to do that under the United Nations Charter, Article 51, which gives a country the right to seek assistance from another. It had every right to do that, and the Cuban troops are not there for aggressive purposes. They have not gone outside of Angola. There are none in Namibia, though there are 100 000 South African troops there illegally. There is no reference in any UN resolution to linking the withdrawal of Cuban troops in Angola with Namibian independence. It would really be a very false position to call for this now in isolation from the general situation. The Cuban troops will leave Angola when South Africa stops its attacks on that country and withdraws its army which is still occupying parts of southern Angola. Otherwise they will not withdraw nor can they be expected to, as this would simply leave Angola at the mercy of further South African attacks.

Now, as far as the general situation in Namibia is concerned, I have referred to the fact that South Africa is still occupying it illegally. Its troops arrest, torture and murder people, and destroy villages. Yet, despite all its

efforts, it has totally failed to dominate the people of that country, its puppet government there has just collapsed and South Africa has resumed direct rule.

It is becoming more and more obvious to all informed opinion that SWAPO has the backing of the overwhelming majority of the people. Even South African intelligence admits that SWAPO has the support of at least 85% of the population. Yet this motion calls for the disbanding of SWAPO forces. It is an insult to the people of Namibia to describe SWAPO, who have borne the brunt of South African aggression, as terrorists. There has been no call for such action by the United Nations. Indeed SWAPO has agreed to withdraw its forces to base camps if and when an election takes place under the supervision of the United Nations. SWAPO has agreed to a cease fire, but South Africa has rejected it. Whilst both the UN and the OAS accept SWAPO as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, even SWAPO itself has said that that description would not be relevant in the event of an election since they accept the right of other groups to contest those elections. But you can see the strategy, can you not? Get the Cuban troops out of Angola; get rid of the SWAPO forces from Namibia and you will leave a clear run for the South African troops to do whatever they like in that part of southern Africa. We are in danger of isolating ourselves from almost the rest of world opinion if we support this call for the disbanding of SWAPO. It would be received with incredulity by any informed observer of southern African politics.

There is one other reference, Mr President, to Namibia which I think we also have to reject. That is the future of Walvis Bay. The motion says that this should be discussed by an independent Namibia and South Africa. The UN has stated quite clearly in its resolution that Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia and if Namibia gets its freedom then Walvis Bay is a part of that freedom and it is not up for negotiations with South Africa. This is quite clear and unambiguous.

I hope, Mr President, that Parliament will reject all these excuses for delaying Namibian independence, will press strongly for the withdrawal of South African troops and the speedy implementation of UN resolutions.

I hope it will also agree that elections should be on the basis of one-man-one-vote and will not get involved in calling for complicated procedures which can only confuse the issue.

Finally, Mr President, I want briefly to quote two very important and very different political figures: the former United States Defence Secretary, Robert McNamara, and Nelson Mandela. Mr McNamara said this in a recent speech in Johannesburg: 'US policy should be based on the recognition that black nationalism in South Africa is a struggle whose eventual success can at most only be delayed at immense

Lomas

cost but clearly cannot be denied. Indefinite delay will only guarantee that at some point black resentment will erupt into widespread violence, supported by bases and arms outside the country. The United States must make it clear to the whites of South Africa that in the face of such violence the United States will not support them against the blacks.' That was a very clear statement.

Nelson Mandela said this at the opening of this defence case from the dock in the Pretoria Supreme Court in 1964: 'Africans want to be paid a living wage. Africans want to perform work which they are capable of doing and not work which the government declares them to be capable of. Africans want to be allowed to live where they obtain work and not be endorsed out of an area because they were not born there. Africans want to be allowed to own land in places where they work and not be obliged to live in houses which they can never call their own. Africans want to be part of the general population and not confined to living in their own ghettos. African men want to have their wives and children to live with them where they work and not be forced into an unnatural existence in men's hostels. African women want to be with their men folk and not be left permanently widowed in the reserves. Africans want to be allowed out after 11 o'clock at night and not be confined to their rooms like little children. Africans want to be allowed to travel in their own country and to seek work where they want to and not where the Labour Bureau tells them. Africans want a just share in the whole of South Africa; they want security and a stake in society. Above all, we want equal political rights because without them our disabilities will be permanent.' And he ended his statement with these words: 'During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.'

That statement was made 20 years ago and Mandela is still rotting in jail. The least we can say today to him and to his fellow black citizens is that those who are struggling against one of the most brutal and vicious regimes the world has ever known will have our full support; that we are going to do everything within our power to help you to achieve a state of society where you can live in peace, in freedom and with dignity.

(Applause from the left)

Mr Schall (EPP). — *(DE)* Mr President, we owe the rapporteur, Sir James Scott-Hopkins, our gratitude and appreciation for drawing up this report, in which he had the task of considering extremely difficult aspects of the relations between the European Com-

munity and the countries and peoples of one of the most critical regions in the world. We must also thank him for his willingness to compromise and for his acceptance of what were in some cases controversial opinions on his report in the detailed discussions and the voting in the Political Affairs Committee.

The fact that some of the criticism of the report voiced by outvoted committee members has been retained in the final version and may now be reflected in the attitudes of the groups on the resolution is due not to the rapporteur but to the explosiveness of this politically important subject area, since it concerns not only the lofty moral goals of the Member States — peace, respect for human rights and solidarity with the developing countries — but also their own vital interests in the economy, foreign policy, the security of Europe and even the freedom of sea routes. I also thank you, Sir James, for the balanced way in which you presented your report.

My opinion and what other members of my group will be saying later generally reflect the attitude my group has towards your recommendation to the House to adopt this resolution. Quite naturally, with so wide-ranging a subject, covering many political factors in a region which is undergoing a critical process of development, there are also varying shades of political opinion in my group. What is decisive, however, is that the resolution reflects the basic conviction shared by all the members of my group in that it calls for the peaceful coexistence of all the people in the region and for the condemnation of the use of force by whomsoever, for respect for inalienable human rights, the dignity of the individual, regardless of his race, his nationality and the colour of his skin, for constitutional democracy based on the principle of freedom — in all countries, including those adjoining the Republic of South Africa — and for solidarity with all nations and people who are in need and require help to assure them of an existence worthy of human beings. This in particular we regard as a special responsibility and as our Christian and moral duty.

In the motion for a resolution these demands are directed at all the peoples in the southern part of Africa, although the appeal and the condemnation of violations of human rights it entails are primarily aimed at the Republic of South Africa as the politically, economically and militarily strongest country in southern Africa. Twelve of the 24 demands contained in the resolution concern the rejection of the apartheid policy. For only if the Republic of South Africa accepts its special responsibility in southern Africa in future can there be stability and peaceful development in that part of Africa, which is and will continue to be extremely important not only for the future of Africa but also and in particular for Europe, for its political and economic security and independence.

The motion for a resolution therefore rightly refers to the mutual interests linking southern Africa and the

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Member States. Some people may object that there are gaps in the motion for a resolution, that it does not do justice to all the factors which at present underly the internal situation in southern Africa.

The Republic of South Africa, as we well know, faces considerable problems as regards both its internal development towards inevitable reforms and the external and military threat to its own security. We are aware of the part played by a region of such world economic and geopolitical importance as southern Africa in the general context of what I should like to call 'open questions in the East-West conflict'. The Soviet Union's strategic goal is quite obviously and irrefutably — even if its friends do not like hearing this — to exert influence in one form or another over Africa, which is closely linked to Europe in many respects and is indispensable in the mutual business of give and take. The practical form the Soviet Union's influence takes is clearly recognizable: Cuban troops in Angola and other parts of Africa, the supply of equipment and Soviet arms to revolutionary mercenaries in some of the front-line States and the ideological influence of certain political parties.

All the more important, therefore, are measures which make for peaceful development, a balance of interests and the prevention of extreme contrasts and explosive situations. The absence of any reference to this should not, however, be mistaken as one-sidedness in the political evaluation of the situation in southern Africa. Thus the call for independence to be granted to a free and democratic Namibia — I refer to paragraphs 14 and 24 of the motion for a resolution — is a clear expression of condemnation of military pressure, political blackmail and totalitarian ideas on both sides — not only in the Republic of South Africa, but in any country which is still flirting with such measures or even using them.

Reference is specifically made here to the responsibility of the Republic of South Africa for a free and independent Namibia because the politically relevant circumstances, the stabilization and peaceful development of southern Africa that we all want, largely depends on this country's initiative and determination to introduce reforms. This is not, however, to overlook the responsibility that the other countries and peoples throughout the region bear.

Not the least important aspect of the motion for a resolution is its affirmation of the willingness of the Member States to do their utmost to improve the region's economic prosperity as a source of stable and peaceful development and to provide any technical, organizational and educational assistance that is needed.

The European Community's contributions, clearly referred to throughout the motion for a resolution, to safeguarding peace, the balance of interests and stability will help to ensure the progress of mankind and

thus a better future for many millions of people. They are the feature of the report as a whole, even if certain hopes and politically quite relevant questions remain unanswered, and my group therefore approves the motion. I will conclude with a quotation from Seneca: He who settles a dispute without hearing the other side cannot be considered just even if his decision is correct.

Lord O'Hagan (ED). — Mr President, I suspect that if Seneca had been listening to this debate he would have felt that the last two interventions proved that Sir James Scott-Hopkins had found the centre of gravity of the Parliament and was on the right lines.

As Mr Lezzi said, speaking on behalf of the Committee on Development and Cooperation, Sir James' report is a clear and responsible analysis of the problem, and what we must seek to do today is to update its recommendations and conclusions. As Mr Pisani perhaps overlooked, the report was drafted and published on 4 October and so all points could not be mentioned in it. We must then try and drive it through this Parliament as the expression of the Parliament's will on southern Africa.

Now, Mr President, I am not calling for anodyne solutions or pious hand-washing leading to no activity. If you look at Sir James' report, you will see at the beginning that there was only one vote against it in the Political Affairs Committee. Consensus is not everything, but on a matter of this nature where no individual can claim a monopoly of concern and no political group must attempt to lay claim to a monopoly of compassion, we do need to build a common viewpoint so that our voice goes out in a united way, speaking for this Parliament to those who will listen to it round the world.

And I would suggest both to Mr Lomas and to Mr Schall that we need to find where we agree, not where we disagree. We need to seek for points of concord, not points of disharmony. We need to share our views and not to slate each other across the floor of this Chamber. I shall advise my group to vote against some of Mr Schall's and some of Mr Wittgenstein's amendments in the same way as I shall advise them to vote against Mr Lomas' where I feel that there is a chance that by tipping the balance too far one way or the other, we run the risk of losing a strong expression of view right the way around the hemicycle in this Parliament.

Now, Mr President, I have found the system of apartheid deeply revolting for many years and I am sure there are many people in all countries of the Community, in all political parties, who take this view. What we need to ascertain is not how strongly we feel. We do not need to measure our moral condemnation of what goes on in the Union of South Africa. We need to judge what it is that we can do.

O'Hagan

Now, Mr Lomas, I would like to congratulate through you, Mr President, because Mr Lomas has legitimated this Parliament for the British Labour Party. Like Mrs Castle, he has seen that this Parliament has a role; it has an elected and democratic place as an expression of the will of the people of Europe. And he has used it today for fifteen minutes so that he can influence those who run the Community and those who rule in South Africa and I congratulate him on having reached the end of the road to Damascus and seeing that the Community has a voice and that this Parliament has a place in improving the condition of the world.

And I will volunteer to come and pay tribute to him during his election campaign if he would like me to do so.

(Laughter).

Mr President, I say that because I believe in this Parliament, and I believe this Parliament has a voice in these matters, and if we want this Parliament to be effective, then we must seek for practical resolutions and not wild denunciations from one extreme or the other. So, Mr President, what we need — not today because today is unimportant, today is just taking — tomorrow in the voting is a centre of gravity round which this Parliament can coalesce, so that others inside, in the Commission, in the Council of Ministers, in the governments, in South Africa, in southern Africa as a whole, can see that this Parliament not only feels but thinks about these problems. It is that process of thought that we need to drive forward and when today's emotional effulgence from me and from others has finished, let us reflect in our groups on the best way to work together to produce an updated and commonsense series of amendments to Sir James' original, excellent proposals contained in his motion for a resolution. And with that, Mr President, I would like to conclude and leave extra time for others.

(Applause from the European Democratic Group)

Mr Genscher, President-in-Office of the Council. — *(DE)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, today's debate on the situation in southern Africa is, in the Council's view, urgently needed. Despite the several thousand kilometres that separate Europe from the part of Africa with which today's debate is concerned, some of the developments there do not leave Europe untouched. On the contrary, they affect our destiny in the long term. Developments in southern Africa do not always receive the public attention in Europe which they deserve. But anyone who looks further must be aware that this region is subject to threats which may give rise to a situation like that which exists today in the crisis-hit regions of the Middle East. That in itself is reason enough for us Europeans to follow developments in southern Africa with concern and interest. The tension in this part of the world is caused by local

factors, but it threatens — the longer it continues and the more serious it becomes — to draw external powers and their strategic interests ever more deeply into the conflict. It must therefore be in the interests of everyone in this region, including those who are in the stronger position today, that even changes which have been recognized as inevitable should be brought about by peaceful means and as quickly as possible.

The South African Government has repeatedly said in the last few years that the people of Namibia should themselves decide the country's future. But it continues to hold on to this territory. Only free elections in which all the political forces can take part, confident that they will be treated equally, and which are therefore recognized by the international community as an expression of Namibia's right to self-determination, can open the way that will lead this country on to a prosperous future as a sovereign State.

The solution proposed by the United Nations in the Security Council's Resolution 435 has also been accepted by South Africa. There is no realistic alternative to this solution.

The countries of the European Community therefore support the efforts of the Secretary General of the United Nations and of the Western 'contact group' to implement this solution as soon as possible. The present talks between the Governments of Angola and South Africa and between Angola and the United States of America are also very important for Namibia and the region as a whole. The relaxation and normalization of the situation in southern Angola could improve the prospects for an early, peaceful solution to the Namibia problem. It is, of course, essential that South African military incursions into Angolan territory stop. Above all, South Africa must waste no more time in clearing the way for an internationally recognized solution to the Namibia problem based on the UN plan adopted in 1978 and so show the world and particularly its African neighbours that it is prepared to honour international commitments.

Despite continuing economic linkages, the relationship between South Africa and its neighbours is characterized by distrust and enmity. Although the conditions at present are hardly conducive to friendly cooperation, the actions of all the parties really interested in peace in this region must be guided by the strict observance of international law and in particular the principle of non-interference and respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty.

Consequently, the Ten sharply condemned South Africa's military action in the capital of Lesotho on 9 December 1982. They appeal to the government in Pretoria to refrain from any direct or indirect intervention in the territory of neighbouring countries. It is illusory to believe that a policy of preemptive or retaliatory strikes across national frontiers will get rid of

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problems which have largely been caused by the past failure to take action at home.

The system of statutory racial segregation and the exclusion of the black majority from any say in politics and from positions of responsibility in the Republic of South Africa are a source of tension throughout the region. We are aware of the major difficulties the South African Government faces, and we note with great interest any change and any proposal for reform. But we believe that the foundations for a productive future for the country can only be laid in an open dialogue between the government and genuine spokesmen representing all sections of the population. The present proposals for a reform of the constitution are still based on the concept of separate development and allot to black South Africans a position which they cannot regard as equal or adequate. Deprivation of citizenship, resettlement on the grounds of ethnic origin and a widespread system of police repression and the inhuman effects they have are a permanent indictment of the policy of apartheid.

The governments of the Ten have repeatedly protested against banning orders and arrests without judicial investigation. They have taken up the cause of individuals affected by such measures, which are incompatible with our ideas of constitutionality. With the Code of Conduct for firms with South African subsidiaries the Ten are also trying to help to ensure the equal treatment of black workers.

Significant changes have been made in the employment sector in recent years. The role the trade unions have to play will be very important if the country is to have a peaceful future. The countries of the European Community have a serious interest in stability and economic progress in southern Africa. Only then will a genuine partnership between the two regions be possible. They therefore welcome any step which overcomes divisions and paves the way for closer cooperation in southern Africa. The association of States in the Southern African Development Coordination Conference has therefore had our political and economic support from the outset. We offer these countries, individually or together, extensive cooperation. This offer will also be open to Namibia when it gains its independence.

The European Parliament's debate today is an illustration of the commitment of our Community to peaceful change in southern Africa to an order which is stable and fair to all the peoples in the region. I hope this will provide new impulses and also give new strength to development towards this goal.

Mr Denis (COM). — (*FR*) Mr President, the Pretoria regime's apartheid policy has put it beyond the pale of humanity, as no-one can forget. This has been reiterated countless times by the UN and the Member States and institutions of the Community, but South

Africa's leaders go on defying international law with rare cynicism. They are continuing to develop the odious racist system which imprisons and kills, as it killed the white anti-racist Neil Aggett and now threatens to kill the six activists — not three as we say in our oral question. How can we not pay the highest tribute to Nelson Mandela, who has been incarcerated in their jails for over twenty years?

Namibia is still under occupation, and the list of other charges is familiar to all: the murderous raid into Lesotho, the permanent invasion of Angola, the direct support to the armed gangs which are destroying essential installations and massacring even priests and nuns in Mozambique, Zimbabwe and other 'front-line' countries.

A former member of the French resistance has been moved to observe that it is in South Africa that the sinister work of Klaus Barbie and others guilty of crimes against humanity is being carried on today. The UN Secretary-General was right when he said last Saturday in Harare that nowhere else in the world had human rights been so constantly and so cruelly violated as under the apartheid regime.

Our Parliament must ask itself what it is that makes these racists so brazen, if it is not the support and indulgence shown towards them, the multinationals' shameless cooperation, the scandalous decision by the IMF — with the votes of the EEC Member States and the USA — to grant a billion dollars to the Pretoria regime, not to mention the sabotaging of the contact group's mission by the United States on the pretext of the presence in Angola of Cuban troops, who are there at the request of that country, which has as much right as any other to decide as to its relations and alliances without outside interference.

In this connection, Mr Cheysson recently pointed out that under no circumstances could a link be established between settlement of the Namibian problem — in accordance with Resolution 435 — and withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, which is a purely internal matter for the country concerned.

Public opinion has made its feeling known in countless ways. Enough is enough. The time has come for action.

The real issue is sanctions: an embargo on arms deliveries, an embargo on oil and nuclear energy products, global economic sanctions.

The lessons of experience have been learnt, namely that this is the only realistic way to eradicate apartheid at last, and this is the choice before our Parliament.

It is not enough, Sir James Scott-Hopkins, to find balanced words with which to condemn apartheid. The means of eliminating it have to be found. We must be guided first and foremost by the knowledge that the

Denis

adoption of sanctions would be a political act of major significance; it would be approved by our people and by our ACP partners, who want to see such action taken. They would see it as proof that we have the courage of our convictions. To say nothing on this subject in the resolution would be tantamount to making an accommodation with the apartheid regime. One does not humanize racism, one combats it. By the same token, when the puppet government in Windhoek has just collapsed, one cannot on the one hand appear to support UN Resolution 435 on independence for Namibia and on the other hand describe SWAPO as a terrorist organization when it is recognized by the United Nations as the only legitimate representative of the Namibian people, nor can one undermine the territorial integrity of Namibia through the Walvis Bay problem.

I say this solemnly: if this Parliament votes for the Scott-Hopkins motion for a resolution as it stands, it will be going against all the international organizations and failing in the responsibilities that it has accepted in its cooperation with the ACP countries.

The report does in fact mention the important evidence of the fact-finding mission. I would repeat that representatives of all the political groups were present alongside ACP delegates, that all of them without exception noted the evidence of a systematic policy of aggression, occupation and destabilization, and that the Consultative Assembly has voted for sanctions along these lines.

It is because we want our Parliament to play its full part in the struggle against apartheid that we have put down amendments on the key points: economic sanctions, recognition of ANC and SWAPO as the sole legitimate representatives of their people, an embargo on arms and oil etc.

A final word if I may, Mr President. Some courageous but anonymous individuals have this very day made bold to deface the exhibition on apartheid set up by agreement with the Quaestors. I wish to protest in the strongest terms against this scandal, which I see as an example of the extremes to which the racists are prepared to go in their opposition to the creation of awareness in European public opinion.

(Applause from the Communist and Allies Group)

Mr Irmer (L). — *(DE)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, above all else the following problems in southern Africa need to be solved: firstly, the people in the Republic of South Africa must be liberated from the apartheid system, which is contemptuous and unworthy of human beings; secondly, Namibia must become an independent country; thirdly, the economic position of the front-line States must be improved to make them economically less dependent on the Republic of South Africa; fourthly, the political independence of

these black African countries must be permanently safeguarded. Countries like Angola and Mozambique, but others as well, did not make great sacrifices in their years of struggle for independence only to become politically dependent on foreign powers, whoever they may be, and we must help them in their efforts to defend their independence in the long term.

Fifthly — and in the same context — the East-West conflict must be prevented from spreading to this region or from being carried out where it has no relevance: these countries have enough problems of their own without having the superpowers carrying on their disputes at the expense of the local population.

As my group sees it, there is no disputing that the real cause of all southern Africa's problems is the fundamental evil of apartheid. All other issues are directly or indirectly related to apartheid. Until apartheid has been eradicated in the Republic of South Africa, there can be no peace, no quiet and no productive development in southern Africa.

As it has always done, the Liberal and Democratic Group will again be expressing its deep loathing of apartheid on this occasion. We expected a great deal of the promises made by the Botha Government when it first took office. All it has done is made cosmetic adjustments, overdue, welcome, but without any real substance. If we consider the outcome of the deliberations of the President's Council and the new rights which the Coloureds and Asians are to be given, it is clear that the method being used here is that of 'divide and rule', that the Coloureds and Asians are to be removed from the united front of the races against which the government discriminates. This will consolidate rather than alleviate the present situation in which the great, black majority have no rights, and the Blacks continue to be treated as foreigners in their own country, and an added factor in this respect is that the gigantic fraud that is the homeland policy has not been changed by one iota.

In this situation the question is, of course, what can we of the European Community do about apartheid? This leads me to appeal to you, ladies and gentlemen, to drop ideological approaches, because none of this has anything to do with ideology — whether or not sanctions are imposed; it is all down to cold, hard facts.

It has already been said several times that sanctions are never likely to work. If I believed that we could eliminate apartheid with sanctions, I would be the first to call for their imposition. But it is a vain hope: sanctions have never worked properly. Even if they did work, would they not tend to make South Africa economically stronger and more self-sufficient? There are examples which show that this is so. But if they really did harm South Africa's economy, what would be the result? Who would lose their jobs? Not the Whites who uphold apartheid, but the very Blacks we want to help, the Blacks in South Africa, who would

then lose not only their jobs but also the right to live in the ghettos near the cities, in Soweto and so on, and be resettled in the homelands. Others to suffer would be those who come to South Africa from neighbouring countries to find work and so make a very important contribution to those countries' balance of payments.

We Liberals are not *against* sanctions in principle, but in the present circumstances we are not *for* them either. Instead, we have tabled an amendment calling on the Commission to submit a study on the economic consequences sanctions would have, firstly, in the Republic of South Africa itself, secondly, in the neighbouring countries and, thirdly, in the European Community.

But what can we do if sanctions are not the right way? We should try to stabilize South Africa's neighbours economically. We should help them to become economically more independent within SADCC and through bilateral cooperation. We should support the model of a multiracial society like Zimbabwe's and soon, it is to be hoped, Namibia's, because the better these models work and the clearer it becomes that Blacks and Whites and other groups can live together peacefully, the greater the effect they will have on reasonable people in South Africa, and they will then say: that is the solution for us too. Only equal rights can prevent bloodshed. We should do everything to ensure that this is also appreciated in South Africa.

We should also see whether we cannot give support even now to certain models in South Africa itself.

What I am saying now is my own personal opinion, which I have not discussed with my group. It would be interesting to find out, for example, whether we could not assist with the general education or vocational training of Blacks in South Africa. This presupposes that we find a partner in South Africa who is beyond suspicion, like a trade union or an organization like INKATHA.

In this context, I should like to say something about the organizations we talk to in South Africa. I would consider it completely wrong to reject contact with the ANC on ideological grounds, as some Members of the House suggest. That would certainly be politically short-sighted and unrealistic. But I would consider it equally wrong to regard the ANC as ideologically the only suitable organization for us to deal with and to say that all the others are completely out of the question. That would be tantamount to slandering those circles and groups in South Africa which are trying to bring about change by peaceful means. These are the groups we should be backing and offering our cooperation, because one thing is certain: only a peaceful solution will be in the interests of the peoples in that part of the world. It is not yet too late. Let us help to ensure that a peaceful solution is found.

(The sitting was suspended at 1.05 p.m. and resumed at 3 p.m.)

IN THE CHAIR: MR NIKOLAOU

Vice-President

6. Fisheries

President. — The next item is the statement by Mr Genscher, President-in-Office of the Council, and the Commission of the European Communities on the fisheries agreement.

Mr Genscher, President-in-Office of the Council. — *(DE)* Ladies and gentlemen, any extension to the edifice that is the European Community is a great event for Europe. The common fisheries policy which the Fisheries Ministers adopted on 25 January joins the common agricultural policy as the second area in which a whole sector of the economy is governed by a uniform legal framework in all the Member States. The satisfactory outcome of the negotiations was not achieved without sacrifices. All the Member States concerned have had to moderate their claims and demands, but the sacrifices made by individual countries are offset by the advantages they will all derive from this Community arrangement.

Speaking as President of the Council in this forum, I should like once again to thank all those who have been involved in the work on this compromise. My thanks also go to all the representatives of the Commission and Member States who paved the way for this compromise in more than seven years of negotiations. I would refer in this context to both Commissioner Kontogeorgis and his predecessor, Mr Gundelach, who was long involved in these negotiations. I should also like to thank the President of the Commission, Mr Thorn, my colleague and Foreign Minister Mr Ellemann-Jensen and the Secretary-General of the Council.

Together we succeeded in surmounting the final obstacles and, in three rounds of intensive talks in January, in completing a package that had already been generally tied up and so enabling all the Fisheries Ministers to agree. The European Parliament will be aware that this was not an easy decision for the United Kingdom, Ireland, France or Germany to take. Nonetheless, we have created the 'blue Europe'.

As with other Community policies, this does not mean, of course, that we can now assign this area to the files. The fisheries policy too must and will evolve. The most important step has been taken. The signing of the documents does not, however, signify the immediate restoration of the fish stocks of yesteryear or the renaissance of the great fishing fleets in which many Community fishermen once made their living.

Genscher

The new Community legislation will, however, permit the careful management of fish stocks. There is room for hope that in a few years' time there will again be enough herring and mackerel in the North Sea to give fishermen secure incomes and European consumers a cheap supply of fish. The planned structural measures, for which 250m ECU has been set aside for a three-year period, will also help to safeguard the future of European fishermen. The plan is to modernize fleets, to finance research voyages and to support aquacultural projects. We shall also be paying out laying-up premiums, and this will be unavoidable for some time to come.

The common fisheries policy also forms the basis for relations in the fisheries sector with such other countries as Canada, Norway, Sweden and The Faeroes. There are also agreements with Spain, Senegal Guinea-Bissau and the Republic of Guinea. Other agreements will follow. Another decisive factor — and one which the Presidency considers particularly important — is that we now have a clear basis for the negotiations on the accession of Spain and Portugal where they concern fisheries policy. The fisheries policy has become an *acquis communautaire*.

I should like to thank the European Parliament for the critical interest with which it has followed the negotiations. Parliament has given constant support to these negotiations through the resolutions it has adopted. The Council much appreciates this support. The Community has again shown that, even at economically difficult times, it is capable of making progress in areas in which the Member States have conflicting interests. We feel very confident now that the Community has succeeded in harmonizing what had appeared to be incompatible views.

(Applause)

Mr Contogeorgis, Member of the Commission. — (GR) Mr President, I would like to thank the President of the Council, Mr Genscher, for what he has said concerning the agreement on a common fishing policy finalized on 25 January, and to add that the Commission concurs with the message of optimism that emerges from Mr Genscher's statement, owing to the establishment, following the CAP, of the European Community's second integrated policy, namely the policy in the fishing sector.

To achieve this agreement entailed years of effort and involved the work of many people. In the final phase the personal contribution of the President of the Council, Mr Genscher, was decisive in making it possible to overcome a number of obstacles, and in achieving the final agreement. The Commission and its President, Mr Thorn, who worked together with Mr Genscher during this final phase to achieve the results that we have seen, express their thanks to Mr Genscher and all those who worked with him to arrive at this result.

On this point, Mr President, I too would like to refer to the continual and persistent efforts of the European Parliament to achieve a common fishing policy, and to express the thanks of the Commission for the decisive contribution made by Parliament to achieving the goal in question. Mr President, the Commission is fully aware how important it is that the fishing policy agreed upon should be applied successfully, and I would like to assure you that the Commission will do all it can to promote that end as well.

Within the framework of tomorrow's discussions, and on the occasion of the relevant oral questions by Members of Parliament, I intend to enlighten you about the programme that the Commission has started to apply and will continue to apply for a successful application of the common fishing policy.

(Applause)

7. Question Time

President. — The next item is the first part of Question Time (Doc. 1-1212/82)

We begin with questions to the Council.

As the author is not present, Question No 1 will be answered in writing.¹

Question No 2, by Mr Collins (H-705/82)²

A second action programme for the protection and information of consumers was adopted by the Council on 19 May 1981. The first action programme (1975-1979) resulted in only two directives being adopted by the Council, and now, 18 months into the second programme, no concrete measures have materialized.

1. Does the Council consider that the present impasse in the area of consumer protection is largely due to resistance at Council level?
2. Would the Council not agree that the political will in the field of consumer protection expressed by the Heads of State and of Government at the Paris Summit in 1972 is now being disavowed? What steps does the Council intend to take to remedy this situation?
3. How many directives are at present pending in the Council, and can any progress be expected during the coming presidency?
4. How seriously does the Council take the requests made by the European Parliament in

¹ See Annex of 9. 2. 83.

² Former oral question with debate (0-116/82), converted into a question for Question Time.

President

its resolution on the second action programme?

5. Will the Council set out clearly its priorities over the next two years, within the framework of the second action programme?
6. When will the next Council of Ministers concerned with consumer affairs take place?

Mr Genscher, President-in-Office of the Council. — (DE) When the appropriate Council bodies examined the various proposals put forward by the Commission, major problems of a very general nature became apparent. Discussions on the whole issue continue. It should be emphasized, however, that these problems vary in magnitude from one area of consumer protection to another. For example, it proved more difficult and took longer than expected to make progress on the proposals concerning the protection of consumers' economic interests, a specific example being the proposals for directives on confusing and unfair advertising, product liability and door-to-door sales.

More satisfactory progress has, on the other hand, been made with the proposals that more specifically concern the protection of the consumer against threats to this health and safety, although here again considerable obstacles have been encountered. In this area there are quite a number of proposals concerning foodstuffs (preservatives, residues of pesticides and animal feedingstuffs, industrial manufactures, cosmetics, pharmaceuticals, toys and so on). I can assure you that the Council takes the European Parliament's opinion and particularly its views on the second action programme very seriously.

Mr Collins (S). — I am fascinated at the reply. It is the only time in this Parliament that I can remember when the reply is shorter than the question.

Can the President-in-Office not accept that the fine words about the future of the Community with which the Council frequently comes along to Parliament are consistently undermined by the stupendous complacency of the Council towards Community consumer policy and by the lack of any real commitment to a fair hearing and a fair deal for consumers? Can the Council not accept that we need a date for a future Council meeting on consumer policy? We have many items which are pending since before this Parliament was elected. Can the Council not accept that, while it claims to be committed to a consumer policy, we see very little evidence of any progress at all and we do not believe that progress can be measured in terms of five or ten years?

Mr Genscher. — (DE) When making this criticism, the honourable Member is presumably aware that the President of the Council does not speak on his own

behalf but on behalf of a Council of Ministers in which ten governments are represented.

Activities in the area of consumer protection sometimes encounter difficulties at many different levels, including the technical level. I believe that the European Parliament too is well aware of such difficulties. For example, it has not yet delivered the opinion on the proposal for a directive on consumer credit which has been awaited since August 1979.

Miss Hooper (ED). — I would like to agree to some extent with the President-in-Office when he says that we should not measure our consumer activities simply by the number of specific directives that come through on the subject. But we must also consider consumer protection in relation to other policies within the Community. May we, therefore, have the assurance of the President-in-Office that the consumers' interest will not be totally dominated by that of the producers in the forthcoming discussions on agricultural prices and the farm price review?

Mr Genscher. — (DE) I will acquaint the Council with the view you have expressed.

Mrs Weber (S). — (DE) Would you agree with me that the protection and information of the consumer should also extend his awareness of dangerous occurrences near him. In so saying, I am reverting to a question I put to you last month, when I asked if you had found out what happened to the waste from Seveso last year and where it was deposited.

Mr Genscher. — I do agree with you, and I shall communicate your opinion to the Council. Articles 5 and 14 of Directive 78/139/EEC on poisonous and dangerous waste require the Member States to take the necessary action to ensure residues are disposed of in such a way that health and the environment are not endangered. The appropriate authorities in the Member States authorize and monitor the transport, treatment and storage of such residues. They are not required to communicate to the Community institutions details on the transport or whereabouts of the residues. The Italian authorities have given the Commission a plausible assurance that the waste from Seveso was disposed of in accordance with the directive I have referred to.

Mrs Squarzialupi (COM). — (IT) When the President-in-Office — who can never be happy when I am speaking because — unfortunately — he has either to look at me or to face the microphone . . .

(Laughter)

. . . speaks of slow progress for Community regulations in the areas of responsibility for defective prod-

Squarcialupi

ucts and selling at the place of residence, I believe this is a euphemistic way of saying that nothing is being done on these directives.

Seeing that these directives were ready before the direct elections of the European Parliament, I would like to know if, when we hold the campaign for the forthcoming elections, we should say what we said the last time: that is, that they are still waiting for approval by the Council of Ministers.

I would like to know, Mr President-in-Office, what you mean to do during the six months of your presidency to remove the obstacles preventing the implementation of these three directives.

Mr Genscher. — (DE) Unlike the President of the Council, the honourable Member has the advantage of being able to answer the questions put to her on her own behalf, whereas I have to speak for the Council. I can only assure you that I will endeavour to continue to take account of Parliament's need for information.

Mrs Schleicher (PPE). — (DE) The problem of unfair competition will continue to stew in the Council for the time being. It can hardly be denied that, with the opportunities provided by international television broadcasting, advertising plays a very important part. We therefore believe that the Council must regard the solution of the problem of unfair competition as a matter of urgency. What chance do you see as Council President, of the Council helping to bring about coordination of the various sectors?

I have a specific question in this context. We have a directive on the labelling of foodstuffs designed to bring clarity to the advertising sector. But we have been told that the Council is not yet sure how the word 'advertising' should be defined. Would it be possible for you to coordinate the sectors in such a way that inconsistencies do not occur, that the Commission, for example, is not instructed to propose legislation for the advertising sector when it is not yet clear what the word 'advertising' means? Can you not coordinate matters in such a way that the people of the European Community benefit?

Mr Genscher. — (DE) I will do my utmost. As regards your first question, I can tell you that the proposal for a directive on confusing and unfair competition, which was amended by the Commission in July 1979, has been considered by the appropriate Council group in three readings. The group has submitted a report on the most important problems still outstanding to the Permanent Representatives Committee. In early 1982 the Permanent Representatives Committee drew up a number of guidelines for the group. The discussions will continue under German chairmanship in the first six months of 1983. The President of the

Council will do his utmost to ensure that the matter is dealt with quickly.

Mr Mart (L). — (FR) I should like to ask the President-in-Office what action the Council has in mind in regard to the construction of nuclear power stations, especially near national borders.

I would quote the example of the four nuclear power stations at Cattenom, 3 km from the borders with Germany and Luxembourg, which the French built without asking their neighbours' opinion. I should have thought that such consultation would have been a matter of courtesy at least.

Mr Genscher. — (DE) We shall state our position on this in the context of another question.

Mr Pannella (CDI). — (FR) Mr President-in-Office, in connection with the question asked earlier by Mrs Weber, you replied that the Commission has duties and means of initiative in this field. I should first like to ask whether your words can be taken as an indirect request to the Commission, which incidentally has no representative here at the moment, or is it in any case your intention to take direct steps during the next six months to bring this matter to the attention of the Commission, calling upon it to fulfil this duty, which is of general interest.

Secondly, could you say whether or not you have in mind some form of initiative to be taken *vis-à-vis* the Member States which, as you say, do not seem to accept approaches made along these lines, after the example of what Mrs Weber has done. Are you as a Council, yes or no, going to take specific steps *vis-à-vis* these States during the next few weeks?

Mr Genscher. — (DE) As you know, the Commission is required to report to the Council and the European Parliament every three years on the basis of the reports it receives from the various Member States on the disposal of poisonous and dangerous waste. I shall make representations to all the Member States to achieve what you have suggested in your question.

Mrs Weber (S). — (DE) Mr President, pursuant to Rule 45 of our Rules of Procedure I request that a debate be held on the waste from Seveso and its disposal immediately after Question Time.

President. — The Bureau will consider your request at the end of Question Time.

Question No 3 by Mr Schwencke (H-706/82):¹

¹ Former oral question with debate (0-109/81) (Doc. 1-154/82), converted into a question for Question Time.

President

Pursuant to the EEC Treaty, the Council is obliged 'to lay the foundations of an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe...' and '... to ensure the economic and social progress of their countries by common action...', as stated in the Preamble, and to 'issue directives for the mutual recognition of diplomas (and) certificates...', as stated in the first paragraph of Article 57.

Regrettably, the Council has by no means adequately fulfilled its obligations in this respect. Twenty-five years after the signature of the EEC Treaty, the extent of mutual recognition by Member States of diplomas and university degrees is very limited, while neither the right of establishment nor the freedom to provide services (Articles 48 and 49 of the EEC Treaty) are fully guaranteed.

Given these facts, can the Council state:

1. What directives for the mutual recognition of 'diplomas, certificates and other evidence of formal qualifications' has it issued, and, where it has not been able to do so, which of the Member State governments were responsible?
2. What directives (pursuant to Article 57 of the EEC Treaty) are currently in force in the European Community, and to what extent are they demonstrably successful in making it easier to 'take up and pursue activities as self-employed persons', in particular in the case of the 'medical and allied and pharmaceutical professions' (Article 57(3) of the EEC Treaty)?
3. What measures does the Council intend to take in order to fulfil its obligations under the Treaty, including those concerning the recognition of non-academic certificates, and how soon does it intend to act?

Mr Genscher, President-in-Office of the Council. — (DE) In answer to the first and second questions the Council would refer the honourable Member to the directives it has adopted on the mutual recognition of the diplomas, certificates and other evidence of formal academic qualifications of physicians, dentists and veterinary surgeons.

With the mutual recognition of the title 'lawyer', the Council has also created the conditions which will give self-employed lawyers greater freedom to provide services regardless of their place of establishment in the territory of the Community.

The question of the academic recognition of diplomas and periods of study is still being actively considered by the Education Committee. It is for the Commission,

not the Council, to ensure that these directives are observed in the various Member States.

Regarding the third question, the Council would point out that directives on many activities have been adopted, particular examples being the activities of nurses and orderlies responsible for general care, carriers of goods and passengers, midwives, traders in and distributors of poisonous substances, wholesalers, agents in trade, industry and the crafts, manufacturers and processors (industry and the crafts), hairdressers, caterers, manufacturers of and traders in foodstuffs and semi-luxuries, retailers and various others, and freedom of establishment and freedom to provide services for certain providers of services ancillary to transport, travel agents and warehouse keepers.

The Council is aware that freedom of movement within the Community can be further facilitated by the recognition of evidence of formal qualifications in other areas.

Mr Schwencke (S). — (DE) My committee has the impression that delays have occurred not only because of the many problems and extensive investigations involved, but also because the Council is unaware of the importance of these matters, even though they are set out in the Treaties. We are virtually at the same stage as we were ten years ago. The number of diplomas and so on which are recognized, particularly in non-academic areas — and no preparatory work at all has been done in this respect — is so small that we still do not have in the Europe of the Ten the freedom of establishment for which the Treaties provide.

When do you think the commission the Council set up at the meeting of Education Ministers in May of last year will be in a position to say what results can be achieved in the foreseeable future with the Council's assistance?

Mr Genscher. — (DE) Do you mean academic certificates or admission to certain occupations?

Mr Schwencke (S). — (DE) Part of the problem of academic certificates was solved with the mutual recognition of physicians. No solution whatsoever has been found to the problem of non-academic certificates, and that is what my question principally concerns.

Mr Genscher. — (DE) All I can tell you is that as President of the Council I shall continue my efforts to achieve the progress we both want to see made in this area.

Mr Pannella (CDI). — (FR) On a point of order, Mr President. A moment ago Mrs Weber quoted Rule 45

Pannella

in calling for an extension of the debate following Question Time. I believe, Mr. President, that it should first be established whether or not this request has the support of at least five Members or of a political group. We can answer this: our group supports it officially.

Under the circumstances, Mr President, it is not for the Bureau, as you have stated, but for you as President to accept or reject Mrs Weber's request. It is now for you to decide.

President. — You are quite right, Mr Pannella.

Mr Brok (PPE). — (DE) The mutual recognition of academic and non-academic certificates is the criterion by which the younger generation decide whether or not the European Community exists. As Mr Schwencke has already said, discussions on this subject have been going on for over ten years. I would therefore ask you if you will give this subject the same priority that you have given to the fisheries dispute, where a result was achieved after a mere seven years. Perhaps, after ten years, this is the way to achieve practical results in an area is so important for the younger generation.

Mr Genscher. — (DE) Yes.

Mr Patterson (ED). — Mr President-in-Office, I was amused to hear over the English interpretation that work was continuing apace — which I take to mean fast. Is the President-in-Office aware that the European Parliament delivered its opinion on the mutual recognition of qualifications for architects as long ago as 1968 — not 1978, but 1968. Perhaps I could first of all ask him what the Council intends to do about that. Secondly, in the non-academic sphere, qualifications in engineering are a particularly bad example of where there is no mutual recognition . . .

President. — One question only, not two, Mr Patterson.

Mr Patterson (ED). — . . . It is not two questions, it is the same question.

(Laughter)

The question has three parts — and the part I am asking now is about mutual recognition of engineering qualifications in the non-academic sphere. Will his own government make arrangements to recognize United Kingdom City and Guild qualifications in this matter? And indeed will the German Presidency give as much urgency to the matter of the removal of technical barriers to people, as it apparently is doing to the removal of technical barriers to trade?

Mr Genscher. — (DE) I can only give an assurance that I will devote particularly close attention to the matters of concern to the honourable Member.

Mrs Hoff (S). — (DE) I should like to go into this subject in somewhat greater detail. It is not true, as has been claimed here, that we now have, by and large, the mutual recognition of academic qualifications. The previous speaker referred to the problem of the freedom of establishment of architects in the Community. This directive has now been under discussion for almost 15 years. Can the President of the Council tell me what are the real obstacles to freedom of establishment, which countries are having difficulty with mutual recognition and when all Community citizens will in practice have the basic right of freedom of movement?

Mr Genscher. — (DE) The claim that the problems connected with the mutual recognition of academic qualifications had largely been solved was not made by the Council. I will not therefore comment on it. I can only say that I share your concern at our failure to make significant progress. I shall be very happy to answer your question in detail in writing. In very general terms, however, I would say that, until there is actual recognition of evidence of qualifications, the right to freedom of movement in the Community will certainly not exist.

Mr Pesmazoglou (NI). — (GR) Does the President-in-Office of the Council of Ministers accept the principle that in some cases diplomas and qualifications granted by educational establishments in countries outside the Community should be recognized, when this would affect a significant number of people coming from a country within the Community? This matter is of particular importance to Greece, since a significant number of Greek people live outside the Community and hold qualifications from non-Community institutions. We believe that these qualifications ought to be noted and recognized by the Community.

Mr Genscher. — (DE) If the question is whether you will attract the Council's attention, my answer is 'yes'.

Mr Simpson (ED). — The interchange of teachers would do an enormous amount of good in encouraging mutual understanding and knowledge among the young in the different Member States and hence among future European citizens. Yet after 25 years of the Community, there has been no progress by the Council to permit teachers from one Member State to have their qualifications to teach recognized in others, or actually to teach there. Part of the problem may be that certain Member States treat teachers as established civil servants. Does the President-in-Office of the Council consider that the interchange of teachers

Simpson

is an extremely important matter and will it initiate discussions to permit such an interchange?

Mr Genscher. — (DE) I share the honourable Member's view of the importance of this matter, and I am quite prepared to conduct such discussions.

Mrs Viehoff (S). — (NL) My question to the President-in-Office of the Council was essentially the same as that which colleague Simpson has just asked. It is widely accepted that the best way to learn a foreign language is through instruction by a native speaker. There are many examples of qualified English language teachers who, upon graduation in Great Britain, find themselves debarred from exercising their profession in other Community Member States. Although your term of office is a mere 6 months, Mr President, I have the feeling that past Council presidencies have done precious little in this sphere. I believe that some thought should be given by our House committee with responsibility in this area to emulating the Committee on Transport by lodging a formal complaint against Council failure to approve measures aimed at alleviating this situation. To reiterate: if we wish to convince the Community's citizens that the Community is achieving something tangible for them we will have to dispense once and for all with these laughable provisions and hindrances. Just a little goodwill would suffice. Nor does it have to cost the Community very much financially for what is after all a very tangible measure whose appeal to the citizens is very direct.

Mr Genscher. — (DE) I fully agree with the honourable Member. I am not quite sure whether I have just spoken for the whole of the Council.

Mr Tuckmann (ED). — (DE) I should like to ask you whether you have heard of the training pass proposed by your compatriot Mr Schnitker. I ask you both personally and as President of the Council. If not, I would ask you to find out about it. We might then have travelling craftsmen once again.

Mr Genscher. — (DE) I can assure you that what I know as President of the Council is also known to me personally. Otherwise, my answer to your question is 'yes'.

Mr Schwencke (S). — (DE) On a point of order, Mr President. I am still waiting for the President of the Council to answer my question about the findings of the commission set up by the conference of Education Ministers in May of last year to look into this matter.

President. — That was not a point of order. It was a supplementary question which, I regret, I cannot permit, Mr Schwencke.

Mr Langes (PPE). — (DE) We are, of course, pleased, although somewhat sceptical, to hear that the problem we are now discussing is to be given priority. What do you intend to do to ensure that the Council rejects and even combats the non-tariff barriers to recognition which various Member States have erected?

Mr Genscher. — (DE) I did not exclude any obstacles to my efforts.

Mr Schmid (S). — (DE) Having assured the House that he will go to infinite trouble, can the President of the Council tell us when this subject is to be discussed at Permanent Representative level and by the Council of Ministers during the six months of the German Presidency?

Mr Genscher. — (DE) Not infinite, but for the duration of the German Presidency. I shall include this item in the agenda for the next meeting of the Council of Ministers. As regards the report Mr Schwencke asked me about, I shall, with his permission, give a written answer.

President. — Question No 4, by Mr Lagakos (H-601/82):

According to reports in the international press, a secret agreement has recently been concluded between France and the USSR to trade agricultural produce between the two countries using exclusively French and Soviet merchant shipping. This agreement is in flagrant violation of Community rules on competition and is contrary to the principles of free maritime commerce as laid down by the OECD.

Does not the Council think that a policy of this kind could create a precedent detrimental to the principles of free trade and what measures does it intend to take to ensure that the rules of competition are respected and to protect the other Member States' interests, which are suffering prejudice as a result of the Franco-Soviet agreement.

Mr Genscher, President-in-Office of the Council. — (DE) The Council knows nothing of a secret agreement.

Mr Lagakos (S). — (GR) I thank the President of the Council for his brief reply. However, I would like to remind him that he should possibly also have consulted the Commission, which is cognisant of the matter in question. In any event the President of the Council could at least have assured us that Council will take all the necessary steps to protect the free con-

Lagakos

duct of maritime trade, a principle of which I imagine he approves?

Mr Genscher. — *(DE)* Although this matter falls within the Commission's terms of reference, I can answer your question with an unreserved 'yes'.

Mr Pearce (ED). — Does the President-in-Office of the Council not find it remarkable that he should have no knowledge of something which has been widely written about in the newspapers and which, if it were true, would be a very serious development for the future of this Community and something which surely the Council, with its secretariat, ought to investigate when it reads about it in the newspaper?

Mr Genscher. — *(DE)* The President of the Council does not share this view, since he is unable to form an opinion on matters he knows nothing about.

Mr Marshall (ED). — Would the President-in-Office of the Council not accept that it is about time he started to learn something about this agreement? The existence of this agreement is known to the Commission; it is held by most people to be against the rules of the Treaty of Rome and it is an absolute scandal that the President-in-Office of the Council praises his own ignorance.

Mr Genscher. — *(DE)* I did not refer to my own ignorance but to the ignorance of the Council, which I have the honour to represent here.

(Laughter)

For propriety's sake, however, I must add that in answer to a question put by a Member of this House the President of the Commission stated on 12 January that the Commission was considering pursuant to Article 155 of the Treaty whether the agreements concluded by the USSR and France were compatible with the provisions of the Treaty. This is the method prescribed by the Treaty for looking into a matter which is of as much concern to the Council as it is to the honourable Member.

President. — Question No 5, by Mrs Von Alemann (H-619/82):

What does the German President-in-Office intend to do to solve the environmental problems which arise or could arise in connection with nuclear power stations in border areas?

Mr Genscher, President-in-Office of the Council. — *(DE)* We are at present preparing the following proposals for a decision:

- (a) proposal for a Council decision on the establishment of a Community procedure for consultations on power stations which may effect the territory of another Member State;
- (b) proposal for a directive on checks to ensure compatibility with the environment.

These two Commission proposals also cover nuclear power stations, and they concern bilateral consultations. I would welcome it if these proposals could be adopted during the German Presidency.

Mrs von Alemann (L). — *(DE)* Perhaps I might add one piece of information. When in November 1980 Parliament adopted by a very large majority the report on the effects of nuclear power stations in border areas which I had drawn up on behalf of the Committee on Energy and Research, the consultations were to be not bilateral but Community-wide.

To my great surprise I now hear that something has been changed. Does the President of the Council believe that the only discussion the Council has, as far as I know, had on this subject, at a lunch in December 1981, is enough to settle this very important question to the benefit of citizens living in border areas?

Mr Genscher. — *(DE)* As the honourable Member knows — or perhaps she does not — opinions differ in the Council as to whether an effective Community instrument can be installed for consultations on nuclear power stations near frontiers. That is why the result you and I would both like to see has not yet been achieved.

Mr Seligman (ED). — I was glad that the President-in-Office spoke of power stations, not just nuclear power stations. Does the President therefore agree that radiation absorbed in walking round a nuclear power station is probably less than that absorbed in a flight from Hamburg to Strasbourg? Is it not true that more transnational environmental problems arise from acid rain from a coal fired power station than from a nuclear one and therefore, does the Council intend urgent Community action on acid rain?

Mr Genscher. — *(DE)* How urgent the need is for action to be taken on acid rain and to achieve results is a matter of considerable controversy. Whatever priority is given to this question, it must not, however, make it any less necessary for progress in the question of nuclear power stations.

Mrs Squarcialupi (COM). — *(IT)* First of all, on the issue of ecological policy I must say that I very much hope our debate on urgent and topical matters will include the question of the transport of dioxin. No

Squarcialupi

one knows how to ensure safe removal of this hazardous substance from one place to another.

The specific question that I wish to ask the President-in-Office is this: during the German Presidency, will the directive on environmental impact be approved in the way indicated by Parliament?

Mr Genscher. — (DE) We are trying.

President. — Question No 6, by Mr Fellermaier who is substituting for Mr Hansch (H-634/82):

Will the President of the Council state the Council's attitude on the application of the EEC/Turkey Association Agreement since the referendum of 7 November 1982 and whether and to what extent the adoption of the draft constitution represents a first step by Turkey towards a return to democracy?

Mr Genscher, President-in-Office of the Council. — (DE) The Council continues to keep a careful watch on the development of the situation in Turkey. In this connection, it attaches particular importance to the protection of human rights. The Council has not yet found it possible to resume normal relations with Turkey under the Association Agreement. I had an opportunity to discuss all aspects of our relations with Turkey, including its return to democracy, during my talks with the Turkish Foreign Minister, Mr Türkmen, on 31 January 1983. I should perhaps add that the Federal Government has drawn up a report on the situation in Turkey, a copy of which has been forwarded to the President of the European Parliament.

Mr Hänsch (S). — (DE) Would the President of the Council agree with me that, in view of the situation prevailing in Turkey, it would not be opportune to convene the EEC/Turkey Association Council at ministerial level during the present six-month period.

Mr Genscher. — (DE) I agree with the honourable Member.

Mr Van Minnen (S). — (NL) Mr President-in-Office of the Council, on the matter of the temporary freezing of the EEC-Turkey Association Agreement would it be logical to assume that under the present circumstances the Council will refrain from all action which could in any way be interpreted as active support for the regime in Ankara?

Mr Genscher. — (DE) I cannot anticipate the Council's decisions.

Mr Boyes (S). — I was very pleased that you had a discussion on the matter of human rights with the Foreign Minister of Turkey when you met him recently. I wonder, Mr President-in-Office, if you would tell me whether or not you considered the problem of the Peace Association in Turkey, the former president of whom is under arrest and, until Christmas, was in prison and is still on trial, facing a 30-year jail sentence. In fact, the president of that Peace Association is suffering from cancer and would like to go to another country for treatment. Could you tell me if you discussed the problem of the Peace Association and, if not, would you be prepared to take up the problem of the former president of the Peace Association, who is suffering from cancer, to try and enable him to get hospitalization outside Turkey?

Mr Genscher. — (DE) Yes, I am prepared to do that.

Mr Plaskovitis (S). — (GR) I would like the Minister to make it clear whether he is aware of the conditions under which the referendum in Turkey was conducted. Because according to our own information, before the event there was a complete ban on free criticism of, and on any kind of propaganda against the draft Constitution, with the threat of arrest and court martial for any citizen expressing active opposition. Moreover, the ballot papers expressing opposition to the draft constitution were of a different colour from the others, thereby negating the secrecy of the vote-casting. Once the Constitution had been approved by the referendum carried out under those conditions, Minister, two newspapers in Turkey were closed down and journalists were sentenced to terms of imprisonment for criticizing certain actions of the regime. Since then, moreover, four death sentences have been carried out, while there are still tens of thousands of political prisoners.

Minister, do you consider that these facts speak of any progress along the road towards democracy? That is what I would like an answer to.

Mr Genscher. — (DE) I do not believe a final assessment of the process of democratization in Turkey can be made until the elections scheduled for October 1983 have been held, because only then will it be possible to appraise the conditions under which these elections are held. If it can then be said that the process of democratization has been completed, the democratic parliament thus elected can also state its opinion on events up to that time.

Mr Spicer (ED). — Would the President-in-Office not agree that the situation that existed in Turkey prior to 12 September 1980 bore no resemblance to democracy as we in this House know it? And would he not further agree that those who came to power after 12 September 1980 have made it quite clear that

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they wish to return to democracy but that it has got to be a timed and phased operation, and are they not sticking to the letter of that original programme?

Mr Genscher. — (DE) Even if violations occurred before 12 September, they certainly cannot justify violations after 12 September.

I will repeat the answer I gave to another Member: a final assessment of the process of democratization in Turkey cannot be made until elections to a Turkish parliament have taken place, as promised, in October 1983.

Mr Pשמazoglou (NI). — (GR) Does the President-in-Office of the Council of Ministers agree that independently of the elections due to take place in October 1983, the Constitution presented as having been approved by the vote of the Turkish people is analogous to constitutions that were accepted during the period of the dictatorship in Greece, and which the entire Greek people condemned on the grounds that they had not been adopted by democratic procedures? And I would remind him that the bodies of the Community, the European Parliament, the Commission, and indeed the Council of Ministers at that time denied the existence of a democratic constitution in Greece under the dictatorship, and rightly so. Does the President-in-Office not consider that the Community ought to be consistent in its attitude towards any such situation?

Mr Genscher. — (DE) I repeat once again: only when the Turkish elections scheduled for October 1983 have been held can it finally be said whether the process of democratization in Turkey has been completed. If the answer is 'yes', I would trust a parliament thus elected to make use of its constitutional rights to amend the constitution if it finds this constitution deficient in any way. As President of the Council I do not intend to take the place of a parliament yet to be elected.

Mr Denis (COM). — (FR) Listening to the President-in-Office, I find it difficult to see what possibility there can be of progress towards democracy when the executions and imprisonments are continuing and when the last opposition newspapers have just been banned. I would therefore ask him the following question: is it true, as reported, that you have spoken to the press in terms of the possibility of restoring cooperation arrangements with Turkey and do you not intend to give an undertaking here not to reinstate the financial protocol?

Mr Genscher. — (DE) The Council has not taken any new decisions. As regard the state of the process of democratization in Turkey, the expected legislation on trade unions and political parties will be more reveal-

ing as to the freedom political parties enjoy in their preparations for parliamentary elections. I should not like to pass final judgment before I have seen this legislation, on which the preparations for the elections will be based.

Mrs Hoff (S). — (DE) The President of the Council has just mentioned that a report has been forwarded to the President of the European Parliament. We do not unfortunately know anything about this report. What we do know, on the other hand, is, for example, that the Federal Republic, which has had a Christian-Democratic/Liberal coalition government since September, lifted the ban on financial aid for 1982, if I am correctly informed, on 1 December.

The President of the Council has just said that the financial protocols the European Community has agreed with Turkey are to remain frozen until democratic elections have taken place. I am not sure whether I understood him correctly, but there appears to be a yawning gap between these two levels — national policy and the European policy which he personally represents here. I should therefore like to ask the President of the Council whether he believes it would be opportune to unfreeze the financial protocols at the present time.

Mr Genscher. — (DE) The Federal Government submitted a report on developments in Turkey to the German Bundestag on 2 December 1982.

This report also formed the basis for the decisions taken by the committees of the German Bundestag which the latter had decided should be heard by the Federal Government before it could take a decision to lift the ban on financial aid. The committees approved the lifting of this ban.

I did not say — and in this respect the honourable Member misunderstood me — that decisions are not to be taken in the European Community until the process of democratization has been completed. All I said was that a decision to unfreeze the protocols has not yet been taken, and provision has not been made for such a decision to this effect at the next meeting.

Mr Alavanos (COM). — (GR) It is known that both the government of West Germany and Mr Genscher, personally, are in favour of transatlantic dialogue, in particular with the United States. I would like to ask the President-in-Office of the Council whether he intends to bring up before Council the matter of making representations to the government of the United States which, according to recent announcements, is about to increase the amounts of military and economic aid granted by the USA to Turkey. Aid which is used basically to annihilate the democratic forces among the Turkish people — and if the Minister has any doubts about this, let me remind him that accord-

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ing to statements by the Junta's Minister of the Interior, 203 members of Parliament, 80 lawyers and 46 journalists are currently serving prison sentences. This aid is being exploited by the Turkish Junta against a Member State of NATO, namely Greece, and to continue the military occupation of a country with close links to the EEC, namely Cyprus.

Mr Genscher. — (DE) I should like to emphasize that the Federal Government and the Federal Foreign Minister are in favour of dialogue. We do not refuse to talk to anyone, regardless of whether he is a member of dictatorial government in a Communist country or any another country. We believe that dialogue is an excellent means of providing consistent help for individuals and particularly of suggesting to countries which signed the Helsinki Final Act that they should honour the commitments they entered into by so doing.

As regards the remainder of the question, this subject has not been discussed by the Council.

Mr Brøndlund Nielsen (L). — (DA) Does the Council know, or has the President himself in his negotiations with the Turkish Foreign Minister learned, whether progress has been made in controlling the extensive terrorist activity, including the very large stocks of weapons which have been found in Turkey? Regularizing these circumstances and bringing them under control must be an important precondition for democratic elections to proceed in a normal manner and for Turkey to return to normal parliamentary conditions.

Mr Genscher. — (DE) As you know, one of the reasons the Turkish leaders have always given for seizing power on 12 September 1980 is that terrorist aspirations must be combated. During the Turkish Foreign Minister's recent visit the problem the honourable Member has broached, recent progress in this area, was not discussed.

Mr Fich (S). — (DA) I should like first of all to recall the resolution in the von Hassel report, which Parliament has adopted and which states that the fourth financial protocol will not be adopted by the Council 'until the procedures for a return to democratic conditions have been finally completed'. I would stress that this is Parliament's position and state the following also: The President of the Council has said that he cannot assess the situation in Turkey before the elections have taken place in October 1983. This must mean that he can guarantee to us that no initiatives will be taken to release the fourth financial protocol, since it is not possible to assess the situation before October 1983. Is this understanding correct?

Mr Genscher. — (DE) I must first say that in its decision whether or not to resume aid the Council will, of

course, also be guided by the European Parliament's resolution, which rightly refers to the need for progress towards democracy. I cannot say at this time whether aid will be resumed.

A final assessment on whether Turkey has returned to democracy cannot, of course, be made until parliamentary elections have been held. That is also why the Federal Government refrained from making a final assessment in the report of 2 December 1982, to which I have already referred.

Instead, it made an interim assessment and concluded by saying that a final assessment depended on a number of other factors. It will therefore be making a final appraisal in November 1983 and then reporting to the Bundestag again. It will base this appraisal on the Bundestag's resolution of 5 June 1981.

November 1983 was chosen as the deadline because the parliamentary elections will, of course, have been held by then.

Mr Kallias (PPE). — (GR) What I would like to ask is this: Has there ever been a dictatorship anywhere in the world which, having organized a referendum, failed to get virtually 100% of the votes? Can we therefore really consider the referendum organized by the dictatorship in Turkey valid?

Secondly, has Council appreciated and fully considered how great is the importance of the West's ideological weapon, i.e. democracy and human rights, together with the fact that tolerance and indulgence towards Turkey disarms the Western World, depriving it of the right to judge other regimes, for example the dictatorship in Poland, and thereby exacerbating the damage done?

Mr Genscher. — (DE) I believe a fundamental distinction must be made in a comparison of developments in Turkey with developments in the People's Republic of Poland. Turkey's allies and partners are making every effort to restore freedom in Turkey, while Poland's allies and partners are trying to restrict freedom in that country. That is a fundamental difference. We for our part must seize every opportunity to restore freedom.

Mr Fellermaier (S). — (DE) I should like to ask the President of the Council whether he agrees with the strong criticism voiced by the only trade union allowed in Turkey of the bill seeking the introduction by emergency decree of compulsory labour for all workers in Turkey between the ages of 18 and 60 on the grounds that it is incompatible with the principles of democracy. Does he not also consider it a restriction of fundamental trade union rights for even cleaning women in Turkish hospitals to be made civil servants to prevent them from participating in trade

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union activities and strikes? Does he consider this justified as a minimum standard of free trade union activity in a country which is associated with our Community?

Mr Genscher. — (DE) Irrespective of what a trade union that is permitted in Turkey has to say on the subject, as a democrat I always disapprove of legislation on compulsory labour anywhere, whatever other people may have to say.

Any action taken by the State with the object of restricting the trade union rights of workers against their will must automatically be regarded as a violation of one of the foremost principles of freedom and democracy. I said 'against the will of the workers', because giving someone the status of civil servant when he wants it and where this is possible is not a violation of rights and freedoms — but that is not what is happening in this case.

Mrs Gredal (S). — (DA) It seems to me that once or twice, when replying to a question here, the President of the Council has answered as a member of the German government and not as the President of the Council. I think that he should answer as President of the Council. A short time ago the President of the Council answered that the Council had taken new decisions concerning the democratization process in Turkey. I should like to know when these decisions were taken and what the decisions were.

Mr Genscher. — (DE) I give all my answers here in my capacity as President of the Council. This cannot prevent me from using knowledge I have acquired in another capacity. As for the honourable Member's question, she has obviously misunderstood me. That is not what I said.

Mr Schieler (S). — (DE) The President of the Council has said that it will not be possible to decide whether Turkey has returned to democracy until after the elections in October. Like Mrs Hoff, I wish to ask him whether he does not find it inconsistent on the one hand to be opposed to the unfreezing of Community resources for the time being while on the other hand proposing to the German Parliament that German resources should be released. Can it be concluded from this that he is releasing the resources although he knows that Turkey has not returned to democracy?

Mr Genscher. — (DE) The German Parliament felt that the requirements for the release of resources as laid down in its resolution of 5 June 1981 had been satisfied. Where the Federal Government has to take decisions, it must abide by the resolutions and decisions of the German Bundestag. Where the Council has to take decisions, on the other hand, it must abide

by the opinions of the Council and the European Parliament.

This does not necessarily mean that the European Parliament and the German Bundestag apply different standards. But it may very well mean that there are differences of degree regarding the conditions attached to the resumption or temporary resumption of aid measures.

In view of Mrs Hoff's reservations, I would remind the House that I said in my capacity as President of the Council that Paper 9/22/13 of the German Bundestag states that the Federal Government will be making a final assessment in November and then reporting to the German Bundestag again.

Mr Hume (S). — On a point of order Mr President. In the absence of Mr Arfe, and as a co-signatory of his oral question, with debate, which was converted into Question No 1, may I ask, in view of the fact that there is going to be a debate on this matter in the House on Thursday, that Question No 1 be taken now? And could the President give us his answer for the record without supplementaries?

President. — Mr Hume, we cannot do that now as Question Time is over. However, if you wish, we can include it in the next Question Time next month.

Mr Hutton (ED). — Mr President, may I point out to you that you have managed in an hour and ten minutes to call five questions, two of which were never put down as questions to the Council in the first place, and may I ask you, Mr President, to be a very great deal more rigorous in the application of your discretion in the calling of supplementaries in the questions to the Foreign Ministers?

(Applause from the European Democratic Group)

President. — I am sorry, but the President can conduct the proceedings as he sees fit.

(Applause)

We turn now to the questions addressed to the Foreign Ministers.

Question No 33, by Mrs Ewing (H-295/82):

Given the Community's frequently declared opposition to apartheid, why have only two Member States consistently supported this stance throughout the 1979 and 1980 UN General Assembly votes on South Africa?

Mr Genscher, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation. — (DE) The Ten

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are united in their unequivocal condemnation of apartheid and in their desire to encourage a process of peaceful change in South Africa. Within the framework of Political Cooperation they hold regular consultations to coordinate their position on the United Nations resolution on apartheid and to issue joint declarations and joint explanations of the votes they have cast.

Mrs Ewing (DEP). — Will the President-in-Office please comment on the voting record of the Nine at the United Nations, as in 1979 and 1980; on apartheid, it was quite disgraceful and totally unacceptable to this Parliament? Did the Foreign Ministers improve their unity in the next two years, 1981 and 1982, and if not, will the Presidency take steps to secure genuine solidarity among the Ten in the voting?

Mr Genscher. — (DE) To the first part, no. To the second part, yes.

Mrs Ewing (DEP). — Mr President, on a point of order. I really did not understand to which part of my question I was getting a 'Yes' or a 'No'. Perhaps we could just have that repeated, please.

Mr Genscher. — (DE) I was first asked if I could say why the Ten have not all cast their votes the same way. The answer is 'no'.

I was then asked if I would try to change this in future, and my answer to that is 'yes'.

President. — Question No 34, by Mr Israël (H-548/82):

In its resolution on Laos of 14 October 1982 and at the third meeting with the interparliamentary delegation from the ASEAN countries on 17 and 18 November in Strasbourg, the European Parliament stressed the need for a speedy solution to the acute problem of the South-East Asian refugees in camps in Thailand. Do the Ten intend to take any further measures to increase and expedite the acceptance of refugees from Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam in the Community countries on a permanent basis, particularly when this reunites families?

Mr Genscher, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation. — (DE) As my predecessor as President-in-Office said in reply to Mr Haagerup's question on refugees in Indochina, the Ten do not pursue any kind of common policy on refugees. Consequently, no joint action has been taken to accept Indochinese refugees from the Thai camps. As the Ten on the whole subscribe to the fundamental humanitarian attitude towards the refugee problem, the Member States of the Community individually

take in a large number of refugees from all corners of the world, including quite a number from the camps in South-East Asia. The numbers depend on quotas fixed by the individual Member States.

The Member States have also made major contributions to the efforts of the international organizations to facilitate the reception and improve the living conditions of refugees from Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. The Ten are aware that permanent solutions still have to be found to the problems faced by numerous refugees, even though resettlement in third countries, particularly the Member States of the European Community, has substantially reduced the total number of refugees. The Ten are continuing to cooperate in the search for a solution to this problem.

Mr Israël (DEP). — (FR) Mr President-in-Office, I thank you for your reply. As you know, very disturbing news is reaching us from that part of the world, with reports that Kampuchean troops are occupying certain camps. Do you not intend to ask your colleagues to adopt new measures to help reunite families and to ensure that a higher priority is attached to the special case of refugees from Laos?

Mr Genscher. — (DE) Questions to this effect have also been discussed in the past. Even though there is no common policy on refugees, there have repeatedly been discussions on how the Member States can help.

President. — As Questions Nos 35, 36, 37 and 38 deal with the same subject, they will be answered together:

Question No 35, by Mr Plaskovitis (H-628/82):

What is the Foreign Ministers' position with regard to the exclusion of previously active democratic politicians from engaging in political activity in future under the draft constitution adopted on 7 November 1982?

Question No 36, by Mrs Gredal (H-629/82):

What is the attitude of the Foreign Ministers towards the action taken by France, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway and Sweden to bring Turkey before the European Court of Human Rights?

Question No 37, by Mr Hansch (H-631/82):

Would the Foreign Ministers state what information they have with regard to allegations of torture in Turkish jails, how they regard such allegations, and whether they consider that human rights are being adequately protected and respected in Turkey?

Question No 38, by Mr Fich (H-633/82):

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Would the Foreign Ministers state their views on the new Turkish constitution, with particular reference to the principle of the division of powers, to fundamental and democratic rights, to the rights of political parties and trade unions to engage freely in their respective activities, and to constitutional guarantees to ensure the complete freedom of the press — particularly after the latest bans on newspapers and attempts to intimidate journalists?

Mr Moreland (ED). — On a point of order, Mr President, we have spent some thirty minutes of Question Time to the Council on question about Turkey. We now have Questions Nos 35 to 38 on the same subject, and I would suspect precisely the same people will want to ask questions. I would, therefore, suggest that we skip Questions Nos 35 to 38 and that the authors receive written answers.

President. — That is precisely the reason I propose that the President-in-Office of the Council should answer all these questions together.

Mr Fellermaier (S). — (DE) Mr President, it does you credit to recommend to the President of the Council, who is now speaking for the Foreign Ministers, that he answer all these questions together. But when I read the questions, I find they are so different in content that they can only be answered together if the Members concerned agree. Otherwise, we shall be defeating the whole object of Question Time and denying the individual Member his right to ask questions.

President. — I took that agreement for granted.

Mr Genscher, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation. — (DE) The intention is that the problems referred to in these questions, which I know are the cause of concern in all the Member States, should be discussed at the next meeting of the Foreign Ministers. I would consider it more appropriate for me to answer these questions after that meeting.

Mr Fellermaier (S). — (DE) Could you tell the House whether as German Foreign Minister you expressed this concern to Mr Türkmen in Bonn last week.

(Mr Moreland asks for the floor).

Mr Genscher. — (DE) I discussed developments in Turkey with the Turkish Foreign Minister both during my visit to Turkey, at a time, therefore, when I was

not yet able to act as President of the Council, and during his recent to Bonn and took these opportunities to express the concern which is felt in the Community without, as far as I can see, any differences of degree from one Member State to another.

Mr Moreland (ED). — Mr President, you now totally baffle me, because you took a supplementary from Mr Fellermaier, who is not even one of the questioners who put the question. I would have thought Mrs Gredal, Mr Plaskovitis, Mr Hansch, Mr Fich would have come first. Why did you call Mr Fellermaier?

President. — I was under the impression that Mr Fellermaier wished to speak on a point of order.

Mr Plaskovitis (S). — (GR) Foreign Minister, it is well known that according to the Constitution of the military Junta in Turkey it is forbidden, for a period of ten years, for the leaders of the former political parties to submit their candidature or to found new parties, even in accordance with the conditions specified by this Constitution itself. Moreover, former members of parliament, even those who have in no way been traduced by the military dictatorship, may not found new parties for five years, while any unlucky enough to have been deemed guilty of anything are debarred even from simple candidature. Our information concerning the electoral law in course of being formulated is already rather pessimistic. Foreign Minister, what are we to expect from elections of this kind, and what steps are the Foreign Ministers contemplating under these conditions to protect the fundamental political rights that are universally recognized within the European Community and that are being so openly flouted by the new Turkish Constitution?

Mr Genscher. — (DE) The exclusion of democratic politicians from political activity does not comply with our ideas of a democratic order. The means we have of bringing about change in this situation are limited. We will use them where we can.

Mr Fich (S). — (DA) I have asked to speak on a point of order, because Mr Genscher proposed that we should wait with these questions, and I think that is a sensible proposal. I will therefore wait with my question until the matter has been discussed by the foreign ministers.

Mrs Gredal (S). — (DA) Mr President, you are urged to stick to the sequence of the questions. My position is the same as that of Mr Fich: I will hold my question over until after the Council meeting. But I want a guarantee that the question will be dealt with. Can the President give me that guarantee?

Mr Genscher. — (DE) As I have said, these matters will be discussed at the next meeting of the Foreign Ministers.

Mrs Gredal (S). — (DA) The person I am addressing is the President of Parliament, from whom I want a promise that the question will be put on the agenda.

President. — I am afraid I cannot give such an undertaking at this time. We have an agenda which I am required to follow; that is not within my power. You may, if you wish, table a new written question. For our part, we are satisfied with the assurance given by the President-in-Office of the Council. I do not understand why you want an assurance from *me*.

Mr Hänsch (S). — (DE) I willingly accept the offer made by the President of the Council on the assumption that we will find a way of holding another debate on Turkey after the Council meeting.

Mr Genscher. — (DE) The honourable Member referred to a Council meeting. In fact, it will be a meeting of the Foreign Ministers on 1 March.

Mr Van Minnen (S). — (NL) I am more interested in a procedural aspect than in a question as such. As Mr Genscher quite rightly indicated — and Mr Moreland could make a note of this — he is now speaking as President of the Council of Foreign Ministers of the Community, meeting under the umbrella of the complex European Political Cooperation (EPC). He is not now speaking as minister of foreign affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany nor as President-in-Office of the Council. So far no one proposed measures aimed at regulating the procedural aspects of this accumulation of functions in his interventions here in the House. While appreciating that the President of this Parliament cannot make commitments on behalf of Minister Genscher I feel it nonetheless interesting to speculate upon how the minister intends to deal with the procedural aspects accruing from his accumulation of three functions, if such remains the case, particularly here during Question Time in the House where the whole problem has been exposed.

Mr Genscher. — (DE) I intend to raise these questions at the Foreign Ministers's meeting on 1 March. I shall then be able to inform Parliament, either in a report or in reply to question put to me here.

Mr Alavanos (COM). — (GR) I would like to put a question to the President-in-Office, related to Mrs Gredal's main and supplementary questions, which I think have raised a serious matter. In answering Mrs Gredal's supplementary question a short while ago,

the President said that he was replying to the questions on behalf of the Council, and that the basic theme of the answers was that we are waiting until the elections, and will then express an opinion about the situation in Turkey. However, as we see from Mrs Gredal's question, the governments of France, the Netherlands and Denmark, which are all Member States of the EEC, have already exercised redress for this contravention of human rights. In other words, they have already delivered judgement against Turkey, and it is also well known that the Greek government has done the same.

I would therefore like to ask Mr Genscher how he could claim, earlier, that he spoke on behalf of Council when the governments of France, the Netherlands, Denmark and Greece have opinions entirely different from his own?

Mr Genscher. — (DE) I always speak on the Council's behalf.

Mr Sherlock (ED). — On a point of order, Mr President, the numerical sequence throughout the entire question paper seems to bear no relation to any arithmetical, geometrical or logarithmic series that I have ever seen. One can only presume that it is random!

I would suggest that in future the questions be numbered in the order in which they are received. This would still of course leave our staff, who prepare the paper, to make a cluster, or could I even say a clot, of Turkish delights such as they have served up this afternoon. It would, if I may venture to make the suggestion, at least make the whole thing easier for the President-in-Office, who sometimes seems a little unaccustomed to the procedure usually observed in Question Time.

President. — Question No 39, by Mr Hutton (H-654/82):

Will the Foreign Ministers give Parliament the timetable for their discussion on the Genscher-Colombo Act, and particularly on those sections which reaffirm the central importance of the European Parliament in the development of European Union¹, and when will the Foreign Ministers reach a decision on the Genscher-Colombo Act?

Mr Genscher, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation. — (DE) On 20 June of last year the ten Foreign Ministers discussed the substance of the European Act. Since 20 June 1982 the personal representatives of the Foreign Ministers have continued the discussion of the text of the European Act in cooperation with the

¹ Bull. EC 11-1981, point 3.4.1, part II paragraph 5.

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Commission. They will go on to consider problems as yet unsolved, including the chapter on the European Parliament, to enable the Foreign Ministers to agree on a joint text of the Ten in the near future. As regards the importance the Presidency attaches to the early adoption of the European Act, I refer the House to the statement I made here on 11 January 1983 on the programme of the Presidency: it considers it very important.

Mr Hutton (ED). — Would the President-in-Office, in view of what he has told the House, give us an undertaking that top priority will be given to completing discussions within the contact group and in the Council itself by July of this year? The European elections are less than 18 months away and the decision is, therefore, from our point of view, very urgent.

Mr Genscher. — (DE) I could not agree with you more.

Mr Ephremidis (COM). — (GR) I would like to ask the Council's President-in-Office whether he believes that the competence of the Foreign Ministers extends to the matters raised by this question, and if so, on what orders of the Treaty he bases this competence?

Mr Genscher. — (DE) We believe this falls within our terms of reference, and no one has disputed this in the past. It complies with the basic idea of the Treaties that every opportunity for further development towards European unity should be seized. The various decisions taken by European Councils regarding continued progress towards European Union have always, if my memory serves me right, had the support of the European Parliament.

Mr Antoniozzi (EPP). — (IT) Mr President, in the important conciliation session held on 24 January last between the enlarged Bureau of the European Parliament and the Council of Ministers, we heard interesting and positive statements concerning the Genscher-Colombo Act.

We would like to ask you whether proceedings concerning this Act should not be accelerated, so that we will not be obliged to hold the debate on the proposal for European Union prepared by the Committee on Institutional Affairs before these proceedings have been concluded.

Mr Genscher. — (DE) I wholeheartedly agree with the honourable Member.

Mr Blumenfeld (PPE). — (DE) I would ask you not to be so brief with your answers, but to state clearly to

the House that by virtue of your position you have not only promoted the idea of contact groups as part of the Colombo-Genscher plan but actually set them up with immediate effect.

Mr Genscher. — (DE) I have had today what I consider to be satisfactory talks with the President of the European Parliament and the Commission on the question of setting up the contact group. I presume that the President of the European Parliament will himself be informing Parliament of the contents of the agreement. I am confident that this cooperation will also have a favourable effect on the Foreign Ministers' deliberations.

Mr Kallias (PPE). — (GR) Foreign Minister, the initiative that you undertook together with Mr. Colombo, namely that of laying down the European Act, was a very fine one. Independently of whether it is adventurous enough, the fact that it originates from you, the Ministers, who are the most conservative body, is extremely significant. In June the course of the European Act was regarded with some pessimism in the Council of Ministers. Now that the Institutional Committee's plan is making progress, do you think that the prospects are better than they were then, and that it is more probable that both the European Act and the Institutional Committee's efforts might be accepted by the Council of Foreign Ministers?

Mr Genscher. — (DE) In view of the European Parliament's support and in particular the approval of my fellow Foreign Ministers I have some hope regarding the setting up of a contact group of the kind we considered during our last talks. I hope that these impulses will also be sufficient for us to do what we want to do in the months ahead. It will come as no surprise to you when I say that this President of the Foreign Ministers, who is also one of the two initiators, will, of course, undertake this task with particular vigour.

President. — The first part of Question Time is concluded.¹

I have received a request from Mrs Weber, Mr Pannella and others, pursuant to Rule 45 of the Rules of Procedure. I remind the House that Rule 45 (3) stipulates that the decision as to whether to hold such a debate shall be taken by the President only at the end of Question Time, as I am now doing.

In view of the fact that consumer protection policy has already been discussed at sufficient length and that there are already more than enough items on the agenda so that there is no possibility of adding further items for discussion, I regret that I cannot comply with this request.

¹ See Annex of 9. 2. 1983.

8. Southern Africa (continuation)

President. — The next item is the continuation of the debate on Southern Africa.

Mr Israël (DEP). — (FR) Mr President, my dear colleagues, is the European Parliament in danger of an attack of schizophrenia? Is it about to show that it has a split personality, behaving in one way when snugly at home in Strasbourg, reflecting on the consequences of its resolutions, and in another when visiting another continent in the presence of its ACP partners?

The very nature of the debates on southern Africa has been different according to whether they have taken place in Zimbabwe, in Rome or in this Chamber. This is not normal. It is unhealthy. Our Parliament is duty bound to be consistent when dealing with an issue as complex as the situation in South Africa.

However, its policy — and I wish to emphasize this — must not put our partners under any misapprehensions as to the means that we can deploy in our efforts to secure the abandonment of South Africa's racist policy and to bring about a change in the balance of power in southern Africa.

Mr President, my dear colleagues, I would be falling short of this principle of clarity if I did not begin by saying that we are opposed to apartheid, a system for the segregation of human beings which we abominate. But of course it is not enough to announce that we are against apartheid; we must also consider what is hidden behind this concept. It is an attempt on the part of South Africa's leaders to cut off an entire community from the general destiny of humanity. This is a matter of the utmost gravity, and I should like to state with the strongest emphasis in this House that we are against the apartheid system and determined to combat it. I would even go so far as to echo the words of our Communist colleague, Mr Denis, for he is right when he says that one does not humanize racism.

However, Mr President, there is another aspect. It will not be possible for us to bring about change in southern Africa through a policy of force. Our duty is not to impose change by force, it is to seek to convince. How, though, can we hope to convince if we do not negotiate?

It is regrettable that no-one in this House wants to negotiate with South Africa. I will of course be told that 'you do not negotiate with racists', but my reply will be that we cannot impose change by force and that any policy seeking to apply economic sanctions is, in my view, absolutely bound to fail.

I believe, Mr President, that the most important thing is to obtain to token of South Africa's willingness to negotiate. It is my privilege to suggest such a token. I

feel that it should be the abolition in South Africa of the death penalty for all terrorist crimes. We would then have a basis for discussion from which it would be possible to make progress. There are other countries in the world which combat terrorism without resorting to the death penalty. I therefore make a solemn appeal from this platform to South Africa, inviting it to make this gesture of good faith.

Mrs Hammerich (CDI). — (DA) Mr President, the Scandinavian countries have for many years taken a lead in the fight against racial oppression in Southern Africa. I might quote as an example the programme of action against South Africa, which the Scandinavian countries agreed on in Oslo in 1978. This includes a ban on new investments in South Africa, the suspension of sporting and cultural contacts with the apartheid regime, visas to be required for South Africans and increased support to the liberation movements, including ANC and SWAPO, and in the UN we shall work for a binding trade boycott against South Africa. It can be said that the Scandinavian programme does not go far enough but, at least, it is a policy which requires practical action against the racist administration in Pretoria.

The same cannot be said for Mr Scott Hopkins' report. Under the cloak of its many fine, non-binding words, it constitutes support to the continuation of racial oppression and the South African occupation of Namibia and parts of Angola. The only practical measure is the arms embargo, which has been in existence for a long time already. Points 13 and 14, which place the activities of SWAPO and the Cuban presence in Angola on the same footing as South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and acts of war in Angola, are particularly repugnant. The main problem is concealed, and that is that South African troops are present illegally in areas where they have no business to be. And it was to repel the South African attack on Angola in 1976 that the Angolan government quite legitimately asked Cuba for help. Only when the last South African soldier has left Angola and Namibia can conditions of peace be established.

Point 8 is also unacceptable, because it calls the EEC code of conduct for Community activities in South Africa a worthwhile contribution. The code of conduct, along with the Community's entire policy on multinationals, is — to put it mildly — impotent and — to put it more realistically — an alibi. The general secretary of South Africa's biggest illegal trade union organization, SACTU, calls the code of conduct a betrayal of the black workers. Mr Scott-Hopkins also forgets that it is the EEC which is the economic life-line of the apartheid system. We see again the hypocrisy, the verbal flummery of moral condemnation and at the same time economic support for the racist regime.

Mr Scott-Hopkins' report is in conflict with Danish foreign policy and with the Scandinavian tradition,

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which Denmark is unfortunately moving increasingly away from, the more our foreign policy is transferred to the EEC. Let us look at Sweden, where the Palme government goes beyond the Scandinavian programme of action and pursues an excellent and systematic South Africa policy, a policy in which we are excluded from participation. It involves, amongst other things, a unilateral trade embargo against South Africa. For these reasons we are against the Scott-Hopkins report.

Finally I should point out that we would not dream of supporting a report which refers to and builds upon the repugnant Diligent report on a combined Community fleet of warships which would enable the EEC to commandeer its raw materials from developing countries by force, if necessary. We can only pursue a coherent anti-apartheid policy, a policy on the developing countries which does them justice and a policy on détente, if we align our foreign policy once again with those of the other Scandinavian countries, and that is something we will work for.

IN THE CHAIR: MR MØLLER

Vice-President

Mr Romualdi (NI). — *(IT)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, time does not permit me to examine the many aspects of the excellent Scott-Hopkins report on Southern Africa as closely as they deserve, nor to dwell on the issues raised by Mr Pisani, Mr Genscher and other speakers.

The problem of Southern Africa is a burning issue which unites in total condemnation of apartheid all those who cannot accept the existence of a State where men are still divided into blacks and whites between whom legal inequality and disparities in social, if not always economic status, continue to exist. The question of South Africa is above all a question of political dignity. There is no doubt that apartheid is a permanent and serious violation of human rights, even though insistence on the material sufferings of the Negro peoples can only create confusion about their legitimate desire for independence: this is a right that must certainly be acknowledged, but which cannot be allowed to lead, as it has everywhere else, to the removal of the presence and power of the whites. This would be a serious mistake, a not equally legitimate goal which the Negro peoples of southern Africa, directly or indirectly aided by the whole of the so-called civilized world, could perhaps obtain, but, at least at this historical moment, unfortunately only by force — certainly not with the acquiescence of the government of South Africa. The white population of South Africa is convinced, on the contrary, that it has a natural and sacrosanct right to defend itself, and that

it has no choice but to do this by whatever means are at hand. For the whites of southern Africa, South Africa is their country, and apartheid is the only way to avoid being driven out of it. In discussing the Scott-Hopkins report, which examines the complex question from all points of view, explaining the significance of South Africa for the economy and security of the Western world, we must take this painful reality into account: it is our duty to do so, our duty towards the African peoples themselves. Despite the odious system of apartheid, which must be condemned, South Africa is a western country, or, to be more precise, it is a country that has always shared the choices made by the Western democracies. If we were to forget this, if, for the legitimate defense of human rights undeniably violated by apartheid, we were to act imprudently and abruptly, ignoring many other natural rights, we might be delivering whole African populations into the hands of irresponsible and ambitious leaders. Such men would be more interested in protecting their own rights than in upholding human rights in general: a situation which could eventually make the whole of southern Africa dangerously unstable, moved by forces beyond our control, threatening our own freedom and the future of our Western community.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is not by chance, nor to safeguard human rights that the Cuban troops of international Communism have for some time been active in these and other regions of the African continent. It would be naive to believe this.

Mr G. Fuchs (S). — *(FR)* Mr President, my dear colleagues, the situation in southern Africa which is the subject of our deliberations today is tragic in many respects. It is tragic on account of the region's continuing lack of development, on account of the war raging there, and because of the racism which prevails there, having been elevated by a minority to the status of a system government.

To begin with the lack of development. There is no comparison between southern Africa and the Sahel, a region threatened by drought and desertification which lives with the very real danger of being unable to feed its peoples. Southern Africa is a region rich in agricultural resources and mineral resources too; were peace to be established there, it would be able to achieve rapid development under satisfactory conditions. However, the guerilla camps maintained by the Pretoria regime, the acts of sabotage committed at its instigation, especially against lines of supply and communication, in short the war which is devastating some areas, are today making any development virtually impossible and at all events precarious. Yes, we must recognize the sorry fact that a state of war exists in this region, even though it passes unheeded by most of the media in our country and the rest of Europe.

I went last year with other Members of this Parliament on the ACP-EEC fact-finding mission to the so-called

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'front-line' countries, Angola in particular. What we saw there was not in the nature of an intangible guerilla war, but a conventional war waged with the most modern mechanized and airborne equipment. We witnessed irrefutable evidence of repeated acts of aggression by South African troops, of attacks that have taken place more than 200 km inside Angolan territory, involving over 10 000 men and hundreds of tanks and aircraft. We found that part of the territory of this sovereign State has now been evacuated by the indigenous population and is under foreign occupation. Since that time we have had news of further South African offensives in Angola, as well as of a scandalous and unjustifiable military attack against Lesotho.

The cause of this situation is patently obvious, and well known to us: it is the refusal of the authorities in Pretoria to comply with United Nations resolutions and allow one of the last acts of decolonization in Africa — Namibian independence — to proceed. We are also familiar with their excuse: the so-called struggle that Pretoria claims to be waging against Soviet penetration in southern Africa.

I should like to dwell on this argument for a moment, for I believe that it brings us to one of the central aspects of the problem. Granted there are Cuban troops in Angola. Granted there are Eastern bloc advisers in Mozambique. Granted it is desirable for them to leave, in the interests of Africa's independence and also in the interests of Europe's security. But who can fail to see that it is the very continuation of the war which is encouraging the strengthening of these influences? Who can fail to see that to make the Cubans' withdrawal from Angola a prerequisite of Namibian independence is to make it more certain that the war will continue? No government in Luanda could agree to withdraw the last line of military defence protecting its capital.

I take this opportunity to make a solemn affirmation of the opinion that the withdrawal of foreign troops from southern Africa can only be a consequence, not a precondition, of peace.

I should now like to discuss the underlying cause of the crises afflicting this region: the apartheid regime. All of us here, I am happy to note, are radically opposed to this iniquitous system which denies the most fundamental human rights, the only system in the world which has been erected on the foundation of an openly racist constitution. But as well as condemning this system, I for my part would like to express two further political convictions.

The first is that there can be no lasting peace and no secure development in southern Africa as long as the apartheid regime subsists, so that we have a duty to fight for its eradication.

The second is that all those who condemn apartheid must be prepared to enter into political dialogue with

those who are striving for a democratic non-racial society in southern Africa. I refer to SWAPO in Namibia and the ANC in South Africa.

With a conflict of this type, it is folly to believe that one can conduct negotiations with anyone other than those who are fighting. It was precisely this type of folly that led successive French governments to allow the Algerian war of independence to drag on for more than seven years. Let us learn the lessons of history.

What, then, should we be doing? I believe that we should be active on three fronts. First, we should be making representations to the United States in an effort to convince that country that, although it may be in Pretoria's interest to turn the southern African conflict into an East-West conflict in the vain hope of gaining the support of Western solidarity, the real danger is that all the Africans who rightly see apartheid as an affront to their collective dignity will gradually go over to the Soviet camp. Europe must drive home the point that Namibia's independence and the elimination of apartheid will lead the Africans to choose the only possible course promising them the development that they need, and that is the course of real political non-alignment. In this connection, how can we fail to salute the remarkable political result already achieved by our Community, which we owe in large measure to the efforts of Mr Pisani of the Commission? I refer to the recent confirmation of the intention of the Governments of Angola and Mozambique to take part in the forthcoming negotiations for renewal of the Lomé Convention.

Secondly, we should be helping the SADCC members, the 'frontline' States, to make themselves more economically independent and therefore more politically independent of South Africa. On this point also, Mr Pisani has already indicated what has been done along these lines; we must do more.

Thirdly, we should be bringing strong and effective pressure to bear on Pretoria, of this I am convinced. Is there really any likelihood, Sir James Scott-Hopkins, that the present authorities in South Africa will spontaneously abandon the apartheid regime, from which they derive their privileged status? I do not think so. Should we then hope that the situation will continue to deteriorate, culminating in a dreadful direct confrontation between two communities which have become irreconcilable? Who can hope for such a confrontation, with all the violence that would ensue? We must therefore act on the resolution adopted in Rome on 4 November last by the ACP-EEC Consultative Assembly and bring pressure to bear on Pretoria through a total embargo on military supplies and an embargo on advanced technology, particularly in the nuclear field. That is the bare minimum. But we must go further and apply the progressive economic sanctions called for in the resolution passed in Rome.

At this point, Mr President, my dear colleagues, I should like to stress the merits of this new idea. I am

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satisfied that the grandiose resolutions in favour of a total embargo which have been passed here and there have very little chance of ever being applied, whereas the resolution passed in Rome — which the Socialists will be asking you to approve later on or tomorrow — offers a realistic approach, one which at last may prove to be effective. It will be difficult and that is why a European dimension — collective action by our Community — is highly desirable.

There are those who say that this is a dangerous venture, thinking in particular of the essential raw materials that we import from South Africa. I should like to say a few words on this problem, which is too often used as an excuse for inaction. Such inaction on this matter would, in my view, also be dangerous. It would be dangerous in the long term because, if we do nothing, we will get our just deserts later when, in a few years, after the blacks who are in the majority in South Africa have inevitably entered into their rights, they choose to give priority to supplying those who helped them during the difficult times of apartheid. However, I also believe that our present inaction is dangerous in the short term since it is clear that as long as apartheid lasts South Africa cannot be regarded as other than a decidedly unstable country. Hence the urgent and imperative need for the Commission of the EEC to put before the Council a detailed programme of action for the application of progressive sanctions against Pretoria.

Mr President, my dear colleagues, it is on the basis of this analysis — which I have presented in deliberately dispassionate tones — that I have put down a number of amendments to the Scott-Hopkins motion for a resolution; I hope that you will adopt them tomorrow.

A final point with which to end: what this debate today is about is of course the dignity of the black man, whose equality of political, economic and social rights is not yet recognized by all. It is to do with giving him a chance of no longer being considered an alien in his own country. But it is also, and this is my concluding point, a matter of the white man's dignity, since no man who oppresses another is a free man.

Mrs Gaiotti de Biase (EPP). — (IT) Mr President, Parliament's condemnation of the system called apartheid, which is based on the *a priori* denial of human equality, can be taken for granted.

The European Community, born also as a reaction against the racist regime of National Socialism, cannot fail to reaffirm as its moral and political objective the end of a system which is a scandal for all of humanity.

Less clear is the question of how to employ our will and our strength to bring about the end of such an unjust regime. It is less clear because of the difficulties involved, and also because some people have apparently allowed the quality of their own commitment to

depend on disturbing issues related to the international balance of power. This is a mistake, for acts of destablization are made possible precisely by the structural instability of a regime based on the denial of equal rights. There is no contradiction between the defense of an oppressed people and a policy of security: together both considerations urge us to put an end to a situation which resembles an open wound.

Nevertheless, the choice of the most effective forms of pressure remains a difficult one because of the complexity of the phenomena which must be taken into consideration. It is evident from the amendments to the Scott-Hopkins report and from other amendments as well that the present state of constitutional development and foreign policy in South Africa is still very far from satisfactory. This has already been recognized in the unanimous findings of the investigating committee of the Consultative Assembly of February 1982.

In reality, constitutional development in South Africa, with its new concessions for non-African minorities, falls short not only because it is incomplete, or constantly belied by authoritarian policies and aggression in Lesotho and Angola. It falls short because it is ambiguous. What do we really want? Do we wish to initiate, though with excessive prudence perhaps, the dismantling of the system of apartheid in order to create better conditions and a society of equals, or do we wish to guarantee the survival of the system by co-opting a new elite, leaving the responsibility for the indigenous population to the subordinate level of the 'bantustans'?

Commissioner Pisani's skepticism is fully justified. At best, both intentions are intermingled.

It is our task to show the white population of South Africa, through our resolution and the quality of our solidarity with the Africans, that it has no alternative to a radical democratic and multiracial transformation. It will not be easy to impose a peaceful solution to such a difficult situation. We can make the choice of peaceful means the criteria for our friendship only if we make a firm commitment to promote the equality desired by the coloured peoples. Without this determination our legitimate reservations on the recourse to guerilla fighting and violence and our uncertainties about relations with SWAPO would appear as signs of bad faith.

Naturally enough in the case of a plan to exert non-military pressure, the question of economic sanctions is the first to arise. I have already said in committee that if economic sanctions were effective, South Africa should be first on the list of countries to which they should be applied.

However, are economic sanctions really effective? Is it not part of our philosophy, to be applied in both East and West, that economic relations constitute not only a means of support, but also a force for change in

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closed societies, a democratic strategy which relies on the link between development and the emergence of new social forces?

Economic relations should certainly be politically conditioned; consequently the code of conduct should be rigorously applied, the sale of arms and nuclear technology should be banned; new investments should favour the countries of the Conference for the Coordination of Development as a central factor in the modification of the local power structure.

These countries are dangerously dependent on South Africa for the system of transport and telecommunications; the ports are artificially planned to further this dependence on South Africa; the labour force is conceived as a reserve of manpower for the South African mines.

The defence of an oppressed people and the policy of security converge here as well in the ability of the Community countries to accept and support the forces emerging in Southern Africa. Today the test of our will in this respect is represented by Namibia.

As Italian Christian Democratic parliamentarians, Mr President, we feel a moral duty and a specific interest in seeing that the code of conduct is applied by all, as it is applied by the few Italian firms involved, so that the strategy of the Community countries may develop in a coordinated way. These are cases where freedom of competition, under equal conditions, can become a driving force for democracy in the true sense of the word.

Mr Pearce (ED). — I want to see human rights, voting rights, peace and prosperity for everybody in South Africa as much as anybody else does in this House. The evils of the apartheid system have been well stated in this Chamber on a number of occasions: they needed to be, and I subscribe to the condemnation of that system.

But if our debate is to be taken seriously, there must be a sense of balance, and that is what seems to be missing in so much of what has been said on this subject on so many occasions, both here and in other democratic fora. There are other things to be said on the other side of the argument and I am going to say some of them now, having agreed with the view expressed throughout the House that the apartheid system must be changed.

In the first place, let us remember that white people in South Africa have rights too. I think I heard Mr Romualdi correctly talking about whether the whites should be allowed to remain in South Africa. It is their country too! They have rights, and there are many liberal whites in South Africa whose efforts to change the system deserve better recognition than they get.

I condemn the attacks that the South African Army has made in Angola — like Mr Fuchs, I have seen the result of it — but I condemn also the terrorist attacks carried out by guerrilla movements, freedom fighters — call them what you will — on innocent people in South Africa. That is wrong too! There are two sides to this argument.

We must recognize what would happen, as Mrs Gaiotti De Biase has just said, if South Africa were destroyed. What would happen to the economies of the neighbouring countries? South Africa, whether we like it or not, is the economic driving-force of southern Africa, and without it poverty and all that goes with it would be far more widespread amongst her neighbours than it now is.

Let us recognize that whatever is wrong with apartheid in South Africa, South Africa does at least provide higher material standards of living for its black population than any other country in black Africa, as we call it.

And then let us recognize the changes that are taking place. This, if I may say with respect to Mr Pisani, is what he did not do this morning. Everybody is asking for changes to take place, but when they do take place you do not notice them — you are not looking. Changes *are* taking place there. The establishment of the President's Council is a step forward — a small step, but big steps come from small steps. You have to do one thing at a time. The elimination of petty, social apartheid, which is happening little by little, is a step in the right direction. If it has only gone 5% of the way, Mr President, let us recognize it for what it is, for people in South Africa, with their enclosed way of looking at things, if they go 5% of the way, and then everybody criticizes them even more than before, will stop going down that road. The message that I think should come from this Parliament to the people of South Africa is: Yes, you have started, my goodness you have got to go further, but well done so far! Take more of the medicine! I do not hear too much of that coming from the opposite side of this House.

Finally, Mr President, I wonder why it is that we in this Chamber only direct ourselves, as regards the African continent, to the problems of South Africa. Look what has happened in Nigeria in recent days: what would happen if South Africa pushed a million people across its border, as Nigeria has just done? There would be blood on the streets of Strasbourg and every other city of Europe! But, no, from here not a whimper — I repeat, not a whimper! It is all right one side does it, but it is all wrong if the other side does it. So let us keep up the pressure; let us reinforce our united view that we wanted an end, a total end, to apartheid. Let us achieve this and by peaceful means. Let us give a word of encouragement where encouragement is due, for in that way I believe the pressure to go further will prove more acceptable and more successful.

Mrs Baduel Glorioso (COM). — *(IT)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, sometimes a rapporteur's supporters can do more harm than good, especially when they urge us to make the right choice, as Mr Pearce has just done. The countries of southern Africa which are fighting against the regime in Pretoria have made the right choice by themselves, for they have been fighting for years to maintain their independence, to ensure their survival, to defend the individual and national dignity won when they threw off our colonial yoke. We are the ones who must make a European 'right choice', giving them firm and concrete support.

The Scott-Hopkins report was defined by certain African friends — with what was obviously less than wholehearted approval — as 'surety for the regime in Pretoria expressed in anti-apartheid language.' We share this opinion, emphasizing the ambiguity existing in the report without in any way criticizing the rapporteur.

Mrs Gaiotti clearly presented the problems faced by this regime and its attempt to save itself without paying the necessary price: the abandonment of apartheid.

Is not the disparity between the views expressed in the resolution and the reality quite clear? We are all familiar with this reality: constant repression, the eclipse of the two-year-old Botha cosmetic reforms, the attempt to impose the bantustans on the African population, particular acts of repression directed at the ANC liberation movement. As Mr Fuchs has said, it is futile to try to negotiate for the independence of these countries without the independence movements; it is dangerous and costly to make the mistake made by some European countries in refusing to negotiate with the forces representing Algeria. The ANC represents the people of Namibia, and only if they are present at the negotiating table can a successful peace formula be obtained.

In addition to internal repression, there are the episodes of terrorist aggression. Maseru is the most recent example. Angola: for how long have incursions, terrorist activities, massacres, systematic invasion from the south been taking place? The same applies to other nearby countries, the 'front line' States. Finally, we have the illegal occupation of Namibia, where the liberation movement is intensifying its resistance in the attempt to defend its rights. This is one of the areas where conflict could have widespread consequences, leading to a hotbed of unrest like the Middle East.

What more does Europe need to convince it to react in a decisive manner against the apartheid regime in Pretoria, as it has done in other less vital situations? How many more massacres, how many more Maserus, how many acts of war in the neighboring countries do we need in order to negotiate compromises which preserve the dignity we have won with our democracies? How much longer are we going to wait before intervening, while we still have time, to preserve the image of while people supporting the peoples of Southern

Africa, who must struggle daily to defend their political independence by the only possible means, an economic takeoff? When will we understand that, although economic sanctions involve certain difficulties, we could have done something earlier to lessen our economic dependence on South Africa? In 1981 the UN organized a conference in Paris. All the countries of the UN were represented. The only empty seats were those of the countries of the European Community, along with those of the United States and Israel. At this conference there were discussions on possible sanctions, on their duration, on the embargo on arms, nuclear technology and oil, on reductions in economic support and collaboration. Today we must decide on these measures, these progressive sanctions, these attempts to influence events. We must decide for or against our continued complicity in this situation, acting justly and in the best interests of our own future.

Mr Nordmann (L). — *(FR)* Mr President, I was listening this morning when Mr Pisani, no doubt paraphrasing Talleyrand, told us that: 'Any excess would be excessive'. I savoured the profundity of this statement, but I would be more inclined to think that it is quite impossible to be excessive in one's condemnation of discrimination which attacks the most fundamental principles of human rights.

In common with earlier speakers and no doubt others whose turn is yet to come, I believe that there is not a single Member of this Parliament who would attempt to justify apartheid. When the time comes to vote, we will surely be unanimous in condemning it both in principle and in practice. However, if this condemnation is to be of any value, it must be founded on an examination of the practical realities, not on ritualistic incantations, and it must not be a cover for dubious ulterior motives. Totalitarian regimes feed off human misery and thrive on discrimination, and it is sometimes irritating to hear the tirades of their apologists, alternating between pathos and fantasy as they cast about for some simulacrum of honourability. Anti-racism is compromised when it is used and applied selectively, and immoderate language must not be allowed to cloud the real issues.

The first important question is whether or not the nature of apartheid is the same today as it was some years ago. Are the realities of the 1980s identical to those of the 1950s? That is the essential question.

When a government undertakes to put an end to inegalitarian discrimination, it deserves better than to be condemned out of hand. An unbiased assessment should be made of its achievements. One may be critical of the slowness with which the necessary progress is being made, but this does not mean that one should refuse to accept the reality of such developments as there have been, if there have been. Before dismissing the reforms as a failure, one must give the reformers a

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chance and help those who are seeking to bring about peaceful coexistence between races and complete equality of personal rights. The abolition of inegalitarian discrimination cannot, alas, be decreed by a simple stroke of the pen. It is necessary to exercise discernment in assessing what stages have been reached and gauging the progress made.

In this connection, I fully support Mr Israel's suggestion of a test, based on whether or not South Africa abolishes the death penalty for political offences. We must beware, since one objective can always conceal another, and the ending of one form of domination must be followed, not by another form of domination, but by real equality. Too often, alas, the simplistic shibboleth 'Africa for the Africans' seems to be taken as a call for elimination of the whites. It is right to be uncompromising in demanding respect for the rights of the non-white people, but this does not mean denying the historic and continuing rights of the white people in South Africa. We must not, therefore, go along with those who claim to be calling for equality but are in fact seeking a racial war. We must be careful to ensure that denunciation of inequality does indeed serve the cause of equality and does nothing to promote what sometimes seems to be an all too real wish to eliminate one of the constituent parts of South African society.

I will conclude, Mr President, with a simple proposition: if South Africa has a compelling duty to abolish discrimination, it must still be allowed the time and the opportunity to fulfil this obligation.

Mr Bord (DEP). — (FR) Mr President, my dear colleagues, I have asked to speak on this difficult issue because I feel that it calls for a different approach from that adopted thus far by some of the speakers.

We know that South Africa plays an essential part in the economy of the free world, particularly in the supply of mineral ores to the EEC. Embargoes against South Africa would have disastrous consequences in Europe. Of course, destabilization begins at home, but has a moment's thought been given to what would become of Europe without its supplies of strategic raw materials from South Africa? Europe's loss of independence would naturally be well received by the Soviet Union, which has been making stalwart efforts to this end and would turn the situation to its advantage in two ways, first by destabilizing us a little more, and secondly by filling the gap in the market left by the boycotted South Africa.

I think it is important to mention in passing that many neighbouring countries, with a population of no fewer than 150 million Africans, depend very heavily on South Africa's prosperity since they rely on that country to help them meet a basic need: food.

We live, ladies and gentlemen, in a dangerous world and our first responsibility is to keep Europe strong

and independent. The Soviet Union cares not a whit for human rights on its own territory or elsewhere. The important difference between us and the Marxist bloc is our awareness of having a conscience, and it is because I have a conscience that, if I believed that nothing had changed in South Africa, I would say unequivocally: we can have nothing to do with this. But the fact is that there have been substantial changes from this point of view in South Africa. A new constitution is in course of preparation. In a few months' time the two million coloureds and 900 000 Asians, who have hitherto been able to play no part in public life, will be able to elect their representatives at all levels of national life, so that we cannot dismiss the efforts made by Mr Botha's Government with a condemnation which, in the circumstances, has no real foundation.

Mr President, Ladies and Gentlemen, the process initiated without prevarication or ulterior motives by Mr Botha's Government is far-reaching and durable in its effects and will be carried through until we have seen the abolition of all remaining forms of racial discrimination which, in the opinion of all objective observers, will soon be memories of a bygone era.

Mr Walter (S). — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the last speech again showed how important it is that we are debating this report here in the European Parliament, and I hope that we shall be adopting it in its present form subject to a few amendments. Perhaps I might ask the previous speaker why the régime in South Africa and racial segregation have been able to survive for so long. One of the reasons why they have gone on so long and become stabilized is that the régime has been receiving and is still receiving support from the European Community on the quiet. This report, ladies and gentlemen, should really make it clear once again that this furtive support for the Government in South Africa must stop.

If this report is not to be assigned to the waste-paper bin tomorrow, the reaction from the governments must be different from their usual reaction to decisions taken by the European Parliament, which can be summed with the words: Let them talk and adopt resolutions in Strasbourg — we governments will go on doing as we have always done.

There have already been enough appeals regarding South Africa and the abolition of racial segregation, but these appeals will not succeed until *de facto* economic complicity with South Africa stops, with our activities also making a contribution.

What are we supposed to think, ladies and gentlemen, of the fact, for example, that the International Monetary Fund granted South Africa another loan in November and that, apart from the USA, Member States of the European Community — the Federal Republic of Germany and the United Kingdom — approved

Walter

this loan? This endorses South Africa's military aggression against its neighbours and helps to finance it. A new policy is needed to put a stop to this.

Representatives of the Federal German Government were saying as recently as the end of last year before the German-South African Chamber of Commerce in Pretoria that the Federal German Government is interested in improving and intensifying economic relations? This can only consolidate the economic foundations of an illegal government in the southern part of Africa.

And what are we to think of the fact that the Code of Conduct for companies operating in South Africa has still not been improved? Why have we not yet been able to bring about the recognition of the black trade unions in South Africa? Why is the publication of the reports on the application and observance of the Code not compulsory? Why are the trade unions in the European countries where international companies operating in South Africa have their headquarters not involved in ensuring that the companies observe these guidelines, as the European Trade Union Confederation has repeatedly demanded? Why are the companies concerned not required by law to observe the Code? Why are the Member States of the European Community not prepared to put pressure on companies which do not observe the Code? Doubts about the effectiveness of sanctions may well be justified, but here we have a real opportunity of exerting appropriate economic pressure: companies which fail to observe this European Community Code should not be receiving financial security from the European Community countries where they are based.

Paragraph 1 of Sir James Scott-Hopkins' motion for a resolution refers to solidarity with the peaceful aspirations of the non-white peoples in southern Africa. Some Members of this House want to have the word 'peaceful' deleted, not, of course, because they advocate the use of force but because they perhaps want to point out that there are a number of questions to be answered. How credible, in fact, are appeals to the black majority in southern Africa to remain peaceful when we ourselves in the European Community do not use the peaceful means we have to abolish apartheid in South Africa? How credible, in fact, are such appeals to the majority of the black population of South Africa from the air-conditioned world of the European Parliament when day in, day out the white minority government in South Africa makes illegal use of force?

Apartheid is a particularly extreme violation of human dignity. Apartheid is the daily use of force by the ruling minority against the non-white majority in South Africa, and apartheid — and I say this to those who have spoken of the Soviet Union's entry into southern Africa — and its defence and toleration by Western governments is one of the decisive causes of Soviet influence there.

In the Federal Republic of Germany a churchman — a representative of the Protestant church — once said that the principle of apartheid could not be repaired, it must be retired. The Socialist Group in this Parliament has nothing to add to this statement.

Mr d'Ormesson (PPE). — (FR) Mr President, to those who believe in good faith that they are serving the cause of human rights when they condemn the Republic of South Africa, I have this to say: Read the 25 paragraphs of amendment No 128 put down by the French Communist group. There you will find, in battle array, the three objectives of the USSR in southern Africa: economic sanctions aimed at ruining South Africa; Namibia delivered over to the Cuban forces through the intermediary of SWAPO; power in Pretoria taken over by the ANC — for the benefit, that is, of the USSR.

I maintain that Moscow wants to dominate South Africa so as to control the supplies of mineral ore on which Europe depends for its existence, and to gain control of the Cape oil route.

Consider for a moment all those peoples, such as the Poles for instance, who would like to cast off their chains and be free. Does anyone imagine that we would be doing their cause any good by bringing down the Republic of South Africa, which would merely serve to hasten their oppressors' triumph? You want political prisoners to be set free, and so do I, but not those who have committed bloody crimes like those of the ANC founder member who was murdered on 19 December last year in Soweto, along with his wife and 15 year-old daughter, for having seen the folly of his illusions and had the courage to testify to the legal affairs committee of the United States Senate, exposing the key role played by the Soviets, East Germans and Cubans in organizing terrorism in southern Africa.

You call for the abolition of apartheid; so do I, but I want to see it achieved through gradual institutional change, not by opening the doors to Communist rule, which is what we are invited to do by the Harare resolution and its sorry champion, the Government of Nigeria, which has just given the most detestable and contemptible example of apartheid.

'One man, one vote', you say. Why, then, have we heard no mention of the fact that 33 of the 51 African countries in the OAU are either straightforward totalitarian regimes or dictatorships, whether civil or military, and that many of them commit worse outrages against human rights than South Africa?

You call for self-determination for the people of Namibia. So be it, but do not forget that one people's right to determine its own affairs is conditioned by others' right to live. Let us not fall into the trap of crushing one ethnic group under the weight of

d'Ormesson

another. When one emancipates peoples, it is not for oneself, but for them. And we have a responsibility to ensure that the emancipation of Namibia does not herald an era of tyranny.

I would say more: what is the principle which dictates that we must call for self-determination for ethnic groups in Namibia, but not in Angola? Can we ignore the fact that, even with the backing of 30 000 Cuban bayonets and an army of 70 000 men trained by Soviet, East German and Cuban military advisers, the Government of Mr Dos Santos is unable to prevent the successes of UNITA, the heroic liberation movement led by Jonas Sabimbi, which now controls most of Angola? The Angolans have never voted since their accession to independence; why should not they too have elections supervised by the UN, at the same time as the Namibians? Peace in southern Africa would be the outcome.

And since you are — rightly — anxious to combat hunger in Africa, where the annual rate of food production is falling from year to year despite our creditable efforts, you cannot be unaware that South Africa, which has less than 4% of the continent's land area, accounts for 39% of African food production, and supplies 20% to 47 of the 51 OAU Member States.

To condemn the Republic of South Africa will also be to condemn millions of people to hunger and unemployment. The rational course is therefore to give firm encouragement in Africa to the Botha Government's policy of openness and progress, as Sir James Scott-Hopkins invites us to do, not to give way to the pressures and blackmail of the authors of the Harare resolution, who, whether they know it or not, have made themselves the allies of the most tyrannical enterprise in the history of mankind, namely Communism, which has its base in Moscow.

Mr C. Jackson (ED). — Mr President, all of us in this Parliament deplore apartheid. All of us wish to see human rights respected in South Africa. But then our paths diverge, because some of us see the way forward primarily through sanctions. Now for Members of this Parliament to support the call for sanctions is understandable, given our Lomé relationships. We want to show solidarity with our ACP friends, but it would be wrong to give the impression that this is the course the EEC will take, for it will not. There is no chance that European Community governments would be willing to commit themselves to long-term sanctions against South Africa.

It is partly a question of effectiveness. Sanctions would leak mightily and trade would be picked up by others to the detriment of our citizens. It is partly a question of the effect on southern Africa. Would the frontline States be seriously willing to entertain sanctions without compensation on a scale which, for the European Community, is unthinkable? And it is partly a question

of the effects on the blacks in South Africa themselves, the very people whom we wish to help most. To the extent that sanctions had effect, it would be the blacks who would suffer most, I was not surprised to hear Mr Pisani's words of extreme caution about sanctions.

So, Mr President, I ask my colleagues to reject the course of economic sanctions as being too blunt, too dangerous, too ineffective an instrument and instead to place the emphasis on helping those who wish to bring about a democratic defeat of apartheid from within. Above all, it is a question of sanctions being the wrong route to take in working for a peaceful — and I stress the word peaceful — transition from apartheid to a multiracial democracy. All of us loathe apartheid. Of course it must be defeated. Of course we condemn South African aggression when it occurs, but the path of sanctions and isolation will encourage the South African *laager* mentality, the 'backs to the wall' attitude. It will encourage terrorism. It will encourage the far right of the Broederbond. It will foster deeper misunderstanding and lead bit by bit to a greater evil, to a blood-drenched solution for the problem of South Africa.

Now the affronts to human rights and human dignity in South Africa are all too obvious, but I feel sometimes that our colleagues talk of the evil of apartheid as if it were the only evil on the globe. Alas, it is not. In this century, in country after country in Europe and Africa and South America, horrendous offences against human rights have occurred, and in some countries these offences continue today. In certain respects of human rights and human civil liberties South Africa is indeed far from the bottom of the list. The openness of debate and expression that exists — and I have seen it — gives us an opportunity. We deplore white minority rule, but I put it to you that the key to peaceful change in South Africa lies in persuading the democracy that exists to enfranchise the non-white majority. That must be our aim.

Some say that there will be no chance of further movement without sanctions, without force. I believe that to be untrue. We are even now witnessing, as other speakers have said, a terrific movement to enfranchise the coloureds. In South Africa there is an enormous range of opinion. The 'don't knows' must be persuaded to join those already pressing for reform.

This Parliament must not forget the short-term in our ambitions for the longer term. Our short-term objectives must be improvement of education, of property rights, of living and working conditions for South African blacks and coloureds, as the Scott-Hopkins resolution says. So we must encourage the forces in South Africa acting for democratic and peaceful change and for the establishment of a free nonracial, democratic society. Our path of pressure must be more subtle than sanctions. We must continue to use the Code of Conduct and improve it. We must establish more, not fewer, contacts with South Africa in order

Jackson

to exert more effective pressure. Is it not true that the pressure on South Africa applied through contacts has proved the most effective?

Mr President, I will wind up. Like my colleagues, I want to change to achieve a free multiracial democracy in South Africa. Let us follow a positive course. Let us encourage contacts. Let us above all place emphasis on helping those, non-whites and whites alike, who wish to bring about a democratic, peaceful change from apartheid through the ballot box.

Mr Adamou (COM). — (GR) Mr President, the racist regime in South Africa is a stigma and a shame on the whole of mankind, and at the same time an infuriating provocation to all the peoples on this Earth. The government of a racist minority has committed itself to the organized crime of genocide and to every form of violence, with torture, imprisonment, murder, and the death penalty, in the hope that it will subjugate a majority five times as large, of the African population in the country whom it deprives even of the most basic human rights: The right to have a house and to create a family, the right to own any property and to have a job. They have evicted the Africans from their homes and confined them to encampments. 87% of the rich land in South Africa belongs to the white racists. The black population can only live on the most infertile 13% of the land, without being able to cultivate it and without medical attendance, light, or water. Under these conditions the mortality of the population takes on the aspect of genocide, particularly in the case of children who, devoid of aid, are struck down by dysentery, undernourishment and tuberculosis to the extent of 50%. Meanwhile, the persecution and violence against the black population increase day by day. At this very moment 105 000 patriots are in prisons, undergoing torture by Nazi methods. The leader of 20 000 000 blacks in South Africa, Nelson Mandela, has been in racist prisons for over 20 years. On 5 August 1982, six young patriots were sentenced to death for their activities, and are now in danger of being executed. The criminal actions of the racists in Pretoria are not confined to the soil of their own country. In spite of the UN decision on the independence of Namibia, the racists continue to occupy her and to organize armed raids into Mozambique and Angola. In a word, the racist gang of Pretoria are carrying out crimes against 20 000 000 black residents of South Africa, which is a permanent focus for military conflagration in the area.

This raises the question: Whence does this regime derive its support, to be able with such impunity to provoke all mankind? The answer is not difficult to find. President Reagan declared officially and plainly on television: 'It is unthinkable that the United States should not aid a country that constitutes an inseparable part of the free world and that has such a wealth of essential minerals.' It is no secret that the multinationals, which are exploiting Namibian uranium and in

general the mineral wealth and the exceedingly cheap labour force of the South African blacks, transform the decisions of international bodies into documents not worth the paper they are written on. In South Africa there are over 1 000 branches of 600 British firms, while Britain is Pretoria's main trade partner. British investments are in excess of seven billion pounds sterling, and Britain covers 50% of her own uranium needs from Namibia. Moreover, more than 6 000 American firms deal with the racists, while American loans and credits to Pretoria have topped the level of five billion dollars. 400 companies in the Federal Republic of Germany maintain close links with the racists, investing tens of millions of marks each year. Commercial relations are also maintained by companies in France and in Japan, while the racists in Israel supply the racists of Pretoria with arms.

This spirit of sympathy and collaboration pervades the whole of the report and proposed resolution by Sir James Scott-Hopkins that we are debating today. It is a bare-faced attempt to justify, preserve and strengthen the Pretoria regime and to perpetuate the occupation of Namibia. It is ridiculous to suggest that the so-called code of conduct for European firms has had any significant effect on the racial discriminations taking place, and that the notorious 'apartheid' can be fought by such means. That is not even British humour; it is 'black humour'.

Mr President, if anybody wanted to raise a monument to imperialist hypocrisy, I think that he could do no better than the report and resolution put forward by Sir James Scott-Hopkins. And one more thing. Whatever the racists and their supporters may do, the final victory will go to the black majority in South Africa.

Mr Haagerup (L). — (DA) Mr President, I should like to remind the House that this debate does not only concern apartheid. If it was only about apartheid, there would surely be unanimity amongst us, even if there might perhaps be disagreement over what should be done about it. But I would also add that neither does the debate concern the South African Republic. It is as though the discussion was focused exclusively on what is happening in the Union of South Africa, and that is not right. I would remind Members of how important it is that Namibia achieves independence. This is dealt with in one of the proposed amendments which I joined in tabling and which I urge you to adopt, for I do not think we should forget that in the debate on Southern Africa.

I would also say that, if we are against economic sanctions, it is not because we think that South Africa is strategically too important for us to apply economic sanctions. We simply do not think that they will achieve the desired objective, but we are willing — and we have tabled an amendment to that effect — to look into the effect achieved by any economic sanctions applied.

Haagerup

Let me finally say a few words on the security problems. It is as if the idea is prevalent in some quarters that, if South Africa is of such strategic importance, we should also show, if not understanding of apartheid, then at least rather more prudence. I think that is entirely wrong. Together with Mr Irmer, I have tabled an amendment which precisely says that it is apartheid and the unrest in the whole of southern Africa which affords the Soviet Union the possibility of operating in the region, and that is why we feel that we should put more pressure on South Africa to get the apartheid policy changed and at the same time give more aid to the so-called SADCC countries to enable them to reduce their dependence on South Africa.

Finally it is also important, when we realize how dependent we are on South Africa in the Western world in respect of certain raw materials, that, instead of treading softly in our dealings with South Africa, we reduce that dependence. For that reason, we advocate in a proposed amendment an increase in stock-piles of the strategic raw materials for which we are dependent on South Africa.

Mr Blumenfeld (PPE). — *(DE)* Mr President, I am one of those who hesitate to speak in a debate of this kind, because I have lived under a racist régime and know what it can do.

But I am astonished at the virtual absence of any sense of reality in the debate on Sir James Scott-Hopkins' report on the whole of southern Africa, particularly on one side of this House. Rhetorical masterpieces have never yet produced solutions to a problem on which a fairly large majority of the House is surely agreed, the abolition of a racist policy known as apartheid.

Sir James' report and the resolution he has tabled tackle this extremely difficult problem with, if I may so, balanced energy and a marked sense of reality. We are very grateful to the rapporteur for this. I would add, however, that the explanatory statement and the resolution could have done with being a little shorter. I hope that the many amendments will not completely deprive the resolution of its message.

The governments in southern Africa do not have a cohesive policy on their part of the world, nor is there a cohesive policy in the USA, let alone. But for decades there has been a degree of hypocrisy in the statements of responsible heads of governments which has no equal.

I am referring here in particular to the heads of government of South Africa's black African neighbours. By day, Mr President, they condemn South Africa, but by night a great deal of trading goes on. Although the European Community is urged to penalize South Africa economically and to put pressure on its government with boycotts, sanctions and other measures, it is with the pious hope that that such measures will not be taken.

If you talk to the advocates of this sanction policy privately, it all sounds rather different. South Africa is, as one of my colleagues has already said, economically the strongest force in southern Africa and indeed in the whole of the continent. Its neighbours with their millions of inhabitants would be the first to suffer if South Africa's economic, financial, innovatory and trade policies collapsed.

I am very much opposed to sanctions or an economic boycott, not only because we adopted the Seeler report by a vast majority in the autumn of 1982, but because politically sanctions would have precisely the opposite effect of what we want to achieve, the abolition of the apartheid policy that we all find unacceptable. We want Pretoria's present one-sided policy to develop into a genuine federative system of parliamentary democracy, and until that happens, we must also reject the homelands system, unless the people directly concerned fully agree to their establishment. We want freedom and equal rights in the widest sense and opportunities for economic advancement for every citizen of South Africa, whether, black, brown, yellow or white.

Where are the great democratic leaders of black Africa who once protested against the totalitarian methods of their neighbours in North, West and East Africa, against the crimes that are constantly committed, as recently in Nigeria with the inhuman expulsion of Ghanaian nationals. In South Africa there are people who want reform, and for years they have been struggling for democracy and freedom. These are the people we should be supporting. Names such as Harry Oppenheimer, Helen Susman, Chief Buthelesi, to give but a few examples, stand for thousands who must be helped. We shall not help them with economic boycotts — quite the contrary.

Remarkable progress has also been made in the abolition of racist policy in recent years — in employment. Despite what Mr Walter said, there are European firms which do indeed observe the Code of Conduct. Progress has been made in sport and in the social sector. What effect has the political boycott of South Africa had? International sport, including the Olympic Games, has come under increasing pressure from political hot-heads, and young people, particularly South Africa's young non-whites, have been penalized, their hopes of peaceful sporting contests dashed.

Whites have been living in South Africa for over 300 years. They rather than many of the non-whites are the original settlers. They have rights in exactly the same way as the black majority. We cannot help if we cannot convince people — especially the members of the majority government.

Mr Boserup (COM). — *(DA)* Here we are again in this Assembly in a pathetic situation, of which we should really be ashamed. We have to decide on a pro-

Boserup

posed resolution, which deserves no better fate than to disappear into the wastepaper basket. There are 180 amendments. None of these can take away the misery. If some are adopted here and some there, we shall have a mess which will only make a bad thing worse. Others have spoken on the particularly contradictory points in the proposed resolution, so I shall not bore you with those, but I must make it clear that one thing is more important than everything else, and that is to eliminate apartheid. Without beating about the bush and making conditions, to break off all relations — I said all relations — with a regime which writes racism into its constitution. That is what they expect of us in Southern Africa. That is what will be of use to them, everything else irrelevant talk. But it is no use expecting such decisive action from this assembly. This Commission can continue to negotiate trade agreements with South Africa, and it does so without ceasing. Banks lend money to them, and the EEC countries continue to work with companies which conduct business in South Africa, and the International Monetary Fund lends huge sums to wealthy South Africa without unleashing a storm of protest in the EEC countries. I urge Members to go home to their own countries and to press their own governments to adopt sanctions and to check that the sanctions are applied. The legal machinery for policing the observance of sanctions and punishing infringements falls within the competence of the individual states. We must take that responsibility on ourselves. It is the only thing we can do.

It is with indignation, grief and shame that I stand here today, as a Dane. Our friends and good neighbours, the Swedes, have shown us the way. They have a policy on South Africa with which we Danes could associate ourselves to the letter. They have introduced unilateral sanctions. That is something we could have gone along with, instead of which we have to plod along at the pace dictated to us by our hopelessly mistaken membership of the Common Market.

The Socialist People's Party, which has elected me to be here, works unremittingly at home for the eradication of the apartheid regime, and there is popular support for that work way beyond the ranks of our Party itself. I will therefore continue to work for this objective back home. We are in bad company here, but back home I will continue the work and assist the struggle of our Party for a return to cooperation with the Scandinavian democracies, so that we can once again move forward in a fight for justice in South Africa too.

President. — As President of this Assembly, I cannot accept your contention that you are in bad company. In any event, you yourself chose to be a Member of this assembly.

Mr Mommersteeg (PPE). — (NL) The Scott-Hopkins report has an interesting background with some

remarkable developments. What we are witnessing in this plenary sitting is the culmination of the rapporteur's efforts in charting the context and setting out possible solutions as represented by the motion for a resolution before us. But is this, of itself, sufficient as a policy declaration from the directly-elected representatives of ten nations of Western Europe? Ten nations united in a Community which is willing and able to make its voice heard on the international scene inasmuch as they are of one accord on a particular issue. The deluge of amendments — so diverse in nature — has revealed just how difficult it is to achieve a united front in this Parliament and such unity is a prerequisite for influencing events. Some members of the house would have us unceremoniously throw out the motion for a resolution on the grounds that it is unsound. But it is a remarkable phenomenon that in their midst are to be found a number of members of diametrically opposite political philosophies: those who feel that South Africa is being abandoned to its own lot and that such shabby treatment will only further advance Soviet strategy in the region, and on the other hand those who believe the motion to be too timid in its support of black Africa.

I would not go along with either opinion, Mr President. I believe the motion for a resolution to be a point of departure, in need of improvement but that such improvement can be made here in the course of this debate. After long hesitation I now believe that the European Parliament cannot afford to further postpone a policy statement on developments in southern Africa. Given Europe's historical relationship with, and responsibility for, southern Africa and in view of the alarming developments taking place, such a declaration is called for. It is clear from this morning's debate that the Romer resolution must also be considered a challenge to which we as European Parliament must respond. It has also become clear that while the issue is the whole context of southern Africa the most urgent is the question of Namibia. Time considerations preclude a detailed analysis thereof. I shall limit my remarks to quoting two extracts from a report published by the South African Catholic Bishops Conference last year and officially banned a few weeks ago by the government of South Africa. These two passages, in English, are from the conclusions on page 41 of that report:

'It also seems clear to us that a great majority of Namibians have one overriding desire and that is the implementation of United Nations Security Resolution 435 resulting in a cease fire, withdrawal of South African security forces and the holding of elections under United Nations auspices and they are quite prepared to live with whatever government emerges from these elections'.

And now the second quotation: 'It also strongly felt that the West could become the predominant outside influence on an independent Namibia if it adopted a friendly and helpful attitude'. That report was com-

Mommersteeg

piled on the basis of information 'gathered from reliable representatives of several churches in Namibia, especially the Lutheran, Anglican, African Methodist, Episcopal and Catholic churches, also from the Council of Churches in Namibia and from our own observation'.

Of equal importance is the perennial problem of apartheid and the spiritual and material ravages it causes together with the opportunity it affords the Soviet Union to increase its influence. An intractable problem, and one which could trigger off dangerous armed conflict in the immediate future in the words of Oppenheimer, MacNamara, the Rockefeller report and even the latest report published by the U.S. Senate Committee on External Relations.

Mr President, I would like to summarize the spirit in which I and a number of like-minded members of the House will be endeavouring to achieve a degree of coordination between the veritable flood of amendments which have been tabled.

1. Precisely because we are so alarmed at the increase in armed conflict the ten Community foreign ministers must step up their pressure on Pretoria in an effort to achieve a fundamental change in South African policy.
2. The South African government-sponsored Bantustan policy offers no solution.
3. The black population in its entirety must be a party to negotiations on policy changes in Southern Africa. Such negotiations should elaborate a national convention.
4. A system of one man, one vote is fully justified.
5. The Community must step up its economic aid to the frontline States surrounding South Africa, that is to say, to the whole of southern Africa.
6. The Community must support the five frontline States who are committed to seeking a solution to the Namibian problem through the ballot box as a prelude to immediate independence and to thwarting South Africa's spoiling tactics.
7. An examination of the likely consequences which would result from a Community economic embargo of South Africa. No guesswork.

Mr Pisani, Member of the Commission. — (FR) I should like to clear up a technical point before going on to some of the more fundamental aspects of the debate. It concerns the idea which has been taken up by a number of speakers that the European Economic Community has been negotiating with South Africa under the GATT framework. The facts are exactly as follows: South Africa has applied a number of restric-

tive measures to EEC exports to its territory and, under the GATT rules, the European Economic Community is entitled to make application for compensation to maintain the balance between the two economic units. This is what happened, and a letter addressed recently to the chairman of the United Nations committee against apartheid states the position unequivocally:

'I can therefore reaffirm that the European Communities have not granted any privileges to South Africa and have no intention of doing so in the future.'

I should now like to discuss some of the more substantive aspects of the debate.

First of all I should like to apologize to Sir James Scott-Hopkins for not noticing that his report predates the attack on Lesotho. I accused him of failing to take account of this event, but how could he have done so, since it was not foreseeable? I hope he will accept my apologies.

I should also like to confirm that I am just as decidedly sceptical about progress in South Africa as I was at the beginning of the debate. The concessions, or at least apparent concessions, which have been made to certain sections of the non-white population, far from being designed to start a process which can begin with the coloureds and Asians and then spread to the black population, are aimed at dividing the coloureds and Asians on the one hand from the blacks on the other, the better to dominate them. When I analyse the facts of the situation objectively and calmly, I am driven to the conclusion that the risk of distortion outweighs any real promise of progress.

Secondly, and this is an important problem, I should like to stress a point which I have already had the opportunity to make before the European Parliament, namely that, historically, the arrival of Cuban troops on Angolan soil came after South Africa had begun to violate Angolan territory and that, under the circumstances, it is not possible to take the cause for the effect and the effect for the cause. We believe — and I want to emphasize this strongly — that withdrawal of the Cuban troops will necessarily be part of the overall logic of independence for Namibia and the establishment of a state of peace in this region, but analysis of the chronology shows that reversal of the timing of events is a serious distortion of the facts.

I wish to place particular emphasis on the fact that, in the work that we are doing in countries in this region, we have tried to establish a system under which the southern African countries can gradually become economically more independent of their South African neighbour, so that some of the tension can be taken out of the present confrontation between them and South Africa. I would remind the speaker who referred in rather aggressive terms to the southern African countries of what I was saying this morning. I

Pisani

referred to the tragic circumstances of various heads of State, governments and political movements who want the European Economic Community to apply sanctions against South Africa even though they know that they themselves could feel the backlash from these sanctions. They are fully aware, these heads of State, governments and political movements, that they are dependent on South Africa, but they are still prepared to accept the risk because they want to see an end to apartheid, in the name of equality, in the name of liberty, in the name of democracy.

Mr President, if I have any message for the white people of South Africa, it is this: I invite them to consider the lessons of history, to recognize the fact that never has any situation similar to theirs, any conflict similar to theirs, ended in victory for inequality, victory for the whites over the mass of indigenous people demanding dignity, freedom and justice. I believe that, by putting off the day when they introduce new legislation giving due recognition to the rights of the indigenous people of South Africa, the whites in South Africa can only ensure that the inevitable will be all the more tragic when it comes. By delaying the decisions that have to be taken, the Government in Pretoria is defying history on behalf of those it claims to protect.

(Applause)

Sir James Scott-Hopkins (ED), rapporteur. — Mr President, I am very grateful to you for giving me a few moments to sum up one or two things that have been said.

It is always sad, looking around the House, to find that people do not have the courtesy to stay on to hear the reply either of the Commissioner or, indeed, of the rapporteur. It looks as though courtesy is really rather on the wane in this House. I am very grateful to those honourable Members who have spoken and who are still here. I will try and refer to one or two of the things they have said.

It has become quite obvious during the debate that there is a fairly sharp division in the House as to whether one or not wants to go to extremes in the way one deals with the situation, having agreed that *apartheid* is unacceptable. Having listened to Mr Pisani twice now, I still am not quite clear what his own position is regarding sanctions. It is rather ambivalent. He is a very subtle and clever man, as I remember only too well, Sir, when you were Minister of Agriculture in 1962. You have not changed all that much. As I have a very little time, please excuse me from continuing on this theme.

I was delighted, nevertheless, to hear what Mr Pisani said about the Cubans — delighted and rather surprised, if I have understood him rightly. What he said was that it was absolutely essential for peace in Namibia and in Angola that the Cubans should leave

Angola. I could not agree with him more, and I only hope that other people like Mr Fuchs over there, who made a very stirring speech concerning the situation in Namibia, will pay heed to what Mr Pisani said. Apart from that, there was hardly a single word in Mr Fuch's speech, that I agreed with. I also have been up to that area. I also have seen what he obviously saw, and I drew exactly the opposite conclusions to his. That is where we shall have to agree to disagree in the years ahead.

Mr President, there are one or two other things that I was not able to talk about owing to the shortness of time, particularly, the code of practice. I do hope that the Commissioner and the Council who, unfortunately, have gone — and I am grateful for what was said by Mr Genscher when he was here as President-in-office of the Council — will accept the fact that they really should come to this House and report to it what is happening over the Code of Practice — how it is being executed, and whether it is really operating as we in this House, and its authors, originally wanted.

Over and above that, Mr President, I regret that I did not have time this morning to talk about the need for supporting SADCC, for instance, and helping the neighbouring territories, the so-called front-line States, in improving their economies.

One other point which has gone through all our debates, and which I made myself earlier on, is that the stability of the region is, quite clearly, paramount. If we are to have any success, we must have stability, not only in South Africa, but in the neighbouring States as well. And that cannot be achieved by hot air. It can be done through the Lomé Convention. It can be done by Western European states, as a Community or as States, in helping to improve these economies.

I hope the House will take a moderate line. I hope the House will approve a balanced report. In that case, I think we shall have done something to the pursued within the framework of the Community's regional policy and urges action by the Commission to make this hope a reality.

President. — The debate is closed.

The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

9. Urban concentration in the Community

President. — The next item is the report by Mr Griffiths (Doc. 1-1001/82), on behalf of the Committee of Regional Policy and Regional Planning, on the problems of urban concentration in the Community.

Mr Griffiths (S), rapporteur. — Mr President, the problems of the inner cities and deprived conurbations

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of the Community have to be considered against the broader background of the regional problems of the Community. Thus whilst the purpose of this report is to respond to some seven resolutions tabled by Members deeply concerned about the problems of inner cities and deprived conurbations, it does so in the context of the wider regional problems of the Community. From Naples in the South to Newcastle in the North, no one can deny that the Community's conurbations face severe problems. These include excessively high unemployment levels, elderly populations, the accommodation of workers and their families from the peripheral regions of Europe and former European colonies, inadequate health care and social services provision and, of late, the eruption of violent conflicts. To help tackle these severe problems, the committee decided to support some specific recommendations that I put to them.

Firstly, to extend to other cities and deprived urban concentrations is assisted regions integrated programmes, particularly where there are local initiatives to overcome economic and social depression. There is plenty of evidence to suggest that municipal authorities across the Community are taking initiatives to tackle the problems of economic and social depression. At a public hearing on this subject organized by the Intergroup of Local and Regional Representatives of the political Groups in the European Parliament in Brussels a little while ago, the cities represented were bursting with ideas to tackle their problems. Only the money was lacking.

Secondly, to develop a non-quota proposal for urban renewal of cities and urban concentrations within assisted regions. And I would suggest that the Commission might like to consider earmarking 100 million ECU, for such a programme.

Thirdly, we ask Commission to contribute towards a research and experience programme to allow small-scale initiatives which are considered to be of value across the Community. These measures would be limited to cities and conurbations which are situated in the regions which qualify for aid from the Regional Fund. It was the opinion of the committee that there was not sufficient money available in the Regional Fund to extend help to cities and conurbations outside regions receiving assistance from the Fund. The committee, however, believes that in the event of a significant increase in the size of the Fund, consideration could be given to the development of a non-quota proposal for the urban renewal of cities and deprived urban concentrations in the Community as a whole.

In the meantime, we call on the Commission to promote, through the European Investment Bank, financial programmes comprising of interest rate subsidies in order to improve living conditions and employment opportunities in the rundown areas of big cities outside regions receiving Regional Fund assistance. In implementing all the measures, the committee is anx-

ious to ensure the fullest possible cooperation with the municipal authorities who have the responsibility for our cities and conurbations. We recognize that whilst nearly all the cities and conurbations facing severe problems have industrial sectors which are in steep decline, each city will have its own particular problems dependent on its traditions, history and geographical situation.

For this reason we believe initiatives should come from the cities with a Community response in the provision of financial assistance. We cannot expect the Commission to provide a magic formula which will answer the problems of our cities. But it is reasonable to expect the Community to set aside funds in the non-quota section which could be utilised by municipal authorities which bring forward initiatives to overcome their economic and social problems.

The committee also felt that cooperation between Community institutions and municipal authorities would be enhanced if the Commission established a forum, in which the Commission, Parliament and the municipal authorities would be represented, which would meet regularly, to discuss urban problems and the progress of programmes to overcome them.

Besides the concrete financial support advocated by Parliament for inner cities and deprived conurbations, the committee also urges the Commission to undertake a number of studies from which we hope action will follow, directly or indirectly, providing help to ease the problems of deprived conurbations.

The committee is particularly concerned that while steps should be taken to provide relief and stability in deprived conurbations, nothing should be done to so stimulate economic activity around conurbations that they would attract even more population and hence build up problems for a later date.

The committee calls on the Commission to propose ways in which mobile investment capital can be more positively encouraged to go to the disadvantaged regions.

The committee believes that much of the pressure could be taken off the Community cities if there were more jobs in the regions. There is also a strong feeling that jobs, and the economic and social infrastructure needed to support them, can be provided at far less cost in small towns as compared with large cities. For example, a kilometre of underground railway in a large city costs as much to provide as 150 kilometres of highway in a flat peripheral region.

The Commission did publish a comparative study of deglomeration policies in 1980 in which suggested that there was not sufficient evidence to warrant such steps as those I have just advocated. I feel, however, that in the six years or more that have elapsed since the Commission collected its evidence, there have been such

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changes for the worse that action now needs to be taken. Thus, the committee calls on the Commission, firstly, to study the financial and social effects and the environment protection costs arising from the over development of urban concentrations. Secondly, to evaluate the losses of development potential in the peripheral regions arising from the migration of much of the active population in these regions to the conurbations. Thirdly, to assess the point at which the advantages of economic concentration in large conurbations are outweighed by the disadvantages, for example, of the excessive cost of infrastructure.

To conclude. Mr President, the committee regards the regeneration of inner cities and urban concentrations affected by chronic impoverishment in some Member States as one of the objectives to be pursued within the framework of the Community's regional policy and urges action by the Commission to make this hope a reality.

Mr Giolitti, Member of the Commission. — (IT) Mr President, the Commission is grateful to the Committee on Regional Policy for its motion for a resolution and to Mr Griffiths for his report calling attention to the important problems concerning urban concentration in the Community, particularly in certain areas suffering from industrial decline.

The Commission has given increasing attention to the problems of urban decline as they have become more acute over the last few years. Specifically, in 1979, the Commission organized a conference in Liverpool on urban problems in the European Community. In 1982 the local members of the European Parliament organized a public debate among representatives of the large European cities, a debate in which the Commission itself took part.

As you know, this coming April the OECD will hold its first cabinet-level meeting dedicated to urban problems. The Commission intends to play an active part in this meeting and hopes to be able to use the conclusions arrived at on this occasion to review its policies in the light of their relationship to urban problems.

Although the Treaties grant no authority to the Community in urban matters, the Commission is presently acting in favour of cities and urban concentrations within the framework of certain Community policies, specifically the environmental policy, the social policy and the regional policy, employing appropriate financial instruments. The Commission intends to improve coordination between these policies as well as contacts with the local administrations concerned.

In the matter of regional policy, the European Regional Development Fund has contributed to the financing of infrastructure projects in various large urban centres, disbursing funds estimated at more than 700 million ECU. The non-quota section of the

Regional Fund participates in the reorganization of industrial and urban areas. I can also mention the Commission's proposal for a programme designed to improve the housing situation in Belfast.

The Commission is in favour of more vigorous action on behalf of urban centres in decline. It is necessary, however, to obtain a greater knowledge of the problems in question. To this end the Commission proposes to initiate a study for the purpose of analysing the problems of urban decline at Community level and examining the possibilities of Community financial intervention, including recourse to the non-quota section of the Regional Fund. This non-quota section, however, can only be used for regional problems closely linked to the consequences of Community policies until such time as the Commission's proposals on the regulations for the Regional Fund have been accepted. Therefore, a particular problem must have regional ramifications in order to justify action through the Regional Fund.

As for the possible extension of the experiment of the integrated operations to cities other than those where they are presently taking place, the Commission, as it stated in its answers to the written questions, is ready to consider — within the existing budgetary limitations the proposals advanced by the Member States and suggested in certain amendments.

Apart from the programmes implemented in the context of the regional policy, there are already many Community initiatives in the areas of social policy and employment which are directly connected with specific problems important for urban zones. Through the European Social Fund, for example, the Commission has over the years taken concrete measures aimed at improving the employment situation in the inner cities. The Social Fund has subsidized many projects to promote vocational training and employment in urban areas.

In its proposals for the reform of the Social Fund the Commission included a specific provision to allow the Fund to subsidize programmes aimed at reapplying up the pockets of unemployment normally encountered in urban areas, even when they are located in relatively prosperous parts of the Community. The Commission has also proposed that the experts charged with an important intermediary role at the local level should benefit from aid from the Social Fund.

Finally I will mention the initiatives promoted by the Community in favour of migrant workers and their families in the fields of education and housing.

This, Mr President, is a summary of Community activities in relation to the specific problems of urban areas: they will be further developed, as the European Parliament has requested, in this debate and in its motion for a resolution.

Mrs Squarcialupi (COM), *draftsman of an opinion for the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment*. — (IT) Mr President, as draftsman of an opinion for the Committee on Social Affairs I would like to present the conclusions reached in its discussion, which was naturally centred on social questions. Above all I would like to mention the international mobilization against organized crime recently promoted by the United Nations, emphasizing that in this institution as well it has been decided that the work of prevention should be particularly aimed at regions characterized by high industrial development, uncontrolled urbanization, unemployment, and emigration.

Cities have always been the expression of the social and political organization of their time and place. Unfortunately, we are obliged to acknowledge that our urban centres, with their uncontrolled development, make small provision for the needs of their inhabitants, and that they therefore appear as the expression of a system which has opted for profit rather than for human values.

Mr Griffith's report deals with the problem of urban centres as a source of violence, while the Committee on Social Affairs, for its part, has stressed the need to strike at the roots of this violence: unemployment, the systems of production, the quality of the environment, the ghetto-like isolation of certain groups, among them the young, the elderly, the immigrants.

Over the last 30 years large-scale public and private investment has favoured the large cities and certain industrial sectors, like the steel and chemical industries, which have created bitter tensions and which are now in decline. The financial and commercial sectors, planning and research are now in a phase of expansion.

Thus the cities are becoming centres for the exchange of technology and information, as well as centres for production. However, few city dwellers will be able to convert to the new jobs in informatics, to managerial or commercial positions. This will create changes in the urban landscape.

However, together with these changes, there are other problems to be solved, problems which I will mention briefly.

First: land management. This was formerly the province of the people who used the land; now the task is entrusted to industrialists and businessmen whose interests diverge from those of the population at large.

The second problem, although perhaps first in importance: the young, the protagonists of the 1960s, who were made victims of social exclusion or chose it voluntarily when the radical changes they had fought for proved too difficult to obtain. Today these young people are indifferent to institutions, expressing their disenchantment with representative democracy

through failure to vote, and even through vandalism and violence.

Third: the problems inherent in changes in family structure, where the concept of authority has been abandoned, but where a true dialogue between the generations has not yet been created. Within the family itself, the role of women is still oscillating between the past and the future, between subordination and emancipation.

Fourth: the problems posed by the desire for a different type of work, for a culture which allows more space for individuals; a desire to substitute collective interests for the egotistical ones favoured by consumerism.

To these problems must be added the problems of xenophobia which have appeared precisely in the multi-racial and multi-cultural urban areas, and, not least, the health problems known to be generated by large cities, the physical and psychological illnesses designated as 'urban diseases'.

The amendments I presented address these problems. They received widespread support in the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment, although the Committee was not able to hold a meeting to discuss their presentation. This is why they have been presented on my personal initiative.

These amendments could give a more human dimension to Mr Griffith's fine report, which is admirable for the measures it requests of the Community institutions and for the lucidity with which it describes the problem of Community urban centres in the context of the regional policy.

If the rapporteur accepts these amendments, which reflect the views of the Committee on Social Affairs, he will be giving immediate implementation to the spirit behind paragraph 9 of the resolution, where he asks the Commission to strengthen the ties between the authorities responsible for the regional policy, the social policy and the environmental policy.

In conclusion, the problem of urban concentration is not a single problem — it is rather an accumulation of problems.

Mrs Dury (S). — (FR) The report by Mr Griffiths clearly brings home the range and complexity of the problems. Nevertheless, there are points in common, to which reference has already been made. The fact is that the predominant type of development that we have seen shows that anarchy, the lure of profit and property speculation have prevailed over the collective interest.

I come from a town which has suffered some deterioration, a town which you know well. I often invite my

Dury

colleagues to visit it, for it is Brussels and the Brussels region. Although Brussels is an international city, its population is in decline. It is becoming poorer and older. All this places a very large question mark over its future. It used to be the leading industrial region in Belgium, but it has now lost 60 000 jobs.

Service industry, which was mentioned a moment ago, has most certainly not managed to replace the jobs lost in manufacturing industry.

The problems confronting this town are enormous, and they are not dissimilar to those of the regions which are now being declared eligible for support from the Community's Regional Fund.

I would add that it is a town which has to deal with the problems of a region, and I hope in this connection that the European position will encourage the Belgian Government to give much stronger support to our Brussels region. It is also a town which has to cope

with the problems of financing its communes, which have more and more costs to bear.

I should now like to mention a final aspect: in connection with non-quota assistance, the problem of emigration has been referred to. I for my part would like to see immigration taken into account as a criterion for the provision of Regional Fund assistance. A quarter of the population in Brussels is made up by immigrants, and xenophobia and racism are developing increasingly. There is a need for solidarity, not only national but European solidarity, with these towns which are now faced with so many problems and are in decline.

President. — I shall have to interrupt the proceedings. They will be resumed tomorrow afternoon.

*(The sitting was closed at 7.05 p.m.)*¹

¹ Topical and urgent debate — (Announcement) — Agenda for next sitting: See Minutes.

SITTING OF WEDNESDAY, 9 FEBRUARY 1983

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IN THE CHAIR: MR PFLIMLIN

Vice-President

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

1. *Approval of the minutes*

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

Are there any comments?

Mr Cottrell (ED). — Mr President, the Minutes record me as not having cast a vote during the vote on that part of the Pruvot procedure when we were considering whether to send it back to committee or not. I would like it recorded in the minutes that I voted against reference back to committee.

President. — We have taken note of your remarks.

Mr Moreland (ED). — Mr President, I would like to raise a point of order in connection with page 7 of the English version of the Minutes. This reveals that during Question Time, there were 15 supplementaries to one question. Indeed, those who were here will know that this particular question took up half of Question Time. Not only that, but the same subject came up again among the questions put to the Foreign Ministers, and there were five supplementaries from

five people who had spoken during Question Time to the Council on the same subject.

Now, I raise this point, Mr President, because it has been the usual practice — one that you, I think, have adopted when you were in the Chair at Question Time, as did a number of other occupants of the Chair — that we do not have more than five or six supplementaries. It is obviously unfair to other people who have questions down if there are too many supplementaries. Therefore, could I ask you, in your capacity as a member of the Bureau, to pass on to your colleagues that, in future, we should not have more than five or six supplementaries, that one subject should not clog up the whole of Question Time and that, certainly when we have Question Time this afternoon with questions to the Commission, that particular practice should be followed.

President. — Mr Moreland, your remarks have to do with one of the areas where the Rules of Procedure do not lay down any precise rules. In any given sitting the Chair enjoys a certain discretion in regard to the number of supplementary questions.

Personally, I feel as you do that it would be in the general interest to limit the number of supplementary questions so that other questions down on the agenda would not be crowded out. I shall convey your remarks to the Bureau.¹

(Parliament approved the minutes)

¹ Documents received — Referrals to committees: see Minutes.

2. *Commission: Sixteenth General Report and the programme of work for 1983 (continuation)*

President. — The next item is the continuation of the debate on the Sixteenth General Report and the programme of work for 1983.¹

Mr Glinne (S). — (FR) Mr President, President of the Commission, colleagues, I listened very attentively to Mr Thorn's speech and, along with most of my colleagues, I was pleased with the firm and promising note struck by his contribution.

It is true that the absolute priority for both the Member States and the Community is the fight against unemployment. The Socialist Group, for its part, has been constantly repeating it in this House for over three years. We have also heard grand statements of intent from both the Council and the Commission, but up to now it must be said that concrete results have lagged far behind and that the solid reality with which we are faced is that the number of unemployed continues almost unremittingly to increase.

We are therefore pleased that the Commission has made a number of proposals. The sceptics may wonder why we have had to wait until 1983 and until the number of those unemployed has gone beyond the 12 million mark, but at last we can now declare ourselves in agreement with certain of the suggestions put forward.

We agree with the proposal to improve the economic and social environment, but for us Socialists that also means reducing inequalities, participation of the two sides of industry in the framing of Community policy, upward harmonization of national social legislation by guaranteeing the application of the provisions enjoyed by the most favoured worker in the Community and by ensuring that the provisions governing non-discrimination between men and women are strictly applied. That also means the framing of an economic policy based on the quest for a new possibility of development and the elimination of regional imbalances and finally, to mention only a few of our priorities, the adoption of a policy for the control of multinational corporations.

We also agree with President Thorn's declaration on the completion of the internal market and the reconstruction of an industrial power-base, but for us Socialists that also means the application of a coherent industrial strategy, worked out within the framework of democratic planning, which would also contribute to reducing the disparities between the Member States of the Community and make it possible to implement a policy for job creation, for winning back the European home market and for restoring the trade balance between the EEC and the other major economic zones

of the developed world, not only in those sectors currently hit by the crisis but also in sectors of advanced technology which are vital to the independence of the Community and the future of Community employment.

We also agree to the strengthening of the Community budgetary and financial instruments, provided they really serve for the creation of new jobs and for assisting industries in crisis and the least developed regions of the Community, and provided the 'fair return' system is resolutely opposed by the institution of new common policies facilitating the establishment of a better balance between the Member States and between the rich and the poor among the Member States.

Parliament has been waiting for three years for the Commission's proposals on the restructuring of the budget. The Commission has at last given us some precise indications of its intentions.

Finally we appreciate the attention the Commission has given to improving the international environment, and here we can only congratulate the Commission on the firm and moreover fruitful approach the Commission has adopted in the disputes between the Community and the United States.

I now come to the means of Community action and the proposals made by the Commission on this subject. With regard to the question of own resources, along with other issues raised in Mr Thorn's speech, I might refer the House to the proposed resolution on European recovery, the Jaquet resolution (Doc. 1-926/82/corr.) named after its main author, which was presented to Parliament on 25 November and which, I think I can say, contains a wealth of instructive material and proposals.

On the subject of new own resources and referring to that document, I will say that our Group is not opposed to recourse to new own resources, provided the development to be expected from the effort of recovery clearly justifies it. We therefore welcome Mr Thorn's declaration that the Commission rejects the idea of creating new own resources and the development of new action with the sole purpose of settling our budgetary disagreements.

With regard to the institutional problems, the Socialists, without wanting to make institutional reforms an objective in themselves, consider that they are necessary in order to put the Community in a better position to tackle today's problems. The recent meeting of the enlarged Bureau and the Foreign Ministers on this question should be seen as a positive event. But it is important that real progress be made in relations between all the institutions this year in order to prevent the decision-making system from being blocked, something of which Parliament would suffer the con-

¹ See debates of Tuesday, 8. 2. 1983.

Glinne

sequences to the point of becoming the scapegoat in the 1984 elections.

Mr President, President of the Commission, colleagues, it is true that quick decision-making is crucial in the crisis in which we find ourselves. It is also true that we have delayed too long, hesitated too much in taking a number of measures which were needed and each day took on greater urgency. It is therefore high time we acted quickly. It is true that the final result of the proposals both of Parliament and the Commission will depend on the Council's ability to take a decision. And unfortunately, all too often, the national governments, acting at their own or at Council level, allow themselves to be guided more by national self-interest than by Community interests. It is therefore up to the President of the Commission to ensure that the Commission does not fall into the same trap of which, together with Parliament, it is constantly warning the governments of the Ten; only measures adopted collectively can really overcome the crisis.

Mr President, the Commission has made us some interesting proposals. It has even made some enticing promises. We will follow their fulfilment with a great deal of interest and will judge them in due course on the basis of solid achievements.

One final remark: the outline programme refers to the memorandum presented by the Greek Government in the context of the integrated Mediterranean programmes. I should like to stress that the Greek memorandum goes further than the limited objectives of that programme and that it contains a wide range of demands designed to remedy the structural deficiencies of the Greek economy. The extent of these deficiencies, especially in the context of the customs union, set among highly developed economies, was highlighted in the Greek memorandum in particular by the data on the growing trade deficit of Greece with the rest of the Community. We therefore think that the Greek memorandum merits a more comprehensive response than that set out in the outline programme.

Mr Barbi (EPP). — *(IT)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I think that the entire European Parliament — not just my group — has appreciated President Thorn's proposal to throw the full weight of the Community's effort into the fight against unemployment and the decline of industry.

We Christian Democrats also share his view that our ten Member States 'do not make sufficient use of the potential that both the European dimension and the solidarity of the Community place at our disposal'. And so we must ask ourselves: why is this so? Solely because of inflexible, anti-Community feeling on the part of some governments? Or solely because of the economic selfishness of others (which — like all selfishness — blinds or obscures the vision of even those with no nationalistic prejudices)?

Does not responsibility lie elsewhere, perhaps, as well? With our own Parliament, perhaps, or the Commission, which should be the driving force, the motive power, of the Community?

Yes, it is easy to be in agreement with the five categories of priority action that the Community should undertake, as set out by President Thorn. But why can we not get them off the ground?

Of course, the first and the fifth — that is, improvement of the economic and social environment, and improvement of the international climate — are very much dependent on the political action of our ten governments and on the strengthening of 'political cooperation' (the strengthening, in other words, of the European foreign policy drawn up and implemented by the Community).

The certainty of international peace and the stability of internal social equilibrium are factors of decisive importance for the revival of investment and the 'reconstruction of European industrial power' — the main weapon for winning the battle for full employment — and we Christian Democrats are certainly the last people to underrate them.

We know very well that on this essentially political ground the Community's field of action is restricted.

We know that it is up to us — the Members of Parliament elected by the peoples of Europe — and to the political forces that we represent to lay down the policy lines, and express the will to act, that will lead to decisions by governments and by the European Council.

There are, on the other hand, sectors where the responsibility for proposing and disposing lies in the first place with the Commission; and in his speech yesterday President Thorn showed that he was fully aware of this.

'The complete realization of the internal market', 'the strengthening of the Community's budgetary and financial instruments', the shaping and implementation of a Community industrial strategy covering the sectors of research, technological innovation, energy, and transport — all are essential conditions for the revival of the European economy and hence for the real, down-to-earth (as distinct from purely demagogic) fight against unemployment.

So also is the need, already referred to, for a Community policy — and the essential worldwide international agreements that must go with it — for the reduction of working hours, which technological developments are making urgently necessary.

But why have we as yet no European industrial strategy in the most important sectors, the innovative ones (though also in a number of traditional sectors such as

Barbi

the car industry), and why do we continue to bog ourselves down with ten national policies that are often divergent and always inadequate?

Why do we not combine our innovative efforts, instead of allowing some of our enterprises to be forced to seek agreements, as the technological dependents of our strongest competitors, in order to survive?

Is it just because some Member State or other still cherishes the illusion that it can do more, and better, on its own than with the Community as a whole? Or is it not also — perhaps — because no concrete, convincing initiatives are forthcoming from the Commission at the proper time?

The analysis of the situation and the outline of the essential needs are good, and we agree with them. What we have yet to see, however, are concrete, precise, definite, convincing proposals.

Years ago, faced with the difficulties created by the fluctuation of the dollar, the Commission — guided by President Jenkins — proposed the creation of the European Monetary System, forcing the Council of Ministers to face up to its responsibilities and making the momentous advance that was achieved at Bremen not only possible but, I would say, inevitable.

Why not follow the same method?

Once again today new measures are necessary in the monetary field in order to set in motion the convergence of our economies and fight inflation, and a brave, clear initiative is needed that will have such public support that the Council's decisions will be inevitable.

It is also clear that the majority of these policies — and, we add, the enlargement also of the Community to include Spain and Portugal, which, politically speaking, we consider necessary and unavoidable — will not be possible without an increase in the Community's own resources. President Thorn's very true observation that 'it is useless to keep up the appearance of having a policy, if there are no resources available to implement that policy successfully' applies not only to energy policy but to all other policies as well. It is easy to understand how, placed in such a position, the Commission would prefer to withdraw its proposals, so that those who refuse to make available the resources necessary for success are made to face up to their responsibilities.

Knowing this, the Commission is presenting its Green Paper to us and asking us to start a debate, in order to ascertain our views before adopting 'formal proposals' that are planned for June.

At last!

Except that I believe that the Commission ought already to be fully aware of our views on this subject

and, specifically, on the greater part of what is contained in the Green Paper!

One of the first assignments that I had the pleasure and honour of being asked to carry out in the first year of this Parliament was to serve on a working party of the Budget Committee on 'own resources', which drew up concrete, precise proposals which this Parliament approved by a large majority on 9 April 1981.

At all events, what matters — at this point — is that the Commission should put forward its concrete proposal, and in such a way as to make its rejection by the Council difficult, if not impossible.

It must in my view be spelt out loud and clear — persuasively, too — for all to hear; and it must be done efficiently as well (without neglecting appropriate diplomatic steps and the necessary traditional channels).

Otherwise, the Green Paper is in danger of remaining in the limbo of the alibis, the limbo of things done only to salve the conscience, without the risks that go with decisive and conclusive commitment.

Too often now it has seemed to us that diplomatic channels — and these alone — are more powerful than political ones, that the search for equilibrium and prior consensus takes priority over the need for unequivocal outspokenness.

And yet we believe that the Treaty of Rome also places a duty upon the Commission and demands the kind of action for which we call.

And when we have the feeling that the Commission is unaware of this, or does not wish to do its duty to the full, we are tempted to use another article of that Treaty — our power of censure.

That is a temptation that we have so far resisted, mainly because, instead of providing a greater stimulus to the Commission, it might act as another brake (as happened previously when the 1980 budget was thrown out).

President Thorn, what we ask of you is that the Commission should act in such a way as not to make us feel that the brake our action would probably provide would nonetheless be less serious than unacceptable, inevitable delays or deficiencies of too serious a nature.

At all events, I wish to make it clear that the EPP Group — after having approved of the analyses, intentions and indications of priority for the necessary Community actions, which the Commission gave us yesterday in the President's speech — will abstain from expressing a complete and final assessment today until it has been able to consider and judge the way in

Barbi

which the Commission implements the programme to which it has committed itself and the time schedule it follows in doing so.

The German Presidency has shown itself distinctly Europe-minded in its approach so far. Take advantage of that, President Thorn; there's plenty of time, from now to June!

(Applause from the centre)

Sir Henry Plumb (ED). — Mr President, Mr Thorn and colleagues, first of all I would like to thank President Thorn and his colleagues for presenting to Parliament a really wide-ranging analysis of the present state of the Community and of the many issues which we must decide upon before this Commission reaches the end of its term of office.

The change in the style of the Commission's presentation this year is especially welcome. Looking back, Mr President, at previous annual debates, a picture emerges of a Community which is having to try harder and harder every year to stay roughly in the same place. Had the Commission promised not to rush headlong into action last year, we might have thought it was a bit like a swimmer who could barely tread water and who was promising not to attempt the hundred yards butterfly. This year, however, we have every reason to hope that there will be a new departure. Throughout the President's statement references were made to the Council's failure to agree. I have no desire to make the Commission a scapegoat for all the failings of all the Community institutions, but I would like, Mr President, to remind them of my comment this time last year. I said then that in the absence of institutional change, an improvement in the Commission's ability to persuade the Council of the merits of their proposals, would be needed if we were going to see any real development of the Community.

This year I would add that it is increasingly important that the Commission and the Parliament work together to encourage the Council to make much greater efforts to address itself to the crisis which is developing in Europe. I agree with the Commission that the economic crisis and especially the problems of unemployment should be in the forefront of our minds during 1983. Of course we must show that the Community can help to alleviate the effects of unemployment especially amongst the young. But we must not ignore the fact that the Community itself will need to be more cohesive, and it will need to be more clear-headed if it is to make the decisive contribution towards Europe's economic recovery. And the events of recent weeks following Parliament's vote in December suggest that there is a chance now that Europe will put its own house in order and will show itself capable of becoming more outward-looking and more relevant to the problems of the 1980s and of the 1990s.

The Council has been unable to agree on numerous important Commission proposals in the past. Institutional changes alone will not prevent the same problems arising in the future. So what we really need is to establish a genuine consensus between the Member States and between the institutions about the direction which the Community should take. Mr President, it would not be arrogant of the Parliament to claim that it has been ahead of the other institutions in thinking about the long-term future of the Community. However, even in the Parliament there is still a tendency to separate out issues which should be seen together. If we take decisions which are not consistent with one another, then we cannot expect that we will be able to persuade either the Commission or the Council to tackle new policies, new own resources and the accession of new Member States in a way which we would consider to be in the Community interest.

Mr President, I do not wish to pre-empt any further debates on the programme or on the green paper, so I will make only one general comment at this stage. I welcome Mr Thorn's insistence that a fairer Community budget has to be approached on two fronts — both on own resources and on Community expenditure. As far as expenditure is concerned, I would urge the Commission to ensure that the effects of the operation of the common agricultural policy are not allowed to undermine progress towards their other important objectives.

If the revenue raising and expenditure policies of the Community are to be tackled together, then agricultural expenditure must be considered alongside new own resources and alongside new policies.

In many ways Europe's farmers are being faced with the problems of their own success. We must understand that a flight from the land, which would certainly follow if we allowed farm incomes to be drastically reduced, must be prevented. They must understand that it is impossible to give farmers a divine right to produce unlimited quantities of food at a fully guaranteed price. So we must prevent the Community's agricultural exports from creating too much disruption in the world market and we must maintain Europe's bargaining position in the international trading system. And that, Mr President, cannot be done if we appear to apply one set of standards to industry and quite another set of standards to agriculture.

So if we do not make progress this year we will not just be talking about the British problem, the German problem, the French problem, or even the Portuguese problem; we will be talking about the American problem as well. And before long we will be attempting to tackle a world problem. So we should remind ourselves, Mr President, that these are not medium-term problems, they are just around the corner, and in fact in some commodities they are already upon us. There are bound to be difficulties in reaching agreement on the Commission's package in its entirety. Nevertheless,

Plumb

the Commission and Parliament together must do everything possible to maintain the Community's momentum. Otherwise, if we wait too patiently for the final breakthrough, the swimmer will collapse from trying to tread water for too long.

However, Mr President, I welcome President Thorn's Sixteenth Report and we look forward to helping to find ways and means of seeing these proposals implemented sooner rather than later.

(Applause)

Mr Piquet (COM). — *(FR)* Four minutes to comment on Mr Thorn's presentation — that is clearly not enough. But, Mr Thorn, I cannot hold that against you.

The statement of the Community's position is austere; that is not too strong a word for it. I would only add — and in some way to excuse you — that it is the result of 30 years of integration and of political choices which have ignored what is to my mind the essential element in economic development, namely, the social needs and the conditions of growth themselves. It is therefore really necessary today to give priority to employment. But for that we need to rethink the criteria for the management of economic and industrial policy.

The Community, without needing to be a substitute for the policies of our respective countries, can play an activating role in the field of social provisions by seeking to harmonize those provisions from the top, in the field of competition policy by considering the damage wrought by the crisis in all sectors and the need for progress in all sectors of industry, not just some of them. The Community can also pursue different uses for Community funds. For it is not going too far to say that the Community budget and the loans administered by the EIB are not at present helping to sustain growth and/or to promote job-creating investment. It is correct to say also that growth is a crucial problem. Experience has proved as much. Austerity policies have broken the mainsprings of growth and have brought about dramatic structural unemployment. I would point out in this connection — and I think I can do so in this Assembly — that France has been able to sustain a certain rate of growth and has thus been able to hold down the curve of unemployment. A comparison with the situation in other countries shows that this route, though not easy, is the right one.

This general philosophy of growth also assumes sound management of common trade policy, and an improvement in the functioning of the EMS would make it possible to assist the Member States in the conduct of their respective policies. I tell you that France is interested in this policy for aid to industrial development and job-creating investment. That also presupposes concerted action by Europe on the dollar,

the flight of speculative capital and rates of interest applied around the world, notably in the United States. Yet the Community has available to it economic resources the use of which could assist in preventing our countries from sinking further into the bog of crisis.

Finally, Mr President, the French Communists and Allies think that the year 1983 should be one of progress in the field of cooperation and development. We want the results of the Lomé Convention not just to be maintained but to be developed. We cannot and we must not ignore the discontent, yes even the disappointment, of all the ACP countries, when we know that the interests of these countries are complementary to our own. Cooperation is precisely a means of reacting to the crisis, a condition of growth and development.

Such policy options, Mr President of the Commission, could make 1983 slightly less bleak a year than it would appear from the proposals you presented yesterday.

Mrs Veil (L). — *(FR)* Mr President, here we are once again debating the state of the Community. For the speech of Commission President Thorn on the Commission's programme for the Community is a bit like the State of the Union address for the United States.

I will not go into the many very important debates we have witnessed here on the Community's situation, the institutional problems the consequences of the stagnation of the Community, the litany of our frustrations too, the questions, the somewhat embarrassed explanations of the Commission, as if feeling at fault, often appearing here as if in court for some offence, defending its good intentions, at the same time sometimes failing to convince, finally the rumours which do the rounds in the corridors.

Well, I must say clearly that I am amazed by all that. Indeed I think that we are playing 'loser wins' at the moment in the Community. Why are we playing 'loser wins'? Because, even though we are actually frustrated, even though in the last analysis the Community has not been doing as well as we would have liked these past few years, we are no longer able to see what is going well. All the same there are things which are going well, there have been successes. I think we have a duty to say it for, if we do not, who among the public will believe it and who will know it? I will quote one or two of the successes, the most recent one to date being the fisheries policy, i.e. 'Blue Europe'. It has been dragging on for seven years. It is therefore a considerable success. Many fewer articles were devoted to the success of Blue Europe last month than documents of all kinds to the December setback. We have to recognize that, in this very difficult time of crisis, the Community has held together. Not only has it held together on the road to harmonization, it has shown

Veil

its solidarity on the Falklands, and the EMS, even though we are passing through a crisis of exceptional gravity, has yielded lasting benefit to all those of our countries which joined it.

And yet the difficulties were not easy to overcome. I say we are playing 'loser wins' because, when we hear all our ministers, all our heads of government talk of the Community, they all say — even more so, apparently, behind the closed doors of the Council — that we have to act, that we have to go further, that the Community is the only chance of survival for our countries. They also say it in their Sunday speeches. And when we turn to the country's vital forces — whether it be the majority of the trade unions, heads of companies, all organizations of all types — on all sides the cry rings out 'Europe must be more united'. In response to this unanimous call, since we are concerned with the fate of the Community and of Europe, we have here votes and declarations which, while not unanimous, enjoy a very considerable majority. I will not mention them all, for there are a great many. We must show the world that these votes and declarations are not just words and that they represent a certain will, since outside this House it is the will which is lacking. I think we must stress this here today and not make a scapegoat of the Commission. We must realize that in all our countries — and I think we must all keep order in our own houses — intentions and will do not always coincide. Why do they not coincide? It has to be said: because of electoral demagoguery, national demagoguery. There is always an election somewhere. So, even if we know that this is the direction in which to go in order to reach, at the cost of small sacrifices, not complete unanimity but a very considerable majority, we do not take it because we think of a certain group of voters or a certain constituency. It has to be stated clearly, colleagues: how many resolutions are adopted more for external consumption than for the purpose of moving the Community forward, how many votes are cast more for our voters than for the Community? I think that that is what we have to act against today. We must support the Commission and help it to move Europe forward, particularly when it criticizes the Council for its inertia. For, we must be clear about it, that is where the Community is blocked at present, bearing in mind the way the institutions have developed.

We also take issue with the United States and Japan, we call for crusades against them. But they couldn't care less, because they know full well that we could put up a fight if we were united. What do we represent in fact? At the level of economic power we represent much more than Japan and as much as the United States. But as long as there is disorder in our ranks, they can sleep soundly. They can continue to produce, we shall not be competitive and we shall not offer them any real competition.

We noted some intentions in Mr Thorn's speech. We should not only approve of these intentions but, more

importantly, we should give effect to them. Among these intentions are things about which much has been said, but there are also things which are new. What seems to us in the Liberal and Democratic Group to take priority is, as of now, to improve the working of the Community and to make progress with the European Monetary System. It is paradoxical, as Mr Thorn said yesterday, that the ECU already has currency in private transactions, but not in the international and official sphere of operations.

A true common market must also be created. We all know the obstacles. Here too we must all be honest with one another and admit that we are all guilty, particularly where public tenders are concerned. We must put pressure on our political parties and governments to develop the common market in this area, which is indispensable to the Community.

What of the new policies? They are necessary, in particular to act against unemployment. To pursue the fight against unemployment, we need a social policy. We know that it has its limitations. We must improve it, if only because our peoples expect it of us and need it.

But we also need concerted action on investment. In this connection, I remember recently having read documents going back to 1978. Concerted action by the Community was already under discussion then. It was already being said that such action was indispensable, necessary because otherwise we were heading for disaster. How many years have passed! Five years, and nothing has been done! In this field too, we must really urge our governments to act, tell them that we can no longer wait and allow the situation to get steadily worse. I was ashamed yesterday to hear renewed talk of high technologies. It is a hardy annual! We have not even managed, still today, to settle the problem of mergers, or at least alliances, between the big electronics firms, whereas we know what is happening in Japan and the United States. We are really suicide candidates! The same goes for research. The Commission's proposals to make available funds amounting to 4 000 million ECU seem reasonable to us, but the way to use these funds is to substitute them for national appropriations for — I think it is important to make our countries understand this — it is not simply a question of adding financial burdens to our national budgets. We know that these financial burdens are not acceptable at present, that there must be substitution if we want Community funds to be used more effectively.

Passing on to the Lomé policy, I would say that it is necessary. It is not just a philanthropic gesture, it is a means of survival for our industries, for we need customers, we need to sell our products. Now the ACP countries are in a situation such that, if we do not assist them, they will not be able to buy on our markets and thus enable our production to develop.

Veil

But above all the Community, while it has new policies and is improving policies being implemented, must have the means of taking decisions. All too often, we have deplored the Council's inability to take a decision, causing the machine to grind to a standstill. It is therefore essential and urgent that we act on this point. The governments must accept the majority principle for certain decisions. President Thorn's proposal to make a distinction between new policies, for which unanimity can be required, and policies already being implemented, to which the majority rule should apply, seems to me entirely reasonable. I would say that it is perhaps the most urgent proposal to examine, if we want the Community to function, for the rest is nothing but fine phrases. In short the Community must be given a satisfactory decision-making procedure.

In conclusion, I would say to you that Europe is one and that we should not have any illusions. The distinctive images of Parliament, of the Commission and of the Council become blurred in people's minds. When the electorate once again come to vote in 1984, they will not be judging Parliament in its own terms, they will be judging the Community as a whole. They will be passing judgment on Europe. We are all jointly responsible today for this judgment because, if it is a negative one, the future of all of us as citizens but also the future of our nations will be in jeopardy. Now I believe that we are today shouldering a historic responsibility of which we should be fully aware.

(Applause)

Mr Lalor (DEP). — Mr President, in his address President Thorn has clearly indicated that the Commission is looking for means to achieve results. The Community programme to fight unemployment and industrial decline must be set in motion by June. My group welcomes this and pledges its support to the European Commission in this regard. I am happy that President Thorn has presented us with a clear set of priority proposals. Indeed, it is high time that the Community institutions addressed themselves to the real economic problems facing the Member States.

In your concluding remarks, President Thorn, you refer to your expectation that the European Council will give the political impetus that will ensure rapid development of new policies, set budgetary discussions in a new context and help to overcome institutional differences. While not wishing to disillusion you any further than perhaps you already are, I think you should not set too much store by the European Council. More and more the European Council, as a court of justice of last appeal or as a political motivator, is failing to achieve results. The monotonous press communiqués, argued until the early hours of the morning, are boring all and sundry. Indeed, some Heads of Government speak as if they were not members of the Community at all. They ignore Community principles

and treat the fundamental questions, such as the Community budget, just as if they had been for a few hours at an international bazaar. Of course the Heads of Government must produce the political guidelines, but they must also instruct their representatives at the Council of Ministers to adopt measures to put these guidelines into effect.

With regard to the Community's resources, particularly the 1983 supplementary budget in favour of Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany, let me say the following. Firstly, the Commission bears a large responsibility for the creation of this absurd situation. Secondly, to camouflage this supplementary budget under energy measures is a complete distortion. The actual energy budget for the Community is only one-eighth of the monies proposed for the UK and Germany. How, therefore, can we seriously seek increased finances for overall Community policies when the Commission puts the cart before the horse and grants a blank cheque for Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany?

Finally, let me say that you cannot have Community policies without Community finances. Yet, President Thorn and his colleagues want to turn logic on its head and seek to finance Community policies on the basis of selective criteria designed to penalize the agricultural sector. Mr Thorn, are there any other schools of thought in your Commission besides Mrs Thatcher's Commissioner, Mr Tugendhat? I know you have to arrive at solutions, but why keep continually knocking agriculture? Does the solution always have to take the form of knocking the CAP, the one common policy that we have? We must increase the resources of the EEC, and such an increase must be linked to the development of real common policies while preserving those achievements we already have. You cannot say to the people of Europe: we will give you new policies to fight unemployment and industrial decline by taxing you on the basis of the one policy that exists, namely, the common agricultural policy. Yet that is what you are proposing to do in your green paper. If balance is to be restored in the finances of the Community, then it must be on the basis of a Community solution, that is, the equal distribution of wealth and resources and the progressive harmonization of economic policies, so that we can have convergence and not divergence between the better off areas and the less well off areas. The latter are principally agricultural; let us not forget that.

Economic recovery may or may not be imminent, depending, I suppose, on which side of the Atlantic you are on, but this economic recovery will be endangered unless there is productive investment. Here the Commission has a role to play, and my group is happy that it is proposing to tackle this together with the Member States. Vocational training will have to be revolutionized. Training, particularly of our young people, will have to be accelerated to meet the new technologies that are competing with us from outside

Lalor

the Community. I am also happy that the Commission proposes to double the real expenditure on innovation and research. European industry must be competitive. The EEC is a framework within which technological advancement and reorganization can occur. However, I must add a warning note. That is that the overriding factor must be job creation, particularly in areas that are worst hit by the depression.

Finally, Mr Thorn, let me say that your task — and I admit this — is a difficult one. You propose to advance *if* you get the money. Yet you must also be aware that the Community is passing through its most difficult and dangerous period. Not only is there a shortage of resources, but what resources exist are now under threat as Member States apply policies of 'I want my money back', without any regard for the development of overall Community policies. Swift decision-making is vital at a time of crisis. This is what you tell us, President Thorn. Yet the wrong decision may very well bring us nearer to that catastrophe that we all are aiming to avoid and should avoid.

Mr Bøgh (CDI). — (DA) Mr President, the visions of the President of the Commission for a once-and-for-all solution to the economic problems of the Community and the Member States indisputably came like a spring breeze across our winter-bound landscape. But I venture to say that both the proposed policy and the green paper on how the money is to be found will be received coolly in my country — indeed, I think, icily — in Denmark, even in those circles which are most frantically endeavouring to sustain enthusiasm for our membership of the EEC. The reason is not only that the economic advantages, which were the sole argument of those who supported it in 1972, will change into yet another economic liability for our deficit-ridden economy. This is true, whether the money is found from progressive taxes related to the per capita gross domestic product of the contributing country or from taxes related to the agricultural subsidies paid out by the Community. Our GDP per head of the population in Denmark is very high, stimulated by considerable foreign indebtedness, and further drains on the Danish treasury based on this artificial GDP will only increase inflation, unemployment and the exchange deficit in our country. We are, as you know, a very efficient farming nation, and that is where we shall be penalized, if the Commission uses this route to collect the funds it needs to realize its visions.

But, as I have said, it is not only the Commission's financing plan which is particularly unfavourable to Denmark. The political dynamic of ideas is also at issue. It points in directions which are at variance with our political traditions. The idea of transferring budgets and associated functions from the national administration to the Community administration will lead to a centralization which is alien to Danish political tradition. We have not the implicit faith of the Latin countries in the notion that there is greater scope for the

utilization of resources, if the decisions regarding their deployment are transferred from the local to the central level. We think that the people who pay are best qualified to set priorities for the use of the money, and we know that the system of demanding money with one hand and giving it back, less administration charges, with the other only leads to bureaucracy and a race to get to the pay desk first. We will oppose the Commission's programme of conjuring tricks, because the transfer of appropriations and budgets also means the transfer of political power. It is the national administrations in the Member States which will have to pay the price of the Commission programme.

Mr Saby (S). — (FR) Mr President, the speech of the President of the Commission heralds an awakening in the Community and its institutions. A necessary, albeit belated awakening. While it is a commonplace to say that the Community represents the main power in the commercial world, it may be noted that this reality is not often perceived by the governments in the Council of the Community. It is indeed true that we are the first trading power in the world. And I think that the account given by President Thorn conveyed that will be affirmed by other representatives of Community governments, the will to take the initiative which will form a lasting basis for the recovery of world trade.

But in what context can we develop? This famous free-trade area, which is no longer or is less and less a free-trade area, owing to the sole fact of the transnationalization of capital, of whole sectors of activity which escape the control of the Member States, the democratic control of the countries, that is the situation in which the Community has to develop. Who will this trading power speak to? It will stand in opposition to the United States and Japan, perhaps, but it will also stand in a dialogue with customers. And these customers — I am thinking here of the countries of the Third World — are usually customers whose resources are not inexhaustible and who are sometimes insolvent debtors. This is where the Lomé policy takes on its true dimensions. I would also point out that the Community's role in this international crisis will take on particular importance in the decades to come. Indeed we and we alone have the ability, by dint of our traditions, our culture and our sense of democracy, to give impetus to this world trade by restoring to it a human dimension.

It is true, Mr President, that this document conveys what we never tire of repeating here and in certain Member States: the unity of the common market is necessary, for what good does it do to set up an enterprise in a country in order to create 100 new jobs and to close another at the same time in a neighbouring country? I think that this market unity must take on some elements of convergence, so that we can get our voice heard at a world level and thereby strengthen our potential.

Saby

Community preference certainly needs to be developed. This runs like a thread through President Thorn's text. This principle must be reaffirmed, worked out in detail and determined more clearly. Development of common policies, yes indeed. But what is the current status of that process? We have been talking about it for years here in Parliament, but has the Council made a move? Have the Member States met at government level to map out this industrial policy, about which so much is said but which is not readily discernible in budgetary terms in the proposals of the Commission and the committees.

Solidarity, yes of course, another indispensable element today. Solidarity to begin with at financial level. We cannot really occupy the position which is ours by rights, in terms of either the world economy or the human dimension, unless we have a solid, concrete and well-defended European Monetary System. These are indeed elements which are contained in President Thorn's speech. But they are not assessed in political terms, and I would say on the subject of the 'green paper' which has been put before us that it needs to be subjected to serious study; it contains some good ideas which must be developed in depth. For us there will only be a financial instrument when there is a clear policy. The 1% ceiling must be exceeded, if necessary, but we must know for what purpose. The governments of the Ten and Parliament must agree on a definition of the objectives. We hear about an energy policy, but nothing is clearly defined, even in the proposed supplementary budget which will be put before us shortly. There is invention, improvisation. No, we no longer want to improvise, we want to shoulder our responsibilities. The Commission, for its part, is trying to exercise its responsibilities. The Council must do the same. But Parliament above all. In the course of the forthcoming sessions we must set this political debate in motion to force the Council to define these necessary policies for, without clearly defined policies accepted by the Member States, no financial mechanism — even the best — will be effective or serve any useful purpose.

Mrs Walz (PPE), chairman of the Committee on Energy and Research. — (DE) Mr President, as chairman of the Committee on Energy and Research I should like to make some comments on Mr Thorn's excellent speech, most of the conclusions of which we approve. One condition essential to a future industrial policy, if it is to create employment, is that our industry must be open to innovations, not merely as compared to the USA and Japan but also to those countries on the brink of industrialization. One prerequisite for this innovation is research results which can be used in industry, in other words we need close cooperation between the basic research carried out in our universities and industry, an exchange of research staff between the two to speed up the practical side of the work.

The Council should accept immediately the Commission's proposal, its first attempt, for a transnational infrastructure in innovation. Admittedly, no research which leads to innovation can be put to good use unless European innovators are protected. Better general conditions must be created for those innovators whose work is examined and, if considered promising, put into practice. They must have a uniform internal market at their disposal. This could constitute new work for Ispra, as Super Sara has come to grief because of the Council's endless hesitations. That is how good ideas get killed, but then one is duty bound to accept substitute programmes. A security and innovation centre should be created in Ispra, but it should also be given new jobs of work.

We can only hope that the Esprit programme will soon be put into effect and all national reservations dropped, because this establishes a necessary European information strategy. Information technologies are the big market of the future, as is the market for satellites, and the two cannot be separated. The same holds good for biotechnology. We shall in the near future comment on your proposals to stimulate research initiatives. We do hope, incidentally, that we shall receive them in sufficient time to be able to study them properly and not always have to deal with them at the very last minute, which unfortunately has happened all too frequently recently. This is particularly true of the 1984-87 outline programme for research and development costing 4 000 million ECU, to which we attach great importance.

On the Community's energy strategy we agree with the President of the Commission that despite the temporary drop on the oil market we must continue to become less dependent on oil because longer-term trends point to an increasing shortage in the late 1980s and especially the 1990s. The proven reserves in the USA, the USSR and the North Sea will soon no longer be such as to be able to maintain production at the present level. Even if in that time the EEC were to reduce its demand because of successful substitute energies, the developing countries will increase their backlog demand and so the overall demand will rise.

A renaissance of OPEC can be expected from this point of view; even today OPEC should not be underestimated. If prices drop too abruptly, various oil countries would probably collapse with serious consequences for the world economy. Having suffered three oil shocks, we cannot afford to become dependent on it again, we must concentrate on substitute and alternative energies, including nuclear energy. We must save energy and use it rationally.

I do not intend to spark off a debate on nuclear energy, especially as we lead the field in nuclear safety. Work must continue speedily on waste disposal and recycling. Again we lead the field here, although we still have some problems to solve.

Walz

We should welcome any new proposals from the Commission on the coal policy or plans to have tighter control on imports. However, so far all the Commission's good proposals have always been thwarted in the Council because the Council lacked solidarity, even though coal is our safest energy reserve.

Pressure on the price of EEC coal is increasing. More and more consumers are demanding an adjustment discount from EEC suppliers, also on coking coal. It is paid partly because of high storage costs or difficulties in stopping production temporarily. Some Member States buy their coal where it is cheapest, even if this is in flagrant contradiction to their other political views. But we must also pay an insurance premium for guaranteed supplies. Solidarity cannot be only in one direction.

IN THE CHAIR: MR VANDEWIELE

Vice-President

Mr Møller (ED). — (DA) Mr President, I should first like to thank the Commission and its President for the printed report, which I have read with some interest. I think it contains much worthwhile material, which can be used not least during the information campaign for which Parliament has voted funds and which may explain the current status of the Commission. Having said that, however, I must address a few critical remarks to the Commission and the President of the Commission.

My first critical remark is that I think the Commission has taken a very half-hearted attitude towards a number of recent developments on the internal market. I am thinking, for example, of French protectionism, on which the Commission has hardly been seen to act — apart from the answers it has given here at Question Time. I am thinking of the Commission's approval recently — as Mr Kirk pointed out in the last part-session — of the British introduction of fishing limits in the North Sea, which would affect no Member States other than Denmark. A measure was explicitly approved which clearly discriminated against Danish citizens and Danish fishermen.

Now, we hope, the matter is to come before the Court of Justice, and we shall see whether the Commission has shown the wisdom which we expect the Court of Justice to show. It seems to me at all events that what was being said was: 'we must back down in favour of the British; the Danes have been so insufferable in these fisheries matters, now we must let the British have their way'. It is also a much bigger and stronger country. They have a fleet which is more powerful than the Danish fishing fleet, and so they must have

their way. It is in fact a regression to the situation Europe was in for 2 000 years, in which might was right, in which the law of the strongest was the only writ that ran. It was precisely that law of the jungle which we sought to overcome. The idea of the whole edifice which is built up around our institutions was that we should establish a situation in which the small and weak should have the same rights as the great and the strong.

That is not how things have turned out, however. I am thinking, for example, also of the recent events surrounding the Swedish devaluation, when we heard the Commission say that it was against the rules right enough, but what did the Commission do? Did it stop the Swedes? The Swedes enjoy all rights to the European market, but what do they do in return? They devalue the krona by 16%, which represents a 16% tariff barrier against the EEC countries. I take this opportunity to ask the Commission whether it has not every time sought to pursue the line of least resistance, used diplomatic and political skills where it should perhaps have taken a firm line and put right before might, whether, instead of weighing up the balance of power between States, it should not have thought only of what ought to be done of what was right and sensible. I am also thinking, for example, of the isolated occurrence of foot-and-mouth disease which we had again recently — an unfortunate outbreak on Fyn — but nevertheless Sweden stopped all imports of meat from Denmark. A major Danish export market was simply shut down on veterinary grounds, although all livestock are controlled and there is not the slightest risk of meat with foot-and-mouth disease being imported into Sweden through the cattle.

It is not that I like to criticize the Commission; I hold the Commission in high esteem, especially its President, and I am happy almost every time to hear him speak before Parliament. Having said that, I would point out that he comes from a small country, and he should therefore understand that the rest of us who also come from small States trust and hope that we have got a set of institutions here, which do not consider the size and power of the States but only what is right and sensible in cooperation between the countries.

Finally one remark on the subject of oil. We are perhaps on the threshold of the biggest upswing in Europe's economy since the years following the setting up of the Communities, because oil prices may be about to fall. We may be able to reduce our costs, it may become cheaper to heat our houses, but now I am afraid — and this applies to the Commission in particular — that the Commission will use this price reduction, which is probably about to happen, to introduce an austerity economy, to say that we must stabilize prices by setting minimum prices and ensure that the oil producers do not suffer any loss. They have produced and all the time speculated on rising oil prices and, if there is a downturn in oil prices, they will incur

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a loss. They will then go to the Commission and to their national governments and say: 'now we must be protected and assisted so that we can continue to produce and to exploit our oil deposits'. Europe will thus not benefit from the upswing, and we shall not be rid of unemployment, which a drop in oil prices would make possible. We may perhaps say that we can continue oil development at a high level, but now we have the chance of sorting out the employment position. If it happens, as we all expect, that the drop in oil prices is really significant, then we have the possibility. Do not let us stand in the way of our own good fortune by imposing all kinds of restrictions, but let the free market economy, which after all was the basis on which the Communities were founded, decide on the matter of oil prices.

This is a plea to the Commission and at the same time a word of thanks to the President for allowing me the opportunity to put forward these views.

Mr Bonaccini (COM). — *(IT)* Mr President, President Thorn is very well aware of the part played by the urge to follow the disastrous fairy tale of Reagan Economics, which also reached us via two of the largest members of the Community, though without any selective appraisal of the individual national situations.

The decision finally taken in favour of a policy of productive investment would appear to fill, somewhat tardily, an obvious gap in Community policy; but the indications that go with it are so vague and include no timetable, so that there must be strong reservations with regard to even the best of intentions.

How can either the declared determination to fight the decline of industry (and about time, too!) or to make up lost technological ground in crucial sectors be said to have materialized in actual fact?

President Thorn knows far better than we do the friction, resistance and obstacles that have been encountered, and will be encountered, where the adoption of broader and more continuous policies of support for investment is concerned, and how hard has been the search for agreement between States in regard to specific concrete initiatives.

Yesterday, in the Council of Finance Ministers, the idea of splitting up the new NCI3, with its ceiling of 3 000 million ECUs, was again put forward, apparently with success, so that there will be the inevitable long-windedness, snags and delays, all for a sum that is plainly very small indeed if we are talking of investment on a European scale.

What happened in the case of Super Sara ought moreover at least to be taken into account. There should be nothing submissive about the Commission's reaction to this state of affairs. In this connection I am in complete agreement with what Mr Barbi said in his speech

a short time ago. The Commission has the power to initiate and to propose, but in its place the Commission has substituted a 'power to present documents', useful though these may be. Let the Commission do its political duty, take decisions, provide motivation and — if it is really necessary — even open up a formal debate between institutions! No-one is asking for a magic recipe, nor wants to indulge in wishful thinking, but there are a great many of us who claim that the expression 'European Industry' should mean rather more than nothing. Otherwise, it could happen that some of the bigger names in European life — fierce opponents, until yesterday, of investment policies — could from today become the astute beneficiaries of such policies, avoiding once again that reflationary effort to stimulate production and revival that we have a right to expect from those who are stronger and more sheltered from the heat of inflation.

President Thorn's long exposé paints a picture containing a list of problems which, generally speaking, were those that were expected, but is devoid of any proper indication of decisions on economic and social policy. Let me give just two examples to show how far his exposé falls short of what is already possible today. First, the projected ECU Clearing House, run by the Bank of International Settlements, and holding debits and credits only in ECUs, with a clear exchange status in the present basket of currencies. Second, the definition of bolder proposals for reducing the working week, which has already been approved in France, Italy, Holland and Belgium, in recent agreements. Is any Member State by any chance opposed to these two initiatives? If so, then let us be told!

A great many other examples could be quoted from the various fields. We hope that in the forthcoming debates on investment and unemployment the Commission will speak with greater precision, in a way that will really mean something to workers and unemployment alike: to those in the regions that have more recently been hit, and those whose lower status is due to structural causes.

We note the new, positive emphasis in regard to own resources, although any possible enthusiasm is damped by its being linked to the solution of Great Britain's budget imbalance.

President Thorn says that the idea of Europe is at stake. There is perhaps more at stake than just the idea: the very practice of the European way of life, which, in its 25 years, has known some outstanding moments. Nor do I think that Parliament can prepare itself for the verdict of the electors in relation only to its own past work and that of the Member States — questions which do in fact exist — without checking, in close detail and without forgetting Article 144 of the Treaty, this last, very binding programme of the Commission in the life of the present Parliament.

Mr De Goede (NI). — *(NL)* Mr President, Mr Thorn delivered an inspired address to the House yes-

De Goede

terday during which he unveiled an ambitious programme. This is both positive and worthy of our esteem. Of course, one cannot pretend that it is the first time the Commission has come before the House with good intentions which invariably got bogged down subsequently; either the elaboration and implementation encountering too many barriers along the way or else coming a cropper as a consequence of the Council putting a spoke too many in the Commission's wheel or alternatively of Council refusal to honour its good intentions. Such experiences bring us back down to earth, which implies that we can expect no more than a modest part of what is a most worthy programme to be honoured.

Furthermore, I have to say that the element of realism in the Commission President's proposals is noticeably less than what I had anticipated. To give an example: page 14 contains a reference to the doubling of Community funds assigned to innovation, research and development, and the Regional and Social Funds respectively over the next five years.

What are the chances of such financial resources being available? The Commission itself is less than certain. Certainly the so-called 'green paper' containing proposals for increasing the Community's own resources forecasts that, even if all of the Member States agreed this year on the desirability of increasing the Community's own resources, a few years would elapse before the procedural aspects, including the necessary approval by the 10 Member State national parliaments, could be worked out and the increased resources made available. I shall leave open the question as to whether or not the political will and power prevails among the Ten for the implementation of such a policy. Indeed the difficult economic situation which has regrettably rekindled narrow nationalism to the detriment of Community-sponsored initiatives, coupled with the acute budgetary position in most Member States, leads us to believe that a considerable amount of water will have to flow under the European bridge before we get to that stage. Nevertheless I share the Commission's view that it is always better to indicate areas calling for attention, to make proposals and, in anticipation of an economic upturn, to face the Council with its responsibilities in case there should be any reticence on the part of the Council to assist the Commission in its endeavours.

Fortunately, there are a few redeeming features: the intention of holding a special Council meeting to be devoted to the strengthening of the internal market is laudable. Equally so is the so-called 'Kangaroo' initiative, one of whose effects will be the compilation of a list of the proposals adopted, or recommendations made, by Parliament and forwarded to the Council, without follow-up. There will therefore be no lack of work for Mr Genscher or measures on which decisions can be taken. As Commissioner Narjes is aware, maintenance of the internal market is not of itself sufficient. It must also be strengthened. The efforts of

Commissioner Andriessen to combat both the multitude of non-tariff barriers to trade and Member State subsidies to national industries which distort, and most certainly restrict, competition are all measures worthy of our esteem, but they do not go nearly far enough.

Our ever-weakening competitive position *vis-à-vis* Japan and the United States is a cause of great concern, as well as the unemployment it gives rise to. The drastically weakened position of the developing nations and the dangerously precarious situation in the monetary sphere call for almost worldwide initiatives and measures. The Commission has a role to play here and should endeavour to stimulate discussion at international level through the elaboration of initiatives in the trade and monetary field. Failing this, I cannot see us grappling effectively with the mass unemployment in the Community, despite all the good intentions and proposals. The fall in interest rates, which has just begun, must be allowed to continue by, among other things, international agreements.

In his address, Commission President Thorn stated that the Community as a future-oriented project will stand or fall on the extent to which its institutions measure up to the task of mastering this economic crisis. This is quite true. The faith of the Community's citizens in those institutions will be put to the test at the 1984 elections. Given that many of these citizens have already lost all faith, attempts will have to be made to restore it through a credible, courageous and inventive Community policy having a direct appeal to the citizens and opening up new avenues to them. Words are not enough, action is called for. We have reached a well-nigh historic moment of immeasurable challenges. Alongside such already heavily mortgaged terms as 'freedom' and 'security', prosperity and welfare should not be depreciated any further under penalty of a possible collapse of the whole Community edifice which has provided us with so many benefits over the past 30 years. Time is of the essence. The 1984 *rendez-vous* is almost upon us. Parliament and Commission should pull out all the stops, in as much unison as possible, to preserve what has been established and to establish what now appears unattainable. I wish both the Commission and ourselves every success in our endeavours.

Mr Seeler (S). — (DE) I should like to take up two points from the remarkable speech of the President of the Commission and add a third one. President Thorn, you raised the problem of world trade and I can completely endorse what the previous speaker said on that subject.

Indeed, the increasing indebtedness and sometimes overdebtedness of many countries is one of the most serious problems we are facing at the moment. Many countries do not even earn enough from exports to service their interest payments; they have absolutely no money to pay for imports of other goods, and in

Seeler

many cases the return on their exports is falling due to the general worldwide economic crisis and sometimes to a drop in oil prices.

This has given rise to a vicious circle; on the one hand many countries are threatened with bankruptcy which, if it happened, would mean the collapse of many, even big banks with unforeseeable consequences for the world economy. Of course it can be argued that the reason for this development is often a careless indebtedness of countries with false hopes of rising incomes, e.g. from the sale of oil. There are many examples of this, such as Mexico and Venezuela. In other cases many countries hoped to finance industrial investments with these loans and then to produce the finance from exporting these new industries which is necessary to service their debts. Poland is an example of this.

But we also see that many European banks have granted loans without due care. The OPEC surpluses which flowed by the thousands of millions into the banks had to be invested, and here the request for loans was a most welcome opportunity. Recycling OPEC money was often talked about, even in this House, but the consequences of this recycling of OPEC dollars were ignored. But it is not yet too late to draw the necessary conclusions, and the European Community must be involved. Where necessary, short-term loans must be re-scheduled into long-term ones and that must first and foremost be the task of the International Monetary Fund. For that the Fund must be considerably strengthened with the active participation of the European Community, not only in terms of finance but also in its competence. Unctad has made useful proposals on that matter. But it is also essential to get an overall picture of the total indebtedness of the States in question. It is scandalous that banks and official authorities are still unable to get anywhere near accurate information on the total indebtedness of many countries. That is the only way to ascertain the need for loans, the creditworthiness and so the amount of restoration work to be done.

May I say something on trade with Japan. It is characterized by an increasing deficit on the part of the Community; access to the Japanese market is hampered in many ways. Negotiations are underway at the moment in Tokyo, but their success is not guaranteed. What will happen if they fail?

We must start by making changes here at home. We must help our economy to have better access to the Japanese market, e.g. by encouraging people to learn Japanese rather than always leaving it up to the Japanese to learn English. We must also get it across to the Japanese that free trade can only work two ways. If all else fails, then Japanese exports to the EEC must be treated exactly like the Japanese treat imports from the EEC.

President Thorn, the European Community has entered into a series of cooperation agreements with-

out so far having properly used the opportunities they have brought. Brasil, India, the ASEAN countries — there are major opportunities for trade there. I should like to urge the Commission to give its full support to the appropriate Commissioner in his work. Increasing and intensifying trade with these countries is also an important way of combating unemployment in our own.

Mr Jonker (PPE). — (NL) In his statement earlier this morning my group's chairman, Mr Barbi, made it abundantly clear that, before rendering a definitive judgment on the Commission's annual programme for 1983 as presented by President Thorn, we shall await the detailed proposals on the execution of its programme. I consider it reasonable to go over once again the events which have caused us to adopt such an attitude, but I hope the House will not expect an exhaustive analysis from me in the five minutes at my disposal. I hope no one will hold that against me. Our attitude is essentially based on the Rey report which states that Parliament has the opportunity, annually, of reaffirming, or otherwise, its confidence in the Commission. We had a full-scale investiture debate two years ago and we are meant to repeat this annually. Two years ago we went along with this, but not last year. To remain silent is tantamount to giving the Commission our tacit consent. It is obvious that such a debate would have been senseless last year, for Parliament had to give the then one-year-old Commission time to develop and unfold its plans.

One can of course ask why my group has not decided to allow the Commission yet another year. To this I would answer, Mr President, that we have so far seen no tangible improvement in the Commission's activities and no progress in improving relations between Parliament and Commission.

As Commission President Thorn will no doubt remember, on the occasion of the investiture debate two years ago I referred to ex-President Jenkins' speech of January 1979 in which he promised to seek prior approval by this House of every proposal submitted by the Commission to the Council. President Thorn replied by asking for Parliament's indulgence for the fact that none of this was put into effect but that it simply wasn't his fault. President Jenkins had made the declaration in good faith, in Mr Thorn's words. However, the latter continued, be that as it may, the new Thorn Commission is ready and willing to give the dialogue between Commission and Parliament a new impulse. And what do we conclude after two years? Simply that there has been no improvement whatsoever. Nothing at all, not even in this specific area of relations between our two institutions. Both the Rey report and the resolution adopted on the occasion of the investiture of this Commission in January 1981 make specific reference to Parliament's desire for an interinstitutional agreement which would govern relations between Commission and Parliament.

Jonker

What progress has been made in this area? None. The Commission has confined its action to the making of high-sounding statements to both Council and Parliament, without follow-up. What we still desire is a direct agreement with the Commission analogous to those, say, of the Luns-Westertep procedures.

Why are we so keen on having such an agreement? Because, as matters now stand, we can only hope to influence the Council via, and with the active support of, the Commission. The Commission ought to take more account of its policy responsibility to Parliament which implies that it is answerable before this House. Therein lies the Commission's force. Its stance must be oriented towards Parliament, rather than its present tendency to tailor its proposals to the Council according to what is politically attainable on the day.

A further example — and I shall make it short because it has already been referred to — is the 'green paper'. It contains some truly superb ideas. There are others which lead me to believe that the Community is reverting to the system of financing of the pioneer days of the Treaty of Rome, with national governments having the last word. A dangerous tendency, I feel, but this is debatable. My criticism, however, is essentially that the Commission's Green Paper does not do justice to the European Parliament. Not just because it confines itself to communications rather than tangible proposals, but because Parliament's declared policy in this area has been made perfectly clear. More than clear. I therefore cannot help feeling that the Commission is busy overturning the existing state of affairs, for Parliament's stance on Community financing has been known for a long — indeed very long — time now. The Giavazzi, Pfennig and Spinelli reports on own resources are but three models of clarity on the subject. Our position having been established, the Commission now comes forward with a few new ideas anticipating that we would once again debate the issue. But, Mr President, under the circumstances we have little choice but to stick to the position as adopted by the House not so very long ago.

Mr President, I would like to make clear that this critical, though I hasten to add, amicable assessment has been given with the best intentions towards the Commission. The Community's evolution has demonstrated that a timely warning shot over the bows never did any harm. The debates on the imposition of a levy on oils and fats in the 1960s paved the way in the long run for the Community system of own resources.

In like manner the Spénale motion against the Mansholt Commission, though ultimately withdrawn, was to eventually lead to the granting of budgetary powers to Parliament. The attitude of our group should be viewed in this context. It is a warning shot over the bows, necessary if we are to give effect to the Rey resolution by holding a debate such as the present one every year, to create, as a European Parliament, a legal precedent of some importance institutionally, to

improve relations between Commission and Parliament and one day to gain greater access to the Community institution which currently exercises a monopoly over the decision-making machinery, that is, the Council. For my part I am prepared to leave it as a shot over the bows.

Mr J. D. Taylor (ED). — Mr President, this morning we are debating the Commission's annual programme for 1983 and I want straight away to congratulate Mr Thorn, President of the Commission, on the excellent report which he has presented to us.

It is, however, a reflection upon this institution, upon this assembly which is aiming to be a Parliament, that in this important debate on a programme outlined in great detail by the Commission and affecting the future of the Community during 1983, the third largest group in this Parliament is reduced to a speaking-time of 18 minutes, whereas tomorrow we shall be setting aside several hours for debates on things like a cathedral in Perugia, snowstorms in Crete, sexual mutilation in Paris and an electrical power-line between Greece and Italy. I believe that we in this institution must reconsider its whole working programme.

Mr President, I am one of those who believe in a community of nations working in cooperation. I do not support an integrated Europe; nor do I support a federal Europe. And as I read through this Commission report, there are things which, it appears to me, would have been better dealt with by the Member States than by the Community itself. We must remember that over 95% of public expenditure comes from the Member States and only 5% from Community funds. Therefore, we must not allow ourselves to get the Community out of perspective in relation to the Member States of the Community.

I am delighted that in this Commission programme for 1983, first priority has been given to the problem of unemployment throughout Europe. When we were first elected to this Parliament in 1979, there were some six million people unemployed. Today, four years later, the number has risen to 12 million: an increase of 100%. That is a sad reflection on the Community and on this Assembly. Of course, coming from the Province of Northern Ireland, in the United Kingdom, where we have an unemployment rate of nearly 25%, I acknowledge that we certainly benefit from the European Social Fund, and we appreciate the support given to our province and to our people from the various aspects of that particular instrument of the Community.

On the EMS, of which much is made in this Commission programme, I, like most people in the United Kingdom, do not believe that the United Kingdom should join the European Monetary System. I fully support the stand taken by my government on that

Taylor

issue. I know that some members of my group would disagree — I am glad to see some are agreeing — but I would emphasize that in recent months, had we belonged to the EMS, we should have had to increase our interest rates throughout the United Kingdom, with damaging effects on British industry. By allowing the free fall of the pound sterling, we are in fact helping British industry, and it is wise therefore to keep out of the EMS.

Then, of course, there is the question of the European Regional Development Fund. I want to see the reform of the ERDF carried out as quickly as possible. I also want to see the Commission ensuring not just that we have much publicity about the second *tranche* of the non-quota scheme, but that the first *tranche* actually comes into operation. Three years after it was first announced, it is still not off the ground in the Member States.

There is so much I could speak on, but I want to conclude with agriculture and to say that later today I hope to have a detailed discussion with Commissioner Dalsager on the whole problem of the intensive sector of agriculture in Northern Ireland.

There is no common policy for the three main items of agriculture in our province: pigs, potatoes and eggs. It costs a pig-farmer in Northern Ireland today £ 70 to produce a pig; he gets £ 58 in return when he sells it. An acre of potatoes costs £ 600 to produce; the return per acre is now only £ 400. In egg production, it costs 40p per dozen to produce the eggs; the producer is now getting 20p on the market for a dozen eggs in Northern Ireland.

The main problems there arise from Community policies, I regret to say, which mean from the fact that Northern Ireland is now burdened with high grain prices for feeding. Until the Commission tackles that problem, they will find much opposition within Northern Ireland to membership of the Community.

(Applause from the European Democratic Group)

Mr Alavanos (COM). — (GR) Mr President, as far as we in the Communist Party of Greece are concerned, Mr Thorn's speech depicted things essentially in terms of a contest between the monopolies of Western Europe and those of Japan and the USA. Of course, this depiction of things is not accompanied by either the will or the capacity to inflict damage on Japan or the USA but, instead, carries with it the aim of doing away with a whole set of workers' rights in the countries of the EEC, rights which do still exist in the Member States — albeit in name only.

In this respect we see the Commission of the European Communities ranged conspicuously alongside the governments of Mrs Thatcher and Mr Kohl in what the European Confederation of Trades Unions describes

as the greatest counter-attack by vested capital against the hard-won gains and rights of the working class in Western Europe since the Second World War. Many examples can be cited to show that this crisis is following along typical lines, things such as the abolition of exchange control regulations on the movement of European capital, the new tax reliefs for private enterprise, the cutbacks in social spending, the continuation and extension of measures curbing steel production and many other things mentioned by Mr Thorn in his speech. In the short time available to me I wish to deal in particular with the problem which has arisen for Greece as a result of its accession to the EEC, and I would request Mr Thorn — who has said that we may put questions to him — to make an appropriate reply. Given the Commission's support for a series of proposals such as those in the Haagerup and Genscher-Colombo reports, etc., I think that both Mr Thorn's speech and the Commission's draft programme of work have served to highlight the problem of national independence facing our country because of its economic, political and military involvement in the European Community. They have also introduced new elements which give additional cause for concern in connection with this problem — a problem which has led the present Greek Government into discussions on its memorandum with the Commission and other EEC institutions.

I would like to ask first of all why this issue of importance to our country was given no mention in Mr Thorn's speech when, on the other hand, mention was made of other matters such as the problem of Great Britain's contribution to the budget and the Italian and German proposals on the Community's future development.

A second area of comment concerns Mr Thorn's reference to the advantages offered by the European dimension of Community law and mutual support. I want to ask what are the advantages to our country when the consequences we have had to bear are well known, when it is a known fact that the Greek Government has been forced to invoke Article 115 on national safeguard measures and quota restrictions, etc. and when it is common knowledge that the Commission's reply effectively deprives these measures of any real substance.

It is no good Mr Thorn replying that these issues are under discussion and that the Commission fully understands the situation. Such a reply would demonstrate wishful thinking or be a gesture of despair. As expressed by Mr Thorn, the views of the Commission effectively block any attempt at self-protection, any attempt at sheltering the Greek economy, any attempt at catering for its special requirements. Because my time is running out I just want to say that I would like a clear statement about the situation from Mr Thorn, given that not even I believe — in spite of my intense criticism of it — that there is inconsistency in the Commission's actions and intent.

Alavanos

It is therefore obvious that any helpful response to the Greek memorandum will run counter to the Commission's general position. How can these things be reconciled? I would like Mr Thorn to give us an explanation.

Mr Pשמazoglou (NI). — (GR) Mr President and colleagues, I want to stress the urgent and imperative nature of the programme of work put forward by the President of the Commission, Mr Thorn, and to emphasize that this programme comes to us as a duty. It is the duty and responsibility of all of us, and the job of the European Parliament, to give special political weight to the implementation of this programme which, despite technical imperfections that could draw attention, is notable for its fullness and correct ordering of objectives.

I want to stress, Mr President, just as did Mr Thorn, the need for firm progress towards unity and a sense of mutual support in the Community. Developments in this direction are a precondition for any radical approach to the problems of unemployment and inflation and are also essential to the ultimate well-being — I repeat the term used by Mr Thorn — of all the peoples of the European Community. Hesitancy or undue forbearance on the part of the European Parliament is unacceptable, because such an attitude would be equivalent to showing tolerance of the weakness manifested up until now by the Council of Ministers and by the European Council itself with regard to the taking of decisions necessary for the promotion of European unity.

Mr President, I also wish to make three comments about the content of the Commission's programme.

My first comment is that institutional reform and the enhancement of the role of the European Parliament in particular are not simply procedural improvements. They are, as Mr Thorn noted, essential political preconditions for European unity.

Secondly, I want to say that development of the Mediterranean South should not be seen simply as a regional policy matter, because this development is of profound political importance for Europe as a whole. I would like to ask Mr Thorn if, with its programme for the Mediterranean South, the Commission shares my view about the importance of this development.

My third comment is that European political cooperation must crystalize into the formulation of an effective Community policy on defence and foreign affairs if our people, the people of Europe, are to be given an influential say in world affairs.

Finally, Mr President, I want to say that, despite the protestations and other adverse observations of various colleagues, I am confident — and this I want to stress here in the European Parliament — that the great

majority of Greek people are dedicated to the attainment of these fundamental objectives which are the common aspiration of all the European peoples.

Mr J. Moreau (S), chairman of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs. — (FR) Mr President, I consider this debate on the Community programme of action to be an important one. And I must admit that this year the Commission in its presentation has made an indisputable effort to respond to a certain number of problems confronting our Community and to which our Assembly has often drawn attention.

I think that today the Community has direction, bearing in mind the difficulties with which the world and our countries in Europe are beset. Nevertheless — and I think that the discussions we may have in this House and in the European institutions will not belie the fact — it lacks the energy, the staying power, the will to overcome the challenges with which we are faced and to restore confidence and hope to our fellow-citizens. By affirming this will, the Commission can do much. For my part, I refuse to accept that the weaknesses stem only from others, in this case the Council and the Member States. The Commission is the guarantor of Community interests, and it is in the light of those interests that it must examine the situation and work out its proposals. To proceed in the opposite direction — and personally I sometimes get the impression that it allows itself to take that direction — in other words, to look at questions in terms of the interests of the Member States and the compromises they are prepared to accept is to adopt a delicate position and to come up with recommendations, opinions and decisions which, in my opinion, often fall far short of what is necessary.

For my part, in the light of the Commission's text, I would stress three points.

First of all, we endorse Mr Thorn's affirmation of the importance of increasing productive investment as a key factor in a strategy for economic recovery. Here, Europe has taken the initiative, and NIC III is the latest manifestation of this. However, it seems to me that we ought to go further than these proposals in order to develop investment which will both create jobs and create competitive enterprises. To develop private investment in key sectors is an obligation. But — and this is another point — the Community must act to ensure that, in spite of the present budgetary difficulties, public spending is maintained and developed at a sufficiently high level and is to some extent better directed. Without ignoring the big companies, which cannot be excluded from European policy in this year of the small and medium-sized undertakings, we and the Commission must make an effort of imagination to find solutions which would stimulate genuine growth in this sector. It is in this context that the year of the small and medium-sized undertakings can take on meaning.

Moreau

Secondly, the consolidation of the European Monetary System is a central objective for the immediate future, as you have pointed out, Mr President. Clearly we regret the Council's refusal to examine the small number of proposals made by the Commission for studies in depth. We regarded them as a first step, though falling far short of what was needed, in the construction of a real system able to withstand external pressures and to regulate the monetary and economic life of the Community.

Everything must be done to obtain and secure greater stability on the foreign exchange market, which is essential for the development of trade.

Would it not be appropriate now to set up informal meetings of Economics and Finance Ministers in order to assess the voting situation and accelerate the setting up of this system? I think it is an urgent priority.

Finally, it is worth saying something about the completion of the single market, and many of us keep repeating that here. But where are the concrete proposals? I am well aware that a number of directives are waiting in the wings. But I should like the Commission to go further in its thinking. The same applies to Parliament. We think that the concept of the single market cannot be viable without the will to stand up for ourselves in relation to the world outside. We think that the single market and external policy are in fact two concepts which are very much linked together today. And the Commission's role is both to examine the current situation and to work out proposals designed to establish a market which is coherent and favourable to Europeans. The efforts made following the Copenhagen Summit must be continued. I believe that they must be continued with a will to complete clarification, but also with the will to achieve results which will make it possible to deal effectively with the barriers and to establish transparency at the European level, transparency which will facilitate the implementation of a genuine economic and industrial policy within the market, but which at the same time will serve as a base, so to speak, for the establishment of a policy towards third countries which will be a conscious policy of European interests.

Finally, Mr President, despite its present burdens, despite the temptation of protectionism which affects all parties, all countries and all social groups and despite the hesitations of the Member States, the Community must take the initiative in consolidating its market and in participating on this basis in the recovery of the world economy and of international trade.

Mr Herman (PPE). — (FR) Mr President, along with many of my colleagues, I appreciate the tone and elevation of President Thorn's speech. Many of the Commission's statements accord with the positions of Parliament. This is the case for the priority assigned to the revitalization of productive investment and for the

gearing of this priority to five concrete lines of action, on which I should like to comment briefly.

While associating myself with the objectives of the speech — I follow much the same line as Mrs Veil, who supports the Commission — I would not want to renounce all possibility of constructive criticism.

In improving the economic and social environment, you observe with satisfaction that the possibility of diversified and more active support for economic activity in individual Member States is gradually becoming a central theme in the economic debate. Clearly such a statement, in view of the number of economic debates before us, is not likely to make many waves. But to the attentive observer, what glaring divergences there are between national economic policies and concepts! What a yawning gap there is between the policies pursued by the governments of Mr Mauroy and Mrs Thatcher, to take only the two opposite extremes! Why not say it? Why not draw attention to the dangers inherent in these progressive divergencies, which will only become wider if nothing is done to check them?

When you broach the difficult problem of equilibrium in public finance, you say some brave words on protectionist reflexes and allocations of special status to consumption. But, not wishing to offend anyone and being the good politician you are, you add straight away: 'there is no question of a retreat on the social front'. Indeed we all say aye to that. Who would wish or dare to say that he is against social progress? But, if we look at the things this notion may cover by going back over the various speeches we have heard today, you will see that there is a considerable divergence of interpretation. When you say 'no retreat on the social front', that means to quite a few people that what has been accomplished is not to be tampered with. But you begin by saying the opposite. Too much precedence has been given to social transfers, too much protection has been given in certain quarters, too much attention has been drawn to rescuing sectors in difficulty. All that is true. But when you say 'no retreat on the social front', one has to realize that, in the popular understanding of it, that means that nothing should be touched and that the clear definition of your priorities, which emerges on general principles, loses its force when it is a question of concrete action and immediate choices. That bears a slight resemblance to a radical speech of the Fourth Republic: there is something for everyone, and we don't want to upset anyone. The Commission, which does not run any great risk of being brought down by Parliament, could allow itself to make a speech which is rather less political and rather more economic and forceful.

You rightly pointed out that the United States and Japan had created many jobs and that Europe had not. The figures are astounding. The United States, despite their unemployment, have created over 10 million jobs, as against 150 000 in Europe. Japan has created

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between three and four million. But you have apparently not drawn all the inevitable conclusions from these differences. Why have Japan and the United States succeeded where we have failed? The answer is clear: it is to be found in an analysis of the various factors in the macroeconomies of these countries. The Japanese have managed to set aside much more than we have for investment, savings and research, while in the United States it has been possible to create this number of jobs thanks to the level of payroll costs, which have been slowly falling for 15 years. I am not saying that that is the solution we must pursue, but we must realize that Japan and the United States have succeeded better than we have in this field, partly by showing greater flexibility against the impact of external factors. The lesson to be learned — and we should not be afraid of it — is that we in Europe must set aside all our rigidity and concern for protection.

IN THE CHAIR: MR B. FRIEDRICH

Vice-President

Mr Hopper (ED). — Mr President, last year I drafted Parliament's report on the Commission's response to the mandate of 30 May. Parliament's response was favourable but qualified. We felt that the mountain had laboured and brought forth a brood of rather small mice. In particular, we felt that the Commission's proposals for a permanent financial mechanism were disappointing. What we are now seeing, and I speak particularly of the Green Paper, appears to be a more interesting set of proposals.

There is one point on which I should like to register disagreement. The Commission has called for a vast increase in productive investment, and this as a cure for unemployment. It is true that certain types of investment increase employment. This is what economists call 'a broadening of the capital base'. It is also true that certain types of investment are useful because they preserve existing jobs, particularly in the internationally traded sector. But there is a basic iron law of economics, and that is that capital replaces labour: what economists call 'the deepening of capital' does not create jobs, it abolishes them.

It would indeed be ironic if the Commission sought to counter unemployment by encouraging the instalment, on a massive scale, of labour-saving equipment.

Mrs Boserup (COM). — *(DA)* Mr President, a politician is after all a person who has visions and naturally talks about them. A good politician should also have a grasp of situations and a sense of reality. He should know what is possible and what is not possible. And

the President of the Commission, Mr Thorn, repeats his attack on the Luxembourg compromise, although he must know that it is unrealistic to indulge in an adventurist policy, if his intention is to maintain the present Community of ten members. It is not only the Danes who want that settlement to be honoured. For us that agreement is a linchpin of our membership, and Mr Thorn must have a mind to be rid of us, if he succeeds in consigning the Luxembourg compromise to the archives. So much for the President's speech yesterday, which had something to say about money and which others have also spoken about.

I will say, however, that I have been trying to read the Sixteenth General Report since Monday evening. It is an impossible task, but I will just draw your attention to page 75, where there is something which is relevant to what we are to do today. We are gathered here to discuss the economic situation of the developing countries, and we realize that it is serious and that there is an urgent need for more funds to be channelled from the International Monetary Fund to these countries. Is it this understanding which has prompted the International Monetary Fund to give 1 000 million dollars to South Africa, which is neither poor nor striving for development? What influence has the Commission exerted in this area?

And, of course, I cannot resist getting local. On page 34 there is something about the local press offices organizing events to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the accession of Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom to the Communities. I think that is a very dangerous thing to do, in a year before an election, in a country in which such events may be seen as extraordinarily provocative, at least unless they take into account the interests of both factions which exist in our country for and against our membership.

Mr Ghergo (EPP). — *(IT)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I shall deal only with what has been said on the policies for employment and social solidarity, because I think that the social sector — and employment in particular — is the most important question for the European Parliament and all of society today.

Having said that, I imagine I shall not surprise anyone if I say I find President Thorn's speech far from inspiring. The gravity of the situation calls for something very different, just as it calls for imagination and boldness in the face of dramatic problems of an unprecedented nature, on which the attention and concern of public opinion are focused and will increasingly be focused in the future.

The President has made an informed, understanding, yet at the same time alarmed diagnosis of the situation, which he has examined in all its aspects. He has failed, however, to prescribe suitable treatment, appropriate to the gravity of the situation. We know the levels to which unemployment has risen and we know more-

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over that it will rise yet further. It has been calculated that, in order to maintain the present level of employment, one and a half million new jobs must be created annually. But what are the chances of this? A virtually general process of plant modernization and automation of production is in progress, aimed at reducing labour costs so as to maintain the competitiveness of industry in world markets. The consequence of this is that there are fewer jobs, and this will increasingly be the case. Various steps have been taken by almost all the governments in the Community to stimulate internal markets and support consumer demand. This will not, however, produce in practice any increase in employment, since any increase in demand will largely be met by increased productivity. So what then? I agree with President Thorn: let us use the resources and instruments that we have available, abolishing complicated, bureaucratic procedures that are useless and waste so much time. There is the so-called New Community Instrument which, limited though it is, seems very suitable as an instrument for quick intervention in difficult situations, whether these are the result of an emergency or are of a structural nature.

I listened with great interest to what the President said on the subject of integrated plans for the Mediterranean and his announcement of a whole series of actions that are, so to speak, reparative, since these regions have benefited less than others from European intergration and the development of Community policies.

A whole range of coordinated measures — both conventional and new — are needed. And of the conventional measures I want to emphasize productive investment. But we all know that investment is strictly related to the cost of money, since investment will not be undertaken unless it promises to be profitable.

Since, therefore, we cannot directly influence interest rates, why not provide incentives that will have the effect of reducing in some way the cost of money for investment purposes? For example, the payment of interest on borrowed capital could be assisted, or a revolving fund could be set up at low interest rates.

I should personally be opposed to direct incentives to recruitment, because it would encourage artificial job creation, whereas jobs should be the result of well-planned action upstream.

Then there is the Social Fund and vocational training: let us make use of these as well, and let us use them in the best way, especially to help small and medium-sized businesses. But these resources will not create jobs, and the very extent of the unemployment we have to deal with requires something more than the classic, traditional remedies.

Of all the means that have been considered, I think that the reduction of the working week is likely to have most effect in the short term. In theory, it would

be capable of solving the entire problem and producing full employment: we would have an equation in which the terms would be the total amount of work and the number of job-seekers. The quotient, the only unknown quantity, would be the duration of the work. That, paradoxically, is how it would be in theory. However, there is certainly a margin of feasibility for reducing the working week. It has been calculated that a reduction of one hour a week for all European workers would produce two and a half million days' work.

I know the question entails formidable problems of a political, social, economic, normative nature, etc., but I do think that it is absolutely worthwhile investigating the subject urgently, because only in this way, only by distributing more equitably the work that is available, can we find jobs for some of the unemployed. Moreover, we should remember that only last century the working day consisted of 14 and even 16 hours. Reducing it by half caused no disaster, but was instead a source of progress and benefits for all.

So let us get going on these lines, with courage and decision, if only because we are all convinced that, at least with things as they are, we can think of nothing better to do. Obviously, a vast number of meetings and negotiations will be necessary, and policies within and between States will need to be coordinated. Above all, an active sense of unity is necessary, to overcome the shortsighted view of the immediate good and the selfish defence of positions of privilege. From so many sides we constantly hear it said that we are all in the same boat, but let us now decide to bridge the chasm that exists between this statement and its translation into the coherent attitudes and decisions it implies.

The world and Europe are watching us; our electors, our European fellow-citizens, are waiting for us to do something in this grave economic situation — something fast and decisive that will have an immediate effect on the serious unemployment crisis. Not only our credibility is at stake, but also any possibility of achieving that European integration in which we all believe.

Mr Thorn, President of the Commission. — (FR) Mr President, I should like to thank all those who have spoken in this debate and who appreciated — to some extent, let us say — the speech I made yesterday. I should like to thank them above all for being so clear about where they agreed and where they disagreed, as that is the point of the debate — which did not, in fact, have many speakers and was rather poorly attended.

Mr President, I shall not repeat the perhaps over-long speech I made yesterday. I shall do my best to reply to the essential remarks which have been made.

To every man his due. Ernest Glinne was very clear about which actions his group supported and which it

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hoped to see added. He was somewhat surprised that people were now calling for concerted action on unemployment. When we are told that we have had unemployment for a long time but have never wanted to mobilize in this way, my answer would be that the longer unemployment lasts, the worse it gets and the greater the need to tackle it in a coordinated manner. Secondly, he himself remarked, as many speakers in this House have done, that things are in their infancy and that it is evident that there are divergencies between our governments. And you know how difficult it is to change opinions. But let us be objective and not too dogmatic. We shall see that it is precisely because unemployment has become a scourge, because it has reached these proportions and because it has lasted so long, that opinions will gradually merge and each government will feel it needs the others, that it needs the Community to find a way out of the problem. So we believe that it is never too late. It would have been better to act five years ago, obviously! But that is no reason not to capitalize on the present need and on the awareness that is now appearing in certain governments to try and get them moving on this concerted action.

Mr Glinne also talked to us about the Greek memorandum. I am pleased he has given me this opportunity — although other speakers, most of them Greeks, tried to hinder him — to clarify certain points.

The Commission is now working on the questions raised by the Greek memorandum. The Commission's aim — and I should like to stress this, for the nth time, very strongly — is not to give Greece a particular status, which would be unacceptable, but to bring Community action more into line with Greece's specific problems and difficulties. Over recent months, there has been intense work between the Commission and the Greek authorities and it has been done in a constructive spirit. Next week, there will be a very important meeting in Athens between my colleague, Mr Burke and the Greek government to see what progress has been made with this work. After that, we will be in a position to fix the date for the Commission to draw conclusions.

For anyone interested, I should stress that Greece has so far had net transfers of 700 million ECU, almost 2% of GDP, which is no mean figure. I am told that Greece has problems. Of course it has! Is there anyone in this House or anywhere else who claims to understand politics and economics and does not know that, when you enter an economic community, you have problems of adaptation? Everyone knew that. At all events, we did. Must we conclude that it was bad for them to enter? Certainly not. You often enter communities that are a little stronger because you know that you are in a somewhat firmer structure that will force you to bring yourself up to the level of the others to compete. You have to reach this threshold of competitiveness — which is why we at the Commission have realized that Greece has to introduce certain transi-

tional protection measures, because this adaptation is causing problems. But it would be very wrong indeed to conclude that, just because Greece is having problems of adaptation, there is no advantage in its joining the Community.

When you speak of your country's independence, honourable Members, remember that the President of the Commission and the Commission itself attach a great deal of importance to the independence of Europe. And I should like Europe to be independent of the other major blocs. I think that, by taking up this challenge, we will give each our countries a little more independence. For it would be a serious error to imagine that they can defend their independence on their own, and I hope we will not make that error.

Mr Lalor tells me that the Commission is being a little too tactful, at the risk of making the mistake of attacking the common agricultural policy, which is the pride of all the Community's policies. The Community, and the Commission first and foremost, has to defend the common agricultural policy, but we have to realize just how big a problem it is. Production is on the increase and record yields are being achieved, not just in Europe, but in the USA and elsewhere too, and we shall soon be unable to sell what we produce. The market — to take a conventional agricultural term — is a buyer's market, which is why we have to do what others also do, of course, and subsidize our exports.

Those are the problems we have to face. There is no point in glossing over them with high-flown, fine-sounding words. These are economic problems that we have to face, just as we have to face problems in iron and steel and other sectors too.

Mr Møller complains about the 16% Swedish devaluation. We did not like it either and we told the Swedish government as much. In a few days' time, I shall have the great pleasure of a visit from the Prime Minister of Sweden. I can tell you now that I shall not forget to tell him about the questionable conditions in which this somewhat irregular devaluation was made. But the Commission is actively working to prevent what he wanted, i.e. paper exports being unduly favoured by the new rate of exchange and it has taken the necessary steps to protect the Community's industries from unhealthy competition from outside.

Mr Møller also complains about what the Community's policy has apparently done in the fisheries sector. He is not here, but I am still telling him he has made a mistake. Because of the Council's failure to reach a decision on fish at the end of December, the Commission found itself in a situation where it had to maintain the public order — and on the basis of a policy which had the agreement of nine States, let us say, and ten governments, to be more precise. This is the context in which we took holding measures for three weeks. Fortunately, we then managed to get the European fisheries policy adopted by the ten govern-

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ments, ten States even. So let there be no complaints today! Let us not say that the Commission is being liberal with the biggest countries of the Community and that what we have is the law of the jungle. Mr Møller observations of this kind are out of all proportion and give us bad press outside — whereas you know, honourable Members, that this is wrong. I cannot, in my position, call witnesses, but I do not believe that Mrs Thatcher — praise be where praise is due — would say that we have always been particularly liberal with the United Kingdom! Nor would the President of the French Republic or the head of the French Government say that, when they took measures against Italy and other places, we were particularly liberal. And they complained when we reacted against Poitiers and other provisional measures. The same goes for all the governments, including the German one. So please let us not spread this non-truth, that the Commission decided in order of priority or size of the Member States.

Now I shall move on to some considerations of a more general order.

I do not believe I have heard any major criticism in this House. I have heard a large number of questions and a certain amount of scepticism. To a very large extent I understand, but I do not want this debate to end in the gloom that Simone Veil spread just now.

I have been asked what practical proposals we have. Gentlemen, if you would be so kind as to reread them, you will see that there are a large number of them. Now, we very well know that when we make proposals on the coordination of ten national policies that call for unanimity, we are not going to give detailed lists of what will be happening in each country. I shall give an example. When we say that we should improve the economic environment for investments and we should make investments attractive and change the conditions — without crushing them under the burden of taxation — does that mean we have to work out the tax changes in each State? No, it doesn't. We ask the States, the governments, to sit down at the table and lay down the main lines of the policy, to recognize what they are and to state the priorities. I could give you any number of examples of this.

I am asked what we are doing on the internal market. I have told you, honourable Members, that there are 80 Commission proposals on the table. We are selecting 30 of these and asking the Council of Ministers to decide on them over the next two months, so that the internal market can be in a sound position. And there are other proposals too that have not yet been put forward. So? You ask me for something new and, when I give it to you, you say: 'What about the details?'. But it is impossible to give them to you. Either there are already detailed proposals and you complain about me keeping them to myself for three months, or else we bring out new ideas and you ask me for details of the directive. It's one or the other.

I should also like to answer a Member who wondered about the Green Paper and our proposals and who is calling for greater dialogue with Parliament. That is what we want! What we want is to look at the Green Paper more closely, to begin the discussions! We can all change our ideas or keep them, but we have to say so! That is what we want, not to ignore Parliament's wishes — which are sometimes difficult to grasp, as we are not a government formed from a certain majority like the others. We want to have more dialogue with the parliamentary committees and with Parliament as a whole to find out what the priorities of this majority are. We want to know — after, of course, leaving time for reflection, which will enable us to carry on with our work.

That is when you will say what you think. Do not forget, honourable Members, that when you were specific — and not everybody was happy about it — about the supplementary amending budget, you were understood and you were followed. Let us emerge from this vague gloom where people are saying we only have to do this or do that. Action is called for, but you cannot have revolution every day. Ladies and gentlemen, let us be realistic. There is unemployment the world over, in the east, in the west, in the north and in the south, in all our countries. And, as you alert politicians all know, no-one feels that the government in his country, be it left or be it right, has found the miracle answer to unemployment. So how do you imagine that the Commission, of which you do not always think the best, can find a miracle overnight — and the sort of miracle, moreover, on which ten countries and 30 different parties, which have not found this marvellous answer, will be completely unanimous?

What we can do is coordinate our efforts and prevent them from cancelling each other out. We have to exploit the European dimension, as that is what gives us a chance. The Founding Fathers wanted Europe, because they designed it at the time and a bigger market was needed. And now we are destroying it. But everything has to be done in this dimension, be it investments or research or whatever. And to do this we need your support, your specific instructions.

You say: 'Be careful — is this diplomacy or courage?' Gentlemen, there is a choice. Should we clear the decks and say: 'Here is a courageous proposal that no-one will accept?' Nothing will be done! And then you will say 'But take the ground!' In this case, to get the governments to make a small amount of progress, we take a risk and we try diplomatically to compromise — and you accuse me of selling my soul in diplomatic horse-trading. What should be done? Should we make the most of every opportunity or should we remain unsullied in splendid isolation and let things happen?

I think that, every time, a choice has to be made in the light of the proposals, in the light of the needs. There are 14 of us on the Commission and that is not too

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large. We need the support of the European Parliament far more than you think. When we talk about your elections, the idea is not to put you on the defensive, as this House so often does when it talks about censure. Do not hold the sword of Damocles over us every day! That does not happen in the national parliaments. One day you will shoulder the responsibilities you would like to shoulder, when you feel the time is ripe. But until then, let us be reasonable. Let us tackle the basic problems and try and see what we can do. Your elections will be our elections. If your European elections next year are not a success, it will be a disaster for Europe. If the people are to be mobilized, then they have to have what we can do together, what the governments cannot or will not do, explained to them. And the governments felt the pressure you brought to bear over the budget. I entreat you to be clear and precise whenever you can on own resources and on the programmes. Be vigilant, be critical — but be there.

(Applause)

President. — The debate is closed.

3. Fisheries

President. — The next item is the joint debate on

- the report (Doc. 1-949/82) by Mr Gautier, on behalf of the Committee on Agriculture, on Community fisheries policy in the Mediterranean
- the report (Doc. 1-950/82) by Mr Papaefstratiou, on behalf of the Committee on Agriculture, on the development of fisheries in Greek bays, lagoons and inland waters.

Mr Gautier (S), rapporteur. — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, first of all I should like to express my appreciation here in the House to the Council of Ministers for their finally managing to agree on a common fisheries policy; it basically covers the northern part of the Community but also takes in some sections of the Mediterranean. This provides us today with the opportunity of taking a closer and calmer look at the specific problems of fishing in the Mediterranean and of focusing public attention on them.

The Committee on Agriculture has done its best to draw up a report for this debate which indicates reasonably realistic perspectives. That means that we have not included everything we consider desirable in the report, but we have tried to concentrate on what is feasible in the next few years with the finance available to the Commission, Parliament or Council of Ministers.

Before we discuss the problems of Mediterranean fisheries as such, I should like to remind you of the significance to the Community of Mediterranean fisheries. In the Mediterranean the three Member States, France, Italy and Greece, fish 35% of the fishery production for human consumption. This represents one-third of the total fishery production of the Community, and some 90 000 persons are employed in the Mediterranean, often in small-scale fishing. So the specific problem of fishing takes on a social dimension.

When we look more closely at the problems in the Mediterranean, we realise that there is no sensible stocks preservation policy. Our experience in the North Sea in particular should teach us the importance of a stocks conservation policy which creates the long-term basis for a sensible economic management of stocks. If measures to manage stocks are being considered, then one must know what stocks there are to be managed and how they change in relation to fishing activities. And here our knowledge is scanty. One basic problem is that the statistics give no indication of how much fish is actually landed. Statistics waver between 50% and 100%, partly due to the structure of the landings in countries bordering on the Mediterranean where small fishermen often land in tiny places. It is very difficult to include them in the statistics.

This area has not yet been sufficiently well researched. That is why we recommend that the Commission, together with the Member States and existing research institutes, should draw up a reasonable three-year research programme and decide on which stocks should be researched where, which stocks are particularly important for fishermen and what information is necessary for the economic management of the stocks.

This Parliament is prepared to make the money available for that, and we have already indicated this in the budget procedure. The Committee on Agriculture will undoubtedly also be prepared in the 1984 budget procedure to make available the finance necessary for the relevant research measures.

On the basis of these measures it would therefore be wise to decide on an economic management policy which, contrary to that of Northern Europe, would depend less on a quota system than on other forms of economic management — technical measures, catching seasons, licences. And this for both theoretical and practical reasons arising from the variety of the species in the Mediterranean and the different landing and catching techniques. It would also be technically very difficult to put a quota system into practice in the Mediterranean.

We therefore urge the Commission to support and coordinate the efforts of Greece, Italy and France in this direction and to liaise with the other countries bordering on the Mediterranean. We see little point in only the Community or its Member States pursuing a policy of stock conservation. It must be pursued in

Gautier

conjunction with other countries such as Yugoslavia, Tunisia, Malta, etc. — at least in those areas where we have common stocks.

We should also like to see the Commission concentrate on marketing products in the Mediterranean. There is absolutely no marketing problem for many species of fish, as the market for high-quality species is very big in Italy, Greece and France. But apparently there are problems with the pelagic species, and the Commission should get together with the producers and the large marketing organizations to decide on how to organize a sensible market for these products — a perfectly feasible exercise nowadays — so that the fishermen can make sensible use of the available resources of pelagic species. We all agree that there is no point in catching fish which cannot be marketed but have to be processed into fishmeal.

In this respect we welcome the change in the EEC fish market regulation which also benefits Mediterranean fisheries, insofar as the present fish market regulation expressly recognizes the position of producer cooperatives and the Community is willing and able to give them financial assistance in the initial stage.

I should like particularly to welcome the Council's decision on a three-year programme with 250 million ECU for the further development of the EEC fisheries structural policy. This is very necessary, particularly in view of the somewhat old-fashioned methods — some boats have no engine — and this is certainly where a first welcome step can be made. We hope that the finance will be sufficient for the necessary measures.

We all understand, I think, that in the long run perhaps not all fishermen can remain in their present profession, especially if certain forms of modernization or stock conservation policy are implemented.

Employment is certainly a major concern, but so too is the production of proteins. And here in the Mediterranean there are opportunities for aquaculture.

That includes what we call mariculture — the breeding of fish in coastal waters and lagoons. It can frequently be linked to measures to preserve stocks, for example, in artificial enclosures which serve both purposes and can offer fishermen possible alternative employment. Here the Commission should intensify the efforts made hitherto.

I should like to raise one point which is not taken up in the report but which has already been discussed in Parliament in conjunction with Mrs Weber's report. If we encourage mariculture or aquaculture, I think we should also undertake environmental compatibility studies in some areas.

May I remind the Commission specifically of Mrs Weber's report on environmental compatibility studies in certain projects? We must ensure that well-meant

aquacultural measures do not harm the environment; we have had sufficient experience of that in the last few years.

We believe that the fisheries policy in the Mediterranean should be included in the integrated projects the Commission will put forward on the Mediterranean as a whole, and that fisheries should be an integral part of a programme, 'Programming the Coasts', which delineates industrial, tourist and fishing zones. We think that this is particularly important.

A common environment policy in the Mediterranean on the basis of the Barcelona Agreement and further-reaching measures is necessary not only for environmental reasons but also in the interests of preserving fish stocks and creating sensible marketing outlets for fish. Environmental pollution in the Mediterranean, which is reaching frightening proportions, must also be tackled in an EEC fisheries policy.

As regards international agreements, the Community has a series of difficulties with other countries, particularly Yugoslavia and Tunisia; the problems with Tunisia have admittedly eased somewhat for the time being. But the Community should, within the framework of its overall agreements with countries bordering on the Mediterranean — or even in specific agreements, we do not really mind which — enter into agreements on fishery in those areas, and work more closely than in the past with the General Council of the FAO to coordinate sensibly the FAO's efforts with those of the Community.

(Applause)

Mr Papaefstratiou (PPE), rapporteur. — (GR) Mr President and colleagues, listening to Mr Gautier's introduction to his excellent report on the common fisheries policy in the Mediterranean you have heard many interesting facts about this subject. Please allow me now to describe for you certain specific problems associated with fisheries in Greece, where there are local peculiarities and difficulties which, with your support, we hope to resolve satisfactorily.

Fishing has a long historical tradition in Greece. In ancient Greece the fish was a basic source of nourishment. Unfortunately, the volume of catches has declined considerably in recent years, and fisheries in Greece make only a small contribution to the national economy compared to other countries of the EEC. Various factors have contributed to this situation. The seas around Greece are enclosed and are therefore not replenished by fish movements over a wide scale. Trawling is carried out with very old vessels and primitive methods, and this is leading gradually to a population decline in many coastal areas. Waters are generally deep and the sea bed structure consists largely of rock beds.

Papaefstratiou

Pollution has also contributed greatly to the decline in catches. For these reasons the number of full-time fishermen is steadily dwindling and very few young people are taking up the vocation. You can ascertain from looking at the tables in my report that fish catches and production have shown a decline over the ten-year period 1971-81 and that fish imports into Greece are roughly 15 times greater than fish exports.

The one area where optimism can be expressed is in the development of inland water fisheries where climatic and hydrological conditions favour aquaculture. I must point out that there is a great demand in Greece for fresh fish and that the quality of the fish produced is considered excellent. Here then is an opportunity to increase fisheries output in Greece and to bridge, or at least reduce, the considerable structural, social and economic differences that exist between Greek fisheries and those of the rest of the Community. Because of the time that elapsed before Greece joined the EEC, there is now a pressing need for the Commission to collaborate with the Greek authorities in drawing up and financing fisheries development programmes in Greece.

In the salt water fisheries sector these programmes should encompass the renewal, restructuring and modernization of all categories of the professional fishing fleet — inshore, Mediterranean, deep sea and inland waters. There is a need also for infrastructural works to provide improved protection for vessels — safe anchorages — and better exploitation of fish production — fish wharves, fishery stations, freezer units and processing plants.

There must be additional support also for practical fisheries research, because this is an essential element in ensuring the rational exploitation and protection of the country's fishing resources. Likewise there is a need for fisheries training at all levels.

With regard to aquaculture, I want to make clear my view that other projects must be started in suitable inland waters similar to those mentioned by way of example in the report it has been my privilege to put before you — namely, those projects currently under way in the Gulf of Amvrakikos, the Messolonghi lagoon and the Gulfs of Gera and Kalloni in Lesbos. Provision must also be made for the construction of the fish breeding stations needed to produce spawn for stocking freshwater, brackish and salt water aquaculture areas. In concluding I want to pay tribute to my colleague Mr Battersby, the chairman of the Subcommittee on Fisheries, for the interest he has shown and for his contribution to a convincing statement of the case for Greek fisheries. Allow me also, in requesting your approval of the motion for a resolution, to ask for your accompanying recognition of the whole of Greece as an area with special needs and problems in the fisheries sector, so that provision can be made for enhanced Community participation of up to 75%

of the cost of financing fisheries development programmes in Greece for a five-year period.

(Applause)

Mr Contogeorgis, Member of the Commission. — *(GR)* Mr President, I have listened very carefully to the two speakers, Mr Gautier and Mr Papaefstratiou, and I have also studied with great interest the two reports which they have today presented to Parliament for debate.

These reports, particularly that by Mr Gautier which covers the Mediterranean countries as a whole — but also the report by Mr Papaefstratiou which deals specifically with Greek fisheries — make an invaluable contribution to facilitating deeper and more extensive examination of the problems and the general state of fisheries in the Mediterranean.

Before replying to the points touched on in the extremely interesting reports by Mr Gautier and Mr Papaefstratiou I would like, in just a few words, to remind you that the common fisheries policy adopted by the Council on 25 January does also have a Mediterranean dimension. Of course, following on the decision to extend its economic zone in the North Atlantic to 200 miles, the Community was faced with a situation which required solutions to be found, and the drawn-out efforts to regulate issues such as the overall fish catch in the Atlantic and North Sea, and to allocate this overall volume among the Member States which have traditionally fished these waters, were part of this process.

In addition to this, the 10-year transitional period allowed for in the Treaty of Accession affecting Great Britain, Ireland and Denmark, with regard to certain derogations on questions of access, was due to run out and decisions had to be taken on these matters. I want to point out that, in spite of all this, Mediterranean fisheries and fish production have never been disregarded by the Community and have always been fully incorporated into the common marketing policy on fisheries products which has been in operation for more than ten years. Mediterranean areas have also received a substantial portion of the Community funds made available through the provisional structural regulations. I also wish to say that, notwithstanding the severe difficulties that exist, a great effort is being made to secure fishing rights for Mediterranean fishermen in the territorial waters of third countries, both in the Mediterranean and beyond, and particularly in West Africa.

Through its structural policy the Commission has made available since 1978 approximately 78 million ECU for the construction and modernization of fishing vessels and for aquaculture, out of which 24 millions — 30% of the total, that is — have been allocated for Mediterranean projects. Of course, Greece

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has only recently come within the scope of this policy and has therefore received only a small amount of such aid. However, I think that this year the sums made available to Greece will be substantially greater, because interested parties and the authorities in Greece have adjusted themselves to the conditions laid down and will, I believe, be submitting more comprehensive programmes.

In December of last year the Council issued a new provisional regulation which makes available 30 million ECU for this purpose. The Commission will allocate this sum for specific schemes which it will ratify by July. Since 1978 the Mediterranean area has been receiving investment aid out of appropriations made available under Council Regulation No 355 of 1977 concerning investments in the processing and marketing of agricultural and inshore fisheries products. Out of these appropriations Mediterranean areas have received 58% of the total investment aid sum disbursed to the fisheries products sector.

With regard to market organization as it affects sardines and anchovies, the two species fished in bulk in the Mediterranean, very substantial support has been provided in the past in the form of withdrawal equalization payments made through the EAGGF. In recent years about 40% of the total volume of sardines and anchovies withdrawn from the Community market, and on which withdrawal payments have been made, has come from Mediterranean sources. There is scope for extending this market organization activity, and this will occur under the new provisions of the common fisheries policy.

I would like to give some examples. The new policy on market organization which took effect from 1 January 1983 contains two new and important elements which are of special interest to the Community. Firstly, because we consider that the quantities of sardines and anchovies being withdrawn from the market are much too great, a carry-over premium has been instituted, payable from 1 January. This measure is designed to encourage the processing of Mediterranean sardines and anchovies and to obviate the necessity for their being withdrawn from the market and destroyed, something about which Mr Gautier has rightly commented. This system will operate for four years.

Secondly, aid granted for the commencement of activities by producer organizations is itself a factor in the new market organization regime. The Commission attaches great significance to producer organizations and considers that they play an important part in the organization and functioning of the market. We wish to encourage their formation, particularly in Greece and southern Italy and later on, of course, in Spain after its accession to the Community.

Speaking more specifically of structural matters, the common fisheries policy approved on 25 January provides for new medium-term action by the Community,

under which 250 million ECU will be allotted from the Community budget for a much broader spectrum of activities than those catered for in the provisional structural measures. This medium-term action makes provision chiefly for non-returnable aid to be given in connection with the storage and processing of catches, for exploratory voyages to discover fish stocks and for the funding of joint fishery undertakings in the waters of third countries. In addition, great emphasis is placed on the construction and modernization of fishing vessels and on aquaculture. There are also provisions covering the establishment of artificial habitats and the construction of breeding stations for the replenishment of stocks, particularly in the Mediterranean.

Although the disbursement of these funds will depend on the merit of individual plans submitted, I feel sure that Member States will be able to reap very considerable benefits from this medium-term action. The Commission will introduce the relevant regulations and the directive which is necessary for the implementation of this Council resolution and the disbursement of the 250 million ECU by June.

Concerning fish stocks, Mr Gautier in his report calls on the Commission to undertake studies to ascertain stock levels and locations in the Mediterranean. The Commission is very gratified by the support Parliament has given in this respect by making the necessary funds available in the Community budget. A great deal of work has already been done in this sphere by the Fisheries Scientific and Technical Committee. However, with the help of appropriations in the 1983 budget it will now be possible to undertake six additional studies in the Mediterranean. This year the Commission is also embarking on a joint study with the FAO into the question of rehabilitating Mediterranean fish stocks and on improving fisheries management.

Finally, two studies funded by appropriations approved by Parliament in the 1982 budget are already under way. These deal with sardines and anchovies in the Mediterranean and with fish stocks in the Adriatic.

The Commission will make realistic proposals on the genuine protection of Mediterranean fishery resources in the light of the findings arising from the studies I have referred to and which are either already under way or due to begin shortly. These proposals will take serious note of the scientific factors involved as well as of the socio-economic factors which are themselves of major consequence. At this stage of its work the Commission will examine the possibility of an international approach to the question of protecting Mediterranean fishery resources. The Commission agrees with the rapporteurs that much still remains to be done in the Mediterranean fisheries sector and that the problems of this sector must always be borne in mind in the future. Today, in fact, the interdependence of a whole series of factors stands out in greater relief, and these

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factors must be integrated into the cohesive framework of a Mediterranean policy.

Apart from the actions I have referred to, which deal specifically with Mediterranean fisheries, I would like to say that the Commission is working on proposals for comprehensive programmes designed to spur economic growth in the Mediterranean areas. These programmes will contain a broader range of measures to increase output in the economically backward areas of the Mediterranean and will also make funds available for greater Community investment in Mediterranean fisheries development and in aquaculture, which was mentioned specifically by Mr Papaefstratiou. I want to stress the importance of the fisheries sector and to say that account will be taken of it in the development of an overall Mediterranean policy for the enlarged Community.

Finally, I want to outline in a few words our relations with other Mediterranean countries as far as fisheries are concerned. In the case of Tunisia our relations on fisheries are bound up with the wider context of the Community's Mediterranean policy. Furthermore, it is clear that Tunisia places the fisheries issue within the wider framework of its general trade relations with the Community. We do have contact, as I have mentioned here previously, and we are seeking to begin negotiations on the conclusion of a fisheries agreement with Tunisia as soon as possible.

The Commission is also willing to study the possibility of negotiating a fisheries agreement with Libya. We are waiting for the Member States chiefly interested in this, Greece and Italy, to provide us with the relevant data on which to base our attempts to open negotiations with Libya. In the case of Malta the Commission has repeatedly requested the commencement of negotiations, but unfortunately there has been no response up until now.

Mr President, the Commission will try to deal with the various aspects of Mediterranean fisheries in a consistent and coherent manner within the wider framework of a cohesive programme, so that the Mediterranean can command the position it deserves in the context of a future common fisheries policy. And I want to assure you that it will be helped in this task by the two excellent reports under debate today and also by the attention and concern shown by Parliament towards the Mediterranean area. The contribution and support of Parliament will be a principal factor in the success of this policy, which — as I have told you — the Commission has already begun to implement and which occupies an important place in its future common fisheries policy programmes.

(Applause)

Mr Woltjer (S). — *(NL)* Mr President, I should like to begin with a procedural remark. I regret that the

Bureau in its wisdom has opted to schedule my oral question with debate under this heading of fisheries in the Mediterranean. I feel that both aspects merited treatment at this plenary sitting, but not grouped together in this way. Faced with the situation, I agonized for a long time as to whether I ought not to withdraw my oral question with debate on the fisheries agreement which has just been reached. There is reason to believe that had I done so, the House would have, as it were, passed over in silence the Commission and Council declarations on the terms of the agreement. I feel that this would have been irresponsible behaviour on our part, especially in view of the campaign waged by this House over many months on the necessity of reaching a fisheries agreement. Now that such has been attained, we must subject it to a careful analysis and, from its inception, consult with the Commission on ways in which it could be extended. In this respect there are still a good many loose ends.

Mr President, it simply will not suffice for the President-in-Office to come before the House and pat himself on the back for his ingenuity in having worked out a fisheries agreement between the Member States. It now remains for us to put some flesh on the bones of this agreement and, in so doing, to endeavour to restore confidence in that policy among those most directly concerned. This is yet a further reason for my decision to go ahead with my oral question with debate, in the hope of obtaining clarification from the Commission on the manner in which it intends to implement the agreement.

Just a few points worthy of consideration. Firstly, it seems to me that the announcement of the fisheries agreement was greeted by instant and widespread exhilaration, but I fear that this will be followed in no time at all by a shrugging of the shoulders and an attitude of 'fortunately, agreement has been reached but it won't really change all that much'. And I need hardly remind the House that the situation which has heretofore prevailed in the fisheries sector was not exactly rosy. Indeed an analysis of answers provided by the Commission over the years reveals enormous discrepancies on almost every aspect of the Community's fisheries policy. Thus when one inquired as to the respective size of a given refund and quota applicable to a Community area or Member State, it soon became apparent that the Commission's method of working made no correlation between the two. It was a case of 'the one hand doesn't know what the other is doing'.

Allow me to state and reiterate in the clearest possible terms that Community fisheries policy has been elaborated with the clear aim of safeguarding the long-term interests of fishermen. It was never the intention to put a straitjacket on them but rather to create the long-term conditions which would ensure that they would be able to earn their livelihood through the exercise of their profession. Frankly I ask myself in all honesty whether a system of TACs (Total allowable catch) and quotas, as envisaged in the agreement just

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reached, is the most effective manner of apportioning the Community's fish catch. I wonder if the need for viable and effective supervision does not render it impracticable. For this reason I intend to table a motion later this year calling for an examination of alternative systems, such as licensing, which may offer better means of supervision with a view to ascertaining which one most clearly corresponds to the economic needs of the fishermen — and that, in the final analysis, is what it's all about.

There remains a number of questions calling for attention in the immediate future: if the press reports are anything to go by, the setting of TACs and quotas will result in a veritable battle analogous to the Community's annual price-fixing round. A tug-of-war on fish quotas would almost inevitably give rise to yet another series of marathon sittings similar to those on agricultural prices. This would in turn mean long delays, causing the fishermen to lose their patience and, with a shrug of the shoulders, to simply fish in whichever waters they see fit.

Such a scenario must be avoided, Mr President. Parliament has a role to play here, and I would appeal to the Commission to assist us or indeed to actively join with us in seeking ways of giving the fisheries policy more of a Community character. I challenge the Commission to provide the House with ongoing progress reports and to enter into a dialogue with us as we have requested so often in the past.

4. Welcome

President. — I have great pleasure in welcoming the members of the Committee of Parliamentarians of the EFTA States who have taken their seats in the official gallery.

(Applause)

They are here in Strasbourg to take part in the Third Interparliamentary Conference with the members of the European Parliament's delegation for relations with the EFTA countries. All Members of this House will be aware of the great importance of close relations between the European Community and the EFTA, and we all welcome this opportunity of lending them a parliamentary dimension. I hope that the members of the EFTA delegation will have interesting and constructive discussions and wish them a very pleasant stay in Strasbourg.

(Applause)

5. Fisheries (continuation)

President. — We shall now continue with the fisheries debate.

Mr Giummarra (EPP). — *(IT)* Mr President, the official confirmation of the existence of a fisheries policy in the Community, following on the agreement concluded last month by the Council of Ministers of the European Community, requires correcting. The common fisheries policy does not date from January 1983. The agreement that was concluded may be considered a fundamental milestone along the road to Community integration, that opens up new hopes for Europe's citizens, but it cannot make us deny that there has been a fisheries policy in existence since 1970, even though some exceptions have weakened its drive and reduced its range below what a global, comprehensive view of the problems of the Community would have called for.

The only Community commitment in these years has been a series of measures for solving a few particular disputes on a provisional, emergency basis, and this has become a source of much bitterness and unease in the Italian fishing world, and in that of the French and Greeks as well.

We are talking, then, about sporadic initiatives at the structural level and the rather limited measures adopted in relation to the management of the market. Whilst these may have proved of some value to the Mediterranean fishing world, they were never linked with a strategy, an overall view, that was the expression of a global Mediterranean fisheries policy.

Today, something new has happened: the Gautier report kindles a hope, fills a void and brings new equilibrium to the situation. It extends the field of view from Northern Europe and the Atlantic to include the problems of fishing in the Mediterranean, presenting them in a new light; and its conclusions represent an effective base on which the Commission and the Council can create the much-desired strategy for the Mediterranean fisheries.

The number of fishermen in the Mediterranean countries belonging to the Community has reached the very considerable figure of 90 000; the total value of the Mediterranean fishing catch represents 35% of the entire fish production of the Community. These and other figures have finally overthrown the common view that fishing in the Mediterranean is of marginal importance compared with fishing in the oceans of the North, which have traditionally been considered the only areas with which to link the creation of a Community fisheries policy.

For these reasons we consider that the Gautier report, which does not overlook even the implications of Spain and Portugal joining the Community, does justice to Mediterranean fishermen, and may constitute, for the European Parliament and the institutions of the Community, a springboard for concrete action aimed at restoring harmony and equality of treatment, in accordance with the spirit of the Treaties.

Giummarra

It must, however, be said, in relation to the subjects dealt with in the Gautier report, that first of all, where the management of resources is concerned, a system of joint management is needed for the Mediterranean's fisheries resources that will include all the countries in the Mediterranean basin, and not simply those that are members of the Community. Today, more than ever before, the future of Mediterranean fishing needs an objective knowledge of the existing resources, their potential, their capacity for renewal, the pattern of the biological cycles; it requires fishing zones to be marked out and fishing times programmed, if fishing is to be carried out in the best manner possible, without degrading our Mediterranean heritage but, instead, increasing its value and enhancing its potential.

It cannot be overlooked that the problem of market organization is strictly linked with structural policy. If the fishermen are to have the same guarantee of survival as other producers in the Community, and the fisheries are to be used to best advantage, then modernization of the fleet must go hand in hand with the strengthening of the land-based structures and marketing organization.

The question of aquaculture opens new horizons, with the hopes it brings of an increase in fishermen's earnings. By the application of advanced technology aquaculture, a sector with an enormous employment potential, can supply the food processing industry with products of uniform quality and can improve the trading balance of the food sector.

In this the Community has a leading role to play in prompting new initiatives, not only by means of surveys, advanced research and the organization of *ad hoc* services but also through the provision of special aid to raise the technical level of such initiatives and improve them generally.

On the more delicate question of international agreements, we feel obliged to reaffirm and reiterate the Commission's obligations and responsibilities. And the questions come flooding back: how has the Commission reacted to the numerous appeals of the European Parliament? To the demands of the Mediterranean fishermen? To the mandate given by the Council itself? We have seen no action from the Commission in any of the directions indicated; it has remained inert and resigned, whilst the trouble spots remain and get worse. Through the sacrifice of our fishermen and the entire country, Italy has reached a *modus vivendi* with Tunisia, which has not removed the basic causes of the conflict, always bitter, always serious; the fishermen's discomfort continues and gets worse, whilst the repeated sequestration of Sicilian fishing boats is a grave indictment of the Commission for its lack of initiative.

Can it therefore be said that for the fisheries policy 25 January represents a turning point? We cannot sincerely say that it does, although we sincerely hope so.

We think that the agreement of 25 January may provide a base and may create conditions that could open up new prospects for the countries in the Mediterranean basin.

Parliament has today been presented with an opportunity: it has a chance to throw out a challenge for the creation of a Mediterranean fisheries policy. We trust that the Commission can and will accept this challenge, putting forward the proposals that the entire Community — not just a limited part of it — has the right to demand.

Mr Battersby (ED). — Mr President, I believe that I am speaking for all my colleagues when I express my congratulations and thanks to the President-in-Office of the Council, Mr Genscher, to the President of the Commission, Mr Thorn, and to the Commissioner for Fisheries, Mr Contogeorgis for achieving agreement on the new common fisheries policy — a policy for which we have all been striving for so many years. It has meant — and we know it well — a great deal of hard, painstaking and often frustrating work by the Commission and the Council and imagination, vision, compromise and statesmanship on the part of the Member States, by the Presidents-in-Office over many years and the Commissioners, and Parliament is most grateful.

Now that we have succeeded in creating a workable common fishing policy for our northern and western waters, we must, in addition to developing the policy and keeping a weather eye on its implementation, administration and operation, concentrate our efforts on the creation of a Mediterranean fisheries policy within the overall common fisheries policy so as to ensure that Mediterranean fisheries become an integral part of that policy.

The Mediterranean, Mr President, is a completely different sea to the North Sea and the Atlantic. There is no tide, there is no upwelling and there is no wide continental shelf, except in the Adriatic and the Aegean; and outside the narrow shelf that exists there the depths are in the magnitude of a thousand metres or more. The currents are slow, the salinity is high and much of the stocks are pelagic and short-lived which, of course, means a good replenishment rate, whilst the demersal stocks are scattered and overfished. Much of the fleet is antiquated. It is a very complex political and biological area and it is also a tremendous challenge to the Community and a tremendous opportunity to develop our resources.

As you will see from the two excellent reports before us by Mr Gautier and Mr Papaefstratiou, the Mediterranean is ideal for the development of marine fish farming and for fish ranching. The partially enclosed bays and lagoons of Greece and Italy — for example, Amvrakikos, Geras and Kalloni in Mitilini, which I have visited personally — the coast of Thrace and

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many sites on the Italian coast can, as Mr Papaefstratiou has pointed out, provide, with relatively modest investment, a constant and abundant supply of good fish and bring work and wealth to many small communities in Greece and the Mezzogiorno. Greece also needs a great deal of help, financial and technical, in developing her overall fishing industry and realizing her potential in this sector. But the inshore fleets in Greece, Italy and Southern France are growing old and need modernization. Much research and development has to be carried out, and I welcome very much Commissioner Contogeorgis' statement that we are now working closely with FAO. Processing, storage, infrastructure and marketing have to be improved; producers' organizations must be encouraged.

All this will cost money, and the 250 m ECU over three years are hardly enough to cover the needs of the north and the west. Therefore, whilst recognizing the budgetary constraints and the need to run a tight ship, we must not spoil that ship for a halfpennyworth of tar and deplete the financial resources so hardly won for the north and west. Extra funds — not excessive, but extra — must be provided for the Mediterranean sector without this being detrimental to the funding of the north and west. A new impetus must be given to the fisheries agreements with our Mediterranean neighbours, and in all future deliberations on Mediterranean fisheries policy Spain must be brought into the picture to eliminate possible causes of friction when it joins the Community.

I now turn to one area not covered so far by the policy, namely, the social sector. We appreciate that with limited resources and budgetary constraints it was not possible to include social measures at this stage — this area being covered, of course, to a certain degree by the Social Fund. When it proves possible to expand the policy in this direction, I ask the Council and Commission to ensure that it covers all fishermen, including the casual fishermen in the Mediterranean, in Greenland, in the constituency I represent, Humber-side, in the Baltic — wherever they may be throughout this new blue Europe.

Finally, Mr President, I would like to assure the Council and the Commission that they will always have our full cooperation and support in their efforts to make this new common fisheries policy effective. We do, however, as Mr Woltjer has emphasised, insist that we continue to be consulted on the detail, so that we may contribute effectively to the implementation of this new policy.

Mr De Pasquale (COM). — *(IT)* Mr President, we also are delighted with the agreement that has been reached. However, we must express our regret that, once again, Mediterranean fishing problems have not been taken into consideration.

If we accept — as President-in-Office Genscher said yesterday — that a new common policy has been born,

then one thing is certain — it is lame from the start. An agreement that controls access to the waters of the Member States and fixes the quantities of fish that may be taken means a lot in the case of the North and the Atlantic, but means nothing where the South and the Mediterranean are concerned. For the Mediterranean, whose shores are shared by both Community and non-Community countries all in close proximity to one another, something very different is needed: there has to be a convention between all these States, for the common management of the fishery resources, which respects the rights of each country but makes conservation and renewal possible and allows the rational exploitation of this great wealth that can be replenished by the sea itself but is today largely wasted. Neither the Commission nor the Council, nor the Italian Government, has ever put forward proposals on these lines.

In addition, decisions regarding research and social measures have been postponed. Serious research is, however, indispensable if we are to learn more about the evolution of the fish species, which is still a closed book where the Mediterranean is concerned.

Social measures would be of tremendous importance to almost a hundred thousand European fishermen and thousands of African workers employed in our ships.

There is little or nothing therefore in this agreement to offer any hope. In such circumstances should we then rejoice at the structural package? I don't think so. Structural measures are important, but only within the framework of a coherent policy for the sea. The Mediterranean regions may obtain a few extra drops of finance. That will certainly be useful, but it will solve no problems.

Mr President, the Gautier report raises all these criticisms, which have been and still are our own. We support the report and thank the rapporteur for his excellent work. In adopting the report Parliament asks that the fisheries policy should be made complete, with special measures for the Mediterranean, and indicates what these should be. The Commission has a duty to accept these indications and translate them, immediately, into political and legislative initiatives, to ensure that the gap which rends the Community does not become wider in this sector as well.

Mr Cecovini (L). — *(IT)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, when — before 25 January — fisheries have been under discussion in the Community and also in this Parliament, the subject has almost always been dealt with in terms of oceanic fishing, in the North Sea and Atlantic.

We are therefore delighted with Parliament's initiative, which is at last aimed at launching, with all speed, another fisheries policy that is no less important: one,

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that is, for the Mediterranean. And we are also grateful to Mr Gautier for his excellent report, which throws light on many aspects of the problem that were hitherto shrouded in obscurity.

To give just one example of the importance of this sector, with which I am familiar, I would point out that Italian fishery production amounts to about 800 000 tonnes a year, with a commercial value of 1 000 million ECU, which is a figure that undoubtedly deserves all the attention of the Community authorities.

For the sake of brevity I shall touch on only two aspects of the problem: the rational management of resources, and international agreements — which are, moreover, two aspects that, as everyone can see, are closely connected.

On the first point I would stress that fishery reserves can indeed be replenished, as is commonly said, but this is true only if they are allowed the time required for their biological renewal. Which implies, obviously, a need for regulations that oblige everyone, for everyone's good, strictly to observe three fundamental principles in managing the resources, namely those relating to the biological, technological and commercial aspects. Only if these principles are all observed can both the future of the fisherman and the interests of the consumer be protected.

With regard to the second point — international agreements — it must be said straight away that in a sea as narrow as the Mediterranean, with so many coastal countries, the 'observance' I have just referred to can only be guaranteed through the agreement of all the coastal countries; the alternative is general, perpetual strife. And here it must also be said that the Commission is far from being free from blame. New agreements, yes, Commissioner Contogeorgis, but why have existing agreements that have expired not yet been renewed? To quote but one example, the bilateral agreement between Italy and Yugoslavia expired in 1980, but the Community, which alone can renew the agreement, has done nothing about it, and so ships and nets are frequently impounded, and the cost of their redemption is very high.

Agreements fix technical regulations controlling the fishing. They fix areas and periods, so that, without harming anyone, all the coastal States can have their fair share of the benefits and the sea is not reduced to a barren waste of dead water.

In adopting the Gautier resolution, Parliament strongly urges the Commission to introduce a genuine new fishery policy for the Mediterranean as well.

In conclusion, I should like to express the Liberal and Democratic Group's solidarity with the Spanish fishermen, who are obliged to renew their agreement with the EEC every year, under conditions that are made increasingly difficult by the accusations levelled at

them by a neighbouring country for fishing in the Bay of Biscay, a practice which is denounced as 'savage and without respect for Community regulations'. The Spaniards challenge and reject these accusations and ask for an inquiry to settle the argument once and for all. What is the Commission waiting for? We are grateful for the good intentions outlined during this part-session by Commissioner Contogeorgis, but it is action that we are waiting for — agreements, that is, with Yugoslavia, with Spain and with any other country in the same position.

Mrs Ewing (DEP). — Mr President, to all the tributes that have been paid today, I would like to add a tribute to the fishermen who took part in all these negotiations very patiently for many years. I often used to think to myself that if it had been left to the fishermen, they might have done better than the politicians. Some of them actually died in that period. One from my area died in Brussels attending the negotiations. I would also like — I am sure the House would agree — to pay tribute to Commissioner Gundelach, who literally killed himself with over-work.

At this point I turn to Commissioner Contogeorgis. I am calling for a promise from Mr Contogeorgis. Just before Mr Gundelach died, he promised to visit Orkney and Shetland, and when I first met Commissioner Contogeorgis, he said he would fulfil that promise. I know he has been busy, but perhaps now he could come.

We have one problem in particular, which I would like to mention briefly. It is the mystery of the Shetland Box, which is a very strange matter. Mr Gundelach long ago recognized the enormous dependence of the Shetland Islands in particular, and the Orkneys to a lesser extent, on fishing. The hinterland is bare and there is virtually no agriculture or anything else, and because of this the Shetland-Orkney Box was envisaged. Though whittled down in size, it was meant to be an area where local fishermen would get preference. They are getting preference, but this is the mystery. It was always envisaged that licences would be necessary for boats over 80 feet in length — the definition was 25 metres — but then suddenly, no one knows exactly, the Commission appear to have changed that definition to 'between perpendiculars'. That phrase has never before applied to fishing-vessels. It has applied to cargo boats, but fishing-boats are not meant to carry cargo; and therefore it is not a relevant phrase for fishing boats. The effect is that now boats of up to 110 feet can get into the box; therefore there is really no box.

I keep asking the question about the Spanish fleet on accession — and I am one who welcomes Spanish entry. However, I am extremely alarmed about the size of that fleet, which is two-and-a-half times the size of the whole of the UK fleet. There is simply no room for them in the North Sea — and they do go to

Ewing

the North Sea, because they are quite regularly fined in the courts right up to the far north of Scotland. There is no room for that fleet there. I have urged over and over again — and the idea was not mine, it was Commissioner Cheysson's that we now, plan ahead for a real partnership between Spain and West African countries which are crying out for development.

Lastly, while uncertainty has been ended and while certainty is always better than uncertainty, this House must on no account think that I believe this is a fair deal to Britain in general and to Scotland in particular, because we have two-thirds of the fishpond and we have ended up with one-third of the fish. The Law of the Sea has agreed on one principle, after all the years of talk, that the coastal State is the best preserver of the fish. That is why coastal States all over the world get 200 miles. Well, our 200 miles, in effect, are your 200 miles now. I think that was bad dealing — not by the fault of anyone except the British governments who did it. It is no-one else's fault: it is not the Commission's fault, it is not the other governments' fault, but that is the position; and given that position, we shall be watching that the thing is policed fairly — that what we have been allotted we shall at least be able to have in reality.

Mr Buttafuoco (NI). — *(IT)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, let me say immediately that we fully support the two motions for a resolution and the reports concerning them, especially Mr Gautier's report, which finally shows Parliament's determination to deal, in a global context, with the problems of the Mediterranean fisheries. This report cannot fail to have the support of all of us here, if we remember that this sea provides 35 % of the total fish production of the Community of Ten and employs 90 000 fishermen, at a time when unemployment is spreading throughout Europe. It is frankly astonishing that a sector of such importance should not have prompted greater commitment on the part of the Commission and that it should not have proved possible to put forward specific proposals for the Mediterranean, as was done for the North Sea and Atlantic fisheries. As things stand at present, the enlargement of the Community, by the admission of Spain and Portugal, can only make existing problems worse, and the situation will become increasingly serious. The lack of reports, fishing and conservation programmes or systematic research into the evolution of existing species rules out any attempt at rational management of the fishery resources. The introduction of such programmes for controlled fishing and conservation of resources would be one of the most important aspects of any real Community policy for the sector and one of the most effective remedies for its problems.

It must also be remembered that whilst the Community's Mediterranean fishing fleet has been strengthened by the Greek contingent, it consists mainly of

small or medium-sized ships, with or without engines and large fishing boats which, however, are not equipped with the most up-to-date fishing and refrigeration equipment. Hence the need for a broader structural policy for fishing, to further the economic development of regions which are undoubtedly some of the least favoured in the Community.

Fishing can and must provide a basis for cooperation between the countries bordering the Mediterranean. In Italy the sector is in a state of crisis, despite the fact that Italian catches exceed those of all the other countries: more than twice the total Spanish catch, over eight times the French. The crisis is due above all to the lack of precise agreements. We are very pleased about the agreement reached on 25 January, but we feel that it will not solve all the problems, precisely because agreements of this type are imprecise and indeterminate. Also they do not deal with all the various aspects of the complex question, which can only be solved within a global framework that includes all the countries with Mediterranean coasts, especially — and I stress this — third countries that are not members of the Community.

That is the cause of the crisis. It hits the Sicilian economy particularly hard, since fishing is one of their main productive activities, and the Sicilian fishing fleet has been constantly oppressed and persecuted by Tunisian, Libyan and, recently, even Maltese naval vessels. And it is mortifying to hear, Mr Commissioner, that the Community has made approaches but has failed even to get a reply from Malta — not to mention the failure to renew the agreement with Yugoslavia. All of this has invariably, on every occasion, been denounced by us in order to bring an end to a situation that has at times been further overshadowed by examples of persecution, violence and physical injury. We ask for a safer, more committed, more intense policy in a sector that can certainly bring relief to the entire European economy. We ask for a rearrangement of all Community investment, a reorganization of the markets for fish and fish products, an improvement in the fishing industry and its marketing systems, and the application of a Community preference system for this product of the Mediterranean, which is so highly prized.

(Applause)

Mr Gatto (S). — *(IT)* Mr President, it is a very real pleasure for me to express my agreement with Mr Gautier — who belongs to the same group as myself and is my neighbour on the benches — and to compliment him on his excellent report. I say this from the bottom of my heart to a colleague with whom I have sometimes been at variance on other matters of Community policy — the CAP, for example, where the relationship between North and South in particular is concerned. On this issue, then, we are at one, and our quarrel is with the Council and the Commission. The Commission and Council, in fact, are ready to intro-

Gatto

duce a Community fisheries policy covering all areas of the Community except the Mediterranean.

I listened very attentively and very respectfully to what the Commissioner had to say. He is extremely nice and a most courteous person; he has the gift of making everything look rosy and is always an optimist. That at least is my impression, every time I have been able to listen to him. However, Mr Commissioner, if the figures you have quoted are not matched by a policy, there is only one thing to be said: that money is not being spent well, because there is still no fisheries policy for the Mediterranean.

I have no wish to bore Members with statistics and will simply recall that 35% of the entire fish production of the Community comes from the Mediterranean, whilst that sector employs 90 000 people, which represents roughly 50% of Community fishermen. The problem is of the greatest importance, particularly from the social and economic standpoints. We have got to get moving, therefore, and get down to work quickly. There are huge problems that need to be put right: first of all, that sea is the centre of the resources and life of peoples with a common interest, a common past history and, I should like to think, a common future. We are therefore confronted by the two great problems of pollution and resources. I have often heard representatives of the Commission say that the Mediterranean is not very polluted. The Mediterranean is unquestionably a closed sea, a sea in which the phenomenon of 'recycling' is very much slower compared with other seas, and it is a sea that is subjected not only to pollution by coastal populations but also to other influences, such as the passage of warships — and it would be a good thing if the ships stationed in the Mediterranean — by both sides — went somewhere else.

Then there are the great human problems: work, working conditions, resources, equipment, production, the level of production, the profitability of this production. The Commission must quickly answer these questions and give us a framework of proposals that will be effective, bearing in mind what we have said a hundred times and what has again been repeated here today, namely, that fishing in the Mediterranean cannot be regulated only in part whilst disregarding all the rest. And in this connection — with no desire to be provocative — I should like to say a word on the fishing question regarding aquaculture and mariculture, as presented in the report by my Greek colleague. I think that linking these all together was neither wise nor appropriate, since the problems cannot be solved piecemeal. They must be solved correctly and in a concrete manner but always within a general framework, which means that the Commission must act quickly.

The most serious problem concerns relationships with all the Mediterranean coastal countries. Three years ago this Chamber was given the same guarantee and the same assurances that we have heard again today.

The situation is virtually unchanged: not a single step forward has been made in this field, whereas fishing agreements have quickly to be concluded and mixed companies set up, within the framework — I should add — of general and political cooperation with these countries.

As a Sicilian I am deeply hurt and offended by what is happening to Sicilian fishermen, but I must say that at the same time I have deep respect for the interests and rights of other Mediterranean peoples, especially those who have risen recently to new dignity and independence. The Commission and the Council must take action to devise an agreement that will benefit everyone, allowing the Sicilians to fish and at the same time permitting those other countries to use the wealth that lies at the bottom of the sea and belongs to them.

I should like in conclusion to refer to two final points. One is fishing outside the Mediterranean, which is a very important economic factor for the Mediterranean coastal countries and must be taken properly into account within this framework. The other is the important implications of the entry of Spain into the Community, with its great contribution as an important fishing country.

Mr Bournias (PPE). — (GR) Mr President, there is a common sentiment in this House that the Community's interest in the Mediterranean must be stepped up, particularly in view of the impending accession of the Iberian countries. In the fisheries sector especially, the Community has dealt in only a perfunctory and transient way with the Mediterranean compared with its activities on the North Sea, despite the fact that Mediterranean fisheries represent 30% or more of the total fish production of the Ten and employ about half of all Community fishermen. It is therefore necessary that specific proposals on fisheries in the Mediterranean should be included in the general framework of measures on the Mediterranean being examined by the Commission, and this is, in any case, something which the Commissioner has promised us. Proposals of this kind are contained in Mr Gautier's painstaking report and refer amongst other things to control of fish stocks in the Mediterranean, market organization, aquaculture, the working conditions and safety of fishermen and the protection of the environment. My country has a great interest in Mediterranean fisheries because 90% of its total fish production comes from Mediterranean waters. However, one sector in Greece which holds out excellent prospects for growth is that involving fisheries in gulfs, sea lagoons and lakes, a subject which has occupied the attention of two of my Greek colleagues — Mr Papaefstratiou, whose report is being debated jointly with that by Mr Gautier, and Mr Kyrkos with his motion for a resolution tabled pursuant to Rule 47 of the Rules of Procedure.

Albeit relatively recently, trout and carp farming in Greece have shown spectacular results due to climatic

Bournias

and hydrological conditions which have made possible an annual production of over 24 000 tonnes, and this is expected to double by 1985. The percentage of total fish production in Greece coming from aquaculture will rise from 1.3% in 1980 to 25.3% in 1985, given adequate Community support and improvement of production methods.

Mr President, as Minister for Industry in Greece in 1963, when fisheries were under the jurisdiction of that ministry, I appointed experts to carry out a study of aquaculture and to visit various areas which offered potential for its practice. These experts envisaged precisely what I have just related to you. Consequently I support the views expressed by Mr Papaefstratiou and Mr Kyrkos in their texts.

Before finishing my brief intervention I wish to draw the attention of all Members to the fact that a country like Greece, which is bathed by the sea on almost all sides, ought to have well-developed fisheries and to return to the good old times when large numbers of the inhabitants engaged in full- and part-time fishing until, in the 1950s, they began gradually to give it up when neighbouring Turkey started arresting and imprisoning Greek fishermen on the pretext of their having fished in its territorial waters. Very frequently it was incidents of this sort which disillusioned our fishermen and turned them towards emigration, although this has not been so prevalent in recent years because of the economic crisis and unemployment. The Commission should therefore see Mediterranean fisheries as one of its targets in the fight against unemployment, so that young men in the coastal areas of Greece can find work.

The Commissioner's statement that larger sums will be made available for Greek fisheries in the immediate future pleases me, and I offer him my special thanks.

Mr M. Martin (COM). — (FR) Mr President, we were pleased about the agreement of the Council of Ministers for Fisheries on 25 January. We have spared no effort, both in our regions and in this House, to defend the interests of French fishermen. Their historic rights as regards access to resources have been safeguarded and improvements have been made to the organization of the markets and to protection against imports. We are pleased about this.

Initially we shall concentrate on two main aspects.

Our first priority is to include a large social section in the Community's fisheries policy, so as to bring the social systems into line with the best of them, in accordance with Article 117 of the Treaty.

A further priority is to extend the common fisheries policy to the Mediterranean — it currently covers only the North Sea and the Atlantic — and to recognize the specific nature of the Mediterranean industry, which calls for its own treatment and solutions.

This debate on Mediterranean fisheries, in fact, highlights the economic and social importance of this activity to our regions. We are the spokesmen of the Mediterranean fishermen and their organizations. Our essential aim is to guarantee them a better standard of living and better utilization of resources. While we approve of the general lines of the report by our colleague, Mr Gautier, which reflects policies with which we are in agreement, we wanted, in our amendments, to insist on one or two aspects in particular. Yes, the right measures do have to be taken in respect of the management and conservation of fisheries resources. This is vital if the effort put into fishing is to be cost-effective in the long run.

But we have to avoid these measures interfering with the activities of the fishermen, which is why we propose linking technical measures — harder to apply, no doubt, but more effective than quotas — to the improvement of social conditions and to involve professionals in the designing of these measures.

The implementation of a genuine structural policy must involve the modernization of vessels and the improvement of working conditions, but damage of the sort that occurs in all too many sectors, in iron and steel and ship-building and so on, must be avoided. We propose ensuring the fishermen a better income by pushing up the price of fish and cutting the costs of production — by making fuel allowances, for example.

We also insist on the vital need to develop fish farming, making the small fishermen the first to benefit.

I shall finish by reminding Members that Mr Gautier's report should not mask the serious problems that would be posed by enlargement. Unfortunately, our colleague draws no conclusions about this in his resolution.

That is far too serious a question to be glossed over so easily. The entry of Spain and Portugal, which would mean a 30% increase in Community production, could not fail to aggravate the present crisis in Mediterranean fisheries and would have serious repercussions in the applicant countries at the same time.

While we are against enlargement, we should still like to see negotiations start up without delay to boost cooperation with the applicant countries and the other countries in the Mediterranean basin on the basis of mutual advantages in research and marketing, in the protection of resources and in the fight against pollution.

Mrs Pauwelyn (L). — (NL) Mr President, colleagues, allow me at the outset to wish the rapporteur every success with his report. He has been successful not only in shedding light on the structures, as well as the internal and external difficulties confronting Community fisheries policy in the Mediterranean, but has

Pauwelyn

set out a number of useful and viable suggestions concerning an overall Community policy in this field.

There is no doubt that the main beneficiary of the modest results accruing from the Community fisheries policy is Northern Europe. As policy administrator of a Belgian coastal city I welcome this of course, while as a Euro-parliamentarian I can concur with the views of the rapporteur, particularly on the importance of fishing for the countries of the Mediterranean basin, on the wealth of opportunities it opens up and on the heavy responsibility the Community has to shoulder in this area. Any reasonable human being will agree that it is vital, on biological and ecological grounds, to conserve the Community's fish stocks, which in turn implies an indispensable need for research and supervision.

The Commission is the only body capable of ensuring harmonization in this area.

Mr President, colleagues, the European Community in general, and the agricultural and fisheries policies in particular, are open to much criticism. This is yet a further reason for Community guidelines on quality control and consumer protection. If we wish to achieve a balance in this sector between productivity, employment and conservation, it will be vital to stimulate and coordinate vocational training and technical assistance. The Liberal Group considers it paramount that the social aspect of the fisheries policy be treated with the appropriate Community circumspection. The impending accession of Spain and Portugal should cause us to be not only vigilant but also far-sighted. The fisheries policy established by the Community must be maintained at all costs and must not be the object of post-enlargement disputes. Consequently we urge the Commission to lose no time in elaborating integrated projects, so that an equitable balance can be achieved between the various interests.

The fisheries conflict between the Northern European Member States has tarnished the image of the Community and damaged inter-Community cohesion. Let us at least ensure that the fisheries policy for the Mediterranean Sea will not be a source of frustration and difficulty. We Liberals trust that these salient points, which are in large measure to be found in the Gautier report, will be adopted by the House and particularly that Commission and Council will take notice of the foregoing remarks.

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

IN THE CHAIR: MR MØLLER

Vice-President

Mr Gautier (S). — *(DE)* Mr President, I heard over lunch that the Bureau had decided to hold a special agricultural session from 22-24 March. Is this information correct and, if so, when will the House be consulted about it?

President. — I can tell you, Mr Gautier, that this matter was considered by the Bureau this morning and that Members will be formally given the information you request at a later stage, and certainly before the end of this part-session.

Mr Balfe (S). — Mr President, Mr Gautier clearly lunches in a different place to me, because at lunch I heard there was to be a special part-session in Luxembourg in April. I wonder if you could inform me about that.

President. — Mr Balfe, I can only tell you that the Bureau's decisions with regard to the April and May part-sessions will be announced in the course of this part-session.

Mr Von der Vring (S). — *(DE)* Mr President, would you please clarify that? You said that the President would inform the House of the special session in March. But the question was whether the House would be consulted. We would like to know whether a vote will be taken on that today.

President. — Announcements about the April and May part-sessions will be made by the President of Parliament, but I think that there will be an opportunity for a debate on the matter and perhaps a vote to follow. That is a matter for the President or for whoever happens to be in the Chair at the time.

Mr Griffiths (S). — On a point of order, Mr President, I wanted to ask whether you could assure us that this would be dealt with today.

President. — There is a meeting of the Bureau at 3 p.m. I do not know when the President can get here.

6. Topical and urgent debate (objections)¹

Mr Rogalla (S). — *(DE)* Mr President, I must inform the House that the urgent motion for a resolution which I had the honour of tabling on behalf of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs contains an unfortunate terminological error which may

¹ See Minutes.

Rogalla

have led the chairmen of the political groups to consider this point as not being urgent. The terminological error is in paragraph 1 where it says that the Council shall report on discussions on the completion of the *passport union*. That is, of course, incorrect; these discussions are on the completion of the *customs union*.

7. Question Time

President. — The next item is the second part of Question Time: questions to the Commission (Doc. 1-1212/82).

Question No 53 by Mr Rogalla (H-508/82);

What regulative, financial, legal or other measures has the Commission taken during the last five years in order to promote coal sales in the Member States?

Mr Narjes, Member of the Commission. — (DE) The Commission appreciates that serious efforts must be made to promote coal sales in view of the high costs of coal production in most of the Community coalfields and in view of the constant drop in coal consumption from the end of the 1950s until the oil crisis. The existing structures of production, distribution and consumption, however, do not encourage a sudden increase in the use of coal, and a series of uncertainties about the long-term market situation of coal and regulations governing its use have led to the postponement of investment decisions. On this question and for its assessment of the general situation the Commission refers to the 1982 document on coal which has been circulated to Parliament.

In the past the Commission has taken a large number of decisions and forwarded many proposals for all areas of coal consumption to the Council. Between 1972 and 1982 it financed under the ECSC Treaty 2 000 million ECU of loans for converting power stations and industrial consumption to coal.

It has made special efforts in research and the use of new technologies to encourage the consumption of coal. Under the ECSC Treaty 35 million ECU were spent on research in 1978-1982. A further 70 million ECU were used for demonstration procedures to liquefy and gasify coal. Decision 528/76 gave Member States the opportunity to grant subsidies to bring the selling price for Community coal into line with world market prices in order to stimulate sales. Decision 73/287 on coking coal also encouraged the sale of Community coal to the steel industry.

All these measures had a positive effect insofar as they stimulated the consumption of Community coal, which had been dropping continuously until 1973, to rise again to its present level of about 305 million

tonnes per year. However, a series of Commission proposals from 1977 and 1978 to promote intra-Community trade in power station coal and to finance stocks have been rejected by the Council of Ministers after long discussions. The Commission is now in the process of re-examining all relevant issues on the basis of the principles of the general coal document already referred to and of formulating specific proposals.

The Council is also considering the following proposals: two recommendations to stimulate investment for conversion to coal in industry, heating plants in public buildings and urban heating plants and a system of interest incentives for three groups of investment projects concerning solid fuels, e.g. urban heating grids.

Finally the Commission has proposed an expansion of the system of demonstration projects to new technologies for the use of solid fuels and to recycling waste.

Following on the results of the meeting of the Council of Energy Ministers in Copenhagen on 12 December 1982 on the problems of solid fuel, the Commission hopes that the proposals it is currently working on will be better received than the earlier 1977/78 initiatives which I have just mentioned. The Commission also realizes that a more active Community coal policy will also depend on considerable budgetary means being forthcoming.

President. — I want to point out to Mr Pasmazoglou that he was not in his place in the Chamber when we went to consider his Question No 52. We shall return to his question when Question No 53 has been dealt with.

Mr Rogalla (S). — (DE) I should like to thank the Commissioner sincerely for his answer and ask the following question in the short time available. I hope, and I would ask you to confirm this, that boiler coal is also included in the measures to promote intra-Community trade in coking coal and other solid fuels. Is the Commission urgently trying with all means at its disposal to re-channel some 10-15% of imports from third countries to Denmark — about 8.7 million tonnes in 1981 — and to Italy — about 15.5 million tonnes — to indigenous i.e. British and German coal as an act of solidarity? Is it considering financing this from the New Community Instrument, as requested in the European Parliament's urgent motion for a resolution of 16 December 1982?

Mr Narjes. — (DE) First of all I can confirm that all forms of power station coal were included in our earlier measures and will also be in future measures. We are concerned with the sales of power station coal within the Community.

As to the honourable Member's aim of an act of solidarity in the form of Denmark and Italy banning

Narjes

imports to the benefit of Community coal, the feasibility of this depends on a large number of factors not yet available for a final assessment.

I should just like to remind you that some of this coal is purchased on the basis of long-term contracts, that there are considerable price differences between the various contracts on the purchase of extra-Community and intra-Community coal, and that for these reasons the Commission included in its unsuccessful proposals of 1977/78 the idea of a subsidy of 10 units of account per tonne to obviate such difficulties. It is too early yet, however, to decide whether some form of this kind of solution can be repeated.

Mr Purvis (ED). — In his reply to the previous questioner, the Commissioner referred to price competitiveness and to protecting indigenous Community coal. Would the Commissioner not agree that the coal consumer is primarily concerned with the price at which he gets his fuel and the security of supply? What steps can he foresee for Community coal to become price competitive with imported coal and as secure in supply as imported coal?

What likelihood is there of this arising, and could subsidies and import controls play any part?

Mr Narjes. — (DE) We have considered all the points raised by the honourable Member. That is why in 1977/78 we attempted to influence the consumer's decision on price by a Community subsidy on Community coal. But it is also possible that imported coal itself is sold at prices which are subsidized in the countries of production. That would then be a type of dumping which would have to be investigated as such.

Any generalization along these lines is impossible, to my mind, but specific cases would have to be examined on their individual merit. A general coal policy would also cover common action to resist dumping. I am forced to express myself in generalities because we are in the process of drafting specific proposals on the basis of our coal document which will meet with majority approval and contribute speedily towards improving the situation of the European coal industry.

Mrs Kellett-Bowman (ED). — On a point of order, Mr President, without any reference to the merit of the question asked by Mr Pasmazoglou, he was not in his place when his question was called. In the past it has been the custom, in accordance with Annex I of the Rules for Question Time, that when this happened, the Member's question was answered in writing. He was not allowed to come into the list later on. That has always been observed in Question Time, and I would ask, without reference to the merit of the question, which I am sure cannot be faulted, that that rule should continue to be observed. Otherwise, there will be chaos in the future.

President. — Mrs Kellett-Bowman, I have only followed the existing practice in taking Question No 52 after Question No 53. The fact is that Mr Pasmazoglou came into the Chamber just as Commissioner Narjes started to speak. And, after all, I feel that a chairman can be too severe. However, Question No 53 must be dealt with first.

Mr Papaefstratiou (PPE). — (GR) I think there is some confusion because when Commissioner Narjes began to reply to the second question I looked towards Mr Pasmazoglou's seat and saw that he was present. It is obvious, therefore, that the first question was missed due to an oversight, and I urgently request its discussion because I too wish to speak in connection with this question.

President. — Mr Papaefstratiou, your remarks do not constitute a supplementary question.

Mr Moreland (ED). — Mr President, I would not by any means wish to question your judgment on this issue, particularly as yesterday I did complain about the number of supplementaries. But I do think it is a little unfair — first of all, because yesterday we had 16 supplementaries on one question — nearly all of which came from one side of the House, and also because it does so happen that I was the rapporteur for Parliament on this particular subject.

President. — Mr Moreland, yesterday you were critical of the fact that far too many Members from one group were given the floor. We have discussed this matter today in the Bureau, and the Vice-Presidents have agreed that in future only one Member from each group can be called for a supplementary question. That will be the rule for the future whenever a Vice-President is in charge of Question Time.

Question Nr 52 by Mr Pasmazoglou (H-486/82):

In some Member States many young people and women do not appear in employment office statistics nor is there any record of the unemployed or under-employed in agricultural areas.

Is the Commission aware of the shortcomings in statistical estimates of unemployment in some Member States of the Community and what measures does it intend to take to ensure accurate, comparable assessments of the number of unemployed in the States of the Community?

Mr Burke, Member of the Commission. — The Commission is aware of imperfections in the measurement of unemployment in all Member States of the Community and has made considerable efforts to improve the situation. The fact remains, however, that the only statistics that can be produced quickly and frequently

Burke

are those obtained by the appropriate national authorities under national legislation. As these statistics are collected according to national practices which differ from one country to another, there are differences in the methods used in assessing the number of unemployed. The figures should therefore be used only to follow short-term trends and not for comparisons of the levels of unemployment.

To overcome the lack of comparability of national unemployment statistics, the Commission carries out every two years a Community labour force survey with a common definition of growing employment for all Member States. In view of the growing importance of more reliable comparable structural data for Community actions, the Commission is examining the possibility of carrying out the labour force surveys annually from 1983 onwards.

Mr Pasmazoglou (NI). — In view of the major social importance of those comparisons, would the Commissioner care to say whether any such comparisons exist at the moment, and what is the Commission's position on the policies which can be applied in order to overcome major discrepancies in the unemployment situation in member countries, particularly in the case of Greece?

Mr Burke, Member of the Commission. — Monthly figures of registered unemployment are collected on the best possible standardized basis and published in the monthly bulletin on employment by Eurostat. A technical note in the bulletin stresses that they should only be used, as I have already said, for the analysis of trends. In regard to the particular problems of Greece, may I point out that the figures for registered unemployed in Greece are carried in this bulletin, although they are not comparable with those of other Member States because of the very different structure of the labour market and the less developed system of unemployment registration and allocation. Thus, Greece is treated in a separate paragraph at the end and the general analysis is restricted to the other nine Member States of the Community.

I could make available a copy of a booklet entitled: 'Definitions of registered unemployed' to the honourable Member or to any other honourable Member who wishes to see it. It is published for 1982.

Mr Patterson (ED). — The Commissioner will be aware that his colleague, Commissioner Richard, has produced proposals for the reform of the Social Fund which involve making comparisons between unemployment levels at level 3 area — that is, counties in the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland. Is he satisfied that the statistical base of unemployment statistics is adequate to make these comparisons and, if not, what steps do the Commission propose to take?

Mr Burke. — I am aware of the facts as stated by the honourable Member in the supplementary question. I have actually visited the Statistical Office in the recent past and have discussed this with the relevant officials. I feel that broadly speaking the statistical knowledge is available on which to base this new thrust of the Social Fund policy and I have no reason to consider that my colleague who has special responsibility for this area feels otherwise.

Mr Papaefstratiou (PPE). — (GR) In his reply the Commissioner asserted that there are in fact differences in unemployment registration procedures in the Member States and he professed to say that two years after the full accession of Greece to the Community it is not possible, with the data that are available, for Greece to be included in the ordinary list and that consequently there are two tables, one for the nine other Member States and one for Greece. Given that this does not provide a very serious picture of things, and in view of the fact that Parliament has time after time asked for coordinated measures to be taken against unemployment, should not the Community issue a directive on procedures for registering the unemployed to be implemented without exception in all Member States?

Mr Burke. — I am happy to tell the honourable Member that in respect of the labour-force surveys we are, in fact, going ahead within the next month or two with a Council regulation in respect of the 1983 survey and I would hope that some of the arrangements which we all think would be desirable will be undertaken at that time.

In Greece the situation is particularly difficult because of the less developed system of unemployment insurance and the structure of unemployment with a high proportion of self-employed: for example, about 50% against about 20% or less in other countries. Employees becoming unemployed tend, therefore, much more than elsewhere to drop back to being self-employed rather than to register or declare themselves unemployed.

I would, therefore, indicate to the House that my responsibilities for the Statistical Office lead me to feel that over a period of time and with some good will on the part of the authorities in Greece we can perfect the system gradually but, nevertheless in a way that would give us a greater transparency over the years ahead.

Finally, I would also draw attention to the fact that these surveys cost money and that one of the difficulties we are up against is that Member States are a bit unhappy about the very high cost of some of these labour-force surveys and, therefore, even the Commission's contribution, at 1.7 m ECU for example for the 1981 survey, covered only a fraction of the cost. These are the difficulties and constraints — we are doing our best to overcome them.

Mr Alavanos (COM). — (*GR*) The question under discussion refers specifically to under-employment in agricultural regions. I would like to question Mr Burke — special expert that he is on Greek problems — about unemployment in Greece's agricultural regions which has multiplied in the two years since Greece joined the EEC, while it is well known what has happened to the Greek trade balance in agricultural products during this period. Why were agricultural products not included in the measures taken recently on the basis of Article 115 to safeguard Greek production? If the reply is that the Greek Government did not request this, would the Commission respond favourably if the Greek Government were, in fact, to make such a request?

Mr Burke. — I would need notice of the specific supplementary question now asked, but I will find out the information and convey it directly to the honourable Member concerned.

Mr Eisma (NI). — (*NL*) A supplementary, Mr President, on the situation in Greece. We are not in possession of the supporting documents containing unemployment statistics for that country. When does the Commissioner intend to make them available and does he believe that Community technical and administrative assistance to Greece would speed matters up?

Mr Burke. — I will indicate to the House that I will undertake to investigate the possibility of speeding up the process even more than we have done up to now. I will also investigate the possibility of the financial help which the honourable Member has suggested.

President. — Question No 54 by Mr Hutton (H-522/82):

What steps are the Commission taking to make use of new media techniques, in particular satellites, to promote the work of the European institutions?

Mr Natali, Vice-President of the Commission. — (*IT*) Following the resolution adopted by Parliament on 12 March 1982, regarding radio and television broadcasting in the European Community, the Commission will shortly present an interim report to Parliament on the whole subject.

The use of satellites for broadcasting direct to the public means that the various national television programmes of individual countries can be shared by others beyond their frontiers.

As a result, awareness of the European dimension will increase amongst people in the various countries, as will the feeling of belonging to, and sharing, a culture

that, with all its different facets, is fundamentally a common one.

In this context the Commission furthermore proposes to promote, encourage and support joint initiatives by European professional bodies that can also provide the framework necessary for acquiring a better knowledge and greater appreciation of the work of the European institutions.

The actions that the Commission considers most appropriate in order to attain these objectives, and the means to be used, will be described in the report that I referred to at the beginning of my reply.

Mr Hutton (ED). — May I thank the Commissioner for that very full and helpful answer. Could I ask him if he could be a little more precise as to when we may expect to see that report and ask him what role he sees for Parliament in the proposals that he has outlined for encouraging future cooperation between European broadcasters in a television service which does not, of course, interfere with the freedom of broadcasters to select their own material?

Mr Natali. — (*IT*) The report is in an advanced stage of preparation, so that I believe that it will be possible to present it by the end of the month or early next month.

What the role of Parliament and the European institutions in general is to be will naturally be the subject of discussion and debate. We can only put forward suggestions. The decisions as regards Parliament's role are a matter for the Assembly itself.

Mr Van Minnen (S). — (*NL*) Am I to assume from the Commissioner's reply that the Commission too is fully aware of the impending danger posed by the unchecked growth of these so-called independent satellite broadcasting stations and of the importance to be attributed to radio and television in the cultural order which has been established in some Community Member States in any overall regulation of these satellite broadcasting stations?

Mr Natali. — (*IT*) Mr Van Minnen, on this point I can only confirm what I said during the debate on Mr Hahn's resolution.

We realize the fundamental importance of the cultural side and at the same time the need to avoid the risks of over-commercialization.

Sir Brandon Rhys Williams (ED). — I wonder whether the Commissioner has given thought to the idea of setting up a European open university of the air — I am glad to see Mr Pisani in his place, because I

Rhys Williams

have discussed it with him — as a possibility under the Lomé Convention. Would it not be very helpful to our former associated territories overseas if we ran regular language and technical courses on the model of the BBC Language Service and the Open University, but using satellites so as to take these modern courses of instruction to the Lomé Convention countries by television and using local universities and institutes of higher education to provide tutorials on the spot?

Mr Natali. — (IT) In reply to the honourable Member's question I must say that the idea of an Open University is extremely interesting.

Naturally, the problem now before us refers specifically to a European television programme. That does not mean that we cannot also examine the ways and means of promoting a better understanding of European realities and giving them greater prominence, although we cannot obviously overlook the technical and financial aspects of an undertaking of this kind.

Mrs Dury (S). — (FR) There was a time when I was of the same nationality as Mr Van Minnen, but fortunately I have the opportunity of putting a question today.

It is about what I would call the very antidote of European culture — publicity. Does the Commission intend to take steps to harmonize the laws against the invasion of privacy on the small screen?

Mr Natali. — (IT) In reply to the honourable Member, I should like to say that this is an extremely important aspect to which we are giving serious consideration, seeing that we shall be presenting an initial report that will be concerned mainly with technical aspects of the problem.

A second report is also being prepared which deals with the legal aspects, including copyright — which is a very great problem, that will have to be gone into — and those concerning rules on advertising material.

President. — Question No 55 by Sir Fred Warner (H-666/82)¹

Can the Commission say how it proposes to implement Article 8 of its Directive of 23 November 1978 on the permissible sound levels and exhaust systems of motorcycles without further disadvantaging the European motorcycle industry?

Mr Narjes, Member of the Commission. — (DE) Pursuant to the Council Directive of 23 Novem-

ber 1978 on the permissible sound level and exhaust system of motorcycles, the Commission will submit a proposal to reduce the permissible sound level in sufficient time for the Council to be able to take a decision by 31 December 1984, the deadline laid down in the directive.

The Commission's proposal will be based on a detailed study currently being undertaken on its behalf by the Batelle Institute on the technological possibilities of reducing sound levels of motorcycles of various classes. This study covers the effects of more stringent noise regulations on the motorcycle industry in general and on purchase and maintenance costs and fuel consumption. It will also examine the question of market acceptance of quieter motorcycles. As is customary, the Commission will discuss the proposal with all interested bodies.

The Commission believes that this will guarantee that the proposed measures will have acceptable economic consequences and also the greatest possible effect on improving the quality of the environment. The noise level of motorcycles is indeed a major environmental problem in Europe with the present permissible sound level of a 500 ccm motorcycle the same as that of a 3.5 tonne lorry. Our fellow citizens are quite entitled to expect forceful Community action.

In view of the procedures indicated I do not share fears of any disadvantage to the European industry. On the contrary: the quicker European industry is able to meet justified environmental concerns without sustaining economic harm, the quicker it can hope to become competitive again on the world market. European manufacturers actually still only have a share of less than 30% of the European motorcycle market at the moment. Imports account for the rest of the market.

Under those circumstances the European market can play a major part in fixing noise levels which are internationally important and which, I believe, will also be accepted internationally. Anyone who wants to sell on the European market will have to comply with European standards. The Commission is therefore fully aware of its industrial and environmental responsibilities.

Sir Fred Warner (ED). — That is all very well, Commissioner, but the fact of the matter is that the Japanese have put vast sums of money into research on this subject. One company alone has just expended ÷ 40 million. If we wish to see the European industry survive, I would plead with you that your new regulations should apply only to engines of new design which are coming into use and that they should not apply to existing engines, which will have to be re-designed and will put production completely out of the picture?

¹ Former oral question without debate (0-117/82), converted into a question for Question Time.

Mr Narjes. — (DE) This will indeed be an important point in the future regulation. It would be totally impractical to expect existing motorcycles to be completely re-designed.

Mrs Kellett-Bowman (ED). — Would the Commissioner accept that this proposal will entail not merely improving the exhaust but re-designing the whole engine to lower the mechanical noise to 80 decibels? This really will hand the whole market over to the Japanese, because they are already capable of meeting this standard and we cannot do so without vast expenditure.

Mr Narjes. — (DE) On the contrary, I think that changing the sound level, after sufficient specific warning, will provide the European motor industry with a new opportunity of increasing its supplies to its own market. I do not believe that a unified European regulation would necessarily be to the advantage of Japanese manufacturers. The Commission does not intend to issue regulations with which European industry is unable to comply.

President. — Question No 56 by Mr Seligman (H-582/82):

What progress can the Commission report on the labelling of industrial and domestic energy consuming machinery and appliances to indicate energy consumption?

Mr Narjes, Member of the Commission. — (DE) The Council issued a directive on 14 May 1979 on the labelling of household appliances to contain information on energy consumption. Together with this directive which contains a list of the relevant appliances, it also decided on the first implementation directive on the labelling of electric ovens. Both directives came into force on 16 May 1982.

Two years earlier, on 21 May 1980, the Commission submitted to Council three further draft directives on the labelling of electric washing machines, electric dish washers and electric refrigerators and deep freezers and combined units. These draft directives are still under discussion in the Council bodies. There is still one difficulty on the permissible tolerance in variations between the energy consumption claimed by the manufacturer and that measured by a public inspection body.

The Commission is doing its best to overcome this difficulty which is at the 9:1 stage in the Council group.

Furthermore, the Commission plans to submit to the Council and the European Parliament two further draft implementation directives on hot water heaters and clothes drying machines.

The Council also issued on 13 February 1978 a directive on the performance of heaters for rooms and hot water heaters in non-industrial buildings. This directive stipulates that heaters must be inspected as to certain minimum and sometimes maximum operating requirements to be laid down by the Member States, and carry a type plate indicating the main characteristics of the heater and guaranteeing its compliance with the regulations on performance.

This directive of February originally only covered appliances which could be inspected in the factory. It was then supplemented and altered by a Council directive of December 1982 to include those appliances which could only be inspected after installation. Together with the 1982 directive we published a code of practice for the inspection of heaters which is to be regarded as a minimum basis for the governments of all Member States.

Mr Seligman (ED). — I am very grateful to the Commissioner for producing such a detailed reply. He actually left out electric toothbrushes and hair-curlers, but he has mentioned most other things.

In view of this very long delay, is it not true that some countries are refusing to introduce this labelling legislation, and what is he going to do about the countries that are refusing to do so? Does he not agree that the public should know that a gas cooker can do a job in one-third of the time of an electric cooker? Therefore does he not know also that an efficient hairdryer can do the job in half the time of an inefficient one and not use any more power? So the power consumption is not the important thing. Therefore is the Commission proposing to up-date the draft directive in order to produce simple comparable standards for energy consumption per job or per cycle, such as Grades 1, 2 and 3 — something the public can understand easily?

Mr Narjes. — (DE) Perhaps I could take Mr Seligman's question in two parts. First of all, the question as to what happens when a member State refuses to implement a directive: the normal procedure for breaches of the Treaty comes into play and the Commission will have to ensure that the directive is complied with. That is a normal, straightforward matter.

The other question, if I have correctly understood it, is what additional measures by way of consumer information can be taken to give the consumer an opportunity of choosing from various types of energy to achieve the same purpose. That, to my mind, would be a job of consumer information and advice, and since it would involve energy measures it would include special information on energy savings.

I am unable to reel off the details of electric toothbrushes, hair curlers and the different types of energy concerned. But I shall be happy to investigate these

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matters in detail and reply to you by letter on how we can inform the consumer of the different types of energy used by these household appliances.

President. — Question No 57 by Mr Pranchere (H-623/82), which has been taken over by Mrs Le Roux:

Community rules on sheepmeat have had unfortunate repercussions for French/sheep rearers. Their income has stagnated and the opportunities for development are very limited. In its motion for a resolution on agricultural prices adopted at the November part-session (Doc. 1-837/82) the European Parliament called for the strengthening of 'the measures designed to encourage sheep rearing and to improve Community rules'.

Has the Commission decided to heed this demand, firstly by proposing specific measures to encourage sheep rearing when agricultural prices for 1983/1984 are fixed and secondly by submitting in the near future a revision of the Community rules?

Mr Dalsager, Member of the Commission. — (DA) The Commission does not share the honourable Member's view, as it is presented in this question. In 1982 the average price of sheepmeat rose in France by 6.1% expressed in ECU, i.e. by 9.4% in French francs, while in the Community as a whole the rise was 4.3%. Since December 1979, when the last census was taken before the introduction of the common market system for sheepmeat, the number of sheep in France had risen by approx. 11%, while the stock in the Community as a whole had increased by less than 4%. Moreover the production of sheepmeat in France in 1982 was over 3% higher than in 1980, when the new system came into operation, while the level of production in the Community as a whole remained unchanged during the same period.

The Commission has just put forward its proposals for the 1983-84 production year and the Commission also intends to present a report to the Council by 1 October 1983 on the functioning of the common market in sheepmeat. It will be possible on the basis of this report to propose to the Council any changes which may be required and which will be worked out in the light of the information contained in the report.

Mrs Le Roux (COM). — (FR) Commissioner Dalsager, I think I understood you to indicate that the report would be presented not later than 1 October 1983. However, can you be more precise as to the date on which it will actually be presented?

Mr Dalsager. — (DA) We are committed to the deadline of 1 October 1983, and there are a considerable number of negotiations to be completed on the basis of the information contained in this document. I

cannot therefore give a more precise date than that already stated, 1 October 1983.

Mrs Kellett-Bowman (ED). — Is the Commissioner aware that I am very delighted with the clarity of his reply? Is he further aware that the current sheep-meat regime has been of great advantage to many sheep-producers, especially in mountainous and disadvantaged areas, and also to consumers, because it has kept the sheep price low in the shops, and therefore will he not resist any pressure to change this most excellent system?

Mr Dalsager. — (DA) I am glad that the honourable Member shares the Commission's view that the sheep-meat regime has worked satisfactorily and, against the background of the effect the system has had, we shall of course in our report present the necessary information which may involve changes on certain points in this directive. But up to now, it has been our understanding that, as the honourable Member has also observed, this arrangement has worked satisfactorily for both producers and consumers.

President. — Question No 58 by Mr Chambeiron (H-624/82):

It is reported in the press that on 6 December Vice-President Natali made a public statement in Paris to the effect that the Community should institute a common defence policy.

Can the Commission confirm this statement and, if so, can it say whether a statement of this sort can be reconciled with the fact that the Community has no military powers under the Treaty, the Commission being moreover the 'guardian' of the Treaty, or with the obligation to maintain discretion incumbent upon a representative of the Commission when he is not speaking in his official capacity?

Mr Natali, Vice-President of the Commission. — (IT) I confirm that, during a speech delivered at the European People's Party Congress in Paris, I expressed my opinion on the subject of defence policy. As I emphasized in that speech, I was expressing my personal point of view on the matter, which is something I believe I am entitled to do.

Mr Chambeiron (COM). — (FR) Allow me at least to thank Mr Natali for being so kind as to point out that he was speaking personally, although the press — I am sorry — completely failed to mention this. At all events, Mr Natali, you are perfectly entitled to pave the way for your return to politics in your own country, but you are still bound, not by any obligation to be guarded — I could not find that in the Treaty — but by what might be called a duty to be tactful. You

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appeared as the spokesman of the Commission. Perhaps what you said should have been given more emphasis and you should have maintained some distance between yourself and the collegial institution, so that its credibility should be preserved.

Mr Natali. — *(IT)* I do not accept, Mr Chambeiron, the views that you express or the advice you give me, nor can I accept the suggestions you make.

I would like to say to Mr Chambeiron that, at all events, my opinions are in good company; the resolution adopted on 13 January 1983 by the European Parliament is sufficient evidence of that.

Mr Hutton (ED). — Would the Commissioner agree with me that little or nothing of what we do here will have any meaning unless we can guarantee the security of the European Community, and part of that guarantee is our defence?

Mr Natali. — *(IT)* I would ask Mr Hutton to read the speech referred to in Mr Chambeiron's question; my views on the subject are expressed very clearly in that speech.

Mr Ryan (PPE). — Like Mr Chambeiron I was encouraged by the response of Commissioner Natali who made it clear that he was not speaking on behalf of the Commission. But could I ask him to confirm (a) that there is no defence obligation arising under the Treaty of Rome and (b) that there are positive elements in the neutrality of at least one member of the European Community, because Europe will not be a worthwhile Europe until all free democratic States in Europe are members of our Community? Here I am thinking of Switzerland, Austria, Sweden and Norway, countries which are immediately eligible for membership. Their membership will become more difficult if pressure is brought to bear upon Ireland, the only neutral member of the European Community.

Secondly, it is not good for Europe to display itself to the world as a combination of States interested only in matters of war and not interested in peace. The European Community is a community of nations at peace within its own borders and not offering a menace to any other part of the world.

Mr Natali. — *(IT)* I appreciate and share Mr Ryan's convictions to the effect that peace is the supreme good and that we must endeavour to protect it. I also know the terms and regulations of the Treaty of Rome, and I know the situation in which we live. You will I am sure acknowledge, though, Mr Ryan, that at a certain point one may also express a political opinion on the need for a European defence policy as well.

Mr Ephremidis (COM). — *(GR)* I do not believe that Mr Natali has a split personality, just as I do not believe that splits exist among persons holding official positions. In view of this therefore I want to ask the following question. When he stated what he has confirmed he stated, did he make it unequivocally clear that he was only voicing personal views and that these were not binding on any Community institution? Because if he did not make this distinction, it means that he is guilty of wanting to involve the Community in his own personal opinions.

Mr Natali. — *(IT)* I should like to ask the honourable Member what his idea is of our Commissioners. Does he perhaps think that Commissioners are nothing more than robots, who only have to discuss what is in their papers and on file?

I am a politician, I was attending a party political congress and I considered it my duty to express my political views. Anyway, and I will say it again, I am in good company because, in a recent debate, a substantial part of the European Parliament agreed that these matters should be faced up to and debated as a matter of urgency.

President. — Question No 59 by Mr Remilly (H-638/82):

Following the GATT Council, which demonstrated the Community's cohesion, can the Commission describe the content of the discussions with the American delegation in Brussels on 10 December and say whether any commitments were made by either side?

Mr Natali, Vice-President of the Commission. — *(IT)* As you know, on 10 December 1982 discussions took place in Brussels between the Commission and a high-level American delegation. The Commission was represented by President Thorn, Vice-Presidents Haferkamp, Ortoli and Davignon and Commissioner Dalsager. The United States delegation consisted of Secretary of State Schultz, Treasury Secretary Regan, Trade Secretary Baldrige, Agriculture Secretary Block and the Foreign Trade Secretary Brock.

The purpose of the meeting was to review the main points of friction in relations between the United States and the Community, with specific reference to the following four points: action following the GATT Council, agriculture, the economic and monetary situation, and East-West trade.

Both sides emphasized the need to avoid confrontation and reduce tension. It was agreed that there would be an intensive exchange of views on the actions that might possibly be undertaken in the agricultural sector in order to facilitate a solution of these problems, within the framework of existing policies. The pro-

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gress achieved in these discussions would be assessed before the end of March.

No commitment in regard to any future action was entered into by either side during the meeting. The two delegations however expressed their determination to endeavour, through continuing contact, to develop meaningful cooperation as part of their joint responsibility for maintaining a free commercial system.

Mrs Poirier (COM). — (FR) How is the Commission planning to respond to the sale of American corn to Egypt, which, as everyone knows, is in contradiction with the rules of GATT? Is it planning to suspend the agricultural negotiations with the USA?

Mr Natali. — (IT) In a *note verbale* transmitted to the American authorities on 20 January 1983 following President Reagan's speech on 11 January, and after the announcement by the American Secretary for Agriculture regarding the agreement with the Egyptian Government for the sale of one million tonnes of wheat, the Commission expressed its grave concern and demanded a full and detailed explanation.

On 27 January, on the basis of the information received, the Commission decided as follows: First, it sees no further purpose in continuing, in the next talks on 9 and 10 February in Brussels, to discuss American submissions regarding wheat exports from the Community.

Secondly, it renews the proposal, which has already been put to the United States, for a meeting of the five main wheat exporters.

Thirdly, it will use the bilateral discussions of 10 February to prevent any escalation by either side. In the meantime, approaches have been made for a discussion of this problem in GATT in the context of the 'anti-subsidies code'.

Mr Alavanos (COM). — (GR) In replying to Mr Remilly's question the Commissioner said that the main topic at these discussions was East-West economic relations. In view of the fact that this issue is of special importance to our country because of its geographical position and also because of the great importance of our relations with the neighbouring Socialist countries, I would like to ask the Commissioner to what extent the EEC representatives gave a negative or positive response to persistent pressure by the American Government — following the gas pipeline affair — to undermine East-West relations by stepping up the activities of COCOM and by increasing the number of products under embargo in trade with the East etc.

I would like a clearer reply from the Commissioner.

Mr Natali. — (IT) Mr President, I confess I have not understood the question.

Obviously, the honourable Member has information that I am unaware of concerning pressure by the United States in regard to our relations with COMECON. I have no knowledge of any such pressure.

Mr Alavanos (COM). — (GR) There is a point of order here, because the Commissioner has publicly called into question what I have said. Of course, I do not know what was discussed in the United States better than he does. However, I do know the position taken by the Republican representatives at the joint meeting in Athens between the European Parliament and the American Congress, which I attended as a representative of this Parliament, and at which all the matters I have raised here — the stepping up of COCOM activity, the increase in the number of products under embargo in trade with the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries, etc. — were openly discussed, and I doubt if they have not also been discussed during other negotiations between the USA and the EEC. In the light of this I repeat my request for a clear statement by the Commissioner.

Mr Natali. — (IT) Mr President, I have to recognize that Mr Alavanos is in possession of such perfect information that he can tell even what takes place in contacts between the American political parties or political authorities and Greek parties other than his own. We, the Commission, are not so clever, Mr President.

President. — Well, we know at any rate that Mr Alavanos has no comrades of his own particular political party in America.

Question No 60 by Mr Deleau (H-641/82):

Can the Commission report on the bilateral negotiations on textiles; are the agreements with all the exporting countries satisfactory and do they allow the Community's continued membership of the Multifibre Arrangement?

Mr Narjes, Member of the Commission. — (DE) The Commission has concluded negotiations with all 26 MFA supplier countries, including the main suppliers Hong Kong, Korea and Macao, but excluding Argentina.

All negotiations were concluded according to the mandate laid down by the Council on legal content, maximum quantities of imports and overall ceilings. The Commission believes that these agreements settle the whole of the textile area in a fair and satisfactory way. The Council of Ministers shared this view and, on a Commission proposal, confirmed on 13 December 1982 that the Community would remain a member of the Multifibre Arrangement.

Mr Deleau (DEP). — (FR) You say that Argentina has not concluded any agreement. I should therefore like to ask you two questions. Since there is no agreement with Argentina, in what legal framework will the Community be placing its trade in textiles with this country?

Second question. Can Argentina be allowed to apply prohibitive customs duties to textiles from the Community?

Mr Narjes. — (DE) No agreement was reached with Argentina for reasons other than those of textile considerations. There is an autonomous monitoring system introduced on 1 January 1983 which permits safety measures to be taken when exports reach 65% of the 1982 quotas.

President. — Question No 61 by Mr Dalziel (H-665/82):

Will the Commission indicate how much Community aid has been given to Ethiopia under the relevant provisions of the Lomé Convention and, further whether the concern about human rights in Ethiopia has or will have any effect on such aid?

Mr Pisani, Member of the Commission. — (FR) Ethiopia was granted 157 million ECU under Lomé I and the outline programme for Lomé II is expected to be in the 125-144 bracket, 97 million of this having already been committed. In addition to the outline programme, Ethiopia gets food aid and aid to non-governmental organizations. The food aid is worth 60 million ECU at world rates.

As to the concern about respect for human rights in this country and any repercussion this may have on the aid, I should like to tell Parliament that the rule, in all but exceptional cases, is that Lomé regulations go on being applied.

I should also like to point out that, over the past few months, the revolutionary period that everyone remembers seems to have given way to a certain amount of flexibility in Ethiopian life, because a thousand political prisoners were liberated at the end of last year.

We are no doubt now in a period of change which it would be far better to encourage than to discourage. And anything that led the Community to change its behaviour towards Ethiopia, now that it is working along these lines, would lead the Ethiopian Government to think that the positions we adopt are based more on ideological than humanitarian considerations.

Mr Dalziel (ED). — In thanking the Commissioner for his extremely full answer, I wonder if he would

care to make any comment at all as to the efficiency, or lack of it, with which he believes the Ethiopians are handling the various monies which have been made available to them and, in particular, what projects have been designated as worthy of European Development Fund aid?

Mr Pisani. — (FR) I can tell you that, generally speaking, the surveys which have been run on the spot show that Ethiopia's ability to utilize our technical credits is relatively high. This is a country whose administrative structures are sounder than those of a certain number of other countries with which we work every day.

Now, as to food aid, which I distinguish from technical aid, I should like to point out that, although certain papers printed photos that seemed to suggest that sacks of food sent out by the Commission had been found in army trucks, the way the sacks were identified was not watertight at all and no proof was given to back up the theory. I also have to say, to be honest, that, in a certain number of cases, food aid intended for the civilian population has been transported by the military.

Overall, the reports produced by the international organizations and the European institutions are in complete agreement here. The way Ethiopia uses the Communities monies and aid is, generally speaking, satisfactory.

As regards Lomé II and the allocation of credit provided for in this Convention for specific schemes of the kind the honorable Member wishes me to describe, I should like to point out that the most important dossier in the Lomé II outline programme for this country is the water supply network to Addis Ababa, which accounts for a substantial part of the programme as a whole.

Most of the rest is being channelled into the development of agricultural and food production in this country — which is essentially made up of small farmers, for whom we are trying to provide support.

Mr Seligman (ED). — I am very glad to hear from the Commissioner that the number of political prisoners released by the end of last year, was 1 000. A few months before, it was only 750, so there is progress in that area. Does the Commissioner know whether that number of released prisoners includes members of the Royal Family and their adherents, who have been imprisoned for nine years without trial, women and children as well, purely for political reasons?

He may recall that the Ethiopian Minister of Supply was at this Parliament two months ago, and he undertook to look into this question of the imprisonment of the Royal Family. I wonder whether he has reported

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to the Commissioner. If not, will the Commissioner use his excellent relations with the government to get this act of humanity carried out and these children and women released from prison?

Mr Pisani. — (FR) I am in a position to tell you that some members of the Royal Family have been released, but it is my duty to point out that they have not all been released. It was essentially for political reasons that the members of the Royal Family were put in prison, which is why I used the term revolutionary period just now. In situations of this sort — and we ourselves have gone through them in our history — such measures may be justified.

I have been asked whether I can use my sound relations with the Ethiopian Government to ask further information. I undertake to do this.

President. — Question No 62 by Mrs Poirier (H-656/82):

Can the Commission confirm the existence of a Communication to the Council of 15. 11. 82 concerning negotiations with South Africa within the context of Article XXVIII of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and, if so, can it explain the reasons for the contents of this agreement, even though the international community should be aiming to isolate South Africa in view of the system of apartheid prevailing there and in implementation of the UN resolutions? Can the Commission indicate the actual state of negotiations between the EEC and South Africa?

Mr Pisani, Member of the Commission. — (FR) I am very willing to go back to this, but I was told that Mrs Poirier's question was included in yesterday's debate after the Scott-Hopkins report on the situation in southern Africa and South Africa. But since you have given me the floor, I should like to say, without going over all the information I gave yesterday, that we have close relations with southern Africa and we are giving support to the regional organization, as to all the countries in the area, in an attempt to make southern Africa technically and economically independent of its neighbour.

We think that, in this region, there is a distinct political scope to development and I think I can say, on behalf of all the institutions of the Community, that we will continue with our aid and even increase it, as we feel that anything that will encourage a return to peace, freedom and equality in this region is one of the aims and one of the priorities of the Community. There is no need, I think, for me to go back over the statements I made yesterday in reference to the official documents on the Community's position in relation to the independence of Namibia and to the problem of apartheid.

President. — Mr Pisani, permit me to make just one remark. The fact that a question is dealt with on any particular day here in Parliament does not mean that a question on the same subject cannot be taken the next day, provided it is a question for Question Time.

Mrs Poirier (COM). — (FR) Mr Commissioner, I paid attention to what you said yesterday, but this is really an extremely specific question on a specific document I have here. I should like confirmation. Does this document exist or does it not? According to the information I have been able to obtain, it is not a question of all the countries of southern Africa. It is a question of economic relations between the EEC and South Africa, contrary to what the international community recommends.

And since you mentioned yesterday's debate, I also noticed that, after an analysis by the Commission, with which I was in complete agreement, it did not come out in favour of sanctions. That is the least one can say.

I shall put one other extremely specific question. Since the Commission is so unenthusiastic about sanctions itself, how does it intend, practically speaking, to encourage the economic and political sanctions on South Africa?

Mr Pisani. — (FR) Mrs Poirier will forgive me, I know, but the administrative regulations say that once a dossier is deemed to be closed, it leaves the hands of the Commissioner. Whatever would happen if I had to take all the dossiers for a session around with me? I would need a wheelbarrow.

(Laughter)

I know what the problem is now. I should like to start by telling Mrs Poirier that I gave a very precise answer to her first question yesterday. There was a certain customs balance, or customs protection, between the European Economic Community and South Africa, but South Africa has taken various restrictive measures which have changed the balance to the detriment of the EEC. And the GATT agreements say that, once the balance has been upset by one of the two parties, the other party is authorized to submit applications so that, with protection on a certain number of lines in the customs nomenclature, the same balance is re-established. The only negotiations to have taken place under GATT — and negotiations is hardly the word — are just to do with the Community being compensated for changes that South Africa has made to its system of customs protection. That is the first question I wanted to answer.

Now as to the problem of sanctions, I have already said fairly clearly that it appears that the international community, and the European Economic Community

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in particular, ought to go beyond a simple political declaration of manifest, unambiguous hostility towards apartheid and of encouragement for Namibian independence. But I have also said why the Commission felt it neither could nor should go in for further analysis before the taking of sanctions against South Africa — particularly since these sanctions could have negative effects, not just on the targets but on a certain number of other economic operators, the countries around South Africa and the European Economic Community itself.

In other words, the fight we are waging has to be fought with a very tough political will. As to the instruments we are willing to use, there are perhaps certain differences of opinion both within this House and between this House and the Commission as the administrative and political embodiment of the Community.

Mr Enright (S). — Since there is a superabundance of coal within the Community, so that we do not have the excuse of shortage, and since it would not affect the States which border on South Africa, will the Commissioner give an assurance that he personally will lead a campaign to stop the import of coal into the European Community? Will he further assure us that after he has convinced the Commission, he will carry the fight to the Council, where we promise to give him full backing?

Mr Pisani. — (*FR*) I can tell the European Parliament that, thanks to a prospection permit which the government of Botswana issued to a series of companies (including an international company and a French national company as well), a coal seam, one of the biggest reserves in the world, has been found. I can also tell you that, under a recent agreement, an international company has signed not a prospection permit, but an exploitation licence with the government of Botswana. And I can tell you that the real problem as far as getting the mine working is, essentially, the means of mining and transporting the coal from the site to the ocean. Lastly, I can tell you that the government of Botswana was faced with two choices, a dearer route through Mozambique and a cheaper one through South Africa, and it decided to transport the coal through South Africa, not Mozambique, without even bothering to ask institutions like ours whether they were willing to make up the difference so that the facilities could be built in southern Africa and the region, which includes Botswana, could be more independent of South Africa.

I gave you those details to show that problems are much more complex than we are led to believe and just how dramatic the local situation is, as I tried to describe a moment ago. The only reasonable attitude to take, I think, is that of the political fight — and I mean political fight — we are waging for Namibian

independence (three of the Member States are in the contact group) and against apartheid and of the necessarily more subtle position, based more on everyday economic realities, that we have adopted in the economic sector. The Commission and the Council are, I think, in agreement here. Parliament can judge for itself.

Mr Marshall (ED). — Would the Commissioner accept that economic sanctions against South Africa, such as those advocated by Mr Enright, would create unemployment amongst the black Africans and could affect the competitiveness of Community industry and create unemployment amongst his own constituents?

Mr Pisani. — (*FR*) I have already answered this question a number of times and I said that sanctions taken against South Africa certainly would affect South Africa but they would also have an economic and social effect on the neighbouring countries and, to a certain extent, on the Community itself.

President. — Question Time is closed¹.

8. Fisheries (*continuation*)

President. — The next item is the continuation of the joint debate on the Gautier and Papaefstratiou reports on fisheries.

Mr Nyborg (DEP). — (*DA*) Mr President, as far as I can see, it is not just the two reports prepared by Parliament which are up for discussion, but also Foreign Minister Genscher's contribution yesterday, when he rather expressed the view that we have now reached a successful conclusion to the fisheries negotiations. Mr Genscher allotted himself a role as broker and thought that he had accomplished his task brilliantly. I very much regret that I cannot share Mr Genscher's view. I do not think we have achieved a particularly good outcome. There is no great value in rationalizing after the event, and neither is that what I want to do. But I will put this forward as an example of how a small country can be forced to accept things which could hardly have been imposed on a big country.

The prehistory is after all that we tried for many years to establish a fisheries policy, but we could not get the British to go along with it, because they were not getting what they wanted. Then the other countries of the Community were in agreement. The only country which could not agree was Great Britain. By means of delaying tactics they were able to turn the situation round, for the British are clever negotiators and busi-

¹ See Annex II.

Nyborg

nessmen. They manipulated the situation in such a way that it was finally Denmark which stood alone and all the other countries were united against us. And Denmark, as you know, is a much smaller country than Britain, so it was easier to force us into compliance. On the question of industrial fishing, in particular, Denmark's interests have been flouted. And it is deeply deplorable. The British have been clever, and now they want to be clever again on the budget questions. A so-called green paper has now been worked out, by which the budgets are to be redistributed. The clear and unmistakable hand of the British is to be seen here too, and it is apparent that the agricultural policy will be the main issue at stake. I am bringing these things to the fore here and now as a warning, so that we shall not run aground on them again. For the Community was not set up specially for the British, but for all the citizens of the Community.

Mrs Pery (S). — (FR) Mr President, honorable Members, I am delighted at the fisheries agreement of 25 January, as you all are. The French fishermen think it is fair and they are happy to accept it and it makes it possible to define rights of access clearly, to protect the 12-mile zone and our resources better, to improve the markets and to finance the conversion of the fleets. My government was pleased at the emergence of Blue Europe and, via Louis le Penec, the minister, it expressed the wish, at the 25 January meeting, that Community achievements would continue along two lines — the establishment of a social policy in the fisheries sector and the adoption of a Community regulation on Mediterranean fisheries. On the first point, we have to implement social measures that will make it possible to harmonize and improve the conditions of work and payment of seamen throughout the Community.

The second point brings me to Mr Gautier's report on Mediterranean fisheries. It is true that, for all too long, this sea was not known as a fishing ground and it is worth repeating that the Mediterranean accounts for 35% of the EEC's fish production and employs 90 000 fishermen — 50% of the EEC's seamen. Mr Gautier envisages studying stocks and making a better job of managing the resources.

This is particularly urgent for bottom-dwelling species, fish and cephalopods, which seem to be overexploited. Auto-regulation has been introduced along the French coasts — the number and power of trawlers has been restricted, the five-day week has been introduced, vessels are forbidden to sail before 3 a.m., 40 mm net is the rule and there is a 12 cm lower limit on the size of fish caught. Every vessel has to have a permit — which is only issued in cases of replacement. But this French regulation will be a lot less effective unless all the countries concerned apply similar technical measures and a system of quotas.

Hence the need for a common policy. A rational resources policy would mean that small coastal fishing

concerns, the most frequent form of fishing in the Mediterranean, could regain the profitability they have lost and thousands of jobs could be saved in the medium term. The reduction in better considered types of fish is due to overfishing and to the disappearance of their food, a break in the food chain brought about by pollution. The marine environment has to be protected. Such a positive development in the environment will mean that fish-farming can expand, as can oyster and other farming, all of which are very important activities in the Mediterranean. Other species, on the other hand, like sardine and mackerel, pose no problems as far as stocks are concerned — yet catches are strictly limited. The problem is, in fact, to sell these species, most of which are processed and faced with competition from third countries. French factories are closing down. Point 17, which brought up the principle of Community preference, is important in this respect, as is the harmonization of quality standards for health regulations in particular. The improvement of stocks and markets will not solve all the problems. The new trawlers need a tonne of fuel a day. Social security is expensive and production costs are a source of concern to the fishermen.

Mr President, I shall conclude my speech by supporting point 40, which calls for the conclusion of agreements between countries on the Mediterranean with a view to stopping the conflict between Italy and Tunisia, for example, or between France and Spain. If these problems are to be solved, then the Community has to regulate the Mediterranean.

Mr Alexiadis (NI). — (GR) Mr President, the sea is a definitive factor in the lives and activity of the Greeks. South of Mt. Olympus alone Greece with its islands has 3 100 kilometres of coastline for a land area of 81 593 square kilometres, the highest such ratio in the world. But despite this the sea, which from earliest times has been a good avenue of communication and trade for the Greeks, was not a significant source of food for our ancestors.

From the time of Homer to the present the main fish in the Greek diet have been the tunny and the sardine. The Mediterranean has always been poor in fish and fishing one of the lesser occupations of the Greek people. The uncertainty of income from fishing is descriptively expressed in the Greek verse saying: 'the plate of the card player, the fisherman and the hunter is once full and ten times empty.'

Special studies carried out in the western Mediterranean before the Second World War by the eminent French organization 'Offices scientifiques et techniques de recherches maritime' led to the conclusion that Mediterranean fish resources are poorer than those of the Atlantic and the North Sea because of its paucity in plankton. It was also ascertained that conditions in the Mediterranean do not favour mechanized trawling because of great irregularity of depth and

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because of the narrowness of the continental shelf stretching out from coastal areas. Mechanized trawling, with its large and heavy nets being trailed along, is not possible in the great depths beyond the edge of the shelf. As a consequence fishing in the Mediterranean, particularly in inshore waters, has to be practised with care and in accordance with scientific findings so as to avoid needless damage to sea resources.

What applies in the western Mediterranean applies also in the seas around Greece where the same general Mediterranean conditions prevail. Nowadays sea pollution is an additional factor in the decline of catches. In the Mediterranean the adverse consequences of this are more pronounced than elsewhere because total water renewal occurs slowly over a period of fully 80 years.

These unfavourable circumstances are partially offset by the fact that in the Mediterranean — which has a limited expanse compared to the oceans — there is large scale migratory movement of fish from its western end towards the Black Sea and vice versa.

This is due to three factors. Firstly to the quest for suitable spawning grounds, secondly to changes in temperature at different sea levels at various times of the year and, thirdly, to the rich food supply offered by the Black Sea enriched as it is with enormous quantities of plankton carried down by the many large rivers which flow into it and whose estuaries teem with fish.

Lying in the path of these migrating fish it should be possible, with help from the EEC and proper organization, for Greece to take large catches of scombroids, tunny fish. . .

President. — Your speaking time is over, Mr Alexiadis.

Mr Vgenopoulos (S). — (GR) Mr President, the common fisheries policy approved by the Council on 25 January brought an end to the disputes between the States which fish the seas of the northern Atlantic. It was undoubtedly a step forward, even though I have quite a few reservations about the Mediterranean aspects of the agreement.

If the report by Mr Gautier is taken up by the Council of Ministers it will have come at just the right time to point out the special characteristics of Mediterranean fisheries, to fill in the gaps in the common fisheries policy and to give hope to Mediterranean fishermen. What I want to stress is that common fisheries policy in the Mediterranean should not be just a marginal adjunct to the common fisheries policy of the Community, but should be handled on an equal par with due recognition, of course, of the special conditions which prevail in that sea. Because the Mediterranean is

one thing and the Atlantic another. And although the Mediterranean as an enclosed sea is poor in fish stocks there is potential for further development in sectors such as aquaculture, for improving fish production through better conservation of stocks, for enhancing fishing methods, for modernizing the antiquated fleet and for infrastructural development, etc.

The Commissioner, Mr Contogeorgis, told us that the common fisheries policy does have a Mediterranean dimension, and that the common organization of the market covers Mediterranean fish. While I agree with everything else he said I do not agree entirely on these two points because I have to say that the common organization of the market covers only sardines and anchovies, whereas other fish, such as codling, mackerel and lizard-fish are not covered.

Concerning the Mediterranean dimension of the common fisheries policy I will give two examples to show you how the structural measures which have been approved do not fit in with conditions as they are in the Mediterranean.

Firstly, the structural measure offering inducement aid for the temporary and permanent laying up of vessels longer than 18 metres cannot be of benefit to Mediterranean fishermen because their vessels are generally smaller than this.

Secondly, whereas the temporary measures for the restructuring of inshore fisheries in force since 1978 rightly made provision for the replacement and modernization of small vessels over 6 metres in length, the new and permanent structural measures offer aid in this respect only for vessels longer than 12 metres. We can see therefore that these structural measures which were originally intended to help disfavoured areas do not, in the final analysis, fit in with Mediterranean requirements, and I very much fear that they will lead to unscientific exploitation of fish resources.

I will not go into detail about the problems of Mediterranean fisheries. To Mr Gautier's thoroughgoing report I would like to add that we must attach great importance to conservation and that Member States must protect their own fish stocks by improving supervision of fishing activity. Measures that do harmonize with Mediterranean conditions must be brought in to induce the temporary and permanent cessation of fishing activity. The common organization of the market must be expanded to include a greater variety of Mediterranean fish. The amendments I have tabled draw attention to these points.

Concerning Mr Papaefstratiou's eminent report which deals specifically with fisheries development in inland waters — sea lagoons in Greece, etc. — I must say that it gives a very accurate depiction of a sector offering unlimited scope for development in a small availability of area, for example in the sea lagoons of Greece which have an area of 50 000 hectares and which, at

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present, produce less than 100 kilos per hectare. With small investment to assist deepening operations, the opening up of channels and the construction of fish spawning basins, these areas could produce ten times as much top quality fish. Another reason for going ahead with the development of inland water fisheries lies in the extension of fishing zones to 200 miles, a factor which has adversely affected fisheries in the Mediterranean generally and particularly in Greece where, as a result of this, 30 000 fishermen now face the spectre of unemployment and fish imports have risen to 40% of total fish consumption.

Mr President, in concluding I want to say that the Greek Socialists will vote in support of both the reports.

Mr Contogeorgis, Member of the Commission. — (GR) First of all I want to reply to the oral question by Mr Woltjer and to the Members who took part in the discussion surrounding this question. I will then come to the subject of Mediterranean fisheries.

In implementing the policy approved on 25 January the Commission will — as I said this morning — do everything possible to make sure that the measures decided upon are applied in full. More specifically, with regard to fish stocks, the legislation on Community conservation measures is already being implemented. The Commission is also preparing the catch volume checking mechanisms envisaged in the control regulation which has already been approved, as well as the mechanism for administering fishing licences, particularly in sensitive areas like the Shetland Isles, on the basis of the decisions taken in January. A fisheries inspectorate will be set up to harmonize national fisheries control methods, thus avoiding self-cancelling activity in this sphere. The Commission's inspectors will accompany the authorities of Member States during control operations both at sea and in fishing ports.

With regard to structural matters the Council agreed in its resolution that the Community should institute measures aimed at bringing productive capacity into line with requirements and at improving productivity in the fisheries and aquaculture sectors. These structural measures include the following. Firstly, support measures to induce the temporary or permanent laying up of a number of fishing vessels so that productive capacity fits in with the stipulations on the conservation of fish stocks. Secondly, the provision of support for exploratory fishing voyages and for cooperation with certain third countries in joint undertakings which help in creating new areas of operation for the Community's fishing vessels. Thirdly, aid for the construction and modernization of fishing vessels and for the construction of artificial fish breeding installations in aquaculture. These measures will operate for 3 years and will provide financial support totalling 250 million ECU out of which 76 million will go towards bringing

productive capacity into line with requirements, 18 million towards creating new areas of operation and 156 million towards investments. The regulation or the regulations and directives implementing these measures must come into force during the second half of this year. At this point, in referring more specifically to the remarks made by Mr Vgenopoulos, I want to say that when the Council came to its decisions on 25 January the Greek Minister responsible for fisheries made a unilateral statement requesting that account be taken, in the framing of these regulations, of the needs of Greek fisheries and of the special conditions pertaining in Greece. On behalf of the Commission I stated that we would take due note of the points he had made and would examine them in a constructive light when working on the regulations.

On the social aspects referred to by Mrs Pery may I remind you that the Commission has already examined this matter and, as you know, laid its relevant proposals before the Council some time ago.

I come now to the specific problems of Mediterranean fisheries. I have listened with exceptional interest to Members' observations and I share their views on the importance of fisheries as a factor in regional development through the creation of jobs and on the need to meet protein requirements in the Mediterranean countries. In implementing the common fisheries policy the Commission will pay special attention to the development of Mediterranean fisheries. Apart from implementing the decisions contained in the fisheries policy the Commission will, as I said this morning, give particular weight to developing Mediterranean fisheries and to tackling its specific problems in the proposals it is preparing — and which I hope will be submitted to the Council shortly — on comprehensive Mediterranean programmes further to the report it produced in connection with the 1980 mandate.

I spoke this morning about relations with third countries in the Mediterranean and informed Parliament about the present state of our relations with Tunisia, Libya and Malta. Some difficulties do exist but I repeat that the Commission will continue with its systematic efforts to conclude fisheries agreements with these countries. Concerning Yugoslavia, to which reference was made this morning, I can inform Parliament that we are in contact with the Italian Government on this matter and are waiting for it to clarify certain points so that we can proceed with further discussions with the Yugoslav Government on the conclusion of an agreement.

IN THE CHAIR: MR KLEPSCH

Vice-President

President. — The joint debate is closed.

President

The vote will be taken at the next voting time.

9. *Dates of next part-session*

President. — At its meeting this morning the enlarged Bureau considered all problems relating to the organization of the extraordinary part-session that Parliament proposes to hold on unemployment.

Having taken note of the state of progress on work underway in the relevant committees, and particularly the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment, having established that the only suitable period for this extraordinary part-session is the week of 25 to 29 April and having ascertained that the only Chamber and conference rooms available during that week are those in Luxembourg, the enlarged Bureau has decided to propose to Parliament that this extraordinary part-session be held in Luxembourg on 26, 27 and possibly the morning of 28 April.

At the same meeting this morning the enlarged Bureau, having taken note of the work underway in the Committee on Agriculture, having taken note of the fact that the Council of Agriculture Ministers will be meeting on 8 and 9 March 1983 in the presence of the Commissioner responsible and having regard to the need to examine in depth the problems connected with the fixing of agricultural prices, has decided to hold a supplementary part-session on 23 and 24 March 1983 in Strasbourg, giving the political groups the possibility of meeting on the afternoon of 22 March.

In order to give the political group chairmen and the groups themselves an opportunity to discuss these proposals at their meetings this evening, they will be put to the vote tomorrow at 5 p.m.

Mr Gautier (S). — (DE) Mr President, just to clarify the situation and help the discussion: the Bureau decision says 'having taken note of the work underway in the Committee on Agriculture'. The timetable, as I understand it, plans the end of the work for 24 February.

President. — Mr Gautier, it is not part of my function to discuss these decisions with you here. I am just telling you that the Bureau has taken these decisions, which will be put to the vote tomorrow at the voting time. I must ask you to discuss all these matters at your group meeting this evening with your groups' representatives on the Bureau.

10. *Votes¹*

¹ See Annex.

**SIEGLERSCHMIDT REPORT (Doc. 1-1078/82):
TOURNIQUET SYSTEM**

Title of the motion for a resolution — Amendment No 1

Mr Sieglerschmidt (S), rapporteur. — (DE) I am against this amendment as we already have quotation marks, and when I hear the word 'so-called' I always think of other 'so-called' things anyway. That holds good for all of Mr Pannella's amendments.

**SIEGLERSCHMIDT REPORT (Doc. 1-1052/82):
COMMUNITY LAW**

After paragraph 6 — Amendment No 2

Mr Sieglerschmidt (S), rapporteur. — (DE) Mr President, I agree with the tabler of the amendment that the words 'in any way whatever' should be deleted.

Secondly, I must point out that the German text at least does not tally with the English original text. It should read: '... limiting the right to recover the illegally levied taxes or levies, thereby enabling Member States ...'

**CASSANMAGNAGO CERETTI REPORT (Doc.
1-975/82): ACP-EEC**

Before the vote on the preamble

Mr Beyer de Ryke (L). — (FR) Mr President, via a procedural motion at the time of the vote on the Cassanmagnago Cerretti report and the vote on the Scott-Hopkins report, I should like to express my strong disagreement with the organization in this House of an exhibition on South Africa and Namibia, which reflects a solely unilateral commitment. People are free to share this commitment, but it is unseemly to try to use it to put moral pressure on this Parliament, particularly when one cannot even ...

President. — Mr Beyer de Ryke, if I had known what you were going to say, I would not have given you the floor. It has nothing to do with the Rules of Procedure.

Mr Beyer de Ryke (L). — (FR) Mr President, I do not think that the administration of this Parliament should be displaying, in a pluralist House like ours, any political commitment which, although it may be shared, is completely unilateral. The administration of

Beyer de Ryke

a parliament should not be an instrument of propaganda, particularly at a time when a report on that very subject is under discussion. I consider that to be a deontological failing and I do not think that it would have occurred in a parliament like Westminster.

President. — If you want to complain, you can do so to the Bureau. That is what the President is there for.

**SCOTT-HOPKINS REPORT (Doc. 1-659/82):
SOUTHERN AFRICA**

After recital C — Amendment No 100

Mr Griffiths (S). — Mr President, on the last amendment that we voted, No 100, I would like to know if the rapporteur was truly expressing the view of the committee in the deletion of the word 'meagre' from the preamble.

President. — Mr Griffiths, we cannot go into the question here of what individual committee members think of the view of their rapporteur.

After recital H — Amendments Nos 154 and 182

Mr Fich (S). — (DA) Mr President, as far as I can see, none of those who asked for a roll-call vote, namely the Group for Technical Coordination, which includes certain Danes, are present. I would therefore ask, from the point of view of the Rules of Procedure, whether it is necessary to take a roll-call vote, if the group which asked for it is not even present.

President. — First of all, Mr Vandemeulebroucke is actually present. Secondly, his group made the request in writing, and we have always taken the line that it is sufficient for a group to request a roll-call vote in writing.

Mr Haagerup (L). — (DA) Mr President, I would have said exactly the same as my colleague, Mr Fich. I understand that you have answered the question. I merely ask Parliament to note that a group which has the temerity to inconvenience Parliament with a roll-call vote does not even bother to attend, and I put a big question mark over whether there really is a so-called group behind this request. It is unworthy of Parliament.

President. — All I can do is to ask the President to approach the Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions to give its interpretation of this matter.

Mr Von der Vring (S). — (DE) Of course Mr Vandemeulebroucke is entitled to request a vote by roll-call on behalf of his group to ascertain that its members are not there. That is also the purpose of a vote by roll-call.

(Laughter)

After recital L — Amendment No 108

Mr Irmer (L). — (DE) Mr President, you have just said that the rapporteur was in favour. But as rapporteur he must represent the committee and as representative of the committee he must be against. Would you please clarify this? As rapporteur he is perfectly entitled to table an amendment in his own name but then that is his personal opinion.

(Applause)

Sir James Scott-Hopkins (ED), rapporteur. — On a point of order, Mr President. I did not do it on my own personal behalf. I did it purely because indent (n) says exactly the same thing and I did not want to have any repetition. That is why this particular Amendment, No 108, is tabled. It is clearer in indent (n) which covers the same ground.

It was not done on my own behalf. It was done purely to make the text clearer and better.

President. — Sir James, you should have contradicted me immediately when I said that you as rapporteur were in favour of it.

Paragraph 3 — Amendments Nos 37, 76, 62/rev.

Mr Irmer (L). — (DE) Mr President, this amendment may perhaps only affect some languages. In general I should like to ask here that the English text is adhered to very closely in the translations. There are several translation errors in the German version.

Perhaps it is only a matter of translation and I leave it up to you to decide whether it should be put to the vote at all.

After paragraph 11

Mr Papaefstratiou (PPE). — (GR) Mr President, would you be so kind as to inform the House if voting is to continue after 7 p.m. and when voting will take place on the fisheries reports.

President. — Mr Papaefstratiou, I shall see at 7 p.m. how far we have got with our business. I always try to

President

get through as much as possible.

Perhaps the political groups would let me know in the meantime what their views are on continuing with the vote.

After paragraph 12 — Amendments Nos 27, 107, 150, 158

Lord Harmar-Nicholls (ED). — Mr President, it is just coming up to 7 o'clock and ought we not to be aware that we have just taken part in two hours of farce? It is not in the interests of this Parliament that we should continue in such a way. Is there no way at all in dealing with a matter such as this, where we have only gone half way through these pages in two hours, of the groups getting together, indicating what the vote is likely to be so that the whole of the plenary only has to make a decision where there is a clear difference of view? To go on like this is a nonsense. It

will bring the Parliament into disrepute and the Bureau must do something about it.

(Loud applause)

President. — I would have expected that all those colleagues that share your views and were so loud in their applause just now would be withdrawing their amendments. Unfortunately there is no sign of them rushing forward to do so, even though the voting figures have indeed been more or less the same all through.

(Applause and laughter)

It is now 7 p.m. I estimate that it would take us about 30 minutes more to get through the entire vote. I consult the House therefore as to whether we should push on and get finished with the vote now or whether we should continue with it tomorrow.

(Parliament decided to continue with the vote — The sitting was closed at 7.35 p.m.)¹

¹ Agenda for next sitting: see Minutes.

ANNEX I

Votes

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

SIEGLERSCHMIDT REPORT (Doc 1-1078/82 — 'tourniquet' system): ADOPTED

The rapporteur was:

- AGAINST all the amendments, with the exception of Amendment No 10 which he left to the House.

Explanations of vote

Mr Fergusson (ED). — Mr President, the Legal Affairs Committee declared that although the *tourniquet* was not illegal, it is detrimental to the conduct of this Parliament. The Parliament, by passing my first amendment, endorsed that condemnation in practice. If the Parliament now passes this report, on which Mr Sieglerschmidt has spent so much time, having refused to decide to take the necessary steps to change the Rules so as to prevent the abuse of the Institution, it is, I believe, making a bigger fool of itself than the *tourniquet* already contrives to make of it. If we do not stop this abuse, who will? Does the law say that we cannot stop the mockery of this Institution? If the law says that then, as the late Charles Dickens once said, 'the law is an ass'.

Mr President, I hoped that if we agreed with our committee that the *tourniquet* was not against the Rules, we could have taken the simple course of changing our Rules. I now believe that by accepting this report, we shall be seen not only as accepting but also as condoning this absurd, damaging and insulting practice. For that reason I personally intend to vote against this report, because it is the best way of expressing this House's disapproval of what happens.

Mr Megahy (ED). — Mr President, until the voting on Amendment No 10, I had intended to vote for this report. I will now abstain in the vote because I cannot go along with the value judgments expressed in Amendment No 10. I think that the two reports drawn up by the Committee on the Verification of Credentials and the Legal Affairs Committee make it absolutely clear that this *tourniquet* system is not illegal. As to the other discussion about whether it is politically acceptable or not, it seems to me that if we establish that it is perfectly legal, then as politicians we operate within rules that are legal and we should not be seeking to pass judgments on how political parties choose their candidates or how they choose to mandate their candidates.

In fact, if we look at this situation here, we find that many of the people elected on this particular list have decided to stay on. In fact, I wonder whether Mrs Weiss is not now preparing her keynote speech for the 1984 elections. That could be the case. We have had more Members leaving from other parties and in fact we have had some Members elected to this Chamber who never come at all.

(Cries of Hear, Hear)

That is far more damaging to this House than any *tourniquet* system . . .

(The President urged the speaker to conclude)

. . . I shall therefore abstain.

(Applause)

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SIEGLERSCHMIDT REPORT (Doc 1-1052/82 — Community law): ADOPTED

The rapporteur was:

- IN FAVOUR OF Amendments Nos 1, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 9;
- AGAINST Amendments Nos 7 and 8.

Explanations of vote

Mr Ephremidis (COM). — (GR) Mr President, we shall vote against the resolution and the report because, firstly, although they point out that Member States commit very many deliberate breaches of Community law and show a lack of respect for the judgments of the European Court, they do not enquire into the reasons for this. In our view these breaches are caused by the EEC Treaty itself which makes exorbitant coercive demands in the service of the large monopolies and takes no account of special factors influencing national economic interests, and by the virtually unbridled legislative activity of Community institutions on matters beyond the scope of the Treaty through the deliberate misinterpretation of its provisions and of the infamous Article 100 in particular.

Secondly, because instead of remedying the situation the measures proposed by the Legal Affairs Committee will only make matters worse because they do not get to grips with the real causes of the many breaches that occur, but only exacerbate them increasing the coercion on Member States through reinforcing the authority of the European Court and extending the binding power of its judgments. We stand categorically against this supranational monopolistic despotism of the Community institutions and Community law which operates to the detriment of the national parliaments and other constituted authorities in Member States which express the will of the people.

Thirdly, because it is our case that the breaches would be decisively reduced in number if the EEC Treaty were to be amended in such a way as to render the EEC an organization for economic cooperation functioning without coercion and binding powers over Member States, and if the Member States were to have an entrenched right of veto in all circumstances where Community decisions would be likely to impinge on their vital economic interests and national sovereignty. However, as I said earlier, the report and resolution seek exactly the opposite. For these specific reasons, and above all because we are opposed to our country's membership of the EEC, we shall vote against this resolution.

Mr Petersen (S), in writing. — (DA) I will vote against, because the imposition of sanctions would be very injurious to European Community cooperation. The question is who would be implementing these sanctions — are we to have European Community policies that could interfere in the affairs of individual Member States? This kind of thinking with regard to sanctions stems from an outmoded approach. It is a way of thinking that would lead European Community cooperation in the direction of authoritarian and power-hungry centralization. For this reason I shall vote against.

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**CASSANMAGNAGO CERRETTI REPORT (Doc 1-975/82 — ACP-EEC):
ADOPTED**

The rapporteur was:

— AGAINST all the amendments.

Explanation of vote

Mr Denis (COM). — (FR) Mr President, our group will be voting the proposed text because it sticks to what it feels is essential, even if we are unable to agree with everything it says on certain points, in particular after the amendment that has just been adopted. What we feel to be essential is the reassertion of the will of this House to see cooperation developed on an equal footing with our ACP partners.

Such a reassertion has every point, we feel, on the eve of the Joint Committee meeting in Jamaica. The EEC-ACP dialogue has, in our parliamentary institutions, proved its effectiveness and, in our eyes, it has a vital role to play. Today, the developing countries are feeling the full force of the consequences of the crisis in the capitalist world. Those which are associated with the Community do not hide the fact that they expect more from us. We should not be postponing our answer to the serious question of the negotiations for a further convention — which will not be applicable for another three years — particularly since we have an opportunity to be positive, witness the dialogue with SADEC which involves the independent States of southern Africa.

Mr second remark is that the vote on this report reflects something that is dear to the heart of our group, namely the follow-up of decisions taken. This is a legitimate concern if we are to avoid endless discussion to no good effect and maybe commitments that are not honoured. It has to be hoped that we do not put on such a spectacle today on the occasion of our stand on South Africa.

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SCOTT-HOPKINS REPORT (Doc. 1-657/82 — southern africa): ADOPTED

The rapporteur was:

- IN FAVOUR OF AMENDMENTS Nos 17, 19, 42, 43, 45, 47, 52, 54, 55, 56, 62/rev., 70, 73, 76, 81, 87, 100, 102, 103, 105, 108, 110, 111, 112, 115, 126, 151 and 152;
- AGAINST Amendments Nos 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 30, 32, 33, 35, 37, 38, 40, 44, 46, 49, 51, 65, 67, 68, 69, 71, 74, 77, 78, 79, 84, 88, 89, 90, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98, 99, 104, 106, 107, 117, 118, 119, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 127, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 135, 140, 141, 142, 143, 145, 146, 150, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169/corr., 170, 171, 172, 173/corr., 174, 176/corr., 177, 178, 179, 180 and 181.

Explanations of vote

Mrs Clwyd (S). — Mr President, it is difficult to use moderate language to describe the outrage I feel about the situation in South Africa and Namibia. Unfortunately, that sense of outrage is not reflected in the Scott-Hopkins report. 70% of the population of South Africa are Africans. They are allocated 13% of the land. 17% of the population are whites. They own 87% of the land. 13% of the population are coloureds and Asians. They have no land at all.

These facts alone are appalling. But the Scott-Hopkins report is devious. It supports South Africa in anti-apartheid terminology. South Africa is unique. It is the only country in the world with racism as part of its constitution. That is why the Scott-Hopkins report is a bitter disappointment. It provides no solution for the destruction of apartheid. A week or two in South Africa — and I *have* seen it for myself — seeing the Pass Law and the Pass

Court in action, the brutal imposition of civility, the 100 000 person resettlement centres which look like refuse dumps to which blacks are forcibly removed, can only convince another human being of the hideousness of that system.

Comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa, including an oil embargo, are the only possible means of reducing the inevitable conflict, made necessary by the

(Uproar in the House — Applause from the Socialist benches — Protests from the Right — Cries of 'Nigeria')

. . . failure so far of the international community to bring effective economic and financial pressure to bear on a country that stinks!

(Applause from the left)

Mr Lomas (S). — Mr President, the constant theme of the Members opposite in this Chamber, throughout the debate yesterday and reflected tonight, has been the desire to find a compromise, a middle way between the conflicting forces in southern Africa. But a middle way and a compromise between what? On the one hand you have South Africa oppressing its people at home, carrying out mass arrests, torture and killings, uprooting millions of black citizens from their homes, attacking and occupying neighbouring States, flouting all the norms of decency and human values, and, on the other side, black Africans who are suffering from this oppression and aggression. And you want to compromise between those two! It is like compromising with a gang of hoodlums beating up an innocent citizen and saying we have to see both sides of the argument.

All our proposals for sensible changes in this report have been rejected. We should be left with a pitiful document which would not worry the South Africa Government one iota, but would weaken the black African's struggle for freedom and isolate this Parliament from almost the whole of world opinion. . . .

(Continued uproar)

Mr Boyes (S). — I shall vote against the resolution in its present form because it is counterproductive to the struggle to end the repressive barbaric regime governing South Africa. Apartheid is evil. It is a system of government which distinguishes between people by the colour of their skin, in which a minority of white people repress a majority of non-white people. It leads to the systematic murder of its opponents and has led to the imprisonment of Nelson Mandela for life. He has already served twenty years. All Members of this Parliament should unconditionally condemn such a system, but more they should work towards its replacement by a system in which all people — irrespective of the colour of their skin — take part, through universal suffrage in the election of a popular government.

I regret the resolution does not call for the Member States of the Community to apply economic sanctions on such a scale that because of universal condemnation of the international community, the South African Government would be unable to continue in its present form. I could only have supported the resolution if it had included at least Amendment No 158, which demanded that all Member States introduce legislation banning investment in South Africa. The Swedish Government, I am proud to say, unilaterally decided in 1979 to stop investment in South Africa. They hope that other governments will follow. I also hope they will, particularly the government with the greatest amount of investment in South Africa — the United Kingdom. I am ashamed of that.

I hope — and it is not too late even now — that Member States will decide to stop all investment in that terrible, evil country.

(Applause)

Mrs Baduel Glorioso (COM), in writing. — *(IT)* On behalf of my group I wish to report that we vote against a resolution that, to put it kindly, could be called 'cosmetic'. Yester-

day's debate, and the rejection today of all the amendments that attempted to re-establish the truth — which was camouflaged in the report — and take up clear positions with regard to the tragedy that the Pretoria Government has brought upon Southern Africa — all of this confirms us in our opposition to the Scott-Hopkins report. It is not sufficient to declare oneself against apartheid, as everyone usually does, although here something worse has happened. Mr Bayer de Ryke stands in judgement on the photographic exhibition which displays anti-apartheid posters here today; he says it is unilateral. His incredible statement has laid bare many of the 'cosmetic' aspects of a report presented by a European party of the Right which, in circumstances such as these, it is as well to denounce in no uncertain terms. Think of the racism that continues in Southern Africa, with the typical instruments of such regimes, including the imprisonment and torture of all who oppose it; the attempt, still continuing, to coerce the population and confine them in the Bantulands; the illegal occupation of Namibia, with an explicit challenge to the United Nations; the aggression of the Front Line States, and the occupation of Southern Angola.

And in a situation such as this, which everyone recognizes, we dare to call for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, before that sovereign state has any guarantee of security for its frontiers and its independence. There is no mention of the ANC and the SWAPO who, with their political and military courage, are making sure of a democratic future for their countries.

And what is Europe doing? Europe's Governments? Accomplices in this state of affairs, they dare not reduce their investments. They take advantage of the benefits that derive from the colonialism of today, after having been responsible for the colonialism of yesterday. No mention either, in the Scott-Hopkins report, of the progressive sanctions resolved by the ACP-EEC Assembly in Rome.

In this chamber this evening, clearly visible, there are two Europes — one conservative, in the sense that it seeks to preserve a past now superseded, and is bent on maintaining only privilege, even at the price of oppression and repression; and the other democratic, the defender of its own and other peoples' liberty, and of the right to independence and democracy of the peoples of Southern Africa.

Mr Balfe (S), in writing. — I shall vote against the resolution because in spite of some good sentiments I still find the report complacent. Had the report been about the Soviet Union, the flagrant violations of human rights would have been strongly condemned. Because we are debating southern Africa such judicial outrages as the death of Neil Aggett, as the continual imprisonment of Nelson Mandela and David Kitson are not given the prominence they deserve.

We also have the hypocritical attitude to sanctions. Sanctions are used against Argentina or Eastern Europe but are found to be impractical for South Africa.

The white races must face up to the outrage of the coloured world community before it is all too late. Our professed Christian values are made a mockery of by our continual tacit or open support for South Africa.

Mr Beazley (ED), in writing. — This report and debate have been a missed opportunity despite the great efforts of the rapporteur both in his explanatory statement and his speech.

The situation has been handled with too much emotion and too much passion.

There has been too little objective analysis of a very real and complex situation.

Wise counsels have not prevailed. This Parliament could have been much more helpful and constructive to all nations of southern Africa.

The title of the report is southern Africa. In fact it deals with but one aspect of a South African problem.

12 out of 27 effective paragraphs in the resolution refer to South Africa, the remainder deal with the relations of the new independent southern African nations with South Africa.

The real problems of these countries are not dealt with, neither is the problem of South Africa today — the choice between liberation of the Africans through 'the mouth of a gun' or peaceful development which appears to be all too slow.

The report does not consider sufficiently the benefits of the Lomé Convention and yet its complete inadequacy to deal with the problems of very poor countries emerging from colonial government to full political independence but with insufficient economic, financial and social infrastructure.

Regarding South Africa the report has done nothing to give the South African Government the courage to save its own country by providing its African peoples with political rights, with rights of domicile as free citizens in the townships which they serve.

Even with sport the point has not been made how much the Coloureds, Indians and Africans enjoy seeing foreign visiting teams, especially when they score tries or boundaries against the Springboks.

To a person who has lived in South Africa in recent years, who has appreciated visiting the surrounding countries, this report is a poor caricature which does not do justice to the real problems.

This House and its committees could do much to bring greater stability to southern Africa, even more it could bring confidence to both South Africa and to southern Africa.

Until this House can face the real problems of southern Africa objectively, with understanding and a constructive approach, I shall have to abstain.

Mr De Goede (NI), in writing. — (NL) As originally worded the Scott-Hopkins report is unacceptable to us. Without doubt the report and resolution has its good points but they are insufficient to outweigh what we consider to be the report's weaknesses. For this reason we feel it would not be judicious for the House to adopt the resolution.

To begin with we find the criticism levelled at the South African government to be too timid. We are not wanting in reasons for a strongly worded condemnation. Nor do we subscribe to the report's view on SWAPO. SWAPO is a legitimate liberation movement. Furthermore we have grave reservations about the linkage made by the report between the Namibian question on the one hand and the presence of Cuban troops in Angola, on the other. We consider such linkage, which is very dear to United States' African policy, to be inconsistent and running counter to United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 and as such we reject it.

Nor can we agree with the report's view on economic matters. Apart from the moral issue in question it is in the West's long-term interest to combat the system of apartheid. Sooner or later the resistance will prevail, with or without Western support.

Consequently we support economic pressure on South Africa: an oil embargo, restrictions on Community imports from that country, in particular an import embargo on coal and a ban on investments in South Africa appear to us to be appropriate measures. This would in addition be one way in which the Community could comply with McNamara's suggestions on the stockpiling of strategic raw materials. The Community has a vital role to play here.

A half-hearted attitude serves neither the interests of the South African people, nor of Namibia; nor of the Frontline States and most certainly not those of the Community nor the remaining European nations. Now that the House has adopted a number of amendments improving the motion along the lines desired by us we have decided to change our original intention to vote against and to abstain instead.

Mrs Dury (S), in writing. — (FR) We are going to the next meeting of the Joint Committee with a resolution that is far less strong than the one we adopted at the last ACP-EEC Consultative Assembly in Rome. Should we conclude that the determination and courage of certain colleagues are different when they are faced with the ACP representatives and when they are in this House? I must say that the positions this House is taking up today do us no credit and I hope that public opinion will be the judge.

I, for one, cosigned an amendment which echoed the opinion of the Committee on Development and Cooperation. This opinion has the merit of being clear in its principles and voluntarist in the actions it proposes.

In it, apartheid is condemned again, but, contrary to Mr Scott-Hopkins' resolution, this condemnation leads to the adoption of an unambiguous position on the economic embargo, Namibian independence, application of the code of conduct, arms deliveries, the repeated South African aggression of the neighbouring countries and so on.

So I shall vote against the report, as we are not serving the cause of all those who want to see an end to apartheid in South Africa, an end to violence and to repression and the establishment of a multi-racial society.

Mr Glinne (S), in writing. — (FR) The Socialist Group finds that, with the exception of Amendment No 23 tabled by our colleague, Alf Lomas, virtually all of the important amendments tabled both by Mr Lezzi, on behalf of the Committee on Cooperation and Development, and by progressive Members of this House have been rejected. Thus the text as adopted, paragraph after paragraph, reflects the views of a right-wing majority and is far removed from the spirit of the resolutions adopted at the EEC-ACP joint meetings under the Convention of Lomé. The text is therefore unacceptable to the Socialist Group and we shall vote against it. At the next EEC-ACP meeting in Kingston we shall be trying to repair the wrong done here today to the peoples of Southern Africa, to relations between Europe and Africa, which should be inspired by an ardent desire for justice and equality, and to the North-South dialogue.

Mr Kyrkos (COM), in writing. — (GR) Mr President, at the heart of the matter we are dealing with, in the context of the report by Sir James Scott-Hopkins lies condemnation of apartheid and of the racist South African regime and clear, unreserved and concrete support — through sanctions — for the black population and countries which bear the brunt of these things. The exemplary intervention by Commissioner Pisani showed uncommon perspicuity, I would say, in conforming with the climate of opinion which I think has emerged from the general stand taken — with a few sad exceptions — by Parliament.

The report we are being asked to support does not conform with this climate. Important amendments, capable of enhancing the motion, were tabled by Members representing a broad spectrum of opinion in this Parliament. However, the majority did not endorse them thus exposing a contradiction between the decisions this House takes here and the way it votes when taking decisions in concert with our ACP partners.

In consequence of all this the Communist Party of Greece (internal) considers that in showing solidarity with the oppressed black population of South Africa, with neighbouring countries such as Angola, Zimbabwe, Lesotho and Zambia and likewise with suffering Namibia, occupied as it is by the South African invaders, and out of responsibility and a sense of consistency towards our ACP partners, it ought not to support this resolution which makes Parliament look two-faced.

Mrs Lizin (S), in writing. — (FR) I should like to take the opportunity of the vote on the Scott-Hopkins report to talk, during this very short time, about a category of people who are worst affected by the system of apartheid in South Africa — they are the country's black women.

As blacks, they have an inferior status forced upon them. But as women, their inferior status is twofold, as they are sexually inferior too.

The organization of work for the black population of South Africa prevents black families from having normal lives and denies women any existence at all. If a woman lives on a bantustan, her whole family will only be able to get together one or twice a year and she will be fending for herself the rest of the time — as her husband will be working hundreds of miles away — usually with no money and the sort of health, hygienic and educational conditions that are quite shameful for human beings.

Women who work, do so in conditions worthy of mediaeval Europe, with no respect and poverty-line wages for 16-17 hour days.

As a Belgian member of the UN international committee that supports these women, I have had the opportunity to go the neighbouring countries where there are many women living like refugees, because they have left the frontier battlefields, in conditions of abject poverty.

I wanted to take this opportunity of letting you, in this Parliament, hear a voice of solidarity with these women, the most underprivileged in the world.

Mr Price (ED), in writing. — Attitudes to southern Africa tend to be more emotional than rational. It is notable that the European Parliament has chosen the rational path for the evolution of Community policy. I am particularly pleased to have been that draftsman of the text which Parliament chose to express its opinion on the issue of sanctions.

I believe it is important that we make clear to the government of South Africa that the European Community will steadily increase its pressure unless they make much more rapid progress towards ending apartheid and giving the whole population the political rights to which they are entitled.

At the same time, we have said that we want *evidence* before considering economic sanctions. Those who claim that certain specific sanctions would be effective should welcome the opportunity to supply the evidence which supports their case. Equally, those who say that sanctions would not achieve their objective must counter the arguments with their own evidence. It is no good continuing to debate this issue on the basis of unsupported assertions on both sides.

This issue is far too serious and affects the lives of far too many people for us to shirk our responsibilities to obtain the facts and then to act accordingly.

ANNEX II

I. QUESTIONS TO THE COUNCIL

Question No 1, by Mr Arfe (H-692/82)¹

Subject: Measures in favour of minority languages and cultures

1. Will the Council state what its reaction has been to Parliament's resolution² in the Arfe report of 16 October 1981 on a Community charter of regional languages and cultures and a charter of rights of ethnic minorities?
2. Does it agree with the principles contained therein and has the problem of minority languages and cultures ever been raised in Council?
3. What initiatives has it undertaken so far to encourage Member States to implement the proposals contained in Parliament's resolution?

Answer

The Council has not yet discussed the questions raised by the honourable Member.

I should however like to assure members of the European Parliament that, if any proposals were put to the Council on these matters, it would take into account the views and wishes expressed by the Parliament in its resolution of 16 October 1981.

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Question No 7, by Mr Remilly (H-639/82)

Subject: Common fisheries policy

Will the Council report on the agreements concluded on 21 December 1982 concerning the common fisheries policy?

Answer

In my declaration, I informed you of the Council's discussions on the common fisheries policy on 25 January 1983. All the regulations and resolutions adopted on this occasion were published in Official Journal L 24 of 27. 1. 1983.

The Council has also adopted a regulation to ensure the continuing application of the TACs and quotas approved for 1982 until the adoption of new TACs and quotas for 1983. This latter regulation appeared in Official Journal L 25 of 27. 1. 1983.

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Question No 8, by Mr Deleau (H-640/82)

Subject: Imbalance in trade with Japan

In view of the fact that the Council has decided that it is necessary to press ahead and make certain adjustments to relations with Japan, what practical measures does it intend to take to remedy the present imbalance?

¹ Former oral question with debate (0-64/82), converted into a question for Question Time.

² O.J. C 287 of 9. 11. 1981, p. 106.

Answer

At its meeting of 13-14 December 1982, the Council noted the lack of progress in consultation with Japan and agreed on a set of new schemes in line with the previous strategy.

The first aim is to re-establish the competitiveness of those of our industries that are threatened by Japanese competition. In particular, encouragement should be given to establishing a genuine single market, to industrial cooperation and to research and development.

The Council has decided to move on from the bilateral phase of Article XXIII/1 of GATT to the multilateral phase of Article XXIII/2. So we shall be asking Geneva, at a time still to be specified, to set up a working party to look into our difference with Japan — whose policy is threatening even the workings of the GATT rules.

In the immediate future, the Commission will be continuing its strenuous efforts to obtain concrete, substantial results in respect of opening up the Japanese market.

It will also be firm in reiterating our requests for concrete assurances that Japan's policy towards the community as a whole (and I should like to emphasize this point) from 1983 onwards will be an effective, clearly defined one of moderation in the sectors in serious difficulty.

The Commission will continue and, if necessary, extend the present system of supervision of certain Japanese imports. It will run surveys on safeguard measures for sensitive products where this proves necessary.

The Council has again stressed the fact that the yen must properly reflect the fundamental strength of the Japanese economy.

The Commission is now working on intensive consultations with the Japanese authorities at both technical and political level.

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Question No 9, by Mr Couste (H-642/82)

Subject: Spain's entry into the Common Market

In view of the fact that the new Spanish government has recently spoken of normal and reasonable time-limits for Spain's entry into the Common Market, can the Council indicate the present timetable for negotiations and say whether 1 January 1984 still holds good as a target date for the different parties?

Answer

The last European Council, which was held in Copenhagen 3-4 December 1982, reasserted its political commitment to the enlargement of the Community to include Spain and Portugal. It asked the Council to make as much progress as possible with these two countries, stressing the importance of making rapid strides at Community level on a certain number of major problems, with a view to facilitating the harmonious enlargement of the Community. A progress report should be submitted to it at its next meeting in March.

With this in mind, it is the President's intention to continue negotiations with Spain in a sustained manner. We have planned to hold three meetings at ministerial level this semester, with a meeting at Deputy level between each. During these sessions, we shall try, at a first stage, to find solutions for the outstanding points within the framework of the chapters on which the negotiations are already well under way. At a second stage, and in the light of the progress that has been made within the Community, we shall have to identify the problems that need to be solved in the other areas of the accession negotiations and seek solutions to them.

I have every hope that, over the coming months, the negotiations will make substantial progress and reach their conclusion — although, as everyone will understand, no firm dates can be given for this.

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Question No 10, by Mr Deniau (H-661/82)

Subject: Development of inner-German trade and impact on intra-Community trade

Given the increase in trade between West Germany and East Germany, which is carried out under an exemption system designed to benefit inner-German trade alone, does the Council intend to take measures to stamp out fraudulent practices concerning the origin of goods and the deflection of trade which is disturbing the Community market?

Answer

Inner-German trade is regulated by a protocol annexed to the EEC Treaty.

The Community and its Member States have the necessary power to ensure respect for the provisions of this protocol and the regulation on the origin of goods and the campaign against fraudulent practices, as well as to take the relevant measures in case of difficulty. The Commission has not, moreover, made any proposals to the Council with a view to solving problems that arise with the origin of goods involved in inner-German trade.

In view of the strict controls run by the German government, there is no point, as indeed the Commission emphasizes in its reply to a similar question, to worry about the repercussions of inner-German trade on intra-Community trade.

Your House's Committee on External Economic Relations said it was fully satisfied with the detailed information it had received, in Hamburg in May 1981, on the bases of this trade, on the volume of it and on the devices used to control it.

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Question No 12, by Mr Lalor (H-482/82)

Subject: Regional Fund

As both the European Parliament and the Economic and Social Committee have delivered their opinion on the Commission's proposal for a regulation to amend the European Regional Development Fund, when can we expect the Council to adopt a final decision on this proposal?

Answer

The Commission proposal for a revision of the regulation setting up the ERDF is being examined within the Council.

In view of the importance the Council attaches to this question and the extent of the amendments proposed, work will probably have to continue for some time before a common position can be established.

The Council would, however, assure the honourable Member that it wishes to reach satisfactory conclusions as quickly as possible.

I would ask your understanding for the fact that, as President-in-Office of the Council, I can give no information on the revision of the Regional Fund until such time as the Council has laid down a common guideline within the framework of the concertation procedure desired by your Parliament.

In this connection I should like to remind you of the detailed explanations given by the President-in-Office of the Council, Mr Schlecht, in this House on 13 January and at the meeting of your Committee on Regional Policy and Regional Planning on 28 January with regard to the further work being done by the Council on the reform of the Regional Fund.

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Question No 13, by Mr Marshall (H-672/82)¹

Subject: Esperanto

In view of the greater international understanding created by language, would the Council discuss the possibility of encouraging the teaching of Esperanto throughout the Community?

Answer

At present no particular initiatives are envisaged at Community level to encourage the study of Esperanto.

The importance which the Council and the Ministers for Education meeting in the Council attach to the teaching of foreign languages is shown clearly in their decision of 9 February 1976 on an action programme in education, particularly in Paragraph IV, points 17 to 19.

In this decision the Council and the Ministers for Education confirmed their determination to pursue European cooperation in educational matters and expressed their appreciation of the contribution that such cooperation can make to the development of the Community. Therefore the part of the decision on foreign language teaching is limited to measures to promote the teaching of Community languages.

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Question No 14, by Mr Antoniozzi (H-615/82)

Subject: Conclusions reached at the meeting of the European Council in Copenhagen at the beginning of December 1982

Alarming reports are currently circulating about the economic situation, unemployment, trade relations with the USA, security problems, East-West and North-South political relations and institutional development which is the fundamental instrument of European progress.

What prospects are open to Europe following the meeting in Copenhagen?

Answer

During the December sitting, Mr Schlüter reported the Copenhagen Council's conclusions.

¹ Former oral question without debate (0-114/82), converted into a question for Question Time.

I have explained the general outline of the action that the Bureau is considering taking, in the context of those conclusions, during the present term.

I hope the honourable Member will understand that the matters raised in his question can only be answered very incompletely during Question Time.

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I would remind the honourable Member that, in the guidelines for the conduct of Question Time, the Rules of Procedure of the European Parliament lay down that questions must be concise, and 'drafted so as to permit a brief answer to be given'.

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Question No 16, by Mr. Moreland (H-668/82)

Subject: Environment Council Resolution on the importation of harp and hooded seal products of December 1982

Is it the intention of the Council to review its attitude towards the importation of harp and hooded seals in the light of the conclusions of the studies initiated by the Council on this subject and remove the restraints on trade if the studies do not contradict the points put forward by the Canadian Government?

Answer

On 5 January 1983 the Council and the representatives of the governments of the Member States adopted a resolution with regard to the killing of seal pups. The resolution contained two essential aspects:

1. The Council asked the Commission, in collaboration with the countries which engaged in hunting seal pups, to examine further the methods and circumstances of the killing of these animals as well as scientific aspects involving the threat of extinction of species and environmental balance.
2. The Council undertook first to examine the communications and proposals to be submitted by the Commission, including the proposal for a regulation on a ban on importation into the Community of products derived from seal pups, and secondly to adopt before 1 March 1983, in the light of this general examination, all measures which proved to be appropriate, while fulfilling the Community's obligations in the field of international trade.

Furthermore, pending the decision about action to be taken at Community level, the governments of the Member States undertook to take all measures necessary and possible to prevent the importation into their territory of products derived from seal pups.

I can therefore assure the honourable Member that the Council will undertake an overall examination of the situation. Its examination will take into account all of the background information and in particular the Commission's conclusions.

The Council is to hold a meeting on 28 February to deal especially with the question of seal pups.

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Question No 17, by Mr Sherlock (H-671/82)

Subject: Proposal for a directive on asbestos

In view of the considerable international concern about safety measures for those people working with asbestos, can the Council explain the reasons for its slowness in adopting the named directive 'on the protection of workers from the risks incurred through exposure to agents at work: Asbestos?'

Answer

The Council confirms the importance it attaches to the proposal for a directive on the protection of workers exposed to asbestos.

However, this proposal poses a number of technical problems, in particular the problem of fixing limit values as it relates to that of ensuring the proper monitoring of the concentration of asbestos fibres in the air: these problems require detailed examination if solutions which can be effectively applied in the ten Member States are to be found.

Moreover, the European Parliament itself, which was consulted on this proposal on 10 October 1980, did not deliver its Opinion until 23 April 1982. However, the Council hopes to be able to conclude its discussions on the subject by the middle of this year.

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Question No 18, by Mr Papaefstratiou (H-681/82)

Subject: Measures on behalf of farmers in countries with particularly complex problems

Having regard to the unsatisfactory Commission proposal on agricultural prices for 1983-1984, which amounts to an increase of even less than 7% (the lowest percentage resulting from application of the Treaty of Rome, Article 39 ff) and,

Whereas it is necessary and just to take special measures in favour of farmers in countries with high rates of inflation,

Will the Council of Ministers state what measures it proposes to take to correct the severe disparities in income between farmers in the various Member States, to implement special development programmes for mountainous and less-favoured areas, especially in the Mediterranean regions of the Community, to adjust the agricultural prices applying in Greece to the level of Community prices — concurrently reducing or cancelling the transitional period — and to provide Greek farmers with subsidies and aids to help them contend with the steep rise in production costs?

Answer

The Council is continuing with its work on agricultural prices and associated measures for the period 1983-1984 and likewise with its work on the readjustment of present Community arrangements for Mediterranean products.

During this work the Council takes account of agricultural income levels and trends in the various areas of the Community. In this context it should be noted that the Commission's proposals on prices and associated measures for the period 1983-1984 which are currently being discussed envisage a larger increase in prices for Mediterranean products than for the products of the Community's northern countries. The Commission's proposals also take account of currency developments in Member States and make provision for indicated readjustments in green equivalencies.

Concerning Greece specifically I must add that following the recent devaluation of the drachma the Council decided, at the suggestion of the Commission, to reduce the value of

the drachma's green equivalent by 7%. Of course, these measures do not suffice to completely wipe out the differences between the incomes of Greek producers and those of producers in the remainder of the Member States, but nevertheless they do go some way towards reducing them.

The problem of the development of mountainous areas has to be solved through the implementation of Directive 75/268 'on mountain and hill farming and farming in certain less-favoured areas'. Thus, in November 1982, the Council issued a directive whereby the formalities for the granting of compensation payments were adjusted to meet the special needs of Greek areas and financial aid from the EAGGF to Greece stepped up. In the same directive the Council brought in structural support measures to improve the processing and marketing of agricultural products.

The rate at which Greek agricultural prices are to be brought into line with corresponding prices in the rest of the Community is laid down in the Act of accession. Article 60 of this Act, which allows the implementation of a common price structure in Greece in circumstances where the difference between Greek and Community prices is slight, is implemented by decision of the Council when the requisite conditions prevail.

Finally, the Commission has informed the Council that discussions with the Greek authorities to determine the extent to which the Community can further facilitate the integration of Greek agriculture are already under way.

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Question No 19, by Mr Fergusson (H-683/82)

Subject: Uniform electoral procedure

Can the Council give an undertaking that however difficult it may be to reach agreement on aspects of a uniform electoral procedure concerning the electoral system as such, it could and should be possible to reach a separate agreement on extending the franchise so that all Community citizens resident in the Community will be able to vote at the next European elections in 1984?

Answer

At the meeting between the enlarged Bureau of the European Parliament and the ten Ministers for Foreign Affairs, the President of the Council, Mr Genscher, reported on the progress of the proceedings in the Council on the draft Act concerning a uniform electoral procedure. He said in particular that the proceedings within the Council had permitted a broad consensus to be reached on a number of the proposed Articles, either as they stood or slightly amended.

Nevertheless, Mr Genscher stated it should be noted that it has not been possible to agree on a number of essential points. These points posed real problems for various Member States. Of these I will cite only two which are of major importance, namely the principle of and arrangements for proportional representation, on which several of the articles proposed by the European Parliament in its draft are based, and active and passive voting rights for all nationals of Member States of the Community.

In the meantime the Council has agreed to make another effort to try and settle for 1984 at least one problem of great significance and of great interest to the European Parliament.

This is the active right to the active vote and possible the right to the passive vote for all nationals of the Member States even if they reside in the territory of another Member State.

In view of this situation the Council asked, at its meeting on 24 January, whether it was still possible to adopt an act laying down a broadly uniform procedure in sufficient time

for the act to be applicable in the next elections in 1984, given the various procedures to be completed at national level. Of course, the objective set by the Treaty of introducing a uniform procedure remains, and the Council intends to continue its proceedings on the subject.

At the meeting with the Bureau of the Parliament to which I have just referred, it was agreed that a further meeting would take place with Parliament before the Council took a decision on the problem raised by the honourable Members.

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Question No 20, by Mr Seligman (H-686/82)

Subject: Soviet Astrakhan Gas Project

What is the policy of the Council in regard to contracts by Community firms for the supply of plant and technology for the Soviet Astrakhan gas project, designed to satisfy domestic Soviet gas demand?

Answer

The Council has not had occasion to comment on the contracts to which the honourable Member refers.

Question No 23, by Mr Marck (H-708/82)

Subject: European Foundation

Can the Council indicate which Member States have ratified this Act so far and the reasons why certain Member States have not yet done so? Could it also indicate whether information could usefully be provided on the decisions and actions already taken by the temporary committee?

Answer

On 29 March 1982 the following documents were signed in Brussels:

- the Agreement on the creation of the European Foundation;
- the regulations governing the formation of a preliminary committee;
- the Final Clause containing a number of explanatory statements concerning the Agreement, together with an explanatory statement of the regulations applicable to the Foundation, its members and its personnel.

The last named explanatory statement stipulates that the signatory States shall determine in the immediate future as a result of joint negotiations the regulation which shall govern the Foundation, its members and personnel, in accordance with the functional necessities and requirements of the Foundation and of its independent character.

Although the Agreement has not yet been ratified by any of the signatory States several of them have already set in motion the procedures necessary for such ratification. In addition some of the signatories intend to ratify both the Agreement and the regulation governing the Foundation, its members, and personnel simultaneously.

The arrangements governing the formation of a preliminary committee make the proviso that 'as soon as the Agreement has been signed it will be necessary to proceed immediately with the preliminary work, in particular with a view to facilitating the material and administrative establishment of the Foundation and to set out its activities'.

The signatory States to the Agreement and the Commission, having each nominated a leading personality to be a member of the Preliminary Committee, the latter was able to commence its activities as early as June 1982 and has so far met on 3 occasions.

Among the decisions of the Preliminary Committee it is worth noting the organization, in February 1983, of an audition to which various bodies having a European vocation, and acting in the same or related fields of activities as the Foundation and who are willing to collaborate with the Foundation (Article 4) were invited. This should enable the Preliminary Committee to elaborate, on the basis of information obtained at the audition, a list of priority areas for future Foundation sponsored action.

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Question No 25, by Mrs Lizin (H-718/82)

Subject: Debate on the Middle East

Has the Council approved the resolution adopted by Parliament at its January part-session as the conclusion to the Penders report?

Answer

The resolution adopted by Parliament as the conclusion to the Penders report at the January part-session raises questions that are essentially to do with political cooperation.

The Council, for its part, has shown itself to be concerned with the situation in the Middle East and, in 1982, it took a number of one-off decisions connected with it.

The Council granted emergency aid for the population of Lebanon and this was in the form of food products and 10 million ECU-worth of financial assistance. It also granted exceptional aid of 50 million ECU for the reconstruction of that country.

In 1982, the Council also granted emergency food aid (500 t milk powder and 500 t butteroil), via UNRWA, to the Palestinian people. Food aid and financial aid also went to the Palestinian people as part of the EEC-UNRWA Convention.

As far as Israel is concerned, the signing of the new financial Protocol, scheduled for June 1982, was suspended by the Community because of the invasion of Lebanon by the Israeli forces.

Furthermore, within the normal framework of the renewal of the Mediterranean protocols, a new financial Protocol was concluded last November with each of the Mashrek countries.

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Question No 26, by Mr Adamou (H-723/82)

Subject: EEC trade with and granting of privileges to the Turkish junta

By decision of the Commission, levies on oil imports into the Community from Turkey are being reduced by 5.80 ECU per 100 kilos, and in some cases by 22.36 ECU. Since the issue is not only a technical but a political one, will the Council tell us why the Community, which is so vigorous in its defence of human rights in other countries, continues to trade with and grant privileges to the odious junta in Turkey, which has thrown into prison and tortured to death hundreds of thousands of democrats; and why it is indifferent to the fact that this aggravates the already unfavourable situation of Greek olive-oil producers?

Answer

Concerning the political aspect of the honourable Member's question I would like to refer him to the reply I gave to Question No. H-634/82 by Mr Fellermaier.

On the more technical aspects of the problem which has arisen I want first of all to stress that the levy reductions on imports into the Community of unrefined olive oil from Turkey occur as a consequence of obligations incumbent on the Community pursuant to the supplementary Protocol between the EEC and Turkey signed in 1970. In any case these levy reductions are made only when Turkey imposes an equivalent duty on the export of this product to the Community. Therefore the reductions constitute a financial rather than a trading benefit for Turkey since the Community floor price is in no way reduced.

Concerning the situation of Greek olive-oil producers it must be stressed that following on the accession Greece to the Community they are progressively reaping the benefits of many favourable provisions on this product in the framework of the common agricultural policy which include production and market support as well as export restitution arrangements for Community olive oil.

In these circumstances it would be inaccurate if anyone were to claim that the Community is indifferent towards Greek olive oil producers.

1. During 1978/79/80, the Community imported an average 7 500 t p.a. of Turkish olive oil — 6.6% of total imports from outside the Community and therefore of only marginal influence.
2. Although Community imports of olive oil from third countries have dropped considerably since 1980, exports have registered a large increase. The olive oil bought in, particularly from Greece, has also increased.
3. The honourable Member could ask the Commission for any further details.

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Question No 27, by Mr Alavanos (H-725/82)

Subject: Protection of Greece's national carrier airline

At the EEC Transport Ministers' meeting in Brussels in December, Britain, the Netherlands and Ireland urged that EEC airlines be allowed to operate flights to all Greek airports. For the state airline Olympic Airways, if such a plan were to be put into effect it would mean a dramatic fall in passenger traffic and virtual bankruptcy, with unforeseeable consequences for working people and the Greek economy in general. In view of this situation, what measures does the Council intend to take to prevent the above from happening and to protect Greece's national carrier airline?

Answer

The honourable Member is referring to the proposal for a directive on regular passenger, postal and cargo air services between Member States. This proposal is concerned chiefly with the introduction of a licensing procedure which will facilitate the development of inter-regional air services between certain categories of airport within the Member States.

Having discussed this proposal at their various Council meetings — and most recently at the meeting of 16 December 1982 — the Transport Ministers have managed to resolve a large number of the difficult problems it broached. Despite this certain major problems remain, chief amongst which are those touching on which categories should fall within the scope of the directive and those concerning the right of Member States to exercise authority in refusing to license certain services.

When it ended its discussions at the meeting of December 1982 the Council instructed the Commission of Permanent Representatives to give further scrutiny to the outstanding problems so that the Council can come to a decision about this proposal in the near future.

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Question No 30, by Lord Bethell (H-736/82)

Subject: Landing cards

Is the Council aware that Greece is now the only Community Member State that demands landing cards from visitors arriving from other Member States and what efforts has the Council made to persuade the Greek Government to abolish this requirement?

Answer

Insofar as compulsory landing cards are not in accordance with the Treaties, it is for the Commission, as guardian of the Treaties, to take such steps as it deems appropriate.

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Question No 31, by Mr Radoux (H-742/82)

Subject: USA-EEC Relations

In view of the ever-increasing number of matters for negotiation between the European Economic Community and the United States, particularly in the economic sphere which world developments dictate and will continue to dictate, does not the Council think that even the existence of a system of reciprocal diplomatic representation is strictly inadequate, in the eyes of the public, to maintain the level of importance of these relations and that it would probably be beneficial to seek a method of institutionalizing these relations by setting up a body along the lines of a 'High Commission', bearing witness to the irreversible nature of relations between the EEC and the USA?

Answer

The USA is the Community partner with which the consultation process is the most developed and the most frequent. As you know, there is a system of six-monthly consultations between the Commission and the American administration.

Furthermore, whenever a problem demands it — and in recent times this has been often — *ad hoc* contact is made at the level of high-ranking officials, ministers or commissioners.

In addition, practically every President of the Council has the opportunity to hold consultations with the American administration.

Lastly, the Community also has other, frequent opportunities to talk with its American partner within the framework of multilateral economic organizations such as the OECD and GATT, the IMF and, of course, the western summits.

So the concertation-discussion network with the United States is an extremely intensive one and it has, by the nature of things, increased recently because of the difference we have had with this country. As you know, this made it possible to solve the problems of steel and the Siberian gas pipeline and discussions are currently being held between the Commission and the United States on agricultural questions.

1. The idea of institutionalizing and globalizing these consultations has been raised in various quarters. The Council has not so far seen fit to use the idea.

I personally feel that the present network is sufficient and enables us to deal with any problems that crop up in our relations with the USA in good conditions.

The Council monitors the trend in these relations regularly. It places them in the general context in which they should be assessed and gives the relevant guidelines and directives to the Commission.

2. I should also like to emphasize the importance of the regular consultations which your Parliament has with the American Congress.

3. The latest of these consultations at ministerial level was on 10 December 1982, when five members of the American cabinet met with the President and several Vice-Presidents and members of the Commission.

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Question No 32, by Mr Ephremidis (H-743/82)

Subject: The problem of 'Berufsverbot' in the FGR

Can the Council state whether the Ministers of Justice in the course of their consultations have concerned themselves with the problem of 'Berufsverbot' in the FGR, a measure smacking of McCarthyism which is contrary to the principles whereby political parties may operate freely under the law and freedom of opinion, especially in view of the fact that more than 5 000 people have been subjected to the 'hearings' procedure, and that at this moment it constitutes a direct intervention against the German Communist Party in view of the elections in March 1983?

Answer

The question tabled by the honourable Member does not fall within the competence of the Council.

Furthermore, his attention is drawn to the fact that, pursuant to Parliament's directives on Question Time, questions are accepted only if they fall within the competence of the Council and contain no assertion or criticism.

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II. QUESTIONS TO THE FOREIGN MINISTERS

Question No 40, by Mrs Boserup (H-537/82)

Subject: Financing of European political cooperation

What measures have been taken by the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation to avoid the cost of holding their meetings being financed from the Council's budget in a manner contrary to the Treaties?

Answer

As it will be known, the majority of meetings within the European political cooperation are held in the capital of the presidency. The expenses in connection with the meetings are

defrayed by the presidency. Exceptions to this are only the travel and accommodation expenses of the visiting delegations which are paid by the country of the delegation in question. This also applies to the comparatively few EPC-meetings held in connection with a meeting of the EC-Council. Thus no expenses are defrayed by the budget of the Council of ministers to finance EPC-meetings.

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Question No 41, by Mr Galland (H-669/82)

Subject: The fate of Anatoli Chtaranski

Although seven winners of the Nobel peace prize, including Mr Willy Brandt, took part on 10 December 1982 in the launching by Amnesty International of a campaign of signatures, calling for the release of all persons imprisoned solely for their beliefs or their origins, nothing more has been heard of the fate of Anatoli Chtaranski. It is not even known whether he is still alive following the hunger strike which he began on 27 September and the barbaric force-feeding to which he was subjected. Can the Foreign Ministers provide any information and say whether the Community has made individual representations to the 'liberal' Andropov on behalf of the dying prisoner?

Answer

The case raised by the Honourable Member in his question has not escaped the attention of the governments of the Member States of the European Community.

According to the information available to the Ten, Anatoli Chtaranski's mother, Mrs Milgrom, who lives in Moscow, went on 4 January 1983 to Tchistopol to visit her son in prison; but she was not allowed to see him. The prison authorities prevented this visit and said the prisoner was continuing his hunger strike.

The case of Mr Chtaranski has been the subject of interventions made by some Member States to the Soviet authorities, some at a high political level. That illustrates the continual interest the Ten have in this case.

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Question No 42, by Sir Fred Warner (H-673/82)

Subject: Vietnamese occupying Power

To ask the Foreign Ministers what information has been received by them concerning the fate of His Majesty, the King of Laos, the Crown Prince and other Members of the Royal Family arrested by the order of the Vietnamese occupying Power in 1977 and imprisoned near the Vietnamese frontier?

The Ten do not dispose of official information by the Laotian Government concerning the fate of the family of the king of Laos. Unofficial reports maintaining the family of the king to be alive and sojourning in Laos, cannot be verified as to their validity.

Question No 45, by Mr Rieger (H-700/82)

Subject: European conference on disarmament

In a political declaration addressed to all the countries participating in the ECSC, the Warsaw Pact States made a series of proposals on disarmament and the improvement of

East-West relations. Have the Foreign Ministers of the Community examined this declaration and are they prepared to put the mandate of the ECSC into effect and convene a European conference on disarmament?

Answer

The 'Prague Declaration' of the Warsaw Pact of 6 January 1983, has been discussed by the Ten within the framework of European political cooperation.

The Ten attach great significance to the convening of a conference on disarmament in Europe for security and stability in Europe.

They hope that the Member States of the Warsaw Pact will now, at the Madrid follow-up meeting, be ready to agree to a clear and comprehensive mandate for a conference on disarmament in Europe that, as part of a substantial and balanced concluding document, defines the whole of Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals, as the zone of application for new, militarily significant, politically binding and verifiable confidence and security-building measures.

Reference is made to the reply to Question No H-302/82 of the Honourable Member.

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Question No 47, by Mr Boyes (H-713/82)

Subject: Chilean Exiles

Is the President aware that 400 people from Chile are living in exile on the continent of Western Europe because they opted for exile rather than a prison sentence at the time of their trial — these people have now completed the agreed period in exile and are not now being allowed to return to Chile — and is the President trying to do something about this matter?

Answer

The human rights situation in Chile, as in other countries, is a matter of continuous concern among the Ten. In bilateral contacts with the Chilean Government, as well as in international fora, most recently at the 37th General Assembly of the United Nations, the Ten have expressed their misgivings also about the restrictions on the exercise of civil and political rights and freedoms in Chile, including the practice of banishment and exile.

The Ten have noted with interest the work done by a commission charged by the Chilean Government with reviewing the problems of the repatriation of political exiles. A number of exiles have been allowed to return to Chile. The Ten hope for further steps in this field.

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Question No 48, by Mrs Lizin (H-719/82)

Subject: Attitude regarding the Middle East

Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation indicate their attitude to the measures adopted by the European Parliament on the Middle East at its January part-session?

Answer

The Ten widely share the sentiments expressed by the European Parliament in its recent resolution. The Ten have repeatedly stressed, on the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war, the need for Israel to put an end to the territorial occupation which it has maintained since the conflict of 1967, the right to existence and to security of all the States in the region, including Israel, as well as the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination with all that this implies, to be exercised by an appropriate process defined within the framework of a comprehensive peace settlement, with the participation of all parties, which means that the PLO will have to be associated with the negotiations.

The Ten have underlined the importance of the statement adopted by Arab heads of State and Government at Fez on 9 September 1982 — as an expression of the unanimous will of the participants, including the PLO, to work for the achievement of a just peace in the Middle East. They have appealed to all parties to seize the opportunity, offered by President Reagan's speech on 1 September 1982, to initiate a process of mutual rapprochement leading towards a comprehensive peace settlement. Furthermore, the Ten believe that discussions of the Franco-Egyptian draft resolution by the Security Council could play a useful part in establishing a common basis for a solution of the problems of the area.

In their consultations and cooperation with the United States, the Ten will work towards creating conditions in the Lebanon, which would permit the Lebanese authorities to exercise fully their rights of sovereignty over all of the Lebanon, taking into account the points mentioned in the resolution adopted by the European Parliament. They have, in their statement of 4 December 1982 reaffirmed their willingness to contribute to the solution of the problems, especially by giving their support to the UN forces and observers as well as the multinational force in Beirut, to which three Member States contribute.

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Question No 49, by Mr Ephremidis (H-727/82)

Subject: EEC's political cover for Israel's aggressive policies

The UN General Assembly has in a resolution called on all countries to cut off military and economic aid to Israel so as not to encourage it to continue its aggressive policies against the Arab countries and the Palestinian people. The USA, Israel and all the members of the EEC except Greece voted against the motion.

Can the Ministers of Foreign Affairs meeting in political cooperation tell us why the EEC continues to give Israel political and economic cover in line with the USA's adventurist policy in the Middle East, while Israel maintains its barbarous military occupation of Lebanon and other Arab territories?

The Ten have consistently made known their position that all countries in the region, including Israel, are entitled to live in peace within secure, recognized and guaranteed borders, and that justice for all the peoples must be assured, which implies the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people including their right of self-determination, with all that this implies.

At the same time, however, the Ten have made clear with equal emphasis their demand for the renunciation of force by all the parties, as well as their opposition to the continuing territorial occupation maintained by Israel since the conflict of 1967.

Likewise, they have vigorously condemned the Israeli invasion of the Lebanon and have repeatedly stressed the need for the earliest possible withdrawal of Israel and all other foreign forces from this country.

The EEC has granted Israel no economic assistance since the invasion of the Lebanon. Apart from that, none of the member countries of the Community is granting military aid

or selling arms to Israel, as was pointed out by the then presidency following the European Council of June 28-29, 1982.

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Question No 50, by Mrs Hammerich (H-729/82)

Subject: Defence

According to a report which appeared in 'The Economist' on 4 December 1982, defence matters are now discussed informally from time to time at Community meetings and the French Government is no longer so reluctant to give consideration to these issues. I would stress that my question concerns defence and not security matters which do now fall within the terms of reference of European political cooperation.

When meeting to discuss foreign policy, do the Foreign Ministers ever discuss defence matters, either formally or informally?

Since European political cooperation came into existence it has steadily intensified and its scope continually broadened. In the 'Report on European Political Cooperation' agreed on 13 October 1981 the Foreign Ministers of the Ten reiterated their determination to further strengthen and develop their cooperation, as in a period of increased world tension and uncertainty a coherent and united approach to international affairs is essential.

In particular as regards the scope of European cooperation, and having regard to the different situations of the Member States, the Foreign Ministers agreed to maintain the flexible and pragmatic approach which has made it possible to discuss in political cooperation certain important foreign policy questions bearing on the political aspects of security.

Defence matters, however, are not discussed within the framework of EPC.

Question No 51, by Mr Alavanos (H-744/82)

Subject: The West German Government's so-called 'urgent problem' with regard to its immigrants

Have the EEC Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation considered the West German Government's so-called 'urgent problem' with regard to its immigrants since this Government directly violates immigrants' human rights through its policy of prohibiting entry and residence of immigrants' children aged 6 and over, of deporting children who have reached the age of 18, of expelling immigrants (Turks being particularly affected by this) on various pretexts such as traffic offences, the severe restrictions on the granting of political asylum, etc.?

Answer

As the Honourable Member will be well aware, this question concerns the internal affairs of an individual Member State and therefore it is not discussed in the framework of the European political cooperation.

III. Questions to the Commission

Question No 64, by Mr Lomas (H-665-82)

Subject: Regional Fund — Non-Quota Section

The non-quota section of the Regional Fund is being used to assist areas affected by industrial change including parts of the UK. Areas of London, particularly in my consti-

tuency in the East End and in the constituency of Richard Balfe in South London, have been badly affected by such changes with unemployment in some areas as high as 30%. Can the Commission give the people in those areas any hope that funds might be made available to help create badly needed jobs?

Answer

The rules at present in force in regard to the non-quota section of the Regional Development Fund (Article 13 of the Fund regulation) do not provide for specific Community regional development measures in favour of areas affected by the general industrial recession. Furthermore, Article 2, paragraph 3(b), of the Fund regulation provides that 'all the resources of the Fund intended for financing actions of this kind are utilized in the light of the relative intensity of regional imbalances in the Community'.

The proposed revision of the European Regional Development Fund, which the Commission submitted to the Council on 26 October 1981, does however provide for the inclusion in the non-quota section of regions and areas particularly hard hit by recent serious problems of industrial decline and for a substantial increase in the resources of the non-quota section of the Fund.

As soon as the Council has decided on this proposal, the Commission will consider to what degree areas such as those mentioned by the Honourable Member could benefit by a specific action within the framework of the non-quota section.

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Question No 66, by Mr Lima (H-691/82)¹

Subject: Measures to help the southern regions of Italy

- whereas in recent months the Commission has initiated infringement proceedings in respect of a number of regional laws in Sicily, dealing for the most part with support for cooperatives,
 - whereas because of the socio-economic conditions in the region, the cooperative experiment is being launched in an unfavourable climate, as it has to compete in a sophisticated economic environment, with well-established private ventures; whereas as a result, the region's legislative measures are intended to overcome the initial handicaps by creating equal operating conditions,
 - whereas in recent years Sicily, like all the other southern regions of Italy, has experienced a significant deterioration in its economic situation relative to the rest of the Community, the common agricultural policy having widened this gap by its unequal treatment of Mediterranean products,
 - whereas the structural measures have not as yet succeeded in offsetting the disadvantages resulting from the lack of a proper market policy,
 - whereas the legislative measures adopted by the regional authorities in Sicily are not only intended to create similar conditions of operation and competition in the area of marketing but are also an attempt to deal with a difficult economic situation which has alarming effects on employment and incomes,
1. Will the Commission state its plans for giving Sicily and all the other underdeveloped regions of the Italian Mezzogiorno a real chance to overcome the difficulties created by the present recession and to start a genuine development process within the framework of a Community policy geared more closely to the production requirements of these regions, which are experiencing difficulty in finding an appropriate role within the economic system of the Community?

¹ Former oral question with debate (0-69/82), converted into a question for Question Time.

In particular, what urgent measures does it intend to adopt to bring about changes in the common agricultural policy which would guarantee Mediterranean products adequate market support and effective Community preference and thus ensure the same benefits as those enjoyed by farmers in the Community's central regions?

2. Would the Commission not agree that the contested regional laws are in fact compatible with the common market in virtue of Article 92 (3)(a) of the Treaty?

Answer

1. Sicily, like other parts of the Mezzogiorno, benefits from assistance from various of the Community's structural financial instruments and, in particular, the European Regional Development Fund, the Social Fund and the EAGGF.

As far as the Regional Fund, in particular, is concerned, Sicily received the second largest amounts in the Mezzogiorno over the 1975-80 period. However, the Commission is of the opinion that, in future, a greater concentration of aid must be achieved in those regions of the Community that are structurally weak — and they include the Mezzogiorno. This is why, in its new regional guidelines and policies, the Commission proposed that the Mezzogiorno's quota be raised from 35.49% to 43.67%. Furthermore, the Commission has just presented the Council with a series of proposals setting up new non-quota schemes, with a view to boosting ongoing actions and widening the range of Community intervention provided for here.

It is also important to remember that the Commission will shortly be presenting Mediterranean programmes which are based on the needs and potential of the Mediterranean areas, in the agricultural sector in particular, and aim at facilitating the development of their rural areas. These programmes will include measures to relaunch agriculture and fisheries, as well as measures concerning regional development, vocational training and employment and particular attention will be paid to the problem of optimum use of energy and the protection of the environment.

As to the effort to improve the common organization of the markets in Mediterranean products, the Commission draws attention to the alterations that have already been brought to the Community rules on these products over the past few years and the proposals aimed at continuing this work in the fruit and vegetables and olive oil sectors which are now before the Council.

2. The answer to the second part of the question is negative. The measures in question here are aid in respect of which the Commission has instituted procedures pursuant to Article 93 (2) or Article 169 of the Treaty, as they are not of a kind that will produce lasting effects on the development of certain agricultural sectors in Sicily. In reality, the aid here is with operation and it directly affects competition between the Member States or is in addition to the Community measures for the sectors in question.

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Question No 70, by Mr Gontikas (H-548/82)

Subject: Violation of trade union freedoms in Greece

Can the Commission state what measures it intends taking against the Greek Government in view of the way in which the latter has made — and is continuing to make — the various trade union organizations subservient to the PASOK one-party State. I am referring in particular to the election procedure the Greek Government is trying to introduce in the Greek Chambers of Commerce and Industry.

How does the Commission intend to react to the fact that this new election procedure will reduce the representativeness of those elected, limit the range of views expressed and

ensure that only persons sympathetic towards the PASOK Government are elected to the Boards of these Chambers?

Answer

The Commission points out that the respect for trade union freedoms is ensured by no Community legal instrument, but by Convention No 87 on union freedoms and the protection of union rights, adopted by the International Labour Organization in 1948 and ratified by Greece in 1962. It is therefore for any trade union organizations which consider themselves wronged to put the question before the International Labour Office, whose job is to ensure the proper implementation of the relevant Convention.

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Question No 71, by Mr Adam (H-552/82)

Subject: Energy aid for glasshouses

According to the National Farmers' Union of England, the maximum allowable aids which the British Government has agreed to pay until 31 March, 1983, will still allow a small but significant advantage to Dutch growers in the important months of January to March 1983.

What action does the Commission intend to take and will the Commission also take steps to include non-oil types of heating fuel in the scheme?

Answer

The agreement between the Netherlands Government and the Commission provides for the Netherlands horticultural gas tariff to be gradually brought into line with the comparable industrial tariff up until April 1983.

The Commission has extended to this date the application of its guidelines authorizing the Member States to grant temporary aid for fuel, on a *pro rata* basis reflecting the increases in energy prices actually recorded in the Member State.

The Commission does not plan to introduce any further provisions.

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Question No 73, by Mr de Ferranti (H-566/82)

Subject: Testing procedures for biotechnological products

Ten national testing procedures for ensuring the safety of biotechnological products instead of a single Community procedure could impose a crippling and unnecessary cost on a vital new technology as well as causing unnecessary suffering to the animals used in the industry. What progress is being made for a single European framework for testing new biotechnological products?

Answer

While there are many traditional products produced by biotechnological processes, for example cheese, wine etc., there are very few new products coming onto the market which are produced by this process. Except in one notable instance, there is no Community legislation specifically directed to new biotechnological products as such.

However, existing Community legislation in many important fields would apply to the testing of new products (whether these are developed by a biotechnological process or not). These fields include, for example, pharmaceuticals, chemicals and cosmetics. Because of the extremely limited number of such new products on the market it would be premature to legislate specifically on testing as

- (1) the existing legislation is flexible and for the foreseeable future it can be applied to such new products as are developed and
- (2) to legislate now could have an adverse influence on research and development in a field which is just starting to expand
- (3) in fields which are not the subject of Community regulations, the case law of the European Court of Justice in *Biologische Produkten*, 272/80, lays down that Member States may not unnecessarily require the carrying out of the same tests which have already been carried out in another Member State before a product is marketed.

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Question No 75, by Mr Moreland (H-658/82)

Subject: Competitive electricity prices

What is the influence of financial targets, local and regional taxation in Member States on electricity prices for supplies to large industrial consumers?

Answer

The Commission believes that an energy price policy is of crucial importance to the development of the Community's energy strategy. I therefore thank the tabler of this question for this opportunity of expounding in some detail a few of the complex problems of the energy price policy.

By 'financial targets' I understand desirable energy prices. In German we have a problem of defining the term 'financial targets'.

In this field the Member States have taken a series of different measures aimed partly at having a *reasonable* yield on invested capital. In some Member States the governments retain the right to authorize electricity rates and exercise this right in such a way that the electricity suppliers are able to have a *minimum* return on invested capital. Both types of measures lead to higher electricity prices. In some other Member States with nationalized electricity suppliers losses are offset in the national budget, i. e. in the final analysis the taxpayer pays.

These discrepancies in the concepts of energy and rates restrict competition and threaten the unity of the Common Market.

Therefore, on a Commission proposal, the Council of Ministers has established the principle, in the form of a recommendation on the structures of electricity rates, that electricity prices should cover the total costs and that these costs should be distributed fairly among all consumer groups. The extent to which this principle is put into practice is a significant factor in electricity rates especially for the large industrial consumers.

A recent Commission communication goes into the developments over the past few years. I trust you will bear with me if I do not quote here the contents of this communication but merely draw your attention to its existence. The Commission also intends to study closely the costs and tariff structure of electricity supply in its future work.

As to local and regional taxation on electricity prices to large industrial consumers, this only applies to three Member States, namely the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy and

Denmark. The Commission will pay particular attention to the effects of these measures in its future work.

One thing is important with all these measures, namely the transparency of energy prices, which in itself is an essential prerequisite for applying the principles generally accepted by the Council for the structure of electricity tariffs. What is of particular help here is the 'Bulletin of prices' which shows all energy consumption prices including electricity with the relevant taxation elements in comparable form for all Member States. The most recent publication of this bulletin of December last is very informative. The Commission will in future extend the data in it so that through greater transparency we shall move closer to a uniform structuration of electricity tariffs especially for large industrial consumers.

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Question No 76, by Mr Provan (H-667/82)

Subject: Imports of wild game and game products from Eastern Europe

Will the Commission give full details of current arrangements for all imports of wild game and game products from Eastern Europe, and does the Commission intend to take any action? I understand that these are at present disturbing the market in the Community and that the local price of pheasants in Scotland has dropped from £ 5.00 per brace to £ 1.50 — the equivalent of 1954 prices. This will soon wreck part of the rural economy and have serious implications for animal conservation in the countryside.

Answer

1. Game and game products are covered by the common organization of the market in certain products in Annex II of the Treaty (EEC Regulation No 827/68 of 28. 6. 1968).

2. This regulation provides for implementation of the duties in the Common Customs Tariff and prohibits the use of quantitative restrictions *vis-à-vis* third countries.

It permits safeguard measures in case of serious disturbances of the market at the request of a Member State or at the Commission's instigation.

3. The information which the Commission has on the game market does not seem to warrant any safeguard measures.

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Question No 78, by Dame Shelagh Roberts (H-680/82)

Subject: Protection of occupants of automobiles

What are the main conclusions of the Commission's study on the protection of occupants of automobiles initiated in 1978, and when will they be published and made available to Members?

Answer

At the end of 1982 the Commission received the final reports of the studies carried out under the study and experimentation programme in biomechanics. With a view to assessing this wide-ranging scientific work the Commission is holding an international symposium on 21-23 March 1983 on the biomechanics of side-on collisions in traffic accidents. The symposium will bring together scientists from the relevant specialist fields, representa-

tives of the motor vehicle industry and of the national administrations of the manufacturing countries responsible for drafting legislation on motor vehicle safety. The chairmen of the relevant Parliamentary committees (the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs and the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection) have also been invited to send representatives to these discussions.

The results of the symposium will be summarized as quickly as possible and made available to a wide range of interested parties.

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Question No 79, by Mrs Gaiotti De Biase (H-682/82)

Subject: Joint university study programmes

Can the Commission indicate what change there has been in the number of applications received in the academic year 1982-83 for joint university study programmes and give details of their distribution between the various countries, particularly Italy? If Italy's level of participation is still low, what, in its opinion, are the main causes?

Answer

The number of applications received and the number of awards attributed to higher education institutions for the development of Joint Study Programmes are as follows:

- 240 applications were received for the academic year 1982/83,
- 93 grants were awarded of which 52 grants are for the support of new Joint Study Programmes and 41 for the support of Joint Study Programmes the development of which has already been started in previous years.

The distribution of awards to different Member States is as follows:

— Belgium.....	6
— the Federal Republic of Germany	21
— Denmark.....	2
— France	10
— Greece.....	1
— Italy.....	5
— Ireland.....	4
— Luxembourg.....	1
— the Netherlands	5
— the United Kingdom	38
making a total of.....	<u>93 grants</u>

It should be noted that awards are made to one institution for joint programmes in which other higher education institutions in different Member States may participate. Hence, although a relatively low number of Italian higher education institutions received a grant in 1982, a much higher number actually took part in joint study programmes, twelve for the first time in 1982, at the invitation of institutions in other Member States. This demonstrates the degree of interest in cooperating with Italian institutions.

The 6 years of practical experience with Joint Study Programmes in the EC have nevertheless shown that Italian Joint Study Project directors have difficulties in finding grants

for Italian students to pursue their studies in other Member States. Obviously such a situation forms a substantial obstacle to Italian initiatives for the setting up of Joint Study Programmes in which an exchange of students is planned.

There have also been problems in ensuring that information regarding the Joint Study Programme grants reaches individual departments in Italian universities in due time.

The Commission attaches great importance to the dissemination of information and uses all possible information channels, including direct mailing of material to the higher education institutions and the placing of articles in the specialized educational press. The Education Committee and the Liaison Committee of Rectors of Member States of the Community also play a part in diffusing information about the scheme.

More recently, the Commission started a publication called 'DELTA', which is a newsletter providing information about Joint Study Programmes in all Member States. 'DELTA' is published in all official EC languages.

Given the particular problems that have emerged in Italy, the Commission, in cooperation with the Italian Ministry of Education, with the assistance of the Rui Foundation, have organized an information seminar for all Italian universities in Sorrento from 10 to 11 February 1983. This information seminar will help in promoting wider knowledge of the scheme in Italy and will need to be actively followed up in Italy by the higher educational institutions themselves.

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Question No 80, by Mrs Squaricialupi (H-688/82)

Subject: Measures on behalf of the aged in Europe

Last February the European Parliament unanimously adopted the resolution on the conditions and problems of the aged in the European Community. What measures have been or will be taken to meet Parliament's requests?

Answer

During the debate in the European Parliament on 18 February 1982¹ the Commission's representative indicated the sense in which the Commission intended to treat the problems of the elderly, at the same time stressing the limits imposed by the Treaty as regards its sphere of action. A series of activities for 1982 was also announced, details of which have already been given to the Parliament on several occasions, and in particular in reply to Mr Pattison's oral question.²

Besides the regular information work undertaken in the field of social security (in particular, the Comparative Tables of the Social Security Systems) the following took place in 1982:

- the active participation by the Commission at the World Assembly on Aging, held in Vienna;
- a Colloquium on the medical and social problems of the elderly, held in Luxembourg;
- financial contributions towards different schemes and initiatives either undertaken on a local basis (in the United Kingdom, Italy, Denmark) or a Community-wide basis (Liaison Committee for Social Workers in the European Community, Eurolink Age);
- the completion of a cross-national study on schemes and initiatives in the Member States destined to encourage the autonomy of the elderly as well as to examine future trends in this field. This study is at present being translated;

¹ OJ No 1-280.

² OJ No 1-287.

- the adoption by the Council of the recommendation on the principles of a Community policy with regard to retirement age.

In 1983 the Commission will attempt to expand its activities in favour of the elderly by extending the activities undertaken in 1982, but the limited funds and personnel available will have to be taken into consideration.

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Question No 82, by Mrs De March (H-693/82)

Subject: Emergency aid following Mediterranean forest fires

At its October 1982 part-session, the European Parliament adopted a resolution tabled on behalf of the Communist and Allies Group on emergency aid following the serious forest fires in the Mediterranean area. Furthermore, in its answer to my oral question (H-393/82)¹, the Commission took the seriousness of these events into account and declared that it was prepared to consider the possibility of using the various financial instruments at its disposal to provide aid. To date, nothing has been provided for forest fires. Is the Commission determined to take swift action to unblock this aid which is perfectly justified by the extent of the damage?

Answer

The Commission can assure the honourable Member that it has not changed its opinion on the problem in question and that it therefore maintains the principle it had set out in its reply (H-393/82), which was:

In the present case, in view of the seriousness of events, the Commission will nevertheless look into the possibilities of using its various financial instruments to complete, if necessary, the aid accorded at national level — provided it has received a request to this effect from the Member State.

Since it has not received any such request to date, the Commission has not looked into any possibilities of action.

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Question No 83, by Mr Rieger (H-699/82)

Subject: Multilateral financial aid for Yugoslavia

Did the European Community take part in the multilateral negotiations on the financial and economic problems of Yugoslavia which were held recently in Switzerland and what was the outcome of these negotiations?

Answer

The European Community as such did not take part in the meeting held in Switzerland for the purpose of assuring Yugoslavia of the external financial assistance and support that it needed in order to be able to pay its debts within the fixed time-limits.

¹ Debates No 289 of 13 October 1982.

The Commission is delighted with this instance of international solidarity in respect of a third country with which it has concluded a cooperation agreement.

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Question No 86, by Mr Marck (H-707/82)

Subject: Restriction of free trade

Once again serious incidents have hindered free trade within the Community. On 17 December 1982 about 20 000 Belgian eggs were destroyed at Rungi's market near Paris. This was detrimental to the normal export trade in a sector already experiencing a grave crisis.

Can the Commission indicate what steps have been taken to condemn these incidents and to prevent them in future and what damages were paid to those concerned?

Answer

The Commission deplores the facts set out by the honourable Member and points out that it is up to the public authorities to implement all possible measures to handle such problems and ensure respect for the law.

The Commission is continuing with its drive to stabilize the egg market as far as possible, using the means explained to the honourable Member in its reply to written question No 1208/82 (OJ C 339 of 27. 12. 1982, p. 17).

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Question No 87, by Mr Boyes (H-712/82)

Subject: Human rights in Turkey

The Commission will be aware that the members of the Turkish Peace Movement have been imprisoned and treated in a humiliating way. They have been released from prison over the Christmas period but the trial continues and many members face a sentence of up to thirty years imprisonment.

Amongst the members of the Peace Association Executive is one man who is 67 years old and is in need of hospital assistance because he is suffering from cancer.

Will the Commission inform the Parliament what it is doing to stop these trials in Turkey, what sanctions it is taking as a result of the lack of human rights and whether or not it would be prepared to take up the case of individuals who are obviously in difficult circumstances such as health problems in particular?

Answer

The Commission has always underlined the importance it attaches to the respect for human rights in Turkey and, on numerous occasions, it has reminded the Turkish authorities of its position. The Commission has welcomed the release from prison of members of the Turkish Peace Movement over the Christmas period as a step in the right direction.

The Commission has made, on occasion, exceptions to the general rule of not intervening for individuals. For such cases it has spoken to the Turkish authorities on an unofficial basis. It would be counterproductive to expand on this matter here.

The political situation in Turkey as well as the situation regarding human rights has brought the Commission to adopt a position that my institution has explained to Parliament on several occasions. The decision not to send the Fourth Financial Protocol for signature and conclusion is an important aspect of this position.

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Question No 88, by Mr O'Donnell (H-715/82)

Subject: Irish flour milling industry

In reply to my oral question in the November 1982 session of Parliament (H-469/82)¹ the Commission indicated that they were not informed of any crisis in the Irish flour milling industry by the then Irish Government. Has the Commission now investigated this serious problem and if so what are its conclusions?

Answer

The Commission has contacted the Irish authorities and reached the following conclusions:

- The available figures suggest that Ireland imported 7 287 t of flour from the United Kingdom in the months of August, September and October 1982. This is 3·2% of Ireland's annual requirements. If the present rate is maintained, imports in 1982-83 will exceed those of the previous year (13 283 t or 5·8% of Ireland's requirements).
- The price at which British flour is offered is much below the price of Irish flour.
- The present situation cannot be attributed to shortcomings in the common organization of the market in the cereals sector.
- However, there is a great deal of competition between the different industries in the United Kingdom, where the market is dominated by three milling groups.

As the British industry is less active on the export market with third countries, it is turning to the markets of other Member States and Ireland in particular. Since the market for common wheat in the United Kingdom is often below guaranteed prices, the British industry can buy the raw materials at more favourable prices.

- The Commission is currently looking into the possibilities of starting a survey on the British flour milling industry's price policy in respect of the Irish market.

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Question No 90, by Mr Skovmand (H-720/82)

Subject: Olive oil fraud in Italy

What action does the Commission plan to take to deal with the olive oil fraud in Italy and other Member States?

Answer

The Commission has not so far had any proof of fraud in the olive oil sector. However, it is aware of the problems which have arisen in Italy as regards the control of aid for production.

¹ Verbatim report of Proceeding of 17 11. 1982, Annex.

It has, as a preventive measure, stopped the payment of the 30% remainder of the aid for 1979/80 and 1980/81, having agreed with the Italian authorities to review all the applications for aid submitted for these years. It is currently investigating the means of improving the control and supervision of aid for production within the framework of the existing system.

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Question No 91, by Mr Adamou (H-722/82)

Subject: Greek agricultural cooperatives

The enormous subsidies given by the Community to the multinationals, the monopolies and the various groups of producers for the processing and marketing of farm products deal a real blow to the Agricultural Cooperative Movement.

Since the problem is still greater for Greek agricultural cooperatives because they are given no opportunities for development in the shape of infrastructure projects (for marketing, transport, sorting, packaging etc. of farm products), with the result that the movement of Greek farm products is dominated by various middlemen, consumers have to pay high prices for the products and farmers suffer irreparable losses, what measures does the Commission intend to take to strengthen the agricultural cooperatives in Greece, to make them economically self-contained and genuinely develop the part they play in processing and moving their products, so that consumers and the farming population are protected?

Answer

With a view to ensuring the processing and marketing of agricultural products, the EAGGF (Guidance section) is involved in the financing of investment projects in programmes aimed at improving the structures of this sector (Regulation No 355/77).

Since Greece joined the Community, it has benefited from Regulation (EEC) No 355/77. Within this framework, the Commission has already approved five sectoral programmes for olives and oil products, cereals, fruit and vegetables and flowers, wine and livestock production.

Aid for investments in marketing and processing are granted, in particular, for cooperatives and cooperative unions.

Lastly, the Commission informs the honourable Member that it is aware both of the importance and of the serious problems of financing which the Greek food and agriculture industry has to face. Regulation No 3164/82 provides for the doubling, i.e. from a maximum of 25% to 50%, of Community aid for Greek investment projects in the sector of the marketing and processing of agricultural products (Regulation No 355/77), provided, however, the national contribution is raised accordingly.

Question No 92, by Mr Alavanos (H-724/82)

Subject: Abolition of subsidy to cattle breeders

It is reported in the Greek press that, at the instance of the EEC, the Greek State is ending the subsidy to cattle breeders as from 1983, whereas according to the Treaty of Accession it should be phased out over a period ending in 1985.

What measures does the Commission intend to take to ensure that these subsidies are not abolished, so that the Greek consumer does not have to pay still higher prices for meat and a number of other stockfarming products, and the already dwindling stockfarming sector in Greece is not hit still further?

Answer

Council Regulation No 37/81 of 1 January 1981 lays down the list of national aid that Greece is authorized to maintain, on a transitional basis, in the field of agriculture.

The Council did not include the aid mentioned by Mr Alavanos on this list.

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Question No 93, by Mr Ephremidis (H-726/82)

Subject: Edible Oil

Despite the fact that thousands of Greek farming families make their living from the production of edible oil and demand for it in the Community is great, that product is nevertheless not considered protected by the EEC, which imports edible oil from non-member States, chiefly Spain, at a time when in Greece 30 000 tonnes of last year's production remain unsold, while production this year is expected to be 65% higher.

Given that existing storage space is inadequate for storing all this production, what measures does the Commission intend to take to ensure that this vulnerable product finds sales outlets and Greek edible oil producers are protected?

Answer

Article 70 of the Treaty of accession of Greece to the Community stipulates that:

'Until the entry into force of the supplementary provisions to be adopted by the Community and

- at the latest until the beginning of the first marketing year following accession for products referred to in paragraph 2(a);
- at the latest until 31 December 1985 for products referred to in paragraph 2(b),

the Hellenic Republic shall be authorized to maintain for these products amongst the measures in force under the previous national system in its territory for a representative period to be determined, those measures which are strictly necessary in order to maintain the income of the Greek producer at the level obtained under the previous national system.'

The Commission is looking into the advisability of presenting the Council — in the very near future and therefore without waiting until 1985 — a proposal for a common organization of the market in table olives.

Meanwhile, the national support measures that the Greek Government has been authorized to maintain should be sufficient to ensure, as in the past, the sale of the Greek table olive production.

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Question No 94, by Mr Schmid (H-733/82)

Subject: Planned merger between Grundig and Thomson-Brandt

The planned merger of the two major electrical companies Grundig and Thomson-Brandt would create a group accounting for 45% of all televisions and 22-23% of all hi-fi sys-

tems on the German market. Experts also fear that jobs with Grundig in Germany will be threatened.

What is the Commission's opinion of this merger? Has it taken any steps in this matter and, if so, which?

Question No 95, by Mrs Seibel-Emmerling (H-734/82)

Subject: Planned merger of Grundig and Thomson-Brandt

The planned merger of the two major electrical companies Grundig and Thomson-Brandt would create a group accounting for 45% of all televisions and 22-23% of all hi-fi systems on the German market. Experts also fear that jobs with Grundig in Germany will be threatened.

Has the Commission considered this case and is it planning to take measures involving the Directorate-General for Employment?

Joint answer

1. The Commission is currently looking into the Thomson-Brandt bid to obtain the majority of the Grundig group shares from the industrial and social angles and as regards competition.
2. More particularly, in assessing the project from the point of view of the rules of competition (Articles 85 and 86 of the EEC Treaty), the Commission will take account of the position of the undertakings concerned in this operation and of the various other firms competing on the markets in question. This assessment will be made in the light of real or potential competition outside the common market. It will also take account of the existence of cooperation agreements and other economic links which the undertakings concerned have with certain of their competitors.
3. The Commission was bound to respect professional secrecy within the meaning of Regulation No 17 of the Council when implementing the Community rules on competition and it cannot therefore divulge the details of this affair while it is being examined.

Question No 96, by Mr Bettiza (H-735/82)

Subject: Heavy taxes and charges on young students with grants

The Commission is aware of the unfair taxes (18% in Italy) and the heavy charges for health services which are applied to study grants in the Member States of the Community and,

in view of the seriousness of youth unemployment, does the Commission not consider it appropriate to draw up a Community recommendation to eliminate these discriminatory measures which jeopardize the essential vocational training of thousands of young people?

Answer

The Commission is not aware of the facts which the honourable Member has mentioned. It would be grateful if he could provide additional information so as to enable it to conduct an enquiry into this matter.

Question No 97, by Mr Antoniozzi (H-737/82)

Subject: Impending re-entry of the Soviet Cosmos satellite

In view of the impending re-entry of the Soviet Cosmos satellite which is causing grave concern and unrest in so many parts of the world, what steps has the Commission taken to ascertain the extent and the nature of the danger and to lessen its effect?

Answer

The Community's competence for nuclear safety and radiation protection covers all civilian activities within the Community. The Commission is not informed about military operations or experiments.

However, the Commission receives radio-active readings of distant origin on the monitoring devices of the Member States and publishes these readings at regular intervals. Furthermore Article 45, Paragraph 5 of the Basic Standards stipulates that if necessary any accident involving radiation of the population is to be reported immediately to the neighbouring Member States and the Commission.

The Cosmos satellite is undoubtedly a military reconnaissance satellite about which precious little is known. Even the Commission has no information on which to base any assessment of the effects of the re-entry of that type of satellite.

It is therefore up to the Member States, especially the civilian protection authorities and possibly also the military authorities to evaluate their own information, to take whatever steps it considers necessary and to inform the neighbouring Member States and the Commission in application of Article 45, Paragraph 5 of the Basic Standards.

Question No 98 by Mr Pearce (H-740/82)

Subject: Sale of butter to the Soviet Union

Does the Commission believe that France has recently made an agreement with the Soviet Union, in breach of Community legal provisions, for the sale of butter with the benefit of a subsidy from EEC funds and, if so, what action does it intend to take with regard to this situation?

Answer

The Commission has received a copy of the exchange of letters, signed in Moscow on 15 October 1982, between the French agricultural minister and the USSR authorities on the subject of the sale of certain French food and agricultural products to the USSR. This agreement does not specifically deal with butter. The Commission has made a thorough-going analysis of the exchange of letters. It reserves its final assessment of the agreement in question and sent a letter, on 5 January 1983, to the French Government, in which the Commission:

- notes that the exchange of letters in question is counter to Article 113 and Council Decision No 69/694/EEC;
- insists on respect for the exclusive competence of the Community in this matter, pointing out that the Community is determined to ensure this respect by setting in motion the procedures which the Treaty of Rome provides against any Member State which, by signing such agreements, fails to recognize the Community jurisdiction;
- asks the French Government to provide it with certain additional information and clarification.

As far as butter, in particular, is concerned, the Commission laid down in (EEC) regulations Nos 3279/82 and 3280/82 of 6 December 1982 the conditions in which butter may

be exported to certain countries. These are based on the principle, which Parliament has approved, of not privileging the Soviet Union more than any other third country.

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Question No 99, by Mr Radoux (H-741/82)

Subject: EEC/USA relations

In view of the growing frequency of negotiations between the European Economic Community and the United States necessitated by circumstances, particularly in the economic sector, does the Commission not consider that the existence of a diplomatic representation on both sides is not sufficient to bring home to the public the true importance of these relations and that it would be useful to seek a formula for the institutionalization of these relations by setting up a 'High Commission' or similar body which would reflect the irreversible nature of EEC/USA relations?

Answer

The Commission is of the opinion that the instruments and structures of communication between the EEC and the USA are adequate for the needs of dialogue, contact, information and negotiations which trends in Atlantic relations make necessary.

The Commission maintains contact, at all the appropriate levels, with representatives of the American administration. Political contact between the members of the Commission and the members of the American Government is considerable and, in addition, there is contact at a more technical level between the Directorates-General of the Commission and the American Departments. The annual high-level negotiations between the EEC and the USA are a suitable forum for explaining the policies and positions of both sides. Furthermore, thanks to its Delegation in Washington, the Commission is in permanent contact with the American administration. This permanent contact is also completed by contact between the US mission to the EEC in Brussels and the various Commission departments.

The Commission therefore feels that the creation of a body along the lines of a High Commission as the honourable Member suggests is not warranted at the moment.

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Question No 101, by Mr Van Miert (H-746/82)

Subject: The Belgian textile programme

On 25 October 1982 the Belgian Government requested an extension of the textile programme for 1983 which had been approved by the Commission until 1982 only.

Now that almost four months have elapsed, can the Commission say whether it has agreed to the extension and what form the latter is to take? Is it true that the aid is to be limited to a 7% interest rebate for 50% of investments, that the aid is to be limited to a total of BFR 4 000 million for 1983 and that, in certain sub-sectors where *ex ante* notification was previously required, no aid is henceforth to be given?

Answer

On 21 December 1982, the Commission received notification from the Belgian Government of the institution, for 1983, of a system of aid to the textile and clothing industry.

The projected new system provides for credit, with an interest rebate, to be granted from public monies.

The Commission will shortly be taking up position on this request and will, in this framework, be giving its decision on the points raised by the honourable Member as well, namely the global aid budget and the conditions of exclusion or prior notification of cases relating to sub-sectors where the situation in the Community is particularly sensitive because of over-capacity, the market situation, intra- or extra-Community trade or strong competition from an activity in the Member State concerned.

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Question No 102, by Mrs Viehoff (H-747/82)

Subject: Combating illiteracy in the Community

Will the Commission indicate what actions have already been undertaken to combat illiteracy in the Community; what plans it has to respond to Parliament's resolution¹ on measures to combat illiteracy in general, and in particular relating to the proposals it has tabled to the Council concerning vocational training policies for the 1980s², and also in the framework of the Social Fund, especially relating to the proposals³ for its reform?

Answer

In addition to the Commission activities relating to illiteracy referred to by Mr Richard on the occasion of the plenary debate in Parliament in May 1982 on the report presented by the honourable Member, the Commission has, since then, launched a study involving the comparative analysis of the most effective and innovatory literacy programmes being carried out by both public and private bodies in the Member States.

It has also selected basic adult education, including literacy and numeracy measures as one of the three priority themes for the exchange programmes which are grant aided by the Commission under the Budget Article 634.

Specific proposals regarding the development of adult training in basic skills are, as the honourable Member is aware, contained in the Commission's communication concerning vocational training in the 1980s, which is currently under discussion in the Council, the European Parliament and the Economic and Social Committee.

As regard the European Social Fund, there are already provisions for aid to language courses for migrant workers and their families and these sometimes include literacy training. As regards other areas of intervention by the Fund, literacy training may be eligible for assistance when it forms an integral part of a basic preparatory training course leading to employment or vocational training. According to the Commission's opinion on the Review of the Social Fund, training programmes of this nature would continue to be eligible for aid.

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Question No 103, by Mr Normanton (H-748/82)

Subject: Lebanon

The European Community has consistently called for the total evacuation of all foreign forces from Lebanon, recognizing that both Israeli and Syrian troops are in Lebanon against the wishes of the legitimate government of that country.

¹ Official Journal C 149, 14. 6. 1982.

² COM(82) 637 fin.

³ COM(82) 485 fin.

The EEC has a number of cooperation agreements with third countries, including Israel and Syria, both of these agreements being identical.

Can the Commission give an assurance that the Community at all times adopts an even-handed approach when dealing with these two States engaging in Lebanon conflict, and that this has applied and will continue to apply in particular to the two cooperation agreements and their financial protocol?

Answer

The Community has concluded global cooperation agreements with the countries of the Maghreb and Mashraq and with Israel as part of its global Mediterranean approach, the principles of which were laid down in 1973. These agreements are identical in design, as they all aim to promote global cooperation via the implementation of practical measures in the fields of trade and economic, financial and technical cooperation. The measures provided for in the various agreements and their financial protocols were designed so as to ensure a balance in the respective situation of each of the countries *vis-à-vis* the Community.

The Commission is convinced that this balanced approach should, given the situation in the Middle East today, be maintained, more than ever before, for all countries and for Syria and Israel in particular.

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Question No 104, by Mr Harris (H-750/82)

Subject: Minimum landing size of mackerel

Following my question of 12 May 1982 (H-108/82)¹, can the Commission confirm that the Scientific and Technical Committee for Fisheries has now accepted my proposal that there should be a derogation for hand-liners if a minimum length size of 30 cm is introduced for the Western stock of mackerel? What is the current position about the original proposal for a minimum landing size and for a derogation?

Answer

1. As a matter of clarification, the Commission recalls that it is not the duty of the Scientific and Technical Committee for Fisheries to accept or reject any proposal about technical fisheries measures. The Scientific and Technical Committee for Fisheries (STCF) has been appointed to give scientific advice to the Commission upon the request of the latter.
2. After having replied to the previous question² asked by the honourable Member of the Parliament, the Commission has had the opportunity to address this problem to the Scientific and Technical Committee for Fisheries.
3. The comments of the STCF on the effect of a derogation to the 30 cm minimum size for mackerel in favour of the hand-line fishery, which can be found in its 5th Report³ are that: 'for these vessels the conservation effect of a 30 cm minimum landing size is believed to be negligible.'
4. The Commission, when preparing amendments to the recently agreed regulation on technical measures, will take up these scientific considerations among others.

¹ Debates of the European Parliament No 285.

² QO. No H-108/82 of 12 May 1982 by Mr Harris.

³ SEC(83) 152, Brussels, 25. 1. 1983.

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IN THE CHAIR: MR DANKERT

President

(The sitting was opened at 10 a.m.)

1. *Address by Helmut Kohl, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany*

President. — Ladies and gentlemen, it gives me great pleasure to announce — as you were in fact informed on Monday — that we have with us today the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Mr Helmut Kohl.

(Applause)

I say great pleasure because this is the first time that a head of government from one of the Member States of the Community has come to address us here in his own capacity, in this instance Federal Chancellor, rather than as President of the Council, and also because I feel it is extremely important that politicians should concern themselves at the highest level with the problems of the Community and with the problems of the further development of the Community.

I bid you a warm welcome, Mr Kohl, and now give you the floor.

(Applause)

Mr Kohl, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany. — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, and — I hope you will not mind my saying — colleagues, two months ago, Mr Dankert, you were our guest in Bonn and Berlin, on which occasion you very persuasively argued the case for the European Parliament and the European ideal. I am grateful to you and your colleagues in this House for giving me the chance today, on the occasion of my visit to Strasbourg, to say a few words to you.

With the course adopted by the Federal Republic of Germany under the leadership of Konrad Adenauer, my country has learnt the lessons of European and German history, and it is in precisely this historical dimension that we today view the need for the political unification of Europe. Our conviction in this respect is founded on the certainty that European civil wars now belong quite definitely to the past, and that we in the European Community should regard the set of values which we jointly espouse as a model for a democratic world order, in which respect we have a unique message to pass on to the rest of the world. Anyone who looks to Europe should be rewarded with

Kohl

a vision of the blessings that can abound in a spirit of friendship and cooperation.

(Applause)

Let me therefore say to you quite clearly and simply that a Federal German Government under my leadership will never tire of moving forward along the road to European unification. We shall lend our support to any realistic initiative taken by our partners and this House aimed at extending the influence of Europe, and we shall of course continue to formulate proposals of our own with a view to speeding up the process of European unification. It is a tradition of German policy on Europe to be committed to a strong European Parliament.

(Applause)

The Community institutions — Council, Commission and Parliament — and all those of us affected should regard this election as a stimulus for a European policy which is understood by our people and in which they have a heartfelt interest.

Many of our people are coming to realize that the economic problems behind the worldwide recession have placed the Community too in a difficult situation. But it is essential that they realize that, without this Community, we should all be worse off than we are.

(Applause)

The great common market is and remains an indispensable framework for our economic activities. It has helped to ensure that the standard of living in all the Member States has improved considerably, that trade between the Member States increased 22-fold between 1958 and 1980, and that the Community has become the world's major trading bloc, with an external trade volume exceeding that of the United States and the Soviet Union combined. I would therefore implore you all not to allow yourselves to be tempted into purely national remedies. Ladies and gentlemen, such remedies will set us back, not take us forward.

(Applause)

I should like to say on behalf of the government of the Federal Republic of Germany that we intend to continue along the road to European unification. As one more step along this road, we intend this year to bring the European Act to a successful conclusion. We must maintain and extend the free internal market. We must coordinate the Member States' economic and monetary policy more effectively. The Community must become a stable Community, and must do its bit in the fight against unemployment, particularly unemployment among young people. We must give priority to the creation of training opportunities and jobs for young people.

(Applause)

The Community must complete its southerly expansion, taking in the democracies of Spain and Portugal. The Community must be future-oriented, and must become involved in ensuring that Europe remains at the forefront of technical and scientific progress. At the same time, though, we must play our part in the increasingly important task of safeguarding our natural environment.

The political culture of Europe is still a source of strength in today's political world, is blessed with eternal youth and has its roots in Greek philosophy, Roman civic and legal ideas and the vital influence of Christianity, but it will be in jeopardy unless we Europeans learn to speak with one voice and act in unison.

(Applause)

Let us therefore not relax in our urging of a coordinated, common foreign policy on the part of the Member States, a policy which must be cohesive, and not leave out important policy sectors. In this respect, we Europeans, who remain dependent on the alliance with the United States of America for our military defence, cannot afford not to discuss our common security interests.

(Applause)

I expressly welcome the fact that this House has just had a detailed debate on this subject, and as I have just heard, ladies and gentlemen, you will today be having an urgent debate on the motion for a resolution calling for an end to the exile imposed on Andrei Sakharov. We have all appealed to the Soviet leadership, and I should like most decidedly to add my voice to your appeal.

(Applause)

Europe must stand together on all major global political issues. The good start we have made in such important areas as CSCE and in the Middle East conflict should spur us to continue along this path. Konrad Adenauer, one of the architects of Europe, said in 1954 in the German *Bundestag* that European unity was a dream shared by just a few people, but had become a source of hope for many, and was now a necessity for all of us. We need Europe for our security, our liberty, our very existence as a nation and as a creative and vital Community of peoples. As a member of the post-Adenauer generation, I would endorse those words in this House today.

(Loud applause)

President. — Thank you for your speech, Mr Kohl. I wish to thank you also for the initiative you took in coming here to speak to us in your capacity as Chancellor.

(Applause)

2. Approval of minutes

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

Are there any comments?

Mr Enright (S). — On page 9 there appears to be a mistake at the very top of the page, where it says: 'to be put to the vote the following day at 5 p.m.' Because the arrogant suggestion had been made that we should meet in Luxembourg and the absurd presumption made that there was nowhere else in the Community where we could meet, it was announced that the voting would be this morning at 10 o'clock.

I in no way blame Vice-President Klepsch, who was in the chair at that time, for this mistake, and it may well be that you wish to propose a different way of going about it. However there is absolutely no doubt — and I have checked with other people who were in the Chamber at that time — that the decision was to vote at 10 o'clock this morning.

Can I say, Mr President, that I deplore any attempt to use the Minutes to change the agenda for a particular day. There are perfectly proper ways of going about it.

President. — I take note of your remarks, Mr Enright. I read in the Minutes that it is at 5 p.m. I hear around me that it is at 5 p.m., so I would leave it at 5 p.m. Anyhow, we can vote on it.

Mr Alavanos (COM). — (GR) Mr President, out of respect for the Head of Government of a Member State of the EEC, I did not want to raise this procedural question before Mr Kohl's speech. I read the agenda which was distributed today and learned that today's sitting would begin at 10.00 a.m. with an urgent debate. Yet instead of that debate we heard a speech from Mr Kohl.

I would like to put the following question: bearing in mind that the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany is appearing in this chamber only a short time before the elections in his country, is there not a danger that the impression may be given that the European Parliament is interfering in those elections?

President. — Mr Alavanos, I am very sorry that I have to interrupt you, but there is no translation and that makes it a bit difficult to follow what you are saying.

Mr Beyer de Ryke (L). — (FR) Mr President, allow me to take advantage of this technical hitch to raise a point of order, on behalf of my group, and ask you about an exhibition that has been organized inside this

building. You will appreciate, Mr President, that I am not in the custom of making personal attacks — and certainly not against you whose qualities I am delighted to acknowledge. However, I fear you have been guilty of violating the ethics of the proceedings in this Parliament.

An exhibition has been organized inside the building which criticizes the policies of a certain State. They are policies which we all condemn — and I am absolutely sure that no one here will defend policies of *apartheid* — but we cannot allow anyone to put pressure on us to influence in our work. The pressure in this case comes from a group which, as far as I know, does not yet represent a people as a whole.

(Mixed reactions)

I agree, ladies and gentlemen, one can defend any policy and our job here is to give our opinion on this or that policy, but we cannot tolerate any outside pressure. Mr President, this exhibition — and this is the point of what I am saying and it reflects the view of our group — raises the issue of whether such a one-sided exhibition can be organized in a parliamentary assembly. In no assembly, Mr President, be it your parliament or mine, in the French *Assemblée Nationale* or at Westminster, would such an exhibition be tolerated.

(Protests)

What I am asking, Mr President, is that this be an opportunity for us to request the Bureau to draw up strict rules governing the future organization of such exhibitions, no matter — and I want to make this point clear — what the political colour of the organizers may be. I should be grateful if you would carefully consider this point of order.

(Applause from the centre and right)

President. — Thank you, Mr Beyer de Ryke. I must tell you that the organization of exhibitions is the responsibility of the Quaestors. I imagine that the Quaestors who are here in the Chamber have noted your comments. They have already banned commercial exhibitions. I hope they will not ban all political exhibitions.

Mr von der Vring (S). — (DE) Mr President, this is already the second time that Mr Beyer de Ryke has used a point of order for the purpose of vote-catching. Once in the week is enough!

Mrs Kellett-Bowman (ED). — Mr President, this may have been authorized by the College of Quaestors, but am I not right in saying that you yourself sent a personal message when it was being opened? I am open to

Kellett-Bowman

correction on this point, but that is my understanding. May I have an answer?

President. — The minutes of proceedings are adopted.¹

3. Topical and urgent debate*Nigeria*

President. — The next item is the joint debate on four motions for resolutions on Nigeria:

- motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-1220/82), tabled by Mr Gauthier and others on behalf of the Group of European Progressive Democrats, on the expulsion of foreigners by the Government of Nigeria;
- motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-1228/82), tabled by Mr Croux and others on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (CD Group), on the expulsion of foreign workers from Nigeria;
- motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-1240/82), tabled by Mr Glinne and others on behalf of the Socialist Group, on the mass expulsions from Nigeria;
- motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-1245/82), tabled by Mr Ferrero and others on behalf of the Communist and Allies Group, on the situation following the expulsions from Nigeria.

Mrs Le Roux (COM). — (*FR*) Mr President, I should like to point out that the Rules of Procedure are so framed that anything which happens on the Tuesday or Wednesday of the part-session cannot be discussed in an urgent debate, however important it may be. This is the case with regard to the findings of the committee of inquiry into the massacres at Sabra and Chatila.

President. — I am sorry, Mrs Le Roux, but your comments are out of order. We are discussing Nigeria at the moment.

Mr Gauthier (DEP). — (*FR*) Mr President, everyone here remembers the awful pictures we saw on television of hundreds of thousands of men, women and children herded together like animals, beaten like criminals and apparently waiting to be moved in atrocious conditions. As civilized people and as elected

Members of this Parliament, we protest against the capture, torture and slaughtering of animals and we cannot accept the fact that human beings are treated in this way. We must use all the means at our disposal to persuade Nigeria — as we would any country which did not respect either human rights or human dignity — to put a stop to this persecution.

IN THE CHAIR: LADY ELLES

Vice-President

President. — Thank you, Mr Gauthier. May I congratulate you on your maiden speech in this Parliament today?

Mr Croux (PPE). — (*NL*) Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, my group is pleased that, thanks in part to our initiative, a joint text has been formulated to express the views and the great concern of the European Parliament with regard to what has happened in Nigeria. We are also pleased that the Commission took immediate steps to alleviate the suffering, and we would ask the Commission to continue to follow developments very closely and provide aid wherever possible and wherever necessary.

We are also asking for this matter to be placed on the agenda for the forthcoming meeting of the ACP-EEC Joint Committee in Kingston on 21-25 February. We were all deeply moved by what has been going on, and I believe that sense of concern has been shared throughout the world. I think it appropriate that we should have an opportunity to discuss with our allies — I think I may be allowed to use that word — under the Lomé Convention what steps can be taken to deal with the present situation and to ensure that no such disasters are allowed to occur in the future. We hope that this House will entrust this formal task to its representatives in the Joint Committee meeting in Kingston.

We also trust that the Council will do everything in its power to provide all the requisite and desirable humanitarian and social aid.

Mr Lezzi (S). — (*IT*) Madam President, I will not dwell on the details of the events which have so harshly befallen more than three million men, women and children who are now having to retrace their steps along the path which was for them the 'road of hope' a few years ago.

World public opinion has been duly informed in suitable depth by the mass media of the tragic events,

¹ Referral to committee: see Minutes.

Lezzi

which have struck another blow at the African continent. I believe that the extent of this reporting implies severe criticism of the industrialized West, in particular, which 'exported' — or, rather, imposed — a type of development, the disastrous consequences of which have again become apparent to the consciences of the people of the West.

This tragedy, the consequences of which will, unfortunately, have severe repercussions in the next months and years throughout the whole area, can only oblige the European Parliament to come to some difficult and bitter conclusions. Nigeria, which has been considered the showpiece of Africa, and which has been the destination of the underprivileged who travelled enormous distances in the hopes of finding in the city the living which the land could no longer offer, or had never offered, is on its knees. After the disintegration of the colonialist system, the world followed the same path everywhere, adopting the same model of development which, today more than ever, has proved inadequate and counterproductive. The West is responsible, but so are the leaders who embraced this model without any reservations.

Public sympathy has now been aroused, inadequate and belated though it may be.

It must, however, be realized that the solution does not lie in the volume and promptness of emergency aid, food supplies and medical and welfare measures geared to avoid the worst. Serious and responsible thought should be given to what has happened, and steps taken to avoid its happening again.

Ghana and other countries with net emigration will be hardest hit, since their own population of unemployed will suddenly increase, but Nigeria will certainly not escape the storm. In vain will it count the number of jobs left behind by those who have been expelled: this is not the way to achieve revival and economic recovery! There should not, therefore, only be aid to save millions of men, children and women from hunger and epidemics: development plans should be drawn up which are supple and flexible and which match the requirements and characteristics of the countries which are today suffering from the Nigerian crisis. The immigrants of yesterday, who are today's refugees, have taken away with them from Nigeria the myth of limitless development.

Now is the time to lay the foundations for a real alternative based on independent decisions and real cooperation. These tragic events have broken down the barriers of indifference, arousing amazement, incredulity and anguish. Let us transform this state of mind into consciousness and awareness, so that real steps can be taken towards a new international economic order.

(Applause)

President. — Mr Lezzi, I must point out that I had you down for three minutes, so the excess time of just over two minutes will have to be taken from later speakers of the Socialist Group.

Mr Gérard Fuchs (S). — *(FR)* Madam President, I saw that two minutes were already registered on the clock when Mr Lezzi began to speak. It was reset to zero before the start of his speech. And so I believe Mr Lezzi spoke for less than three minutes.

President. — Thank you very much for pointing that out. If there was an error, it will be checked and the time will be allowed to the Socialist Group.

Mr Gérard Fuchs (S). — *(FR)* Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, it is never pleasant to reproach a friend. Now the state of Nigeria is unquestionably a friend of the European Community, being one of the main signatories of this Lomé Convention which today unites on an equal footing the ten States of the European Community with the 64 ACP States.

All the same, we cannot hide our disapproval today of the measures which have just been taken in Lagos with respect to over a million foreign workers.

We are, of course, not unaware of the economic difficulties facing Nigeria today as a result of the turnabout of the oil market, as well as perhaps the policy of development based too exclusively on oil income. However, it is still not possible to treat migrant workers who have contributed to the prosperity of the good years like objects to be got rid of once the difficult times come. This type of attitude is an unacceptable danger to human rights.

In these circumstances, we must attend to the most urgent things first by sending Nigeria's neighbours without delay the urgent aid desperately needed today by hundreds of thousands of men and women.

I say 'without delay' and, turning towards the Commission, I stress these words in particular because, according to information at our disposal, in spite of the efforts which have no doubt been made in Brussels, it appears that the external aid is still not getting through at the rate and in the quantities required.

Afterwards, at our very next ACP-EEC Joint Committee meeting in Jamaica, we shall have to raise the question of the rights of migrant workers in Africa and in the European Community. I know that problems of this kind are not regarded by all as an integral part of the Lomé Convention. I do believe, however, that our meetings would lose all political significance if this problem were not tackled in Jamaica.

Therefore, Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to approve the joint resolution which will be

Fuchs

presented to you, even if this resolution is bound to create a few difficulties with one of our partners in the immediate future. I believe it is necessary for the image and influence of the Lomé Convention throughout the world.

Mr Moreland (ED). — Madam President, I am sure all of us welcome the fact that over the last seven years Nigeria has moved from a military dictatorship to a parliamentary democracy; but, equally, all of us condemn whole-heartedly the mass expulsion of the Ghanaians and the West Africans from Nigeria. Yesterday we debated South Africa, and we rightly criticized and condemned South Africa. We cannot have double standards, and this action by the Nigerian Government must equally be condemned.

Madam President, I do not wish to be repetitive, so I will simply say that I endorse all that has been said. However, I do wish to add one point, and that is the danger that this action may be seen as a precedent by other countries in Africa. We have news this morning through Reuters that Djibouti has agreed with Ethiopia to send back some 40 000 refugees to Ethiopia, and it is reported that they have taken Nigeria as a precedent. Therefore it is extremely important that at the ACP Assembly — as Mr Fuchs rightly said — we should discuss the whole subject of migration within Africa as a whole, because the actions of the Nigerians do set a dangerous precedent.

So I ask this Parliament to support this motion and to show to the world that we do not condone one bit the action of the Nigerian Government.

Mr De Gucht (L). — *(NL)* We Liberals wholeheartedly support the joint text before us, but there are a few remarks we would like to make. Firstly, on the economic aspect, Nigeria has over recent years undergone a spectacular period of development, but at this moment, one is bound to ask whether such a spectacular development was really all that wise without any real background and without any real future.

I believe that the whole international community would be well advised to discuss the need for the world to develop in a harmonious way without any major ups and downs, something which is the responsibility of the whole international community. We must also take a look at the possible repercussions of this situation both in Nigeria and in Africa as a whole. And in discussing the repercussions in Nigeria, we are also bound to ask ourselves what are the reasons for this major population movement. After all, the unstable regime in Nigeria cannot simply be a result of the economic crisis in Nigeria, but is also due to the religious fanaticism which flares up again and again — and increasingly violently — in that country, and which is a genuine threat to the stability of the fragile parliamentary system in Nigeria. Indeed, is it legiti-

mate to refer to a parliamentary system respecting human rights at a time when millions of people are being forcibly ejected at short notice? The problem is one of regional instability too, because the people leaving Nigeria have to go somewhere — in this case, to Ghana, a country which itself enjoys only a very limited amount of political stability. The sudden incursion of such a mass of people into Ghana will undoubtedly result in instability in that country, with a resultant domino effect in the whole region, inevitably giving rise to still greater problems.

There is one final point I should like to make, Madam President, on the subject of human rights. I believe we must leave our African friends in no doubt as to our views on this matter. This kind of thing cannot be tolerated, regardless of whether or not the Lomé Convention does or does not incorporate provisions relating to human rights. Personally, I think that the next Lomé Convention must stress the fact that progress must be made in Africa too on the protection of human rights. I am quite prepared to have the developing countries lecture us on respect for human rights — perhaps they do tend to go in for that kind of thing rather more than we do — but what is unacceptable is for them to violate the most elementary human rights so utterly irresponsibly. It is not enough for us to simply react to that kind of thing — we must discuss the matter in the context of the Lomé Convention, and make respect for human rights one of the basic conditions for our continuing willingness to aid development in Africa.

Mr Israël (DEP). — *(FR)* Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, the Lomé Convention links us closely with Nigeria. We maintain close economic and friendly relations with this country and it is a country which I believe is contributing to the establishment of democracy in Africa. And suddenly, we see Nigeria entering into an absolutely unacceptable process rivalled only by tragic events of past history.

What can we do, Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, linked with this country as we are by a very specific agreement?

Well, with regard to this problem of human rights, I do not hesitate to say that we cannot do anything. Why can we not do anything? Because the Lomé Convention makes no provision in respect of human rights. Is this a normal situation? I ask this question and my reply is 'no'. We must make an absolute effort to establish a means of entering into a dialogue on respect for man's fundamental rights with those countries which are associated with us through agreements like the Lomé Convention. If we do not make this effort of imagination, if we find no means of intervening, we shall once more have passed a resolution and attracted the attention of a friendly government, but we shall not have achieved any progress in human rights on the African continent. I therefore ask you to think about this matter very seriously.

Mrs Bonino (CDI). — *(IT)* Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, I believe that this biblical type of forced exodus is in fact a byproduct of the situation where millions of people are dying throughout the world of hunger because of underdevelopment and malnutrition, without provoking any reaction or emotions on the part of public opinion and without any appropriate action from us.

Undoubtedly, responsibility lies with Nigeria. This is clear. But I also believe that our own responsibilities, the responsibilities of the industrialized West, which has profited handsomely from Nigeria's misdirected development in oil etc., should not be hidden behind Nigeria's undeniable responsibility.

However, what really worries me, Madam President, is that now that the spotlight has been moved from Nigeria, it has not been switched to Ghana. We will probably find ourselves here, in six months' time, voting on another motion on expulsions from Ghana without, however, having set up a policy with these countries which goes beyond sporadic incidents, emotions which are a one-day wonder or even a one-hour wonder, and the shameful scenes which we have seen.

I therefore believe that the EEC-ACP Council of Ministers made a mistake, and underestimated the situation, by not holding an emergency meeting at political level to decide on measures which were not just emergency measures. We cannot salve our consciences with a sack or two of flour or grain which we are not even capable of distributing because of the lack of adequate structures.

I hope that the EEC-ACP meeting will conclude not simply with motion of censure but with a constructive plan, i.e. to set up, in the short term and with the methods that this emergency requires not a plan of food aid, but a medium and long-term plan which can lay the foundations for development.

I hope, Madam President, that we will not find ourselves here in six months time voting on a motion on Ghana or Togo or Benin: immediate steps must be taken. Otherwise, these tears of ours are only crocodile tears.

Mr Natali, Vice-President of the Commission. — *(IT)* Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, the Commission shares the feelings and concern expressed by everyone here. From the very first day it has been in constant contact with its delegations on the spot and with the authorities of the countries concerned and has therefore had first hand information on the consequences of the expulsion measures adopted by the Nigerian Government.

We are particularly concerned at the dramatic human problems that the enforced exodus of such a large number of people in such a short space of time has

inevitably entailed. We have concentrated our efforts on bringing humanitarian aid as efficiently and rapidly as possible to the people affected in the various countries in the region. This was done at the request of both non-governmental and government organizations.

Basically, the Commission has adopted the following measures: the first decision, taken on 28 January, related to the granting of 500 000 ECU to help those who have been expelled. The distribution of this aid has been entrusted to various organizations, including the German Red Cross for aid to Ghana and Benin, the Red Cross Society League for aid into Togo, and the Commission delegation in Benin for aid to those who have been expelled and who were formerly resident in Benin. The aid was used to supply medicines, blankets, tents and food.

In a second decision, taken on 3 February, the Commission, after having obtained the consent of the Member States, authorized more substantial emergency aid in the region of 5 million ECU. A proportion of this aid will be distributed by the Commission delegation in Benin for the transport of those expelled from Nigeria who must travel through Benin. The rest will be used in accordance with the requests made to the Commission by the governments of Ghana, Togo, Benin, Chad and Niger, by international organizations — in particular UNDRO — which has prepared an aid programme of 11 million dollars for Ghana and by non-governmental organizations. This aid will be distributed by the Commission on the basis of precise information as to needs, and transport and distribution capacity.

Finally, in addition to this aid, it was decided this week to grant an emergency food aid of 5 000 tonnes of cereals to be distributed through the World Food Aid Programme.

I believe that Parliament will approve of all these decisions and will be satisfied that they were taken promptly and that the nature and volume of the aid and the channels of distribution used were appropriate. The Commission will keep a close watch over these aid operations and, if necessary, will ask the Nigerian authorities for additional information on the implementation of these measures and the implications thereof.

(Applause)

President. — The debate is closed.

Vote¹

¹ See Annex.

Shcharansky and Sakharov

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

— the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-1219/82) by Mr Deleau, on behalf of the Group of European Progressive Democrats, on the liberation of Anatoly Shcharansky;

— the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-1232/82) by Mr Nordmann, on behalf of the Liberal and Democratic Group, on the situation of Anatoly Shcharansky;

— the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-1229/82) by Mr Langes and others, on behalf of the European People's Party (Christian-Democratic Group) concerning Andrei Sakharov.

Mr Israël (DEP). — (*FR*) Madam President, what is happening in the Shcharansky affair? What explanation can there be for the relentlessness with which the Soviet authorities are keeping imprisoned this man of just under 40 years of age? Why is he regarded as a danger to the Soviet Union and its general philosophy?

The first reason and the one which is immediately evident is of course that he is a Soviet citizen 'of Jewish nationality'. Yes, this is what they are called in the Soviet Union. And this Soviet citizen 'of Jewish nationality' has asked for permission to go to Israel. You know that it is a sin in that country to try to ask for this, but still there are many others. Why apply something special against Shcharansky? Well, Madam President, there is something very simple: Shcharansky is not content with asking for the right to emigrate to the country of his choice, he is not content with wishing to leave the Soviet paradise; as a matter of fact, he wrote and gave a speech on human rights addressed to the entire community of the Soviet Union. He made a speech on human rights like the ones we make here. And the combination of these two demands was something completely intolerable in the eyes of the Soviet leaders. This is why he is accused of espionage and treated in an inhuman and degrading manner, and it is why our appeals must be multiplied. This House has already adopted two resolutions on Shcharansky. We shall, I hope, be adopting a third one. The struggle cannot cease because this person, this man of flesh and blood, is at the meeting point of two basic demands and we just cannot abandon him.

(*Applause*)

Mr Nordmann (L). — (*FR*) Madam President, it is true: we have already examined the case of Shcharansky several times over in this House. Today, however, I believe that the idea of an urgent motion would

rarely be more meaningful in view of the dramatic situation in which Shcharansky finds himself today.

We know that, following a trial which was a denial of justice, Shcharansky was condemned to several years in prison and then labour camp and started a hunger strike several months ago, which the Soviet authorities tried to stop more than once, until forced feeding was applied, which is really an extremely cruel form of physical torture. And I would now like to convey to you an anxious thought: I am afraid today that all the steps we are able to take are perhaps of no avail. Certain information, and I will add, the repeated evasive answers given by the Soviet authorities to our questions, make us fear the worst. If every visit and contact with Shcharansky is now impossible, it is no doubt because Shcharansky is no longer presentable at all. And I am afraid that we might be talking about a dead man today.

However, beyond this individual case, the Shcharansky affair is significant and this is also what we should focus our attention on: the reality of Soviet totalitarianism, the absence of individual liberty, the absence of justice.

Let us recall that Shcharansky was condemned only for wanting to emigrate to Israel and only after a mockery of a trial held in camera and without any defending counsel. This is the reality of Soviet totalitarianism and in addition, how can we forget it, the reality of Soviet anti-Semitism. Today, the Soviet Union is the leading anti-Semitic country in the world and the Shcharansky case is there to illustrate it with tragic clarity.

Finally, and this is my third observation, if Shcharansky is being persecuted it is because he wanted to emigrate to Israel and because the State of Israel — and the most recent events are evidence of this — appears to the victims of totalitarianism as an example of liberty and the only recourse or refuge possible. This example of liberty is a permanent challenge to all tyrants and a challenge which tyrants cannot tolerate. Hence the cruelty which Shcharansky has been victim of and, it is to be feared, other Shcharanskys are and will be victims of. I felt that this point should be added since it complements the debate we had last month on the Middle East in that it extends its scope beyond regional concerns and is in keeping with the struggle for the defence of human rights by which most of us are motivated.

(*Applause*)

Mr Langes (PPE). — (*DE*) Madam President, the German Nobel Prize winner, Heinrich Böll, whose reputation in the literary world is uncontested, has sounded the alarm. He has informed the world that the life of Nobel Peace Prize holder Andrei Sakharov is seriously threatened as a result of the harassment he

Langes

has suffered at the hands of the Soviet authorities and of his isolation and separation from his family in his exile. In addition, he is worn out by illness.

Obviously, I also support the motions for resolutions tabled by Mr Nordmann and Mr Israël in connection with Anatoly Shcharansky. The European Parliament must speak out with the voice of solidarity, the voice of the free, to make it clear how the restrictions on freedom in the Soviet bloc are leading to the deaths of our fellow men. There is still a chance if the people of the West show solidarity and the Members of the European Parliament speak out loud and clear to draw attention to this injustice in the Soviet Union. We know that our voice carries some weight. We must remind the Soviet Union of the fact that it too signed the third basket in Helsinki and declared itself prepared to grant these freedoms. However, it is not doing so, and for this reason it is vital that all the groups, including those who have good relations with Moscow, should be prepared to support this motion for resolution, and I hope they will do so. Ladies and gentlemen, we strongly urge you to do this and call on our President to present our resolution to the Supreme Soviet.

(Interruption from the left: 'In person!')

Yes, in person, if you like. However, I think this is far too serious a matter for facetious interruptions of this kind. I have no particular preferences as to how our President should go about it. The Supreme Soviet, which purports to be the representative of the Russian people, should show for once whether or not it has the power to achieve something in this area.

Mr Hänsch (S). — *(DE)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the Socialist Group continues to condemn the infringement of human and civil rights wherever this may take place in the world, be it in Chile, Turkey, Poland or the Soviet Union, and for this reason, we intend to give our unqualified support to the two motions for resolutions before us. We join the previous speaker in urging our President to call on the Supreme Soviet to put an end to the infringements of human and civil rights in the Soviet Union.

IN THE CHAIR: MR KLEPSCH

Vice-President

Lord Bethell (ED). — Mr President, the situation as regards this well-known prisoner of conscience is now at the worst stage that it has ever been at since his arrest several years ago. From conversations with Mrs Shcharansky yesterday most alarming news has

emerged. Mr Shcharansky has been force-fed on many occasions and his diet in any case, as a result of the punishments to which he has been subjected, is likely to cause severe damage to his health, probably of a permanent nature. He is not allowed to carry out the duties of his religion and has been in solitary confinement for a long period in conditions of extreme cold. His health seems unlikely to recover entirely. This, as well, involves isolation from his family. He is refused the visits normally allowed to prisoners. His mother has been unable to see him and, of course, his wife, who is living in the West, has not seen him for many years and is not even allowed to receive letters from him.

The people of the European Communities cannot understand why the Soviet Union is treating Mr Shcharansky in this way. It is bad enough that he should have been convicted of treason, of working for a foreign power, one allied to our own countries, on thoroughly unjustifiable grounds in the light of the evidence. But that he should then be subjected to torture in prison is intolerable. This has been made clear not only by the British Prime Minister and other heads of government of our countries but also by leaders of the left — Mr Hänsch spoke about this a few minutes ago — and, I am happy to say, by Mr Georges Marchais and other Communist leaders. The treatment of Mr Shcharansky is intolerable, and I hope that everyone will make that clear by their votes in a few minutes.

Protests about Mr Shcharansky, such as the one made in London to the Soviet Ambassador, are not propaganda exercises nor evidence of an extreme anti-Soviet position, as the Soviet Government seems to believe. They are a reflection of the true political state of affairs, because it will be very difficult for the people of Europe to negotiate on a whole realm of other matters with the Soviet Government as long as Mr Shcharansky remains in prison and is subjected to this form of treatment. What has happened to him undermines the confidence of our peoples in Soviet promises in the Helsinki Agreement, which contains important human rights provisions, including the right to emigrate and the right to closer contacts between families. People in our countries are asking themselves: if the Soviet Union is prepared to renege on this agreement and brush aside the promises it has made, how can its word be trusted in a whole field of other matters, such as disarmament, trade and a whole host of questions which are extremely important? So this is not only a human rights question, not only a question of right and wrong; it is a question of politics and something of the utmost importance to all of us.

Mr Narjes, Member of the Commission. — *(DE)* Mr President, I should like, on behalf of the Commission of the European Communities, to state our views on the two motions for resolutions concerning Anatoly Shcharansky and the one concerning Andrei Sak-

Narjes

harov, since in spite of the different fates they have suffered, the fundamental issue is identical in both cases, that is to say we are faced with the inhumanity of a system which suppresses any stirrings of free thinking — by force if necessary — and even goes so far as to make it impossible for citizens who do not go along with the official line to leave the country.

There can be no doubt that the facts mentioned in the motions for resolutions represent flagrant violations of general human rights which the Soviet Union as well as other States recognized in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe on 1 August 1975. We think it is vitally important to draw attention to this fact.

As we have already frequently stated in this House, the Commission condemns infringements of human and civil rights wherever they take place, and for this reason it can give its wholehearted support to the protests voiced in the three motions for resolutions.

President. — The debate is closed.

Vote¹

Turkish extradition requests

President. — The next item is the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-1237/82/rev.), tabled by Mr Siegler-schmidt and others on behalf of the Socialist Group and Mr von Hassel and others on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (CD Group), on the Turkish extradition requests.

Mr Siegler-schmidt (S). — (*DE*) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, when dealing with requests for extradition, the courts in the Federal Republic of Germany only consider the question of whether the case is covered by the extradition agreement, and not whether the alleged offence was in fact committed. In particular, it examines the question of whether an ordinary criminal offence is involved rather than a so-called political crime.

Presumably other Member States of the European Community take a similar approach, and it is of no importance whether the final decision is taken by a political body, as in the Federal Republic where it is the Federal Government which decides, or whether the courts themselves decide against or in favour of extradition. I would like to point out, however, that in Germany the courts must at any rate approve the decision for extradition.

Unfortunately, it would appear to be beyond many courts to grasp that alleged criminal offences are being used by the Turkish authorities simply as a pretext to get their hands on a political opponent. Unfortunately, there is evidence — which I am afraid time does not permit me to quote — which would suggest that this is in fact what is going on under the present Turkish Government and was not entirely unknown even prior to September 1980.

If something of this kind is going on, it is quite obviously an abuse of the extradition agreement and means that these requests for extradition should be rejected. However, there is also the fact that we are unfortunately aware that accused persons tend to be tortured in Turkey, particularly — but not exclusively — in the case of political offences, and here again, unfortunately, we should make it clear that this has not just been the case since September 1980. The current Turkish regime repeatedly points out that those responsible for torturing prisoners are themselves prosecuted, but unfortunately only a few of them are sentenced, and the sentences they receive are ridiculously lenient. Up to now the impression has been that these trials have been held more to put the partners in the alliance at ease than to genuinely help the persons who have been tortured.

I should like at this point to quote the Turkish Government itself — for example, its answer to Amnesty International, which had inquired about the whereabouts of various people. Not only were they told in several cases that the persons in question had jumped out of third or fourth floor windows while being interrogated, but that one person, for example had been seen by the security forces sticking up posters in Ankara, fell when trying to escape and was arrested and taken to hospital where he subsequently died from his injuries.

Obviously, we cannot extradite people if we expect them to be tortured in this way. I would remind you of Article 3 of the European Convention on Human Rights which states that no one should be subjected to torture or inhuman or degrading treatment, and this means he should not be handed over for treatment of this kind either. However, how are we to react to the following statements by the Higher Regional Court in Cologne which I should like to quote. It said in connection with an extradition case that the assertions by the accused to the effect that he was likely to be tortured following extradition did not constitute any real objection to such extradition since, as regards the allegedly inhuman conditions under which he would be taken into and kept in custody, the accused was protected by the principle of speciality¹ from unjustified prosecution for any reason whatsoever, and there was no reason to doubt that the Turkish authorities

¹ See Annex.

¹ By which an extradited person may be tried in the country which requested his extradition solely for the offence which formed the basis of the extradition demand.

Sieglerschmidt

would respect this principle. All one can say is that this is being childishy naive.

What we hope to achieve with this motion for a resolution is to make the bodies responsible for questions concerning extradition aware of these problems, which I have only been able to outline very briefly here today, so that they will exercise exceptional caution before deciding to hand someone over to torture, possibly resulting in his death.

Mr Bournias (PPE). — (GR) Mr President, I share the fears expressed in this motion which has been signed by, among others, the leaders of the Christian-Democratic and Socialist Groups, and I would ask you to give the question of the extradition of Turkish political refugees who have fled the EEC countries your close and careful attention. The fact that, in the case of 90% of those who have fled to our countries and whose extradition is demanded, there is no proof of their having committed any criminal offence, leads us to conclude that these people must be given our protection. This means that each country must take account of what is called for in the motion. Firstly, the requests for extradition must be examined with particular care. Secondly, it is necessary in cases of this kind to look beyond the formal application of the extradition laws consider how a government behaves towards its citizens — and here, unfortunately, there is evidence of years of persecution of opponents of the regime. Finally, no definitive decision should be taken on extradition until there has been a careful and serious examination of the case.

Ladies and gentlemen, both before and after its Communist-style referendum Turkey has shown that it has its own principles and its own views on the subject of human rights and freedom.

We have often raised the question of Cyprus and the many Greek-Cypriots living in the occupied part of the island. Without wishing to repeat myself I would remind you of the recent decision of the Council of Europe condemning Turkey for its treatment of those who are opposed to the regime. I shall therefore not raise the matter again, but I call upon the responsible judicial authorities of the Member States to devote close attention to those cases which Amnesty International — which is an objective body — has raised, and to ensure that we do not lose time with the procedure being followed, in particular, by the German courts.

I therefore ask you to vote unanimously for the motion for a resolution.

Mr Alavanos (COM). — (GR) Mr President, because extradition for political offences is forbidden by the constitutions of the various countries, by international agreements on extradition and by the principles of international law, attempts are often made to obtain

the extradition of political refugees by accusing them of criminal offences. For this reason, every request for extradition from the Turkish junta must be treated with scepticism at the very least, particularly in view of the fact that the junta regards the struggle for peace and trade union activity as criminal offences and has passed laws with retroactive effect to this end. I need only point out that the Turkish junta has either condemned or accused such leading figures as the former prime minister, Mr Ecevit and the well-known writer, Aziz Nesin, and has even asked for the extradition from Greece of the film director, Yilmaz Güney. It is common knowledge and this Parliament has also expressed its views on the matter — that the Turkish junta is brutally violating human rights, and for this reason alone there should be no question of extradition.

I should like to give you one example of experience in Greece where, in times of injustice, well-known leaders of the Communist Party were condemned for their patriotic activities under the — now abolished — law 375 on the pretext that they were engaged in so-called spying. The motion calls simply for care, but we should like it to be more categorical. We are opposed to the junta's requests for extradition and we believe that we should consider it better not to extradite ten common criminals than to deliver a single Turkish patriot into the hands of the junta.

In conclusion, I should like to raise one specific point concerning Greece — I refer to the fact that the Turkish junta is linking requests for the extradition of Turkish patriots who have fled to Greece because of its proximity to Turkey with the question of the Greek-Turkish dialogue and relations between Greece and Turkey. It is trying to exploit the political problems and the current talks between Greece and Turkey with a view to obtaining the extradition of Turkish patriots who have fled to Greece, or even with a view to forcing the Greek Government to put a stop to the statements of solidarity from the Greek people for the Turkish democrats and patriots. For this very reason, I believe that the motion should be more categorical and that, as well as being sent to the Commission and the Council, it should be sent to the Turkish junta itself.

Mr Narjes, Member of the Commission. — (DA) The Commission shares the concern of this House. It has repeatedly drawn the attention of the Turkish Government to the fundamental importance of respect for human rights in that country and will continue to do so.

The question of dealing with requests for extradition is first and foremost one for the governments of the Member States since the Commission is not directly involved. However, it is interested in the matter insofar as it involves the fundamental question of respect for human rights in Turkey. The Commission's view of the situation in that country can be seen from the

Narjes

fact that it has, with the wholehearted support of this House, so far not forwarded to be drafted the Fourth Financial Protocol to the Council.

However, the Commission is also interested in matters of this kind because they may provide fundamental pointers for assessing the possibility of freer relations with Turkey in the future.

President. — The debate is closed.

Vote¹

Oil

President. — The next item is the joint debate on three motions for resolutions on oil:

- motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-1218/82/rev.) by Mr Seligman and others on the effect of oil prices on world financial stability;
- motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-1221/82/rev.), tabled by Mr Cousté on behalf of the Group of European Progressive Democrats, on the failure of the OPEC conference and the fall in oil prices;
- motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-1239/82) by Mrs Wieczorek-Zeul and others on the OPEC conference.

Mr Seligman (ED). — Mr President, there has been an ominous silence in oil prices now for several days. Only Russia and Egypt have reduced their prices by two dollars so far. All eyes are riveted on OPEC to see if they manage to hold their quotas, but is this the quiet before the storm?

The purpose of our joint Amendment No 4, signed by four groups in Parliament, is to welcome the obvious benefits of a steady fall in oil prices, not only for oil importing nations, but also for the world economy in general. But it must be a steady fall and not a collapse. The motion for a resolution warns of the extreme dangers of a collapse in prices to a level where only the Middle East could compete. Some people say that the further our oil price falls the better; but that is not so. If the price goes much below, say, 25 dollars a barrel, a number of serious problems will follow.

Firstly, the new high cost producers like Norway, Britain and Alaska will be put out of business. Britain, incidentally, is the fourth largest producer in the western world. Secondly, investment in alternative ener-

gies, in energy conservation and in switching from oil to coal will stop. Thirdly, the world banking system will be rocked because some oil producing nations with heavy loans will find it impossible not to default. Fourthly, a very low oil price will eventually release an enormous demand for oil. The price will then rocket upwards. There will be no alternatives to oil by that time and we will be back on the same carousel that we started on in 1973. The bad effects of the collapse in oil prices will happen much quicker than any good effects which might result later on.

There is no reason for the Commission, however, to put off taking any initiatives just because the official prices have not yet tumbled. Spot prices are already five dollars below the official price.

We want the Commission to use its enormous influence to act before, rather than after, the event. We want them to initiate multilateral talks with all interests involved — producers, traders and consumers — not just a few bilateral talks as at present. Secondly, we want to see a wider operation and recognition of future markets which now have started in various places. Thirdly, we would like to see a sort of STABEX scheme for Lomé oil-producers and for the British North Sea producers in order to give some sort of safeguard or guarantee price. My colleague Mr de Courcy Ling will be enlarging on that aspect.

This is the right time to work with OPEC as friends with a joint interest in stability and not as suppliants any more. Let the Community use its combined strength to coordinate all the different interests concerned to avoid a collapse and the chaos of the oil market and the world economy which also will follow inevitably.

Mr Gauthier (DEP). — (FR) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the first apparent effects of the failure of the OPEC Conference have been a sharp fall in crude oil prices on the free market. Evidently the industrialized countries which import oil, and hence the Community, only stand to gain, in the short term at least, from this fall. What we shall gain is first of all a lower oil bill. For France, for example, a fall of one dollar in the price of standard crude oil results in a fall in the oil bill of 4 000 million francs per year. This is followed by a slowing down of inflation and fall in interest rates which the Community would benefit from if the downward trend continued. This would then be followed by a sharp rise in the gross national product of the oil-importing industrialized countries. An OECD study on this subject shows that a 25% reduction in the average price of oil would allow an increase of over 1% in the gross national product of these countries.

Nevertheless, these short-term gains should not be allowed to hide from us the major medium and long-term risks. The two oil shocks which hit the Com-

¹ See Annex.

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munity make us aware of the need for both perspicuity and foresight, as well as for reflection on the possibilities set out in the Community's energy strategy and on the efforts which have been partially successful so far, which all the Community's Member States are making in order to reduce their dependence on oil.

I shall briefly emphasize the major risks inherent in a continuing situation of falling oil prices. First, in the event of continuing disagreement on the part of the OPEC producer countries, the resulting wild competition to reduce prices, which in actual fact have no lower limit above the marginal cost of production, would cause a fall in oil prices which would result in a destabilization of the international financial system. Second, a situation of this type could in turn cause a new oil shock as a result of a very sharp increase in prices on a market which would again favour exporters. Third, the economic consequences of this type of situation would worsen even further the level of debts of the third world countries through the fall-back in international trade resulting from this. Finally, for the Community countries in particular, a fall in oil prices could present a serious threat to the energy strategy already being followed by slowing down the investments devoted to the development of alternative types of energy. By way of example, from 1981 to 1982, France reduced her oil imports by 15% and the Community's Member States made similar efforts to develop substitute forms of energy in the medium term.

What would happen to this type of strategy if oil became cheap again? The recent events present us with a complex situation in which we should yield neither to exaggerated short-sighted optimism nor to pessimism which is not justified by the present situation. Our task is to be clear-headed and aware of the problems. This is why we ask the House to adopt the motion which has been tabled and ask the Commission to make proposals with a view to adapting the development of the Community's energy strategy to the new position as regards oil.

(Applause)

Mrs Wiczorek-Zeul (S). — *(DE)* I am speaking on the motion for a resolution by the Socialist Group and would point out that a joint amendment has been tabled by all the groups so that we in Parliament will be able to adopt a unanimous position. I am pleased that this has proved possible.

There is a mistake in paragraph 1 of the German version, in which the English word 'steady' has been translated by the German 'ständig'. This is not quite correct since they are not talking about a permanent fall as the German implies but more of an organized and planned fall. Thus this is a mistranslation and I hope it will be corrected.

I go along with what Mr Seligman and Mr Gauthier have said. We do not see the OPEC crisis as a cause for rejoicing nor is there any reason to hope for a disintegration of OPEC since — and we must make this clear to the people of Western Europe — a crisis of this kind and its possible grave economic consequences would affect us just as much as the OPEC countries themselves.

I wholeheartedly agree with Mr Seligman's view that this would put a stop to real energy saving since it would no longer work out cheaper to save energy, if oil cost less. If the oil price were to fall steadily, the oil money would be withdrawn from the banks even quicker than has been the case hitherto — last year for example. In particular, we must sound a warning to the effect that the next 'unexpected' sharp rise in prices is in the pipeline and will be with us three or four years from now, and then all the politicians will look innocent and say 'it's amazing what an economic crisis we have got into' as they did in 1972/73 and 1978/79.

For this reason, I should like to make two requests here today. Firstly, we need a new initiative on the part of the European Community with a view to establishing an organized dialogue between the industrialized countries, between the oil producing countries and the developing countries, aimed at preventing fluctuations in oil prices, bringing about a more consistent development and hence avoiding cyclical economic crises. Secondly, this Parliament should renew its offer to the Gulf States and the Gulf Cooperation Council for organized cooperation on the basis of an agreement.

We would like to make it clear in this way that, in a situation in which we as Western Europeans would appear to have less interest in cooperation of this kind, we nevertheless realize that we must take an interest in such cooperation in the medium and long term. This could also be a job for the Commission, which is sending representatives to the Gulf States in March this year.

Mr Linkohr (S). — *(DE)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I should first of all like to draw your attention to the somewhat paradoxical fact that we have said in the past that oil prices are too high, and now we are complaining that they are dropping. This reflects a certain uncertainty in our own approach and a wish for stabilization in prices. Secondly, I should like to point out that the OPEC crisis has also shown how difficult it is to make forecasts and hence to conduct an energy policy.

How should we react to the OPEC crisis? There are in fact only two possibilities open to us. On the one hand, we could screen off the Community market and try to stabilize energy prices within the confines of the Community. The second possibility, which does not

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exclude the first, would be to decide on a negotiating strategy, that is to say, as I have also suggested in the motion for a resolution, to make proposals to OPEC with a view to arriving at a planned oil price, based on an international agreement, if possible in cooperation with the developing countries.

The Socialist Group supports this motion for a resolution, since we feel that we should take advantage of the current crisis in OPEC to offer talks. We should not sit back and sneer and say 'look, they cannot agree'. We should see this crisis as an opportunity.

The oil price should, therefore, be negotiated and I would remind you in this connection that Kuwait's oil reserves, for example, are greater than those of the Soviet Union so we will need agreements with the oil-producing countries for some time yet.

In addition, we should also consider the question of how we in the Community can continue to pursue a policy of growth without excessive energy consumption and stabilize the energy price. However, I should like to make it quite clear that if we are to do this we will have to revise the Community's energy policy and the energy objectives laid down many years ago.

Mr von Bismark (PPE). — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I am about to state the obvious, but it might nevertheless be useful to remind ourselves of this fact. Energy is and will remain one of the fundamental prerequisites for the existence of mankind, and one of the principal duties of the politician is to attend to this matter. However, it is not only the quantity and price which are important but — and this must be particularly stressed in Europe — we must constantly bear in mind the links between energy policy and our freedom and peace.

People must realize even more clearly that energy policy is also an aspect of foreign and foreign-trade policy and that it is an accurate description of our interests in every respect to say that we do not want to end up being inescapably dependent on anyone. Even if we did not realize this before OPEC, we realize it now, but we will only be able to achieve this priority objective provided we keep track of the connection between what we do ourselves and our export position. Only if we continue to make serious efforts to improve our energy supply situation within the Community can we hope to reduce our dependence. The more positively we act within the Community, the less dependent we will be and the less the naivety of the 'greens' or ideologies of any other shade is allowed to stand in the way of the development or establishment of new energy sources the better.

Today's requests for urgency concern an immediate case. OPEC was obliged to give in to market forces. It is only common sense — and this is a point in favour of this motion for a resolution — that the Commis-

sion, Parliament and the Council should not delay in investigating and discussing the question of how we intend in the future to react to a united OPEC cartel — or for that matter a disunited one — and what direction we should aim in when we take up our talks with the oil-producing countries. We must sound a warning for the benefit of those people who think they already know exactly what should be done immediately with a view to achieving our objectives, and I am referring here to Mr Seligman among others. I must sound a warning against premature talk of things like STABEX. We must in due course very carefully consider the appropriate action to take.

We should also, however, warn against the trend towards trying to disregard market problems and indicators and advocating State planning of the market. Instead, if we wish to help the market we should oppose national egoism and State control of this kind. Any restriction of freedom in the field of foreign trade is symptomatic of the general trend towards restriction of our freedom and hence makes us less able to attend to our specifically European needs and opportunities.

Obviously, even if we want a free market, all those involved in these talks must be convinced of constructive solidarity. What we want to achieve within the Community, i.e. a socially-oriented market economy, should also apply *vis-à-vis* the rest of the world.

Finally, freedom is like the soul. It cannot exist in this world without the body and in the same way freedom cannot exist without a market economy.

(Applause)

Mr de Courcy Ling (ED). — I think the word 'crisis' is one of the most overworked words in modern politics and in our consideration of our economic problems. I have counted the use of the word crisis 17 times since 11 o'clock this morning, Mr President, and I do not intend to use it again. I think that what we have actually witnessed is the completion of a cycle in supply and demand for oil, starting with the Yom Kippur War in November 1973 and ending with the abortive OPEC meeting in January 1983. We must learn from this decade of experience.

I would like to make two proposals to the Commission for them to forward to the Energy Council, whether it meets in March, as I understand is possible, or, as is certain to be the case, on 31 May. I hope at the Energy Council, the Commission will bring forward studies of two aspects of this situation. First of all, the external aspect which has been very fully covered by previous speakers, particularly by Mr Seligman, by Mrs Wiczorek-Zeul and by Mr von Bismarck, although I must say I am very sceptical about whether it will, in fact, be possible for the Community to take effective action together with the oil-producing countries in the Middle East to stabilize their oil price. I am sceptical about

de Courcy Ling

whether it will be possible for the Community to inject order into their cartel when they have been unable to do so themselves, given the political differences between Iraq, Iran and Saudi Arabia. Nevertheless, we must consider the whole problem of the stability of the prices of primary products in the world.

Where I do think the Commission should make more specific proposals is in the area of indigenous oil produced in the Community itself. And I hope that the Commission will have a look at the idea of a minimum safeguard price in order to dampen price fluctuations and that it will study again the proposals which were discussed between the French and British Governments in 1974 and 1975.

Mr President, let us learn from the mistakes of the past. Let us not panic. Let us not talk about crisis. But let the Commission take an initiative on this subject, as the President gave some inkling that he would in his speech on Tuesday.

(Applause)

Mr Pintat (L). — *(FR)* Mr President, the official price of a barrel of oil has been multiplied by 15 since 1972. However, the sharp increases and the price levels reached have unleashed a world economic crisis which has resulted in a fall in consumption following a slow-down in industrial activity. The high level of prices and fear of new increases have induced all the countries to establish alternative forms of energy and to economize energy. These elements have considerably intensified the fall in demand, which has also been encouraged by a very mild 1982/1983 winter.

In parallel with this fall in demand, all the oil-producing countries have increased production either as a result of the start of production from new deposits in the North Sea and Mexico, or in order to meet major financial needs — vital needs, repayment of investments or the financing of war efforts. In this way, the gap between supply and demand and the disparity in the selling rates actually in force have led to the present OPEC crisis. Nobody can predict at what level the new oil price will become stabilized but two things are certain: the myth of an uninterrupted increase has been dispelled and the market trend completely reversed.

It is precisely this confirmation of the natural laws of the market that advocates of economic liberalism like us are pleased about. We have a unique opportunity to force all the oil-producing countries to bargain with the consumer countries when setting prices. What we must obtain is both coherent prices and the guarantee that these prices will be maintained right to the end, in order to allow each country to implement energy projects in stable and healthy economic conditions. No amount of planning can in fact resist extreme variations in economic conditions.

The negotiation of prices between producers and consumers is the only way of achieving a reasonable, gradual and controlled lowering of the price of crude oil, which is in everybody's interest. Otherwise, in the absence of agreements, prices could begin to spiral downwards and this would inevitably lead ultimately to a halt in oil prospecting. A moderate reduction in oil prices is regarded by American financiers as a factor for world economic recovery, and especially the economic recovery of the United States. The fall of one dollar per barrel which was decided on 2 February 1983 by eight American producing companies was greeted by a 25 point increase in the Dow Jones index of the New York stock exchange. An agreement between producer and consumer countries could thus be an opportunity for an effective new start to the North-South world dialogue. In the meantime, we congratulate the Commission on restarting the Euro-Arab dialogue in Davos, which the Liberal Group was always in favour of. In this respect we would also like the European Parliament to be associated with the next meeting which the press has talked about, to be held in Geneva at the end of March. This is the type of reasonable policy we should pursue if we want to be in a good position to face up to the challenges of the year 2000.

(Applause)

Mr Natali, Vice-President of the Commission. — *(IT)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, following the failure of the OPEC Conference of 19 January, the spot market for oil and petroleum products has reacted negatively, albeit rather cautiously, reflecting the wait-and-see attitude of the operators. The day after the Conference, only North Sea crude fell by approximately two dollars a barrel, while the other crude oils only suffered only slight variations. Nevertheless, the British National Oil Corporation is currently under strong pressure to lower its prices.

On the petroleum products spot market, the fall in fuel oil prices, which began a few weeks ago has ceased, and prices have begun to rise again as the weather has worsened.

On average, the prices of all products have fallen by approximately 10%. It should also be noted that there has been no change in the official price of crude oil, with the exception of a few crude oils from the USA, the Soviet Union and Egypt. The reductions offered by some countries during the last few months have not shown any particular increase and represent only a fairly minor proportion of total supplies as regards purchases on the free market, where prices are from 4-5 dollars per barrel below official prices. We should therefore be careful not to form too hasty an opinion of the recent so-called failure of the OPEC Conference. The role of the Persian Gulf countries and of Saudi Arabia in particular, will be the determining factor. The organization is now holding consultations,

Natali

and it is in the interests of all that there should be a rapid conclusion.

The possibility cannot be excluded that there will be a progressive reduction in prices, and the Commission has begun an in-depth analysis of the situation in an effort to determine as soon as possible what implications the trends in prices will have for the Community and its energy policy. I would like to stress that for the moment the Commission believes that there is no need to question the objectives of the Community energy policy but that, on the contrary, we should reaffirm the need to defend the fundamental principles of this energy policy, which are a) that the Community should become less dependent on oil; b) that alternative energy sources should be developed and c) that energy should be used rationally.

A report on the situation and on any amendments to be made to the common energy policy will shortly be forwarded to the Parliament and Council.

As regards the measures put forward in the new joint motion to deal with the situation and, in particular, the dialogue between producers and consumers and the problem of the development of reserves, we would emphasize that we have always declared ourselves in favour of discussions on the necessary means of improving the stability and foreseeability of the oil market and the energy market in general. We have regular bilateral contacts with various producer countries, as you are no doubt aware.

The Commission agrees that it would be desirable for companies to substantially curb their tendency to deplete the reserves. It may be remembered that proposals to this effect were submitted to the Council a year ago, but without success.

In reply to Mr de Courcy Ling, as regards direct and indirect taxation of oil prices, the adoption of a minimum safeguard price as suggested in his speech is one of the many solutions which have been discussed at length by the International Energy Agency with a view to exercising some control over the trends in crude oil prices. Discussions should be held on the possibility of introducing a consumption tax, aid for particular projects or an import levy.

In conclusion, Mr President, I can assure you that we are following developments very closely and that, in due course we will present suitable proposals. In such a situation which, as all have mentioned in their speeches, is extremely uncertain, consistency in the energy policies of the Member States is more vital than ever before, and the Commission will do everything in its power to maintain this consistency.

President. — The debate is closed.

Vote¹

Super-Sara

President. — The next item is the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-1230/82), tabled by Mr Pedini and others on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (CD Group) and Mr Seligman and others, on the Super-Sara project.

Mr Pedini (PPE). — (*IT*) Mr President, at the time, the European Parliament, encouraged by the Commission's precise statements and in the conviction that it was necessary for the Community to provide itself, partly for social reasons, with a knowledge of reactor safety, gave majority approval to the Super-Sara project.

Today we have been informed that despite the opinion of Professor Adams, the Council of Ministers wishes to adopt the conclusions of the 'three wise men' who were appointed at the last moment and who have decided that the Super-Sara project is lagging behind a similar American experiment, which also costs less.

Ladies and gentlemen of the Committee on Budgets — and I address you in particular — if we were to adopt these criteria of economy what would happen to the agricultural and iron and steel policies?

Parliament is therefore concerned — and will hold appropriate enquiries — as to why Super-Sara has been delayed. Questions will be asked as to whether our decision-making mechanisms are capable of acting with the promptness necessary in implementing a scientific research policy. Questions will be asked as to why 70 million ECU have so far been spent on preparatory experiments for a Super-Sara which perhaps will not be built. Questions will be asked about the disappointment of the research workers who were suddenly transferred from one place to another. Finally, questions will be asked as to what is to be done with ESSOR, the machine which will not be able to be used if Super-Sara is not built.

This situation seems to be indicative of a certain decline in Community direct research which, moreover, now accounts for only 26% of the budget of the Joint Research Centre. We also note that, for Ispra, Super-Sara is yet another disappointment after the ORGEL disappointment and the disappointment with JET, which was transferred elsewhere.

Considering our tight budget for scientific research, we wonder if it is still worth — although we are convinced that it is maintaining the Joint Research Centre

¹ See Annex.

Pedini

at a time when resources are needed to combat unemployment and for scientific research. We are convinced that this Centre should be defended, among other things because of our responsibilities towards the research workers.

We know that the Commission, with a willingness which is perhaps not altogether praiseworthy, is preparing to submit alternative proposals. We would ask that these alternative proposals be clear, prompt and precise and that, above all, they do not depart from the Community's commitment, adopted in response to popular demand, to resolve the problem of reactor safety at European level, so as not to depend totally on American companies and, in particular, to support nuclear action, without which the Joint Research Centre would not exist in the nuclear and non-nuclear balance of power.

Mr Linkohr (S). — *(DE)* The experts appointed by the Council of Ministers on 13 December 1982 have given two reasons for the abandonment of the Super-Sara project. One was that it did not represent any major contribution to research into reactor safety and the other was that it was not sufficiently cost-effective. Whatever we may think of this, one thing is certain: the Council of Ministers bears the responsibility for the failure of this project, since it was unable a year ago to give an answer in good time to the proposals made by the so-called evaluation group.

At this stage, however, I would advise against taking rearguard action. As I see it, Super-Sara is dead, and we should bury it rather than try to bring it back to life. However, we should now give some thought to the question of what is going to happen about the Joint Research Centre, since the future of Ispra should not depend on the fate of Super-Sara, and at the same time we should reflect on the role of large-scale research facilities. I should like, in this connection, to say on behalf of my group that we continue to support the idea of the Joint Research Centre, but feel that there should be a change in approach. Instead of simply imitating national programmes, the European Community could use its Joint Research Centre to carry out important work involving a wide range of topics which can be usefully dealt with at Community level. For example, it could draw up norms and standards for dangerous substances and processes, carry out meteorological research and organize international meetings etc. These are points we have already discussed in this House.

What we need to do now is not to reduce the funds but rather to expedite the decision-making procedure as regards the future of the Joint Research Centre. We should regard this crisis which has arisen as an opportunity for the Joint Research Centre.

Mr Turner (ED). — Mr President, I would like to give full support to the activities that go on at Ispra,

most notably to the reliability data bank on nuclear reactors. At the present time it spends 2.3 million ECU a year and it needs at least 5 million. It has a staff of 13 and it needs at least 25. It monitors incidents worldwide, and what is most important it is trying to compile a complete index of components and their characteristics and incidents connected with them. I believe it is extremely valuable. It is a great opportunity for EEC action. It is intended to be the most detailed data bank on nuclear reactors in the world, and I hope it will become so.

In Suffolk, in my constituency, a marathon inquiry is currently going on into PWR reactors at Sizewell. It will last 9 months. A lot of concern has been expressed in many quarters about PWR reactors. We have had a nuclear reactor of a different sort there for some 15 years. I think proper concern centres on the non-nuclear engineering components of PWRs and most particularly on the high-pressure cooling systems.

Of course there are a great many PWRs in operation successfully throughout the world — there are more than 20, for instance, in France — and many of them have been going for 10 years or more. But, nonetheless, there have been a number of engineering failures involving the non-nuclear part of PWRs, and I believe that Ispra is the ideal place to collate all information on such failures and to compile a really effective data bank on components. I know that Super-Sara has not achieved what it intended to do, so I would support the re-direction of those efforts into the data bank at Ispra where I think we can do very useful work.

Mr Ippolito (COM). — *(IT)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the motion on the Super-Sara project, of which Mr Pedini is the first signatory, is being put to the vote rather late, because the day before yesterday the Council of Ministers for Research clearly stated, even though it postponed the final decision until 10 March, that it wished to shelve this project, which started its checkered career more than three years ago at the Joint Research Centre in Ispra.

I will not dwell on the details of the technical and scientific, as well as the political importance, of this programme which, using the same nuclear fuel element used in the Three Mile Island reactor but appropriately 'monitored' intended to locate the same critical conditions which were observed during the well-known incident of 28 March 1979.

The idea for this experiment, which was proposed by Ispra research workers, was so sound that research and supervisory organizations, both in the United States and in other countries, decided to associate themselves with these experiments.

However, the Commission's prevarications, the changes in the administration of research and of the Centre itself, and the shameful delay on the part of the

Ippolito

Council in making the relative decisions, all contributed to similar projects being set up elsewhere which since they have not been bogged down in the delays typical of Community decision-making, have gained a lead over the Super-Sara project which, however — as has recently been confirmed even by the United States — has lost nothing of its validity. I believe Parliament should appoint a committee of enquiry to shed light on who is to blame for the delay in the Super-Sara project.

I am sorry that Mr Davignon is not present in the House, being involved in Japan on business unrelated to his functions, since I wished to direct my strong protest at this regrettable delay to him. The passing of the buck between the Commission and the Council, which always results simply and solely in nothing being done, cannot and must not be passively accepted by this Parliament. Furthermore, if a Commissioner sees his proposals being systematically ignored and his requests refused, he should not be able simply to bow his head in resignation, and place his own responsibility for the delays at the feet of the Council. There is another way out, which is much more dignified and worthy of his office: he can resign. However, this practice of resigning is unfortunately little used in Europe and Italy. However, I believe that in this case, Mr Davignon should have resigned because of the shelving of this programme which he has always, at least verbally, defended and praised. For its own part, the Council of Ministers cannot always, as in the case of Super-Sara, give in to the demands of two of its members.

This particular case, therefore, although serious in itself, also has symbolic value in the person of Mr Davignon and in the lack of political will, on the part of both the Commission and the Council.

Therefore, in voting in favour of this motion — although we have no hope of a change of heart on the part of the Council — we ask the Commission to give a formal assurance that it will submit a valid, complete and financially equivalent alternative programme for the Ispra Centre, which was the first and most important establishment of the Joint Research Centre.

Otherwise, the whole problem of the existence of a Joint Centre for Community research must be raised once again. If the Commission, with the more or less tacit complicity of the Council, is not only unwilling to increase the scale of joint research, which is still allocated minimal funds, but also, in opposition to European integration, wishes to reduce the status of the Joint Centre, discourage research at Community level and provide even more encouragement for the brain drain and Europe's subservience to American technology, let it make no bones about it! This Parliament, I believe, will not hesitate to pronounce a vote of censure against it.

Mr Eisma (NI). — *(NL)* Mr President, I shall pass over the fact that an Italian Member is the first signa-

tory to this motion for a resolution on the Community research project in Italy.

Mr President, we are against a proliferation of the use of nuclear energy so long as the existing problems — in particular disposal of the resultant waste — have not been solved. Nonetheless, we did give our support to the Super-Sara project when it came to the cote on the budget on the grounds that what it involved was research into the safety of light-water reactors. If the same effect could be achieved using less Community money, we should be delighted, particularly as more money would then be available for the development of genuinely alternative energy sources.

Before arriving at a reasoned judgment on the proposals put forward by the 'three wise men', it is important to know what possible alternatives there are to the Sara project, in what way the Community's know-how in the field of nuclear safety be taken into account, what savings could be made overall for the Community and what abandonment of the project would mean for the research centre in Ispra. Mr Linkohr referred to this latter point too.

These questions are dealt with more or less in the two amendments tabled by Mr Pedini and others, and we shall be giving the said amendments our support, although we deplore the conclusions reached by the 'three wise men' and reject them in the form set out in paragraph 1 of the motion for a resolution. On the other hand, we are pleased that the conclusions reached have at least given rise to a more detailed look at the research programme. None the less, we shall be voting for the motion for a resolution provided that the amendments are likewise adopted.

Mr Didò (S). — *(IT)* Mr President, on my behalf, and on behalf of Mr Ferri and Mr Pelikan and all the Italian Socialist and Social Democratic Members of Parliament, I wish to state that the responsibility for the possible failure of the Super-Sara project falls entirely on the shoulders of the Commission and the Council, and certain national governments in particular, because of the delays which prevented a decision being reached promptly.

This is an intolerable situation, and although grand affirmations of principle on common research are being made, the reality is that joint centres such as Ispra are becoming increasingly ignored and weakened.

We shall vote in favour of this motion, firstly, to reaffirm the European Parliament's firm intention to guarantee continuity and expansion of the Ispra Centre and common research and, secondly, to reaffirm support for the Super-Sara project or, at least, in any case to encourage approval of projects capable of providing a new stimulus for the Ispra Centre.

Mr Petronio (NI). — (IT) Mr President, we will also vote in favour of Mr Pedini's motion, so as to both support the validity of the Ispra Joint Research Centre and reaffirm the validity and topical interest of the Super-Sara project, though we note that the Commission, in a working document which appeared this morning, is already talking of mothballing the ESSOR reactor. This could even be thought of as the 'funeral' of the Super-Sara reactor and circuit — a funeral which, as Mr Pedini says, will prove extravagant and costly.

In any case, we also wish to make the following logical secondary request, i.e. that a valid alternative programme should be prepared. The Commission could, for example, re-examine the projects which it already has in its possession and add new projects to the original proposal for the 1984-1987 programme.

Examples of fields that could be examined are: hydrogen and the possibility of establishing a centre to develop the technology necessary for a full-scale system using hydrogen which could be ready in the 1990s, and which would investigate safety measures, transport and production systems, the use of hydrogen for direct conversion into electricity, the problems of energy storage using hydrogen and, hence, problems associated with equipment and other, minor, issues. Because of the long-term work involved, the high percentage of risk, and the wide-ranging and interdisciplinary nature of this type of research work, it is this type of project in particular which cannot be entrusted to industry, the universities or minor research centres, although these might receive some form of contract for specific operations under the general programme.

Another alternative programme could be the chemical and technological study of coal, since it would seem that knowledge of this field is far from complete. The study of synthetic fuels, which would be included in this project, would fit in extremely well with the abovementioned 'hydrogen project'.

Other possibilities which have been investigated include a centre for European innovation, consisting of an institute which would carry out research and give opinions on possible inventions or high-risk projects.

Finally, some modest provision — less than 10% if wished — should be made for making use of the scientific capabilities of the staff at Ispra, which is highly qualified in world terms, by setting up selective projects and creating the structures for the renewal of ideas which would act as a foundation for study and the formulation of future research programmes.

Mr Narjes, Member of the Commission. — (DE) Mr President, I should first of all like to thank this House for finding time for a brief debate on this subject today by means of a request for urgency and for the numer-

ous suggestions for the further decisions which, as you know, the Council of Ministers already has in view.

The current situation results from the fact that, in December 1982, the Council of Foreign Ministers appointed a group of three experts to give an opinion on Super-Sara. This group met on several occasions in January and submitted its report on the 27th of that month. It had to decide two questions: firstly, whether Super-Sara's contribution to nuclear safety could be regarded as significant, and secondly, it was called on to comment to the cost-effectiveness of this project.

The report of the 'three wise men' confirmed that the idea was fundamentally a good one, but that it had become less significant in view of the time which had elapsed since the conclusions contained in the Adams report of April 1982. Several people have rightly raised the question of where the responsibility for this lies, and I should like to state quite clearly that I go along with Mr Linkohr's conclusions to the effect that it is entirely the Council's fault. Contrary to what Mr Ippolito said, the Commission — or to be precise my colleague, Mr Davignon, who is unfortunately not here today — did not let a single day go by without making efforts to save this project. However, it no longer had the support of a majority in the Council of Ministers, and we were therefore obliged, in the interests of the researchers and the Joint Research Centre, to go along with the Council. These are the facts of the matter.

The Council has now adopted, on 8 February to be exact, certain conclusions with which this House is familiar. On the one hand, this means that no decision has as yet been taken regarding Super-Sara. We will have to wait for 10 March for this. However, quite apart from this the Community must give some thought to four aspects of the future of the Joint Research Centre. On the one hand, there is a question of affirming the central role of the Joint Research Centre in the context of a common research strategy. The need for a catalyst in research policy has been frequently mentioned.

Secondly, it was found that 174 million ECU for the year 1983 would be adequate to maintain the *status quo* both from the point of view of staffing — 2 260 persons being employed at present — and as regards the budget.

Thirdly, the decision-making procedure, which with all its short-comings, obviously was most responsible for the present situation, was the subject of discussion. The Ministers agreed that there was room for improvement in the decision-making process of the Community, and I should therefore like to make a small reservation at this point. Mr Linkohr said that the dead should be buried and that we should not try to bring them back to life. However, the events of the last two years provide extremely valuable material for pathological study, and if those events at least result in

Narjes

appropriate decision-making procedures in the future, so that science and industry are not put off cooperating with the Community in the field of research, but are rather encouraged to do so, something useful might come of it all. However, we can only guarantee this encouragement if tangible results are produced, i.e. results which are timely and appropriate both from the substantive point of view and from the point of view of their economic and political implications.

The fourth point was the question of measures to improve mobility in the Joint Research Centre. I should like to stress that these four questions were brought up by the Commission and the Council has acknowledged them. I should like to draw attention to one final point. Paragraph 3 of the amended version of the motion for resolution states that the Commission should inform the competent committee of its alternative programme, and I am glad to be able to inform you that agreements along these lines have already been made between my colleague, Mr Davignon, and Mrs Walz. It goes without saying that the Commission will give the competent committee detailed information before 10 March regarding the various possibilities and also answer various questions brought up today.

President. — The debate is closed.

Vote¹

4. Welcome

President. — Ladies and gentlemen, it gives me great pleasure to welcome to the official gallery Mr Johannes Virolainen, who has kindly accepted our invitation.

(Applause)

We are delighted to welcome Mr Virolainen here in a dual capacity, firstly as the President of the National Assembly of Finland, with which we are keen to develop mutual and friendly interparliamentary relations.

(Applause)

In greeting the President of the Finnish Assembly we wish to voice our esteem and friendship for the Finnish Parliament and for the Finnish people and we should also like to strengthen the fruitful cooperation which has developed between the European Community and Finland.

The European Parliament also welcomes Mr Virolainen in his capacity as President of the Interparliamentary Union, to which the national parliaments of the Ten Member States of the European Community belong. This Parliament, which the people of the Community elected by direct universal suffrage, supports all efforts to consolidate the idea of pluralist parliamentary democracy and to strengthen popular representation throughout the world. I should therefore like to extend a warm welcome to Mr Virolainen and I hope that his visit to Strasbourg will be useful.

(Applause)

5. Topical and urgent debate (continuation)

Shipbuilding

President. — The next item is the joint debate on two motions for resolutions:

- motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-1238/82/rev.), tabled by Miss Quin and others on behalf of the socialist Group, on the crisis in the shipbuilding industry;
- motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-1243/82), tabled by Mr Provan and Lord O'Hagan on behalf of the European Democratic Group, on job losses at the Timex Corporation, Dundee.

Miss Quin (S). — Mr President and colleagues, an earlier speaker today was complaining of the over-use of the word 'crisis' in our debates, but I make no apologies for using it again this morning in connection with the ship-building industry. The ship-building industry is facing one of the worst crises it has ever experienced, and the resolution I have tabled, on behalf of my group, asks the Commission and Council to consider the problems of the industry urgently and to come up with a much more positive strategy than anything they have produced up to now.

The loss of jobs has continued at a frightening rate. My resolution points, in particular, to the announcement by British ship-builders of the loss of a further 2 000 jobs, most in my own region of North-East England. Other Community countries have been similarly affected, and our depressed regions have been hit hardest. While the modernization and streamlining of European shipyards was certainly necessary, the yards we have left are modern and are able to compete on fair terms. But even these modern yards are starved of work at the present time. This is explained not only by the lack of demand but also, I believe, by the nature of international ship-building competition. We are witnessing a ruthless price war in the Far East, and

¹ See Annex.

Quin

Korean yards in particular are undercutting the rest of the world by up to 50%. I do not believe that these prices can be a fair reflection of costs, even given lower wage-rates and lower safety standards, and we have to recognize this when seeking to safeguard our own industry and assure its survival.

Mr President, I believe that ship-building in the EEC is no longer suffering from over-capacity. According to figures which I have been given, current capacity enables EEC yards to meet only 50-60% of EEC ship-owners' normal requirements. Furthermore, figures supplied to me by the Commission in answer to a written question show that ship-owners in my own country, for instance, place the majority of their orders outside the EEC. I believe that for ship-building to recover, this trend has to be reversed. The world will certainly need ships in the future, but the question we have to ask ourselves today is: 'Who is going to be building these ships?' My answer is that the Community must see to it that our ship-building regions and the expertise and skills of the shipyard workers who live in them are not allowed to die.

In the Socialist Group, we have been very disappointed at the lack of action by both Commission and Council to the resolutions that Parliament has adopted over the past few years. I hope today that the Parliament will speak clearly again and say that we will tolerate no further delay.

Finally, I would refer to what President Thorn said earlier this week, when he said that the Community would fail the acid test if it failed to stop industrial decline. Let the Community make a start with the ship-building industry, to prove that it has the will to act in order to save it from extinction!

(Applause)

Mr Provan (ED). — Mr President, first of all let me thank the House and say how grateful I am — and, I am sure, the people of Dundee — that the House is debating this matter this morning. I must say that the 1 900 people who are facing redundancy in Dundee will also be very grateful.

We must realize that Dundee has recently lost 1 900 jobs in a high-technology industry — namely, the Timex Corporation in Dundee. It is a city suffering one of the highest unemployment rates in the European Community. Timex manufacture watches, and I have been involved with them over the last three years in an anti-dumping levy which was invoked last year by the Commission on Russian watches coming into the European Community.

That certainly is part of the problem that the company has been facing, but they have now been faced with a new situation — a situation where the Nimslo 3D camera has been lured away from Dundee to Besan-

çon, in France. Fraslen, the new company that has been set up to take this Timex Corporation over in Besançon, stands to gain 900 new jobs in this optical field alone with the development of the 3D camera. It is said that the French Government is offering 550 million French francs, and that aid is to be granted by way of loans and by grant. Since the French Government has now nationalized its banks, it is very difficult for anybody to know exactly how this is being done. As a matter of urgency, the Commission must, I think, undertake an investigation, because this is the type of thing that could absolutely ruin the European Community.

We must also not allow any bidding up by international companies by way of development grants. It is very easy for a multinational company in one part of the Community to go to another and say: 'What are you going to do for us if we bring you jobs?' That must not be allowed under European competition policy.

The unemployment rate in Dundee, as I have said, is one of the highest in the European Community. At present it is 15.8%. As a result of these redundancies, it will go to over 17%. Yet we look at Besançon, where the unemployment rate at present is only 7.4%.

Why should the French Government be allowed to get away with luring industry from such a depressed area as Dundee is at the present time? What shines through the transfer of jobs from one special development area in the UK is definitely that French national assistance must have been offered in this case to the Timex Corporation. I believe that we urgently need a report from the Commission on this matter, and I hope that Parliament will support this resolution this morning.

(Applause)

Mr Adam (S). — Mr President, like Miss Quin, I make no apology for using the word 'crisis' in this debate this morning. The redundancies that have been announced in Tyneside spell the end of the industry unless urgent action is taken. The industry will go into terminal decline if any further redundancies take place. The Commission response has so far been extremely weak. I draw the attention of the House to the Sixteenth General Report and in particular to paragraph 173. This report was circulated only this week. How weak the response is! The Commission has in mind to call on other countries outside the OECD!

The Commission says that it has taken care to ensure that no unfair burden resulting from the crisis falls on the Community industries. In the light of the figures that Miss Quin has given this morning, I challenge the accuracy of that statement. The Fifth Directive must be replaced by a more effective policy. Progressive reduction of aid is a policy for disaster when we are

Adam

losing out in the world's markets. I have put forward two amendments, Mr President. The first, Amendment No 2, calls on the Commission to evaluate the large-scale vertically integrated structures used by our main competitors. The second amendment, Amendment No 3, asks for the creation of an overall maritime policy which will cover shipbuilding, shipping and ocean engineering. Let us determine to build on the skills of the people in the shipyards.

I support the concept of fair and planned trade, but in the face of cut-throat competition we must make it absolutely clear that in the absence of agreement we will defend our industry and the people who are employed in it.

Mr Chanterie (PPE). — (NL) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the two motions for resolutions we are debating now are both concerned with the fight against unemployment. Earlier on in this part-session, the debate on Mr Thorn's Commission programme underlined once again the fact that the European Community must regard it as an absolute priority to do everything possible to stem the tide of unemployment and to counteract the economic decline, working on the correct assumption that what is at stake is the very future of our peoples — and especially the younger generation — and of the European ideal as such. European industry must be restored to health, and this will require a Community industrial strategy covering the primary industries too. That being so, I should like to call on the Commission and the Council to add to their measures for the iron and steel industry similar and urgent measures for other staple industries like textiles and shipbuilding, where a large number of jobs are likewise at risk.

I should like to draw your attention here to paragraphs 23 and 24 of the Commission's outline programme for 1983, which refer to the Commission's proposed activities in the interests of the textile and shipbuilding industries. Mr President, I feel that what the Commission's programme has to say on this point is couched in very weak terms, and that we must take the opportunity today to urge the Commission to act more dynamically and decisively.

As regards the shipbuilding industry, we support this motion for a resolution, but we have tabled an amendment to paragraph 1 expressing the view that restructuring has now gone far enough. I should like to remind you that this House came out in December in favour of persevering with the Commission's restructuring plan for the next two years, the aim being — and I think this is an important point — to avoid the kind of unthinking restructuring, the main victims of which would be the workers. Our true aim must be to conserve as many jobs as is economically justifiable.

I should also like to make the point that the workers themselves must be fully involved in any further

refinements to the restructuring plan. Only an active European restructuring policy covering the shipbuilding industry too will make us more competitive in this sector, and that is why we will be giving our wholehearted support to this motion for a resolution.

Mr Fergusson (ED). — Mr President, although I may say one or two words on behalf of my group, I speak in this case on my own behalf.

For me the trouble with Miss Quin's resolution on shipbuilding areas, with which we all have — and it is impossible not to have — a huge amount of sympathy, is that in a world that is changing so fast it does appear inevitably backward looking; protectionist rather than constructive.

Of course, we are all incensed by certain practices of third countries which threaten our jobs by State direction of their economies. Of course, that is what you get once a State gets too strong.

Where I go right along with this resolution is where it takes, or tries to take, a constructive attitude towards a positive shipbuilding policy in the Community. That, of course, we must have, and that, of course, we all know has been lacking for far too long.

Where I find the resolution problematic is where, under the guise of preventing further restructuring or rationalization — call it what you like — it suggests protectionism — which is always expensive, wasteful, moral-sapping and ultimately futile — as a way forward. To my mind that kind of protectionism is simply a way of ensuring that other new industries on which we are going to depend and which will supply the jobs of the future, will be starved of the investment they are going to need. To spread what is available around everyone who calls for it is simply depriving those shipyards which still have a future.

Heaven knows that my own part of Scotland, the Clyde, which used to be the primary shipbuilding area of the world, needs Community help more than most.

May I just end by acknowledging the gratitude we all feel for the grants given by the Commission to help areas, like Scotland, where unemployment is worse than anywhere else.

(The President urged the speaker to conclude)

Can I just make this one point to the Commission namely, to ask it, when examining the projects on which this grant aid is to be spent, to take as broad a view as possible of the projects submitted to it, because it is very hard to decide from this distance what particular measures are best for restructuring communities.

May I express my gratitude for what we have got and say please, be as broad minded as you can in your approach.

Mr Paisley (NI). — I rise to support wholeheartedly Miss Quin's motion. The largest single employer in Northern Ireland's manufacturing industry is the Belfast shipyard. Harland and Wolfe in Belfast has the reputation of having built some of the finest ships which ever plied the deep. Now the yard has been so seriously cut back that, if something is not done, it will be closed down altogether. This would not only be disastrous to Northern Ireland's already devastated economy, but would result in the loss of jobs not only in the yard itself, but many more in the ancillary fields.

I need not stress again in this House the fact that Northern Ireland has the worst unemployment in the whole of the Community. There has been talk of crisis here today. The real truth is that catastrophe faces shipbuilding in Belfast. One of the directors of the yard recently informed me that because of the competition from South Korea and Japan, even if the whole work-force and directors worked for nothing, they could not compete and keep the yard viable. The Commission must now bring forward immediate proposals to enable the shipbuilding industry in the Community to ride out the present problems. The Council must accept that a halt must now be called to the so-called reconstruction programme and that the Commission's 'scrap and build' policy must be urgently implemented.

In closing, I would like to say I also support the other motion that has been jointly debated with this motion, that is, the motion standing in the names of Mr Provan and Lord O'Hagan.

Mr Collins (S). — Mr President, it is good that Parliament is debating the Timex case because it does raise serious problems about multinationals. It does raise serious problems about fair competition, and it does make it absolutely clear that, so far as we are concerned, the fight against unemployment must be truly international. To that extent it is good that we are debating it. But, Mr President, this resolution must surely rank as one of the most blatantly hypocritical pieces of work presented in this House. Unemployment in the United Kingdom has been allowed to grow to its highest level since the war. Unemployment in Scotland is higher than the United Kingdom average and Dundee is one of the worst black spots within Scotland, with youth unemployment running at something like three-quarters of the young people.

This resolution — I will ignore the rude interruptions from people who apparently do not know any better over there, Mr President — certainly refers to all of this, but its edge is blurred and its edge is stained with the crocodile tears of its authors. The fact is that unemployment is neither understood nor fought by the Tory Government. Indeed much of the present misery has been caused by their economic policies and aggravated by their social policies.

Of course, Mr Provan and Lord O'Hagan are not members of the United Kingdom Government, but as Tories they are supporters, and therefore they are culpable. Their hypocrisy is that this is a case of a multinational company seeking to play one country off against another. Of course Member States should not be trying to entice industries away from their partners, and of course the Community should intervene, and we should support the intervention. But the Community powers to do that need to be strengthened. We need more control over the multinationals. The hypocrisy of these people over there is that when the European Parliament considered the Vredeling proposals which would have achieved this, its authors and Mr Fergusson helped to dilute, distort and destroy them.

(Applause)

That is the hypocrisy, Mr President. Nonetheless, let us send our support to the workers at Timex. The Socialist Group is firmly behind the struggle to maintain their jobs and to internationalize the fight against unemployment in the Community. I only wish the authors of this resolution were too.

(Applause)

Mrs Maij-Weggen (PPE). — *(NL)* Mr President, the problems faced by the shipbuilding industry, and spelt out by Miss Quin, are not exclusive to the United Kingdom; other Member States are having to cope with tremendous difficulties too. Let us just take a look at the cold statistical reality. Between 1975 and 1981, the number of jobs in the United Kingdom's shipbuilding industry fell from 54 000 to 25 000, the comparative falls over the same period in the other countries being from 46 000 to 26 000 in the Federal Republic of Germany, from 32 000 to 22 000 in France, from 7 000 to 5 000 in Belgium, from 16 000 to 11 000 in Denmark, from 25 000 to 17 000 in Italy and from 22 000 to 13 000 in the Netherlands. The net result is that the European shipbuilding industry has lost close on 90 000 jobs since 1975, the countries worst affected being the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Miss Quin's motion for a resolution is therefore fully justified, and I should like to make the point that the situation in the Netherlands and the Federal Republic of Germany is almost as serious as in Dundee. Restructuring is currently in progress at ADM in Amsterdam, where hundreds of jobs are at stake, and problems have been encountered recently by the Rijn-Schelde-Verolme company, casting a shadow on not hundreds but thousands of jobs. In both cases, restructuring is essential, but I would appeal to the Commission — which, after all, has to give its approval to any such restructuring plans — to do so only provided that as many jobs as possible can be saved, not only in Dundee, but also at ADM in Amsterdam and at Rijn-Schelde-Verolme in Vlissingen. If the current plans for

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·Vlissingen were to be accepted, Mr Narjes, unemployment would increase from some 20% to something close to 40%, a level which I regard as absolutely intolerable.

I would therefore ask you to follow my group's example and support Miss Quin's motion for a resolution. But I would ask you once again, Mr Narjes, to give maximum priority to the safeguarding of jobs whenever you give your approval for restructuring plans. I would also draw the other speakers' attention to Mr Thorn's speech. If he means what he said about safeguarding and creating jobs in Europe, the shipbuilding industry is probably the most deserving of the Commission's attention at the present time.

Mrs Ewing (DEP). — Mr President, I am grateful to the sponsors of both motions for getting these subjects on the agenda today and I shall be supporting both of them.

I would just like to make one or two points about the situation at Timex, which really arises not from any fault on the part of the workforce, not from lack of productivity, not from bad industrial relations. In all these things they really have excelled. It arises because of the very debonair way in which this particular multinational has conducted itself. It started off with an excellent camera, and decided to move it to Japan. Apparently quite soon now, this camera is to be launched in Dundee with all the costs involved — and through no fault of the workforce.

It puzzles me that there should have been so much opposition to the very modest proposals of Vredeling. Do the Conservatives want to go back in time to the disgraceful situation that used to exist when a man used to buy his evening paper in Glasgow and find he had no job to go to in the morning? It is a pity to say so it, but that is not entirely relegated to Victoriana, because in my Highland constituency we have had the debonair behaviour of two lots of multinationals, one in Corpach causing enormous hardship, and one in Invergordon.

In the case of Invergordon, the men learned from the television that all their jobs were at risk. Now that is inhuman, and by anybody's standards, whatever his political colour is, it should be deplored as inhuman. Really, Vredeling is a modest set of suggested improvements. It does not go as far as I would like, but at least it is modest, and yet they could not find it in their hearts to accept it.

Do we want multinationals to go on behaving in this way? I was on a Robin Day programme, for my sins, the other night. I do not want to advertise him, I can assure you. The point of my story is that I was on with this multi-millionaire genius called Clive Sinclair, and his view is, as I understand it, that we do not need to have a manufacturing base anymore in Scotland, we

should just go for inventions. Well, I suppose that is alright if you are Clive Sinclair, but I prefer to have a strong manufacturing base, thanks very much. And this is the man who dared to say to the workers after four days of a strike which he had caused by his treatment of them — and they had never been on strike before — that if they did not stop striking, he would take all his work away to another unspecified country. That is as much interest as he has got, and yet he has the destiny of all these people in his hands.

So, I support these resolutions and thank their sponsors for tabling them.

Mr Rogalla (S). — (DE) On a point of order, Mr President. It is now just before one o'clock and according to the agenda we adopted Question Time should last from ten o'clock to one o'clock. As you know, Mr President, as a result of the visit by Chancellor Kohl we have lost a few minutes out of Question Time. I should like to know if you intend to extend Question Time at least for the amount of time that Mr Kohl spoke.

Pursuant to Rule 48(3) of the Rules of Procedure, the speaking time for the Council and the Commission is not included in the time which is allocated to the topical and urgent debate. I interpret this to mean that the 30 or 35 minutes the Commission used this morning should now be added to the duration of Question Time. I would ask you to seek a ruling from the relevant committee.

President. — I assume, Mr Rogalla, that the Commission will need a little more time to give its opinion, because a lot of questions were addressed to it. I am sure this will be done. Then we have the voting with numerous amendments. I think we should manage to be finished with that by about ten past one. I cannot go into this afternoon's agenda. I am ready to grant your request and to seek a ruling on paragraph 3 from the Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions, but it says here 'a maximum time of three hours per part-session' and I must keep to the schedule which has been approved by the House.

Mr Narjes, Member of the Commission. — (DE) Mr President, following this point of order I shall be even briefer than I would have had to have been in the first place and primarily draw attention to the Commission's structural report which was submitted to this House some five months ago and in which the Commission describes in detail the situation of the shipbuilding industry in the Community. However, even after this point of order I must draw attention to two additional points. The fact that we have been faced with the problem of stagnation in the shipbuilding industry for many years now is connected with the fact that, in real terms, there has been no increase in the volume of world trade for the past three years so that

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the transport demand is considerably lower than the forecasts which formed the basis for the building decisions which resulted in today's world merchant fleet. This statement is not affected by the special situation as regards tankers.

There is also the fact that no industry is so dependent on the world market situation as shipbuilding and we should therefore, in the interests of Europe, differentiate in the long term between ordinary shipbuilding and specialized shipbuilding, which constitutes a form of high technology and in which the superiority of the European shipyards can make itself more strongly felt than in ordinary shipbuilding where wage and social costs alone pose a particular problem in Europe.

Thus, the Commission is fully aware of the seriousness of the situation in the shipbuilding sector and the social implications of this situation, and it continues in its efforts to contribute through its policy towards ensuring that the structural changes can be made under socially acceptable conditions.

As regards the social implications of the current structural measures, Article 5 of the Council Directive on State aids to shipbuilding States the conditions under which aids of a social nature accompanying the structural measures may be compatible with the rules of competition laid down in the Treaty.

So far, no Member State has made use of this authorization or these possibilities. For the rest, the amendment we proposed for the European Social Fund will be of significance for the structural changes in the shipbuilding sector. Other Commission proposals were rejected by the Council of Ministers as long ago as 1981.

The question of scrapping has been mentioned and I should like to say that in spite of the fact that no specific 'scrap and build' activities exist at Community level, the Member States can nevertheless take measures of this kind individually provided they respect the common rules governing state aids. A number of Member States practice this form of aid — mainly by encouraging scrapping. Following the results of the Council's exploratory debate on this question, the Commission has not been able to continue its own measures since the Council provided no prospects of Community-level action on this front.

As regards shipbuilding in third countries, it is true to say that South Korea's share of the market, which has also been referred to today, has increased substantially of late. As a result of new contracts, it rose from 5.1% at the beginning of 1981 to 11.5% by 1982. The Japanese share of the market on the other hand would appear to have levelled off. As regards prices, the Asian shipyards tend to undercut European shipyards by about 30% in the case of new standard ships. However, the information available to the Commission does not suggest that this price differential results

from production or product aids but points rather to investment aids and financial aids as the underlying factor. I will not comment in this connection on the question of the extent to which these financial aids could be cleared of the charge of distorting competition in view of the general downward trend in interest rates.

The Commission is always aware that for various purely objective reasons it will be more and more difficult in the future to continue with the quantitative adaptation of the industry on a substantial scale. In the Commission's view, therefore, we should also think in terms of actively contributing towards qualitative consolidation, and this is the point of the statement made in the report quoted in the Commission's framework programme to the effect that we must first and foremost work towards increasing productivity in European shipbuilding and intend to do so with a view to re-establishing the preconditions for competitiveness on as broad a base as possible in this respect.

So much for my remarks on shipbuilding. I should like to make three additional points concerning the Timex affair so as to contribute to the debate on this subject too.

The Commission has asked two Member States to provide detailed information on all the aids and financial facilities they have granted or intend to grant in connection with the development of the activities of the Timex Corporation which has been discussed here this morning. The Commission does not think it should comment further on the compatibility of any of the measures taken in this respect with Community competition rules before it has received this information from the governments in question and studied it in detail.

The Commission has at present no basis on which to assess the assumption that loans by nationalized banks necessarily involve any greater financial advantages than loans from private-sector banks. At present, the activities of nationalized banks fall outside the scope of the Commission directive of 25 June 1980 on the transparency of financial relations between Member States and public undertakings (80/723). As you know, this transparency directive was upheld as legally valid a few months ago by the European Court of Justice although it had been contested by three Member States. The Commission is now considering extending this directive to cover other economic activities including those of the nationalized banks.

The Commission does not feel that a special report to Parliament is called for on this matter since the fundamental principles are reflected in the day-to-day measures taken by the Commission in implementation of the rules on competition on which Parliament is informed in the annual reports. However, the Commission is obviously prepared to pass on any information available provided this would not involve infring-

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ing the principle of confidentiality, and also to provide the Committees with this information if Members of this Parliament ask additional questions.

President. — The debate is closed.

Mr Boyes (S). — Could I ask the Commissioner a question? I should like to thank him for his reply, but he did say for South Korea that shipbuilding . . .

President. — I said that the debate was closed. You cannot be allowed to speak any more.

Mr Wurtz (COM). — (FR) Point of order, Mr President. Since there is no time to consider the motions for resolutions on the sale of American flour to Egypt, would it be possible to have a vote without debate?

President. — I am afraid it is not possible, Mr Wurtz. The Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions has already considered the matter once.

Vote¹

(The sitting was suspended at 1.15 p.m. and resumed at 3.15 p.m.)

IN THE CHAIR: LADY ELLES

Vice-President

6. *Supplementary budget No 1 — United Kingdom: Supplementary measures — Energy strategy*

President. — The next item is the joint debate on three reports, drawn up by Mr Robert Jackson on behalf of the Committee on Budgets, on

— draft supplementary and amending budget No 1 for 1983 (Doc. 1-1222/82) (Doc. 1-1233/82):

- the proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-1217/82 — COM(83) 31 final) for a regulation establishing specific measures of Community interest relating to energy strategy (Doc. 1-1235/82);

and

- the proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-1216/82 — COM(83) 30 final) for a regulation amending Regulation (EEC) No 2744/80 establishing supplementary measures in favour of the United Kingdom (Doc. 1-1234/82).

Mr Robert Jackson (ED), rapporteur. — Madam President, since the Committee on Budgets intends that its rapporteur's speech should serve as the explanatory note to be read in conjunction with the draft resolution which is now before the House, let me go through that resolution clause by clause, explaining the background to each of those clauses and the intentions of the committee as expressed in our debate on Tuesday afternoon.

Paragraph 1 of the resolution is straightforward. It recites the exact words of Parliament's resolution of 14 December 1982 setting out the conditions on which it would be willing to let the draft supplementary budget No 1 for 1982 be passed. The Budget Committee believes that the same conditions are relevant to our judgment on the present draft supplementary budget No 1 for 1983. On this basis, paragraph 2 of the draft resolution assesses the extent of the progress represented by Council's present draft over that presented last November. The Budget Committee describes this progress as being 'substantive but partial'. The particular points on which the committee feels that Parliament has secured real improvements are enumerated in paragraph 2. Whereas, in December, none of the proposed expenditure was classified as non-obligatory, now approximately half has been placed in that category. Whereas, in December, it was proposed that the entire amount of the expenditure should be made available immediately in the form of a 100% advance, now the Council has conceded that there will only be a 90% advance with a 10% retention for control purposes. Further, formal provision is now made, where it was previously lacking, for whatever refunds may turn out to be necessary. Finally, the Budget Committee registers the resumption of progress by the Commission towards the fulfilment of the objectives of the 30 May Mandate, in the shape of its commitment, and I quote: 'To bring forward proposals as soon as possible to expand existing policies and diversify the own-resources system'.

Madam President, this point is further developed in paragraphs 3 and 4 of the draft resolution, which embodies in their own words the commitments made respectively by Commission and Council, to make proposals at the earliest possible opportunity, and to find a Community solution to the budget problem as soon as possible. Having registered these points, the Budgets Committee proposes in paragraph 5 of the resolution that these statements should be evaluated as 'partially conforming' with Parliament's resolutions on

¹ See Annex.

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the subject, and it expresses regret at the serious delays in making progress towards Parliament's objectives.

The catalogue of Parliament's resolution and objectives is of course very familiar. They may be said to have been summed up most recently in the single clause resolution adopted by Parliament on 16 December alongside its resolution rejecting the draft supplementary budget, the resolution which 'calls on the Commission and the Council to submit, as soon as possible, new financial and budgetary proposals which provide an effective followup to the Mandate of 30 May, and lay the basis for a lasting solution to the unacceptable situations which have arisen for a number of Member States.'

The perception reaffirmed in paragraph 6 of the draft resolution now before us, that the statements of the Commission and the Council do not constitute a sufficiently binding commitment, both in respect of their content and of the timing envisaged, leads the Budget Committee to recommend two important demands in paragraph 7.

The Commission is required to table specific proposals by the end of May 1983 for the development of Community policies and for the future financing of the Community. In the discussion in the Committee on Budgets, I should report that this requirement was explicitly linked to paragraph 10 of the draft resolution, about which I do not think I need say any more; but I hope the Commission will study that paragraph with care.

Returning to paragraph 7, the Committee on Budgets proposes, moreover, not only that the Commission be required to make specific proposals by a certain date, but also that the Council should take the necessary decisions on long-term Community solutions 'in time to take effect by the end of 1983'. To give force to this demand, the Committee on Budgets concluded that it was politically necessary to propose in paragraph 8 that Parliament should indicate its unwillingness to agree to further recourse to measures like those which it rejected in December 1982, and its requirement that the Commission should withdraw its November proposals.

There was, Madam President, an extensive discussion of this issue in the committee. Three points emerged. First, it is quite clear that, so far as the Committee on Budgets is concerned — and, if the resolution passes, as far as this House is concerned — supplementary measures of the type that constitute the 1980, 1981 and the original 1982 compensation arrangements — supplementary measures of that type are now dead. Secondly, the committee is in no way seeking to qualify Parliament's longstanding commitment to the solution of the problem of budgetary imbalances, whether in the current or any future year. Thirdly, the committee intends that the draft resolution should be construed as applying pressure for decisions to be taken

on a middle and long-term solution to the problem by the end of 1983. It cannot, and I say this with emphasis, be construed as intending to deny the need for a solution for the current year which is now in progress.

Turning to paragraph 9 of the resolution, which refers to vigilance in control, I think this paragraph speaks for itself, as also do the minatory phrases of paragraph 10 — to which I have already referred.

Paragraph 11 notes the fact that, owing to defects in the Council decision relating to compensation to the United Kingdom in 1980, 1981, and probably also in 1982, there were differences between the estimated and the actual imbalances affecting that country in 1980 and 1981, and it appears likely that there will be analogous differences when the final tally for 1982 is reckoned. The Committee on Budgets recommends that Parliament should express the view that these differences should be taken into account as early as possible in establishing the amount of expenditure to be provided for future measures relating to the United Kingdom.

So, Madam President, we come to the final recommendation of the Committee on Budgets to this House, in paragraph 12, that we should not object to the draft supplementary budget and that Parliament should therefore not seek to modify or amend it. If the House follows this recommendation, its meaning will be clear. We intend to dispose finally of these measures for 1982 in order to clear the decks for Commission and Council to get on with the long delayed work of finding, in consultation with the Parliament, proper Community solutions to the problems of budgetary imbalance, making possible a resumption of progress in the development of Community policies.

Perhaps, Madam President, I may, in conclusion, be allowed to say a personal word — taking off my rapporteur's hat. In December I was one of the minority of Members who voted against the rejection of the draft supplementary budget which was then before us. The chapter which that vote opened up is not yet closed. Nevertheless, I do feel bound to remark that Parliament's vote last December has, had important positive consequences at least so far. There can be no doubt that Parliament has successfully asserted its right to be taken seriously by Commission and Council in their deliberations on the solution to the vexed problems of budgetary imbalance and the development of Community policy. There is also no doubt — as representatives of at least one Member State have several times observed, not without some gratitude — that Parliament's vote in December has put the discussion of permanent long-term solutions to the budget problem firmly back on the rails. In doing so, Parliament certainly intends that the problem should be solved. It does not intend that its action should be taken as an excuse for further delays or for the perpetuation of situations which it and the Community alike have long recognized to be unacceptable.

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In this sense, Madam President, I do not mind admitting, for my own part, that perhaps it may turn out that last December I was mistaken in my vote. Let me simply say this: I hope that it is not too soon to record that by its vote at that time Parliament took a big step forward, both for the Community and for itself.

(*Applause*)

Mr Tugendhat, Vice-President of the Commission. — Madam President, it is a somewhat unusual occurrence that this Parliament should have before it a draft budget established by the Council in precisely the same form as the Commission's preliminary draft. In fact, I cannot, I must confess, remember a similar occasion in the past, and I would like to think that this was a happy omen for our further budgetary work later this year. I feel sure that the German presidency and the Greeks who will follow them will bear that very much in mind, though I fear experience teaches me that it would probably be wise to be less sanguine than that.

In preparing the supplementary budget now before you, Madam President, the Commission has tried to take proper account of the concerns which this Parliament expressed in rejecting draft supplementary budget No 1 of 1982. In responding the way we have, the Commission has shown that where Parliament expresses clear views and demands, the Commission will exercise the maximum possible effort and goodwill in meeting them.

The fact that the Council has also endorsed the Commission proposal and thereby recognized the validity of Parliament's concerns shows, I think, that the scope for a constructive dialogue and relationship between the Community's institutions in the budgetary field is greater than might sometimes be supposed. The Commission very much hopes that in adopting this supplementary budget, the Community can close a chapter on the manner of handling the particular Community problem which is at the origin of it. We must, in the Commission's view, henceforth concentrate on the much more important task of finding a true and lasting Community solution.

(*Applause*)

Mr Arndt (S). — (*DE*) Madam President, in December I compared the speed of a snail with that of a tortoise and said that the Council was gradually beginning to move at the relatively faster speed of a tortoise. If we compare its speed with earlier times, I am bound to say that the Council is moving and it is moving forwards. I would like to thank the Council, and in particular Mr Tietmeyer as President-in-Office of the Budget Council for his efforts because I believe something has happened which I have never experienced before in Parliament and between Parliament and the

Council. Things are moving and the Council is beginning to discuss matters seriously and reasonably with Parliament.

As the Council can see, it pays because what we now have in the form of a motion for a resolution by the Committee on Budgets shows clearly our intention to arrive at a solution in this matter.

I would like to thank the rapporteur for once again focussing attention on the decision taken in December. What is presented to us today represents success for this Parliament and the result of the decision taken in December. All those who did not or could not join the majority of the House then have now realized that it pays when this Parliament shows its teeth once in a while.

(*Applause*)

I find a distinct attempt is being made to accommodate Parliament, but I do believe there is still a long way to go. The statement by the Council President on Tuesday to the effect that the Council, too, firmly intends to achieve a permanent solution as quickly as possible may not be an absolute guarantee, but if it is adhered to with the same firmness as the tone of its delivery yesterday, I believe we shall reach some reasonable decisions during the next six months.

It is also important that the Council should have accepted that the funds for the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany are *Community* funds and not just any funds which return in the form of transfers. It is important that this House should exercise full control over these Community funds and that the heading inserted in the budget makes provision for repayment of excess funds. What has been achieved here is quite an important step forward.

It is also important that the 600 million ECU earmarked for energy policy should be expressly treated as *non-compulsory* expenditure. We assume that the other funds will also be treated as such later, but to begin with, it was important that we should arrive at this decision. Incidentally, I believe Parliament has achieved something we have been aiming at for many years, namely the establishment of an energy policy.

Now I admit that we have nothing concrete for the moment but we have got our foot in the door and I hope that in the future the Council, too, will accept the fact that we have the beginnings of a common energy policy.

I have offered my thanks to the Council; unfortunately I cannot thank the Commission. Although the Commission's representative just now in his statement for the Commission said, with a sort of pat on the shoulder, that it had made an important contribution, I must say that if the Committee on Budgets had allowed itself to be guided by the Commission's prom-

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ises, we would not yet be within sight of approving the supplementary budget. There was talk of the 'trptych' and about specific proposals for new policies and specific proposals for future financing being made. What was presented here was more or less general propositions which this Parliament had known about for years and on which it had taken decisions which had more substance to them than the Commission's proposals.

So all I can say is, bring it to the Commission's attention! We did not have the feeling that the Commission had made any great effort. The motion for a resolution by the Committee on Budgets has given the Commission a clear sign that it must try to present specific proposals by May, and I would like the Commission to take this urgently to heart because Parliament is not satisfied with it.

All in all, the Socialist Group is pleased that we have arrived at this decision. We have a special problem with regard to one amendment, which my colleague Mr Linkohr will refer to later. However, I believe Parliament has gone the right way and the Council has responded correctly, too. We can only hope that the Commission keeps up the same pace.

Mr Notenboom (PPE). — (NL) Madam President, the Group of the European People's Party is in agreement with the adoption, at a single reading, of this supplementary and amending budget No 1 for 1983. We are quite sure that this is the correct way to go about it, having made precisely that proposal ourselves. But that does not mean that we are entirely satisfied and happy with the proposals. The reason why we are giving our approval is that what is called for here is an unequivocal political decision. We shall be voting 'yes' today because the Commission and the Council have now come up with proposals which are in the most part very different from those we rejected by a large majority last December. In other words, we have demonstrated the usefulness of our right to reject out of hand even part of a budget proper. We can only hope that the Commission and the Council have now taken Parliament's point. Mr Arndt said just now that the Council had got moving, and I must say that I share his view.

Certain ministers — including, to my regret, some from my own country — reacted in a strange and irresponsible way to Parliament's rejection of this supplementary budget in December. How dare we, they said, meddle with a text which the Council had come up with as a compromise on the strength of laborious negotiations, and had finally been expressed in budgetary terms? How dare the European Parliament tamper with the results of such an exercise?

In fact, the members of government were getting hold of the wrong end of the stick; the fact is that we are one arm of the budgetary authority and, by rejecting this supplementary budget, we have succeeded in

wresting definite improvements in the interests of the Community. And I hope we have also succeeded in persuading the Commission and the Council to take a better look at where we should be heading. All our activities are in public, and we have achieved definite improvements.

Mr Arndt has already spelt out all these improvements, and there is no point in my repeating them. In fact, a total of six major and minor improvements have been made, improvements which we failed to get accepted in December. As regards Parliament's most important requirement, the Council has issued a statement aimed at meeting our demand that special payments like this should no longer in future be made to Member States. However, the statement is, from our point of view, inadequate in that the Council appears to have had great trouble even bringing itself to say that much. The Council statement concludes on a hopeful note — and indeed, a lot will depend on the proposals made by the Commission. At any rate, the Council can forget the idea of discussing matters of a budgetary nature and then expecting the European Parliament to give its approval willy nilly. That is not what we have been given budgetary powers for, nor is it why we have been directly elected by the people of Europe. We are a fully fledged arm of the budgetary authority and the powers that be would be well advised to heed this warning.

Trusting that that will be the case, and in the light of the greatly appreciated consultations between the Council and the Parliament delegation and subsequently between Mr Tietmeyer and our Committee on Budgets, my group can now agree to the approval of this supplementary budget at a single reading. Both we and the Council trust that it will in future not be necessary for us to prepare for trench warfare again. We must in future refrain from contriving legalistic tricks with the resultant loss of another month's time — a month which both the Council and we could now do with to give some thought to our future activities and to elaborate the present proposals.

Having that extra month is a definite advantage, because in a multinational parliament and in a multinational Council, a lot of time and effort is taken up in consultations, especially when those consultations are of slightly hostile nature. Now at least we shall not have to persevere with our consultations until March, and that is an important consideration — more important than many people think. We shall thereby be helping to bury the idea that our three institutions — the Council, the Commission and Parliament — which were created by the Treaty to aid the development of Europe, are condemned by a law of nature, so to speak, to be in constant conflict with each other. That idea is fallacious, and that is in itself a reason for us to approve this draft supplementary and amending budget, even though there may genuinely be certain worrying aspects which we might have liked to have amended and dealt with at a second reading. In the

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event, we have decided to give more weight to the positive aspects and the chance of making progress now than to what we have failed to achieve. The Council may now rest assured that my group will not exploit the leeway which has been created by the Council proposing to classify a large proportion of this expenditure as non-compulsory expenditure as giving us additional leeway for next year too. As far as my Group is concerned, the Council can rest assured on this point.

As I said at the Council meeting convened for the conciliation procedure, our concern is not just money, money and yet more money. What really matters is that the money spent by Europe should be managed more efficiently to bring the economies of the Member States more into line with each other. We are talking about money which should be spent with a view to enabling us to be stronger together than ten countries would be on their own. More particularly, the money should be earmarked for policies designed to take the place of national policies, as Mr Thorn said the day before yesterday. Four years ago, I put an official written question to the Commission, asking the Commission to pick out those budget items from the Member States' and the Community's budgets which would be suitable for this kind of substitution technique. The Commission's reply was that the exercise would involve too much work. We have now wasted four years in this respect, because the problem is indeed not an easy one. It is all very well to say that what we need is policy substitution, but the pressure on budgetary and social security resources in the Member States is now too great, which means that any new policy would have to be to the detriment of other, less efficient policies. But if we fail to work out procedures for this eventuality, the whole thing will fail — and I am referring also to procedures for taking decisions on national budgetary matters, otherwise the national budgetary authorities will not relinquish certain areas to the European budget, and the whole process will stagnate. In other words, policy substitution is not sufficient in itself, and in this respect, I regret the fact that we have wasted four years. At least, though, we are agreed on the aims.

Despite the fact — as I said just now — that the regulations contain a number of points which we are not all that keen about, our rapporteur has refrained from tabling any amendments. This is partly because we were more concerned about the political issues than about the details, and partly because we have had to work very quickly. Parliament received this draft budget from the Council on 2 February; the Committee on Budgets met on 7 and 8 February; and now, on 10 February, we are already all set to take the vote. That is very quick work, especially in a Community in which everything has to be translated. That too is one reason why we decided not to press certain details which, nonetheless, are of quite considerable concern to us.

In conclusion something else has happened since the rejection on 16 December. The Commission — as manager of the Community's own resources — has been shuffling those resources around. It has been opening special accounts, and all kinds of things like that, and Mr Tugendhat gave us very useful factual information on this point in January at our own request. I do not wish to go into these dodges in any more detail here; I should just like to say that the Committee on Budgetary Control has decided to make its evaluation of these activities part of the discussion on the 1981 discharge procedure, a task which the Committee has already made a start on.

Mr Balfour (ED). — Madam President, Parliament will demonstrate today that it is prepared to take its own responsibilities seriously, and it has scored a notable victory, for it has insisted that the Commission and Council take their responsibilities towards this Parliament seriously. It is, of course, possible to criticize the wording of this or that paragraph in our motion for a resolution as lacking in reality. Nobody in this House, except perhaps those who actually wish to block progress, can believe that a permanent solution, even if decided upon by year's end, will already have corrected the budgetary imbalance by the time we complete our next budget round.

As a Parliament we must accept that this imbalance will remain. We are sufficiently well informed to know that it will probably become still more pronounced during 1983 and that some special budgetary arrangements will need to be arrived at, only this time with our full consultation and involvement. Yet, we refused to say so in our motion for a resolution. We think it. We said so in committee. In particular Mr Arndt, Mr Adonnino and our chairman, Mr Lange, argued for a touch of realism, and we nearly put it into our motion for a resolution. But the words which, in the end, for tactical reasons, we couldn't quite bring ourselves to include in our paragraph 8, were suddenly too realistic. The words were these, and I quote: 'Should it be necessary to solve any problems of budgetary imbalance which may arise before a permanent solution can take full effect, Parliament insists that the Council must undertake a full discussion with it before any conclusions are reached.' So, instead, we will declare as a Parliament, and in the most solemn terms, that what was presented to us in December of last year we shall never again accept.

My group will support this resolution. Yet my group could not support Parliament in December. Why? The reason is that Parliament, it seemed to us, was pushing forward with totally unrealistic preconditions for acceptance, and we interpreted the December resolution at face value. But we have learned that Parliament is prepared to step back from its most extreme demands in order to reach a compromise with the Council. And we have seen this House score some valuable goals against the other arm of the budgetary

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authority in the process. We take pride in this, though we played no part in that particular game. Never again will a Minister be able to return to his own country, having bargained for a chunk of our budget at Council level, and claim that he carries with him a solemn undertaking from the Community. When it is our money — that is, the Communities' money — that is being carved up, we in this Parliament will not be taken for granted.

(Applause)

When it is our money — that is, the Communities' money — that is being spent, we will insist on certain checks and controls. When it is our money that is being redirected for whatever reasons, it will not be sent back unconditionally by cheque in the post. It will be voted through this House first, and then only if it is destined for programmes and projects which conform to the Community's objectives, policies and rules. This then is the victory of Parliament that no one, however mighty and however strong the case, should lay claim to Community money as though it were anybody else's but our own. For our laws tell us that these are Community funds, and if we have any justification at all in this Parliament, it is to ensure that Community money is spent in strict conformity with Community rules.

Let this Parliament not forget, however, that though our own resources are raised from European taxpayers and not from Member States, taxpayers will invariably ask for equity, and fiscal equity will, in some cases, mean the opposite of *juste retour*. Thus, if we are ever to increase or diversify our own resources, we must show an absolute readiness to be fair in how our monies are raised and how they are to be spent, both in the long term and, my dear colleagues, in the short. For, if those who pay their taxes consider what we do here inequitable, the road ahead will be blocked. For taxation to work, whatever the laws or sanctions, it must be based on consent, and the precondition of consent is justice.

(Applause)

Mr Gouthier (COM). — (IT) Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the Italian Communist and Allies Group I wish to say that we shall be voting against this solution just as we voted against it in the Committee on Budgets, so as to make one point clear. During the preceding debate we took similarly a balanced stance: we said, and still say, that we understand the genuine needs of the United Kingdom and Germany. We stated in committee, and repeat here, that we also understand and welcome, as far as they go, the new aspects included in this latest proposal, i.e. that approximately half the planned expenditure will not be non-obligatory. However, we have doubts concerning the approach of the majority apparent in the Committee on Budgets, and which is becoming apparent at

this plenary sitting, to be overconfident with regard to the Council. We believe that the Council is still not able to provide real political guarantees that it is willing to stop resorting to *ad hoc* and partial solutions. These mean that the logic of 'juste retour', which is so grasping is threatening the structure of the Community budget and, hence, the very future of the Community. This logic is based on short-sightedness and is geared only towards conceding short-term tit-bits.

We cannot accept that this sword of Damocles, which consists in the emergence and affirmation of a logic which is incompatible with a genuinely Community-oriented budget structure and logic should permanently hang over future Community budgets. We are dissatisfied with this and with the limited Community bias of the projects which form the background to these guidelines for Community expenditure.

The reasons why we cannot vote in favour of the motion and must vote against it are that we wish a) to keep the common Community flag flying, so to speak and b) to remember always that at the present time we must take a firm stance on the principles which the European Parliament has held for so long. We must be consistent with this line and must not be afraid of reaffirming our support for it. The requirements of other countries should be recognized, but the need to continue the policy of the European Parliament without prejudicing the principles on which it is built, should also be recognized.

For these reasons, Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, we shall be voting against the proposals which have been submitted.

Mrs Scrivener (L). — (FR) Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, this supplementary budget matter was, I believe, very important for the European Parliament and, beyond that, for the entire Community because all along Parliament was really alone in defending a Community position, and hence the construction of Europe.

It should be stressed, moreover, that the European Commission, through its President Mr Thorn in his speech the day before yesterday, has recognized the validity of the struggle led by Parliament. Our action was the right one because we now have before us a different budget from that of last December, which takes account in no mean manner of a number of Parliament's wishes. It must be remembered in fact that this was not the case with the 1980 budget because, after the original one was rejected, we were presented with a budget which was very similar to the one Parliament had not adopted.

I shall underline the positive aspects of this new draft: the beginnings of a common energy policy, which the Liberal Group, and I might say the entire Parliament,

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values in particular; a large part of the expenditure classed as non-compulsory; a system of Community checking of operations by the indirect method of advances, which I accept is not very satisfactory but better than nothing; repayment to the Community if by chance any of the funds remitted are not used up or if appropriations are found to be too generous. It is nevertheless entirely clear that we have *not* got what we wanted on an essential point: a clear commitment from the Council both on substance and on a deadline, which would provide us with the assurance that the *ad hoc* solutions will be replaced by Community structural solutions.

If we can still give our approval to this draft supplementary budget, it is because by voting for the resolution of the Committee on Budgets, we are firmly asking for proposals to be made by the end of May for implementation by December 1983. The Council and Commission are now aware, and it is in fact the greatest success obtained by way of this supplementary budget that the measures which were rejected in 1982 will also be rejected in future if ever they are proposed to us again. Parliament has thus corrected the least satisfactory aspects of the document submitted to it and hence I do not think that it can be said to be simply a dressed up version of the original draft budget.

However, and these will be my concluding remarks, Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, I believe we must look beyond the figures to the heart of the matter. The main point in this issue was the refusal by Parliament of any notion of fair return, which is completely incompatible with the construction of Europe, and if this notion had not been rejected by a large majority of Parliament, it would have continued to prevail in the Community. This is the reason for which we believe this issue was one of the most important of the current legislature. You will understand that Parliament has now got too great a commitment in this action for it to diminish its efforts or vigilance in the future.

Mr Mouchel (DEP). — (FR) There is a good deal at stake for the Community in the draft supplementary and amending budget. In actual fact, there is much more to it than a decision of Parliament which has been postponed from December 1982 until February 1983 on one detail: the granting of financial compensation to the United Kingdom for 1982. It is indeed the Community's future development as a whole that is at stake: its internal cohesion, its financial solidarity, the development of its resources and policies.

It now seems that the majority of Parliament are prepared to approve the Council's draft budget which settles the problem of British compensation for 1982 and sets out measures for compensating Germany as well, and it wants to act quickly. This sense of urgency has dominated all discussions for the past few weeks. The Group of European Progressive Democrats is against

this draft budget. It is against it because it is no different from the one our assembly rejected in December 1982. It inherits poor solutions from the Mandate of 30 May 1980 and the Council's agreements which resulted from it, and it fatalistically advocates the pursuit and above all the extension of a policy of fair return.

As in December 1982, it involves the granting of a net reimbursement of 850 million ECU to Britain and 210 million ECU compensation to the Federal Republic of Germany. Only the presentation: the trimmings have changed. There is in fact talk at present for part of this budget, of special measures of Community interest, coming under energy strategy, with the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany as the areas where they are to be applied.

We also oppose the supplementary budget because the one which will be adopted today resolves nothing in fact. The real questions remain unsolved and it is also significant that this draft supplementary budget is already obsolete and the main centre of interest for Parliament should be shifted to the unresolved problems of tomorrow.

On the one hand, the problem of British compensation will be raised again at the end of this year 1983 and in 1984. On the other hand, what is more serious, we have no guarantee of any definite Community solution for the years to come.

The Council was simply content to declare that it shared the aim of a Community solution to the budget problems. This means that temporary *ad hoc* solutions are still possible, and even probable for the next few years. Although the Commission and Council have to some extent taken account of Parliament's demands, in actual fact what strikes us most are the contrivances contained in this budget and the excuses used by the Assembly to adopt it. This budget is at any rate, it must be admitted, a skilful technical arrangement of the 1982 draft supplementary budget currently presented in a form which is acceptable to the majority of Parliament in view of the Community character of the supplementary and special measures proposed, and especially with regard to the 'energy' expenditure, which is a classification into non-compulsory expenditure of 645 million ECU out of a total amount of 1 330 million, but the main condition set by Parliament in its resolution of 16 December 1982, i.e. a guarantee given by the Council of a definite structural solution to the problem of the British contribution has not been met.

The wish expressed here for a very quick decision as desired by the Council and Commission, represents the anxiety of Parliament in the face of the unresolved problems of tomorrow: own resources and new policies. It is not the first rough solutions proposed by the Commission in what is called 'the green paper' which will provide us with an answer. Unlike the majority of

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this Parliament, we do not believe that dealing with the problem today rapidly and incompletely will guarantee a viable solution for the future. As a matter of fact, the solution only looks good. The sudden development of substantial 'energy' credits making up the entire non-compulsory expenditure of this draft budget, i.e. 400 million ECU for the United Kingdom plus 210 million ECU for Germany, plus 35 million ECU un-allocated funds, represents an eight-fold increase in the 'energy' package of the 1893 budget. Who can believe that the Community's energy strategy, faced with the difficulties we are aware of, will be developed accordingly? What is actually meant by the start of the development of an energy policy which these credits could create? It is simply a Community blank cheque granted to the Member States concerned. Finally, the proposals aimed at finding a Community solution for the future are still absent. The 'green paper' sketches out very vague possibilities with regard to both the notion of scales in the system of Community receipts and the liaising of the receipts with the agricultural indicators — the higher agricultural production is, the greater the contribution — both of which are possibilities which prevent us from believing that the restructuring of the budget announced for tomorrow will be accompanied by real progress in the construction of Europe. This is what we regret.

Mr Lange (S), *chairman of the Committee on Budgets*. — (DE) Madam President, ladies and gentlemen. Allow me as Chairman of the Committee on Budgets to make a few remarks on the issue under debate here. The Council and Commission, I believe, must realize that despite the declaration that we are prepared to allow the supplementary budget to pass, a large measure of dissatisfaction remains amongst the Members of this House.

However, it is also indicative of the way things have developed around this problem from last autumn until today. It is good for the Council and Commission to come to an agreement with Parliament. According to the treaty provisions, Parliament has a very specific role to play which the Council has so far preferred to ignore all too often. As I have said on previous occasions, the Council has always felt that it held sway over decisions. This therefore was quite simply wrong. If the Council had earlier been as reasonable as it has been in the past few weeks, we would have achieved really fruitful cooperation much sooner and this would have been in the interests of the further development of the European Community.

I therefore fervently request the Council and Commission — and in fact the Commission more than the Council because we have certain areas of competence in respect of the Commission — to learn from the experience of the past few weeks and months. Parliament is also prepared to learn. When it sees, namely, that the Council is prepared to compromise, it is most

certainly prepared, too, to compromise with the other part of the budgetary authority. Just read this resolution very carefully. We expect appropriate proposals from the Commission by the end of May, proposals which are long overdue and are based on the mandate of 30 May 1980, and in actual fact we have been waiting much longer even, because this Parliament pointed out the difficulties which were developing 5 or 6 years ago, and this particular problem of Britain was already being debated then. The Commission therefore, can only be said to have been negligent. It must make up for this as quickly as possible.

I ask the Council to help to ensure, first of all, that the Commission tables, by the end of May, proposals which will make a positive contribution towards a permanent solution to the whole range of problems. Secondly, the Council must take its decisions with the appropriate urgency once Parliament has had its say. If the Council believes it faces any kind of problems in connection with the structure of the budget or the structure of receipts and expenditure, these can be discussed with Parliament, namely in accordance with the agreement of 30 June 1982. The Council should avail itself of this opportunity and hold tripartite talks with Parliament.

There is another possibility. In 1975, we reached a conciliation agreement which was signed by the Commission, Council and Parliament. This conciliation agreement is in actual fact an unsatisfactory 'one-way street'.

Parliament is always the one to ask for conciliation on the basis of this agreement. But could the Council not for once demand conciliation from Parliament? This would definitely be a useful contribution. It would then be realized that the Council understood that the budgetary authority was made up of two entities. I am not talking now about powers to enact laws. I am only talking about finance policy and budgetary powers. This would allow the Council to avoid taking definite decisions which it could or would no longer relinquish for reasons of prestige.

Thirdly, the Council must realize that paragraphs 7 to 10 of the annex to the decision of the Council of Foreign Ministers of 24 January, which is regarded as inadequate by the Parliament, contain a crucial self-commitment on the part of Parliament. You can rest assured that Parliament will not agree to any step by the Council or Commission or any proposal of the Commission or Council, as happened in 1980, 1981 and 1982 with this question concerning the United Kingdom or the Federal Republic of Germany (it may be a question of other countries tomorrow).

This self-commitment should be taken very seriously by the Council and by the Commission, too, because if the Council employs tricks of this type again in future, it can expect to encounter the gravest of difficulties. If these difficulties had been eliminated and today was

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the beginning of a period of trustful cooperation between the three institutions, then there would be nothing to fear about the further development of the European Community — and this is what we all no doubt want. The Council and Commission should therefore take what Parliament has set down in its resolution very seriously.

I will not stress this point any further. It is necessary that the Commission should keep this deadline and that the Council should help to ensure that this deadline of 31 May is adhered to. Not only Parliament must apply pressure, the Council must have the same interest and it should actually be to the Council's benefit if the Member State or one of the Member States concerned declares for her part that she more or less or even fully agrees with Parliament's ideas on a permanent solution. The Council Presidency should help to pressure the Council in this direction — a worthwhile task for the German Presidency. It could (what I am saying now sounds so nationalistic but this is not the case) do a great service to the development of the Community, and we could move away from the Council's inflexibility, which has become quite evident. The Commission would then perhaps also have a little more freedom for manoeuvre in the presentation of certain proposals and would then not constantly have to try to find out the lowest common denominator that the Council was trying to agree on in the separate issues.

If these conclusions are therefore the same as those drawn by the other two institutions, I am convinced we shall be able to face each other tomorrow and the day after without distrust, and tackle the necessary tasks jointly and not in opposition to each other.

(Applause)

Mr Pasmazoglou (NI). — *(GR)* Madam President, the adoption of the supplementary budget for 1983 is a matter of importance and a question of Parliament's agreeing with the Commission and the Council of Ministers. I should like to stress the importance of what has just been said by the chairman of the Committee on Budgets, Mr Lange. The important thing is that the funds we are discussing should be made available for Community policies and that then, as soon as possible, there should be proposals for a new, more comprehensive and fairer system for collecting and increasing the Community's own resources, proposals which we all support.

I think that this agreement needs to be total, and what the chairman of the Committee on Budgets has just said is especially important so that there are no misunderstandings or surprises in the course of our work in 1983. In this respect — although I agree with what Mr Mouchel said a moment ago — I think that his view is an unnecessary and unjustified pretext and that on this basis we must adopt the proposed supplementary

budget and expect the Commission and the Council to present to Parliament as soon as possible the measures which have been laid down.

Mr Linkohr (S). — *(DE)* In Amendment No 1 to the supplementary budget, the Socialist Group favours a more precise definition of the measures in the energy sector planned for Britain and the Federal Republic. In our view, the funds should be used in the following areas: exploitation of alternative sources of energy, energy saving, substitution of hydrocarbons, liquefaction and gasification of solid fuels; efficient use of energy and in particular the modernization of coal-fired power stations in order to reduce sulphur dioxide emission. By the way, I would like to remind you that we agreed to a motion in December which was almost word-for-word the same.

So that we understand each other properly, our motion is not intended to be a show of strength against nuclear power. The word nuclear energy does not even appear in it. I would not agree to it otherwise. It is a motion in favour of energy savings, alternative sources of energy, coal and the protection of our forests. It sets out clearly demarcated areas of action.

We feel obliged to present this motion because the Commission has only been able or perhaps willing to give very vague information on the use of the funds. We believe, however, that it is up to Parliament not just to make funds available but also to specify what they are to be used for and to set priorities, in energy policy too. We want a continuation of economization of energy, especially in these times of attractive reductions in oil prices. We would like funds for the promotion of the use of coal and we want coal-fired power stations to be modernized in order to reduce sulphur dioxide emission.

Now many people are talking about our dying forests, and this is also a subject which people need have no fear of complaining about. One can generally be certain of applause, for example in the election campaign in the Federal Republic where the CDU and CSU recently even cried out for the European Community because polluted air did not stop at the frontier!

We suggest that the Community should help: with funds from the supplementary budget. Nobody should claim that the European Parliament has no say in this matter because in an hour's time we shall be voting on it and if the majority of this House votes for our resolution, the Community will indeed be making an appreciable contribution towards preventing our forests from dying.

(Applause)

Mr Langes (PPE). — *(DE)* I need not thank the Council again — many colleagues before me have

Langes

already done so. We should, however, stress that the Council has realized that there is some point in talking to Parliament and listening to Parliament and that there is even some point in meeting the Committee on Budgets, even when the Council has not taken its decision. I would say that this represents one bit of progress in three years.

At the beginning, during the budget talks, we found that the Council treated Parliament as if it were not there and was very surprised suddenly to find the budget rejected. Mr Obert, we have known each other for a good many years, and therefore I would like to tell you as someone who was in the former government in Bonn and who is now in the new government in Bonn that Parliament is very serious when it says in its resolution that we are not prepared to give money in any form as a subsidy. We expect the Council and Commission to make the appropriate changes in the financing mechanism to provide a clear restriction to European projects.

You must assume that we are very serious about this, and please do not forget that we shall soon be discussing the 1984 budget and that Parliament will still remember this very well during that discussion.

The Council also faced the problem — perhaps in some cases the problem lay with the Council's advisers — that it was believed that Parliament would not do what it had said out of respect for some national interests or other. I admit, there are sometimes groups in this Parliament which perhaps cherish their national interests too highly. Make no mistake when we pass the supplementary budget today with what I believe will be a large majority. I promise that we shall again obtain a large majority very quickly which will not pass the 1984 budget if the Council tries, and here I follow the line of my colleague Mr Lange, to change anything by any sort of trick. These are not strong words (I know your colleague Mr Tietmeyer meant it this way), they are old political truths which we have already had experience of in this House.

For this reason, I would also like to thank my colleague Mr Balfour very much for the second part of his speech. He has shown: that it was completely wrong when it was said in public that the Conservatives or the British were against the European Community. They have made it clear that this is not the case.

I must however contradict you on one point. My colleagues Lange, Adonno and Arndt did not delete the passage in which we said we were also prepared to discuss with the Council how to do it, simply for tactical reasons. We did it because it is better if it says in paragraph 8 of our text, 'If this is the way you treat Parliament, count us out!'

I must say to my colleague, Mr Mouchel, it is most certainly wrong to speak simply of net refunds. The

692 million ECU for the United Kingdom could perhaps be incorporated in the non-compulsory part even more explicitly and clearly, but all the same, an attempt is at least being made here to finance European measures. In the regional sector, for example, we are supposed to have a European policy already, in France, too, which is really nothing other than European funds for some national project or other. This, too, should be realized today.

We have a good deal to catch up with, but this is still not a valid reason for rejecting the supplementary budget, because we have taken a few major steps forward. I shall simply remind you that we have an item in the budget which makes it very clear that any country which has received too much money from Europe must refund it if it is not used up. On this very item, the Council recognizes something that is self-evident in the normal budget of a normal country; but this is the point: we sometimes still have to fight for what is self-evident.

If we use metaphors, Mr Tugendhat, it is all very well, but not without its risks. You have always talked about the tryptich, and this reminds me of my younger days when I read that very fine book by the Flemish poet Timmermans *The Tryptich of the Three Kings*. Perhaps Mr De Koster can give you the book in English as a present. You will then read how three characters, who are more or less scoundrels and good-for-nothings, including Pietje Vogel, the eel-fisher, trudge through deep snow and feel cold. This reminds me a little of the Commission not knowing precisely which road to take. The snow is very deep, it is very cold, but you have the chance of finding the light, as in Timmermans' *Tryptich*. In June we shall see whether you in fact saw the light.

(Applause)

Mr Purvis (ED). — Madam President, I hope the Commission and the Council will pay full regard to the views of the Committee on Energy and Research on the proposals for energy measures as contained in the letter setting out the committee's opinion attached to Mr Jackson's third report. I think this is quite sufficient guidance at this stage. There will be time enough to consider specific projects when they come forward to us, and I would suggest to my colleagues around the House that they vote against the amendment that Mr Linkohr is proposing to the regulation.

The Commission and the Council will be aware that for several years in fact from the first days of this directly elected Parliament we have been calling for a meaningful step towards a Community energy policy. Despite all the fine words and declarations from the Venice Summit onwards, we have always hit a financial brick wall at budget time until now. We must therefore welcome the provisions in the 1983 supplementary budget No 1 for energy measures.

Purvis

First of all, there are the 35m ECU to increase various Community-wide projects to the levels we in the committee would have liked in the main 1983 budget: coal technology, geothermal and solar energy and biomass, energy-saving, the rational use of energy. One can only ask why with a supplementary budget, and why not with the main budget only two or three months ago? Perhaps the Council will attend more to our opinion in this Parliament in future without our having to bare our teeth.

Then there are the 610 m ECU for energy measures in the UK and Germany — a sum greater than the 1983 appropriations approved for the whole of the energy, industry, research and transport sectors. It would be a shame if this were just a flash in the pan. Indeed, it will not be acceptable. It must be used as an opportunity to establish a basis for meaningful longterm Community initiatives in the energy field. Energy is not a short-term, off-and-on area of policy. Even if these measures are restricted to two Member States, they will inevitably benefit the whole of the Community and its energy position, if used in ways aimed at achieving the Community's energy objectives.

We would ask especially that the projects to be financed should include consideration of such long-term energy-research projects as the fastbreeder reactor programme currently being carried out at a national level in the UK, Germany and France and with Ispra itself also concerned. This is the sort of project which is aimed at energy supply in the twenty-first century and which is difficult for individual Member States to pursue as fast as they should, especially with the current ready availability of cheap uranium. Where there is a risk of duplicated effort and competition from America, Russia and elsewhere if we don't get on with it, where there are important matters of safety that have to be settled, could we have an assurance from the Commission that this and other projects of evident Community interest, where Community involvement is obviously appropriate, will be considered for inclusion?

Can we have an assurance from the Council and the Commission that such longer term projects, if included in the supplementary budget, will receive continuing adequate support in future annual budgets; indeed, that a commitment for several years ahead can be given so that we can avoid another sad Super-Sara situation. Not only is this essential for rational planning and management, but it will also go some way towards a longer term easing of the budget contribution problem which we all so much desire.

So we welcome the start that has been made; the intent and the purpose that is evident, even if it took extreme pressure from this Parliament to drag it out.

We look forward to considering the specific projects when they come forward and we ask that they will

herald a major step forward to achieving a common energy policy for the Community.

Mrs Le Roux (COM). — (FR) Madam President, in December we rejected with a large majority the Council's draft supplementary budget. With this vote, Parliament was firmly asking the Council to give it a political guarantee that the special compensatory measures in favour of the United Kingdom for 1982 would be the last.

We for our part had also asked that the UK refund without delay the excess payments received for the years 1980 and 1981. Today, we are faced with a supplementary and amending budget for 1983 which does not take account of Parliament's vote on the question, which was essential to our mind, of a halt to the measures in favour of the UK.

The Commission and the Council not only do not give any commitments but declare the opposite. With regard to the refund of excess amounts, this item has been put off indefinitely. In order to pass the amending budget, the Commission has dressed it up in such a way as to make it acceptable to Parliament. Just over half of the amount paid to the UK will come under regional policy and the other half under energy policy. And to make the operation even more acceptable, the Federal Republic of Germany, too, benefits from special measures devoted to energy: 35 million ECU. In actual fact, less than 3% of the amount of this supplementary budget, for a few operations devoted to energy policy.

Finally, the 645 million ECU earmarked for energy are classed as noncompulsory expenditure. But this very special favour will only be a passing one since the Council has specified that Parliament should not count on being able to use these as margins for manoeuvre during the discussion of the 1984 budget.

And so, with these very formal concessions on secondary aspects, the Commission and Council are to obtain the support of the majority of Parliament which is not afraid of reversing its judgement within a few weeks' interval. I hope no one will come here afterwards and make grandiose statements on not enough respect being shown for the authority of Parliament by the Council!

Our attitude, however, will not change. As long ago as 30 May 1980, we criticized the agreement approved by Mr Giscard d'Estaing. Since then, we have remained consistent and always rejected the favours granted to the UK and have shown each time that Community solutions existed both for the implementation of common policies and for the search for new resources, by way of better implementation of Community preference.

In order to give new impetus to common policies and to prepare for the Community's enlargement, the

Le Roux

Commission is faced with the problem of resources which are currently restricted by the 1% ceiling. In its statement to the Council on the future financing of the Community, the Commission lists several possibilities but does not hide the fact that the one it prefers is that of taxing agricultural production in order to change the apportionment formula for VAT.

Madam President, being faithful to our line of action and anxious to keep to our commitments, we find ourselves obliged today to refuse to accept that a blank cheque should be presented to the Commission and Council. We shall vote against the draft supplementary budget and against Mr Jackson's motion for a resolution.

Mrs Castle (S). — Madam President, there have been some pompous but hypocritical speeches by British Conservatives in this debate. Of course we in the British Labour Group welcome the fact that the Committee on Budgets has decided to let these payments through because this was money which ought not to have been paid by Britain in the first place if the promises made to our country in the 1975 renegotiations had been kept.

However, in the short time I have got I must stress three points. First, Britain is still left with a large amount of money to pay. Out of the 2 000 million ECU originally demanded of us, we have still got to pay 1 150 million ECU — more than half — or, in terms of Sterling, 664 million have still to be paid by Britain across the exchanges for 1982. So Mrs Thatcher's was not such a famous victory after all.

Secondly, we are still discriminating against Britain by dictating to her in which way the money should be spent. Britain is told that in order to get any money at all she has to choose Community priorities rather than national priorities. Now I know energy is important, but in Britain's dire economic state investment in energy might not be the top priority for economic recovery. So we are being treated in a different way from every other member of the Community.

Thirdly, the Jackson Report on the supplementary budget is full of dire threats about what Parliament will do if Britain does not carry out Parliament's priority. And it is full of grandiose phrases about the supplementary budget being a first step towards achieving much more ambitious aims for the Community. That is why a number of us British Labour MEPs have put down amendments. I must say this: if the Committee on Budgets has satisfied itself that it can force Mrs Thatcher to spend more money than she intended to, it is more naive and you are more naive, Erwin Lange, than I believed possible. There is no means by which this Parliament can compel Mrs Thatcher to abandon her rigid restraints on public expenditure. She will just go ahead with her same public spending budget and pocket this money for the general treasury.

As for the much more ambitious aims for the Community, what do we mean by that? Clearly, they were outlined by Gaston Thorn in that crucial speech he made yesterday. What interested me about that speech is that the simple aims with which this Parliament started of restructuring the budget and distributing the money more fairly between agriculture and industry has gone. Instead we have got these grandiose schemes. More money is to be found. The problem is to be swamped by increasing own resources. The problem is to be swamped by the move to more and more federal policies.

What matters is not common policies but what they are directed to, and the curse of this Community is that it has got a majority of monetarist governments. That is why we have unemployment in the Community, and that will not be helped by common policies if they too are based on the monetarism of Mrs Thatcher and Chancellor Kohl. I say to this Parliament, common monetarism is merely misery multiplied. There is no hope of a rational solution to the budget problems of this Community before us this afternoon. Of course this money must be voted to us, but the problems still lie ahead and no solution is put forward by the Jackson report or by the Commission and Gaston Thorn.

Mrs Nikolaou (S). — (GR) Madam President, there is already a general awareness that current Community policies do not meet the needs of a Community which is being swept by recession and unemployment and which is falling ever further behind in competitiveness *vis-à-vis* its main trading partners, the United States and Japan. Moreover, the enlargement of the Community towards the south — the one that has already taken place and the forthcoming one — is facing the Community with new problems which urgently require solutions. The British problem is only one outward sign of a more general crisis in the current financial and economic framework of the Community. It is a fact that the United Kingdom is confronted with particularly serious economic problems and that the Community's policies are not adapted to the structure of its economy. This problem became particularly acute after 1980 and was on each occasion tackled with *ad hoc* solutions. With its rejection of the supplementary budget last December, the European Parliament wished to make quite clear — in line with the stipulations of the Mandate of 30 May — its political opposition to *ad hoc* solutions and to the delay in reviewing the policies which are intended to provide a firm basis for the coherence and development of the Community. In the short term, however, and if we are not to ignore the special problems of the United Kingdom at a time when Community policies have not yet been reviewed, it is only natural that we should resort for one last time to the solution of special measures. But only on certain conditions, and it is a fact that both the Council and the Commission have taken major steps towards meeting the conditions laid down

Nikolaou

by Parliament. However, the assurances which have been given that such special measures would not be repeated in future are not very satisfactory. On behalf of the members of PASOK, I should like to stress that perpetuation of these measures is particularly damaging to the less well-off countries of the Community. This is another reason we are against such measures being adopted. Since, however, we are this year again resorting to the repayments method because of the lack of any alternative solution, it is essential that the 1983 budget should include appropriate measures to alleviate the damaging effects to the less developed countries. For Greece, in particular, the approval of the supplementary budget in 1983, instead of in 1982 as was intended, is imposing an additional financial burden because of the progressive increase in our contribution to the Community coffers. These problems were ignored by the Council of Ministers in its joint statement on 26 October 1982, in which the Commission undertakes to propose, in good time, suitable Community action in favour of the less developed Member States, so as to ensure that funds can be made available for them in the 1983 budget.

We consider this undertaking on the part of the Commission to be of importance, and we call upon Mr Tugendhat to inform us what specific measures the Commission intends to take to tackle this problem.

We shall vote in favour of the supplementary budget for 1983 despite our serious reservations, in view of the fact that it is at present the only alternative we have to tackling the weaknesses of the Community financial system. Nevertheless, we hope that the Commission will make a serious effort to adhere to the European Parliament's timetable for reviewing the system for funding the Community and its policies, which represent the only sure foundation for finding a lasting solution and settlement for the British problem.

Mr Fich (S). — (DA) Madam President, the most important element in the resolution I hope we will shortly be adopting is that we would like a long-term solution to these problems, and it is very important for me to say that this long-term solution does not have to be based on the idea of net contributions. It is of course possible to invent a term such as 'net contribution', but in my view it has hardly any meaning. It means nothing as far as the assessment of a country's economic gains or losses in respect of membership are concerned, but nonetheless we have seen that this concept of net contribution has still played a role in the past few years and, in my view, much too great a role. I suppose in the original language the words 'Give me my money back' were used, and this is a direct outcome of this net contribution issue.

What upsets me most about this issue is that it still seems as though there are actually people in this House who believe it is possible to calculate something called 'net contributions' and that it actually represents

something significant. Let me give you an example of how preposterous these calculations are. If goods coming from a third country to be sent to the Federal Republic of Germany, for example, are sent via Britain through the port of London, the duty is paid there and, to all appearances, Britain has paid enormous amounts into the Community. If the goods had gone direct to the Federal Republic of Germany, the duty would have been paid there instead, and the picture would have been changed completely. Or let us look at another example: the countries producing agricultural goods and exporting out of the EEC market receive export refunds, but if, for example, countries like the Netherlands or Denmark export via the Federal Republic of Germany or Britain, the overall economic situation changes fundamentally. Or just take the simple fact that the entire free industrial trading within the EEC does not show up at all in the budget.

In spite of all these things and the fact that I shall venture the assertion that we, by way of a few minor modifications, could effect a complete change in the idea of who is a 'net contributor' or 'net recipient', we are still in the process of discussing the problem of net contributions. I think we should now stop discussing net contributions because the interesting point is, do the various countries gain economically from membership? And there my answer is yes: the countries do benefit economically because, together with the budgetary issues, which are by far the most minor, we encounter the really interesting economic connections. In my view, there is no budget problem. The problem concerns the policy to be applied. There is the problem of certain countries being more developed and others less developed, and if we start talking about this, the discussion will become interesting in my opinion. I believe that from now on we should stop discussing the entire issue of net contributions.

Mr Robert Jackson (ED), rapporteur. — Madam President, we have had a very interesting debate. I would like to comment in winding up on three speeches.

Firstly, Mrs Castle's uncharacteristically unhelpful and unconstructive remarks. I yield to nobody in admiring her fighting spirit, and personally I often find myself agreeing with her, which is only as it should be since she lives in my constituency.

(Laughter)

However, on some occasions I am afraid she strikes a false note. I think she should remember that to speak for England, you do not always have to shout for England. As for the figures that she quoted, I would ask her to remember the risk-sharing element in the agreement for 1982 whose final yield has still to be calculated.

Jackson

On Mr Mouchel and Mr Linkohr's remarks, there is the question of the interpretation of the idea of new measures. I think it would be helpful if I were to read out what the opinion of the Committee on Energy and Research, which was delivered to the Budgets Committee, has to say on this point, because I think it provides useful guidance. It says that the measures in question should be 'new and innovative in a sense of being new ventures or substantial new developments of existing ventures for the European Community budget.'

That is, I think, the most important point that we need to make in connection with the definition of new measures. I hope that the Commission and the governments concerned will pay due regard to this opinion.

President. — I should like to welcome, on behalf of this House, State Secretary Obert, President-in-Office of the Budget Council.

(Applause)

Mr Obert, Council President-in-Office. — *(DE)* Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, I have followed the debate closely and have the impression that we are about to solve a difficult problem and that this shows we are capable of obtaining results and facts by way of compromise.

When the supplementary budget was rejected at the end of last year, we hardly had any hope of reaching a solution so quickly. Mr Arndt used the metaphor that we are perhaps about to develop from a snail into a tortoise. I do not know whether there is a tortoise which has been bred so that it can compete with a racehorse. At all events, it took a good deal of acceleration to achieve this.

I shall not deal with the matter in detail because the various speakers have already done so. My colleague, Mr Tietmeyer, said most of what there was to say two days ago. What I want to do is again say a word of thanks to all involved, all those who helped in this matter — and, as I said, I believe we are on the point of solving a difficult problem. First and foremost, I address my thanks to the Commission for its swiftness in presenting the preliminary draft of the supplementary and amending budget. Mr Tugendhat, I understand your delight in seeing a budget passed without amendment for once. We would be very proud nationally, too, if we managed it. But I believe we should not set our hopes and expectations too high: we cannot always be so successful.

Next, I would like to thank above all the Parliament's Committee on Budgets, and in particular its Chairman, Mr Lange, and rapporteur, Robert Jackson. I know what untiring efforts and readiness to negotiate and compromise it took to achieve this result. My

thanks are also addressed in particular to you all, the entire Parliament, for your readiness to deal with this supplementary and amending budget at this plenary meeting, although the Council did not present the draft until 1 February.

I believe the consultations have shown clearly that we have managed by way of compromise and approaches by both sides to achieve substantial success and that the two institutions of the European Communities which play the decisive role in the budget procedure have shown that solutions can be reached quickly in this way. I would like to hope that future budget consultations, too, will be characterized by this will to cooperate for the good of our Community.

President. — The debate is closed.

As the vote is scheduled for 5 p.m., I propose to the House that we suspend the sitting until 5 p.m.

(The sitting was suspended at 4.55 p.m. and resumed at 5 p.m.)

IN THE CHAIR: MR DANKERT

President

7. Votes¹

DRAFT SUPPLEMENTARY AND AMENDING BUDGET NO 1 (DOC. 1-1222/82)

Article 707 — Amendment No 1

Mr Robert Jackson (ED), rapporteur. — Mr President, to save time let me say that the Committee on Budgets decided to recommend rejection of all the amendments to the budget and to the regulations.

8. Dates of the next part-session (continuation)

President. — We shall now vote on two proposals concerning an additional part-session on 23 and 24 March 1983 to fix agricultural prices and a second additional part-session in Luxembourg on 26, 27 and possibly 28 April 1983 on the problems of unemployment.

¹ See Annex.

President

First of all I shall put to the vote the proposal concerning the additional part-session in Strasbourg on 23 and 24 March to fix agricultural prices. However, I think it might be useful to remind the House of the reasons which prompted the enlarged Bureau to make this proposal.

The Committee on Agriculture has not yet approved its report. It promised to adopt it on 24 and 25 February and it should therefore be officially submitted on Friday, 25 February, i.e. nine days before the start of the ordinary March part-session. Rule 59 states:

Except in cases of urgency... a debate and vote shall not be opened on a text unless it was tabled not later than twelve days before the beginning of the part-session.

This means that the question of agricultural prices should be entered on the agenda for the ordinary part-session in March by way of urgent procedure.

It goes without saying that no one doubts the committee's promise to adopt its report on 24 and 25 February, even if it is difficult to set too harsh a deadline. If the Committee on Agriculture cannot meet this deadline, it is obvious that the debate and the vote on the Commission proposals concerning agricultural prices would be based either on a report submitted late by the relevant committee — and this would create difficulties regarding the tabling and distribution of amendments — or simply on the Commission proposals.

Furthermore, the enlarged Bureau noted that if the committee's report was submitted on Friday, 25 February, the groups would not have copies of it until Wednesday, 2 March or even Thursday, 3 March — and this would mean that there would be an extremely short time, 24 hours, in which to table amendments. What is more, it would be impossible to have these amendments ready — and we do not know how many there would be — by the beginning of the ordinary part-session which starts on 7 March.

Lastly, the enlarged Bureau considered the fact that the Council has scheduled a meeting of agricultural ministers for 8 and 9 March, which means that the President of the Council and the Commissioner responsible could not be in Strasbourg on those days. As a result, if the House were to decide to vote on the agricultural prices during the ordinary March part-session, the debate could take place only on Thursday, 10 March, and the vote would have to be taken on Friday, 11 March.

In view of the authority it has the enlarged Bureau therefore decided to propose an additional part-session to consider agricultural prices on 23 and 24 March, as these dates would allow the report by the Committee on Agriculture to be distributed in time and they would also give the groups enough time to consider the amendments, in all the languages.

I do not think we need to have a long debate on this matter. I shall call one speaker in favour of the proposal and one against.

Sir Frederick Catherwood (ED), *Chairman of the Committee on External Economic Relations*. — I am speaking on a point of information, Mr President. These two proposed part-sessions would coincide exactly with my own committee's dates and I would like your assurance that committee meetings can be held during the part-session, so that we do not miss two of them by voting for this.

President. — Once those decisions are taken we will try to arrange the committee meetings within the dates now scheduled. I do not exclude any possibility but I cannot guarantee any either.

Mr Maher (L). — Mr President, I only want to consider one of the proposed special sessions.

President. — We are only talking about agriculture at the moment, Mr Maher.

Mr Maher (L). — That is my intention. Mr President, in addition to the reasons you have given, which I accept, a very difficult problem arises in relation to the application of agricultural prices in the Community. As was apparent last year in particular, the wildly varying rates of inflation in the Member States influence the impact of these prices on farm incomes in countries with very high inflation — as distinct from those countries with very low inflation. The consequence of that is of course that prices have to be much higher than they need be if in fact we find a way...

President. — Please do not go into detail. Just try to find an argument for the proposal.

Mr Maher (L). — Because of this there is a report being prepared on the effects of inflation which should be taken in conjunction with the farm prices report. I would suggest that it is essential to have a special session in order to give time for that report to be presented. That is why I am in favour.

Mr Gautier (S). — *(DE)* Mr President, I am, for a number of reasons, against holding a special part-session on the agricultural prices issue. I am sure your argument about the 12 days deadline cannot have been intended seriously; if it was, we might just as well give up our work altogether. If you take a look at this week's agenda, you will find that half of the requisite documents only appeared in our pigeonholes today or at best yesterday.

(Applause)

Gautier

Above all, if you interpret the rules of procedure in that way you should at least be consistent. I would remind you of a debate involving Mr von der Vring in which you suggested that he should go to Luxembourg on his bike to fetch the documents there.

Anyway, I think we should get out of the habit of saying one thing one moment and then changing our minds the next. Members of after all have other things to do. Originally, we had a special part-session planned for that particular date, which meant that most of us had to cancel engagements. It was then decided not to hold the special part-session at that time after all. So we then starting accepting engagements again. Now we appear to be deciding to hold a special part-session after all. Do we really have to change our minds at every part-session; after all, we have constituencies to look after and all kinds of other things to do too.

There is in fact no reason at all to hold a special part-session and spend three days re-hashing all the well known arguments. We had a debate of principle only last November when we discussed the Mouchel report. As a result, this forthcoming debate can be kept very short, with the vote being taken immediately afterwards given that the opposing viewpoints in this House have been known for years now. There is no reason at all for us to burden ourselves unnecessarily with the printed word; what we should be doing is proceeding to the vote without too much ado. For these reasons, I am against a special part-session.

(Applause from the left)

Mr Maffre-Baugé (COM). — *(FR)* I think it is very irregular that the Chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, Mr David Curry, did not speak, given that our committee had an opinion to voice. It would be better . . .

President. — I must interrupt you Mr Maffre-Baugé because we are going to vote.

(Parliament rejected the proposal by the enlarged Bureau)

The debate on agricultural prices will thus be held during the ordinary March part-session, on Thursday, 10 and Friday, 11 March, with the vote on the Friday.

(Applause)

We shall now vote on the proposal to have an additional part-session in Luxembourg on 26, 27 and perhaps 28 April to discuss the problems of unemployment.

I must remind you that Parliament itself decided to hold this special part-session at the end of April or beginning of May.

The enlarged Bureau in fact noted that the relevant parliamentary committees, and in particular the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment, would not be able to complete their work before the end of March or beginning of April. The enlarged Bureau also felt that it would not be a good idea to organize an additional part-session in the week immediately following on ordinary part-session. The dates selected for this additional part-session are therefore 26, 27 and possibly 28 April.

The enlarged Bureau then discovered that Luxembourg was the only place available for a plenary sitting and group meetings on these dates, because the facilities in Strasbourg have been reserved for a long time for a meeting of the Council of Europe.

Lastly, I have received from Mr Tyrrell a proposal that this special April part-session be held in Brussels. Since the Bureau's proposal must be regarded as a general proposal, Mr Tyrrell's proposal must be interpreted as moving inadmissibility.

I would remind the House that, pursuant to Rule 10(2) of the Rules of Procedure, such a resolution requires a majority of current Members to be adopted.

I call Mr Enright, who is deputizing for Mr Tyrrell in moving this proposal.

Mr Enright (S). — Mr President, first of all may I make it absolutely clear that this is no way an anti-Luxembourg vote. Some of my very best friends are Luxembourgers

(Laughter)

and I look forward very much indeed to going along to some splendid parties some day in Luxembourg, where I think that we really ought to be looking for a session of a committee, on occasion, or an ACP meeting, but very much a ceremonial occasion.

If we are to have an effective unemployment debate, then that debate must take place where the unemployment exists. Unemployment does not exist in Luxembourg. In Brussels it is well above the average for the Community. Therefore if we are having a symbolic meeting, it is better to have it in a symbolic place and that place is Brussels.

Secondly, may I say — when the noise has died down on my left — that the assumptions made by the enlarged Bureau are quite wrong because the meeting could be held at that time in Brussels. The Palais de Congres is free, as I have ascertained, on 26 and 27 April and we are quite capable, on the day before, of holding our group meetings in our own Parliament. On top of that, every single committee, except the Committee on Budgets, has arranged to meet in Brussels at that time. Therefore a number of people have

Enright

arranged other meetings in Brussels to coincide with these meetings. To disrupt them would be quite unacceptable.

Finally, we have received today the judgement of the European Court of Justice. Luxembourg took the Parliament to the Court because it was no longer meeting there and the Court rules that the seat of the Parliament remains an affair for member governments but that, in fact, this Parliament is quite sovereign in voting where it wishes to meet.

(Applause)

Furthermore, and this I think is extremely important, as regards the staff of Parliament, the Court rules that members of staff may be transferred to the Parliament's other places of work so as to ensure the provision of an indispensable infrastructure. We can symbolically, by our meeting at Brussels, start the sensible transfer of those staff that we need to look after the committees there. I, therefore, move that that meeting be held in Brussels.

(Applause)

Mr Penders (PPE). — *(NL)* Mr President, I should be particularly pleased to support the proposal by Mr Enright for the simple reason that I have always been firmly in favour of Brussels, as I stressed very clearly when we discussed the report by Mr Zagari. A parliament controls the government and represents the people. The government in this case i.e. the European government, consists of the Commission and Council, which are based in Brussels, and the people and the media are also most numerous represented in Brussels. This, then, I think is an exceptionally strong argument and I should be very pleased if we could now hold the Plenary Assembly for the first time in Brussels.

(Applause)

Furthermore, Mr President, if we were to meet in Brussels the committee could simply continue meeting there. This, I think, is a very valuable practical argument. And then there is another point, which contains an element of tragic irony. As Mr Enright has already said, the judgement of the European Court of Justice has just been made known today and we have won the case. It is somewhat tragic or ironical, or whatever you wish to call it, that on the very day that we win the case we are obliged to discuss a highly misplaced proposal from the enlarged Bureau to the effect that we should return to Luxembourg. This is particularly unfortunate, I think.

(Applause)

Finally, Mr President, to let another part session be held in Luxembourg now would be a step backwards.

With the Zagari report, Parliament shook off certain shackles and if it were now to go to Luxembourg we would be putting those shackles on again of our own free will. This would be highly regrettable and I therefore urge you all to give your firm support to the proposal by Mr Enright.

(Applause)

Mr Geurtsen (L). — *(NL)* Mr President, if we, like Mr Enright, want to make it clear that the decision we are about to take is not directed against Luxembourg, we must above all not listen to the reasons Mr Penders gave in defense of his plea in favour of the Enright proposal, since given the situation as it stands today the most obvious course of action would, I think, be to dissociate ourselves from the statement by the Court of Justice, which is not to say that we should backtrack, but rather that we should show that we really have nothing against Luxembourg and that we are also prepared to honour Luxembourg's legitimate claims and on this particular day. This is not absurd but magnificent.

Secondly, Mr President, if we try to argue in favour of Brussels by saying that committee meetings are planned for Brussels, and that they could be held at the same time as a part session, what importance does this Parliament attach to a debate on unemployment in Europe? Do we intend, by spreading ourselves around over various committee meetings, to demonstrate that the unemployment debate is merely incidental as far as we are concerned, that we are not really bothered about the issue and that we are too busy with other matters which we had intended to deal with? Mr President, as I see it, the argument put forward both by Mr Enright and by Mr Penders provide an insufficient basis to support the Enright proposal. I support the proposal by the enlarged Bureau.

Sir Henry Plumb (ED). — Mr President, on a point of order. Without wishing to take sides in this particular discussion, would it not be better, if we decide whether we are going to hold a part-session or not in April before deciding where we are going to hold it?

President. — Sir Henry, as I indicated, the problem is posed by one of the members of your group who has introduced a resolution, pursuant to Rule 10(2), advocating that that meeting be held in Brussels. Under the Rules, I have to put that motion to the vote before we can deliberate and vote on the rest.

Mr Price (ED). — Mr President, I want to raise a point of order on a procedural point. You declared that the vote would require a majority of the current Members of Parliament. You declared that, no doubt, looking at Rule 10(2), which says that 'Parliament may decide to hold one or more sittings elsewhere

Price

than at its *seat* if there is a majority of current Members. But I would point out to you that the seat of Parliament has never been fixed

(Applause)

and that the rule has in fact simply been taken over from the old Rules of Procedure, which were established at a time when it was expected that Parliament's seat would be fixed. Rule 10(1) indicates that Parliament shall hold its sittings at 'the place fixed as its seat under the provisions of the Treaties'. It must be beyond dispute that no seat has been fixed under the provisions of the Treaties and therefore that the requirement that a majority of current Members of Parliament must vote in favour in order to move away from the seat can only be meaningless.

Mr President, in practice, what we have is a decision of the enlarged Bureau on a procedural point as to which of the provisional places of work this Parliament will hold its part-session at. I ask you to rule, therefore, that this is a decision for the majority of Members present to take.

(Applause)

President. — Mr Price, I am very sorry but I have a proposal for a meeting in Brussels. That proposal by Mr Tyrrell is based on Rule 10(2). Rule 10(2) says:

Exceptionally, however, on a resolution adopted by a majority of its current Members, Parliament may decide to hold one or more sittings elsewhere than at its seat.

There is not the slightest problem in as much as the amendment to the proposal of the Bureau, which is the previous question, is based on Rule 10(2), as is mentioned specifically in the introduction to that text.

Mr Papaefstratiou (PPE). — *(GR)* Mr President, I should like to clarify a legal point so there can be no confusion as to the likely result of the voting. I recall that the Parliament has already decided that this extraordinary meeting on unemployment will be held at the end of April or May. A vote will only be held to decide on the place where the meeting is to be held. I am saying this in order to avoid any misunderstanding.

Mr von der Vring (S). — *(DE)* Mr President, please do not set a precedent now by suggesting that there is a legally established seat of Parliament. Until now we have all agreed on the basis that nothing of the kind has been established, and 18 months ago we took the decision on the provisional places of work after a vote by simple majority without having to have a quorum. If you disagree with this interpretation of the Rules of Procedure, please refer to the Bureau or to the enlarged Bureau immediately and suspend the sitting.

To my mind this is an occurrence of tremendous significance and it can have a considerable impact on our way of working here. I would suggest that you treat the motion which has been tabled as an amendment of the Bureau's proposal.

President. — As I just said, Mr von der Vring, we must first decide the matter of the place. Mr Tyrrell has tabled a proposal in favour of Brussels. The motion is entitled 'resolution pursuant to Rule 10(2)'. Rule 10(2) is clear on that point. There is no doubt whatsoever. So you have to make clear, Mr von der Vring, what you intend. The text of the proposed amendment is what it is. I cannot help that!

Mr von der Vring (S). — *(DE)* Mr President, the author of the motion will tell you that he agrees with my interpretation. He is already standing and I ask you to call him.

Mr Tyrrell (ED). — I am quite sure that you are anxious to enable the House to express its view. Now, if the way in which I have expressed my resolution, — on which I sought the guidance of your office — is one which is going to prevent Parliament from expressing its view, then I will, of course, withdraw it, and I would seek your guidance on whether I should do so or not.

Your say that, because it is under Rule 10(2), it needs the majority of the current Members. But I ask you what other rule can one use because Parliament has not got a seat. If the Parliament had a seat, of course, one could use the rule that dealt with that. When Parliament has not got a seat, and there are no provisions in the Rules for Parliament not having a seat, what rule is one to use? So, I seek your guidance, Mr President. I am quite sure you would not want to stultify the decision of the House — no more than I do. If it is your view that I should withdraw this resolution, and instead you accept a simple amendment from Mr Enright from the floor to substitute Brussels for Luxembourg, then, of course I will withdraw the resolution.

(Applause)

Mr Schieler (S). — *(DE)* Mr President, I should like to know if you are going to call another Member to speak against the Tyrrell motion, since in favour of the motion you allowed both Mr Enright and Mr Penders to speak.

President. — Mr Enright was deputizing for Mr Tyrrell and after him we heard one speaker in favour of the motion and one against it. That was quite in order.

In view of the problems which have now arisen I think it would be a good idea if we suspended the sitting for

a short time in order to consider the legal implications and to come up with a new proposal.

(The sitting was suspended at 5.45 p.m. and resumed at 6 p.m.)

President. — I still have a number of procedural motions down, but I think it would be sensible first of all to inform you of the conclusions of our discussion.

As you will remember, the Zagari resolution was adopted with a simple majority. In this respect, the Tyrrell proposal can be compared to the procedure applied in the case of the Zagari resolution last year. This means that Rule 10(2) of the Rules of Procedure — which calls for a majority of the current Members — cannot apply in this case. It also means that, as Mr Tyrrell has already pointed out, the reference to Rule 10(2) in the preamble to this proposal must be withdrawn. When this has been done, a decision can be taken by a simple majority.

Mr Tyrrell (ED). — Then, Mr President, I withdraw the words 'pursuant to Rule 10'.

Mr Key (S). — Mr President, a very simple piece of information has just come to my attention. It is a photograph of the situation that now exists within the Chamber in Luxembourg. It indicates that inside the Luxembourg Chamber at the moment there are no seats at all. There are no chairs . . .

President. — Mr Key, we are talking on procedure, and the Luxembourg hemicycle will be in perfect order if we want to meet there on 26 and 27 April.

We shall vote now if there are no other procedural motions, not motions concerning other elements.

Mr Collins (S). — Mr President, you are being very unfair to Mr Key because he is, after all, talking quite literally about the seat of Parliament.

(Laughter)

Mr Saby (S). — *(FR)* Mr President, I think it was a nice gesture which did not cost Parliament very much to hold a special part-session in Luxembourg. What Mr Enright said set me thinking, and I feel that if we want to do our job properly when it comes to a special part-session on unemployment we should go to the country in the Community which is most affected. The meeting ought to be held in London.

(Laughter)

President. — The decision will have to be taken by a majority of current Members since Rule 10(2) applies in this instance.

Mr Mart (L). — *(FR)* On a point of order, Mr President. I think it would be a mark of respect for the Chair to inform the Members of this Parliament that Brussels is the most expensive working place in the Community . . .

President. — That is not a point of order, Mr Mart. I clearly said that the Chamber in Luxembourg will be available on the dates which have been scheduled.

Mr Geurtsen (L). — *(NL)* Mr President, it would appear that we are about to vote on an amended motion by Mr Tyrrell. I have not seen it, but I assume that it is along the same lines as the proposal by the Enlarged Bureau, except for the fact that the word 'Luxembourg' has been changed to 'Brussels'. If the text is in fact totally different, I should first of all like to see it before I vote, as I like to know what I am voting on.

President. — Mr Geurtsen, I should like to repeat very briefly that the proposal by the Bureau contains a number of elements, i.e. a date, a meeting place and an agenda. Mr Tyrrell has tabled an amendment to part of this proposal which indeed involves replacing the word 'Luxembourg' by 'Brussels'. That is all there is to it. He had originally referred to Rule 10(2) of the Rules of Procedure, but this has since been deleted. We will now vote.

(Parliament adopted Mr Tyrrell's proposal)

I think that in these circumstances it would be unwise to vote on the remainder of the proposal of the Enlarged Bureau, because we have to consider whether we can effectively organize that meeting on the dates and at the place that have been decided.

Mr Hume (S). — Mr President, I was trying to get in this point of order before the vote. Surely what we were voting on was the amended motion which meant that we were voting to have a part-session in Brussels. Surely you do not now propose to have a second vote as to whether we will or will not have a part-session. We have now voted to have a part-session in Brussels.

President. — We have now decided on the date and the place of the meeting. That means that now the Enlarged Bureau has to get to work and see whether it is possible to organize it.

Mr Forth (ED). — Mr President, I recall that, when asked previously if it was sensible to discuss the venue

Forth

before deciding whether to have the meeting at all, you ruled that the decision on the venue should be made. We have not yet made the decision as to whether the meeting should take place at all. That was your own ruling.

President. — Mr Forth, I think that it is a bit difficult. If Parliament decides to have a special session and a few weeks later, decides not to have it, then our difficulties only increase.

Mr Provan (ED). — Mr President, we have already taken a decision regarding the agricultural price proposal in this special session, so what is different now about this one?

President. — On this one, Mr Provan, we have already decided on the approximate periods in which to hold a special session. We have now decided to have that session in Brussels on the dates foreseen. We still have to decide on the agenda, but the concrete agenda will only be put to the plenary when we know which reports will be available for that session. I think it is a bit difficult to decide that now because we cannot yet give complete indications on these elements.

Mr Glinne (S). — (FR) I should like to point out that the decision to hold a special part-session on the problems of unemployment has already been taken by the House.

Mr Saby (S). — (FR) Mr President, in interrupting the sitting you interrupted the proceedings. I proposed that the special part-session be held in London. Why did you not put my proposal to the vote and why was it inadmissible?

(Applause)

President. — It was not a written proposal, Mr Saby.

Mr Saby (S). — (FR) Mr President, you interrupted the sitting and in so doing you interrupted the proceedings. There must be something in the Rules of Procedure to allow a new proposal.

Mr Seal (S). — Mr President, even taking into account the points you have made, I do not see how you can take an amendment to a proposal and then not vote on the actual proposal. That seems to me the wrong way of doing things.

Mr Radoux (S). — (FR) Mr President, as a Belgian — and from Brussels as well — I have just abstained from voting. But I do go along with you because your

proposal does seem to be a considered one. You cannot arrange a date in a place which we have just decided on when you do not know if the place can have you. I also abstained because I did not want to be discourteous towards my colleagues from Luxembourg.

Mr Mart (L). — (FR) You are most kind!

Mr von der Vring (S). — (DE) Mr President, you were quite right in saying at the beginning that the motion in favour of Brussels must be interpreted as moving inadmissibility, because first of all the Bureau has to give an administrative ruling on the matter so that a proper decision can be taken. I would ask you to close this debate and to move on to the next item on the agenda.

(Applause)

President. — That is precisely what I wanted to do, Mr von der Vring.

Mr Abens (S). — (DE) Mr President, the Luxembourg Members have not said a single word in this debate because we wanted to remain absolutely neutral. Naturally, we are disappointed at this result because no account has been taken of Luxembourg's efforts.

(Applause)

I really must comment, however, on the pitiful efforts of a Member here to show us photographs which are supposed to indicate that the Chamber in Luxembourg is not ready yet. The Luxembourg Government has invested more than 100 million in this and the new Chamber will be ready at the beginning of April. Other countries ought to be ready to show whether they are willing to sacrifice so much.

(Applause)

President. — Mr Abens, we should not be debating this matter at this time.

(Applause)

Mr Curry (ED), Chairman of the Committee on Agriculture. — Mr President, could I seek a clarification from you on the agricultural session? I have been in communication with the President-in-Office of the Council and the Commission. It is possible for the Commissioner and the President of the Agricultural Council to be here at 5 o'clock on Monday and to remain here until late on the Tuesday morning. Could I therefore suggest that we begin the debate on Mon-

Curry

day but perhaps we could add an extra hour to our normal time of debate in order to accommodate it, and that we then fix the vote for 10 o'clock on Thursday morning when I am assured that both the Council and the Commission can be represented? That will enable us to make the best use of what is clearly going to be a rather cramped timetable.

President. — Because of the decision of the Parliament not to hold a special session in March, we have to consider the agenda of the March session again. There is no doubt about that. My only consideration is that a debate should start on the basis of the availability of the amendments. So whether your proposal can be accepted or whether we have to follow a different line depends a little on what procedures we follow. I would also ask you to allow us in the Enlarged Bureau to investigate that point because it is difficult to reach a decision now.

Mr Curry (ED), Chairman of the Committee on Agriculture. — Mr President, I am simply trying to help the procedures of the Parliament. The Committee on Agriculture will clear that report in record time. I can assure you of that, provided that we do not have deliberate obstruction and I do not think that the Committee on Agriculture will think that it is in the interests of European farmers to deliberately obstruct that report. Therefore I am confident that we will clear it through committee. It is therefore important that we should hold it in the special session when there is going to be a significant attendance and when there is not a clash with other preoccupations of certain Members. As politicians we understand what those preoccupations may be. If we make our best endeavours, Mr President, would you make your best endeavours to make possible the timetable that I have suggested? We understand that you must take the responsibility for doing your best to achieve that.

Mr Mart (L). — (FR) Point of order, Mr President. It is with some regret that I find Parliament has decided to hold a special part-session in Brussels when we are not even sure whether we have an agenda or whether the facilities are available.

President. — That was not a point of order, Mr Mart.

IN THE CHAIR: MR MØLLER

Vice-President

9. EEC-EFTA

President. — The next item is the oral question with debate (Doc. 1-1241/82) by Mrs Schleicher, Mr Newton Dunn, Mr Leonardi, Mr Adam and Mr Gerokostopoulos to the Council:

Subject: Free Trade Agreements EEC-EFTA

In its statement of 20 July 1982 marking the tenth anniversary of the Free Trade Agreements concluded by the EEC and the EFTA countries, the Council stressed the importance it attached to developing with the EFTA countries 'cooperation additional to the Free Trade Agreements'. To this end it intended to continue the work in progress with a view to achieving concrete results, and expressed its readiness to examine any suggestions for more extensive cooperation which may be made by the EFTA countries.

In view of the great importance of close links with EFTA, which is the Community's biggest trading partner and whose members are the Community's immediate neighbours, will the Council state what type of additional cooperation it envisages, what work is in progress, what concrete results have been achieved to date and what suggestions for more extensive cooperation have been made by the EFTA countries?

Mrs Schleicher (PPE). — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, today's oral question on the free trade agreement between the European Economic Community and EFTA has been prompted by the third meeting between the Parliamentary Committee of the EFTA countries and Members of the European Parliament. We had wide-ranging talks yesterday and today on matters of common interest, and some of our colleagues from the EFTA countries are now listening to this debate from the public gallery.

The starting point for our meeting was a stock-taking exercise looking back over the more than ten years of the free trade agreement and the Council's statement in 1982 marking the tenth anniversary of that agreement. We agreed that, in the light of a deteriorating economic situation worldwide, solidarity and cooperation were particularly important, and that we should do everything in our power to keep our markets free.

We identified the threats to our free market as rising unemployment, the instability of certain currencies and certain countries' inclination to adopt protectionist measures, among other things.

For that reason, we devoted special attention to the need to keep our industries competitive and the kind of things we would do in future to achieve this end, such as holding exploratory talks on monetary issues.

We also discussed the whole question of State aid, and came to the conclusion that, although such aid may be

Schleicher

helpful at times — for instance in giving the market a temporary nudge to enable it to become self-regulatory — there was a latent danger that it would in the long run undermine free competition.

It therefore seems to us more or less inevitable that agreements will have to be reached in cases where aid is granted to particular industries for reasons which are all too obvious.

I have mentioned just a few of the main items covered in the highly congenial two-day meeting chaired by Mr Gerokostopoulos. As far as the future of our inter-parliamentary meetings is concerned, it is highly important that we should hear from you today what aims the Council of the European Communities intends to pursue in its cooperation with the EFTA countries, and in what areas more extensive cooperation is conceivable — bearing in mind particularly the ideas put forward by our trading partners in EFTA.

Your reply will be of interest not only to the European Parliament, but also to be parliamentarians from the EFTA countries.

Mr Obert, President-in-Office of the Council. — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, thanks to the European Community and EFTA, and thanks also to the free trade agreement concluded between the EEC and EFTA in 1972, Europe can boast a zone of stability and security in the field of trade which is of the utmost importance at this time of major changes in the world economy.

The outstanding way in which the free trade agreement has worked, and the extremely beneficial effects of the agreement on both parties' economies, prompted the Community and the EFTA countries in 1977 and 1978 to underline how useful it was to improve and perfect the implementation of the agreement in all the areas in which it seemed practicable to do so, and to give notice of their intention of developing a form of cooperation in both sides' interests to supplement the agreement itself.

Since then, a great deal of progress has been made in both these respects. As regards improving implementation of the agreement, we are now aiming to adjust more effectively to the realities of trade and industry, cooperation being regarded as a pillar of technological and industrial development.

In particular, it is worth bearing in mind the measures taken as part and parcel of the introduction — at the end of 1982 — of alternative percentage rules for mechanical engineering products and for electrical and electronic merchandise covered by Chapters 84 to 92 of the Common Customs Tariff, with a view to simplifying and rationalizing the original rules. When the time is right, we shall assess the success or otherwise of these measures in the light of the experience gained.

As regards cooperation designed to supplement this agreement, progress has already been made in the various areas on the initiative of one or another of the parties. Without wishing to draw up an exhaustive list, I can, by way of example, cite the following main results. First of all, we have the agricultural agreements concluded with various EFTA countries, concentrating on protective measures for quality wine and the cheese trade. Then we have the fisheries agreements with Norway and Sweden, the agreements applying with effect from 1978 with Austria, Norway, Sweden and Finland as part of the anti-crisis measures in the steel industry, and affecting trade in iron and steel products; then there are the agreements which have been signed with some EFTA countries — or which are still under negotiation — concerning transport matters; COST cooperation in the field of scientific and technical research; and finally the Euro-net agreements which have already been concluded — or are undergoing negotiation — with a number of EFTA countries.

Furthermore, negotiations are in progress, or regular exchanges of information are taking place, in a number of fields including export restrictions, State aid, indemnity insurance, the elimination of technical barriers to trade and Community markets.

It should also be stressed that the Commission maintains regular contact with these countries at the very highest political level, and that the various departments of the Commission engage in a regular exchange of views and information with their counterparts in the EFTA countries on matters of common interest, with special reference to economic and monetary policy, environmental protection, consumer protection, cooperation on development aid, energy policy and industrial policy.

Our close cooperation in so many different areas is undoubtedly a highly welcome factor, and is reason enough for us to make further efforts in the same vein.

The Council therefore intends, in the light of its own statement of July 1982 and in the spirit of the EFTA countries' statement of November 1982, to continue to look at pragmatic and reciprocal means of achieving still closer economic cooperation in all areas of common interest.

President. — I have received a motion for a resolution, signed by Mr Gerokostopoulos and others, calling for a vote to be taken as soon as possible, i.e. without referral to committee, so that the debate on this matter can be concluded. This motion has been printed and distributed as Doc. 1-1257/82. The vote on this request for a vote to be taken as soon as possible will be taken at the end of this debate.

Mr Rieger (S). — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the relations between the European Com-

Rieger

munity and the member countries of EFTA are indeed privileged in every respect. That is a good thing, which meets with our support not only because the profound economic crisis has confronted us with similar problems — problems which are forcing us to make the best of every possible aspect of bilateral cooperation. To give just two examples, they are forcing us to improve our multilateral cooperation under the terms of GATT and in the light of the UNCTAD world trade conference, which will be taking place shortly. They are also convincing us of the need to approach the trade policy difficulties we sometimes encounter with the USA in a spirit of somewhat less than total mutual isolation. Our interests, Mr President, go beyond the trade and economic policy issues covered by the free trade agreement. In fact, our relations are privileged not only from the point of view of trade policy, but also — and especially — because the Community and the EFTA countries have a common and unshakeable interest in the consolidation of peace in Europe. It is in fact an expression of our shared historical fate, and we should take every opportunity available to us to consolidate this historic bond — for instance, at the CSCE in Madrid.

There are many approaches the Council could adopt in this respect, and we expect the Council to come up with firm proposals for intensifying political cooperation with the EFTA countries in the field of international security. It would be very fitting if the Community were to take the initiative.

Mr Gerokostopoulos (PPE). — (GR) Mr President, I think it falls to me as Chairman of the parliamentary delegation of the European Parliament for relations with EFTA to express my thanks to the President of the Council of Ministers for the answer which he gave to our question. However, I still have certain reservations as regards the exhaustiveness of this reply, because I cannot regard it as entirely satisfactory. It describes and welcomes the actions which have been taken up to now — we have taken note of what he said in his reply — but he did not answer two specific questions.

The first of these concerns the type of additional cooperation with the EFTA countries envisaged by the Council.

The second question is what conclusions the Council has reached — if any — about the submission by the EFTA countries of proposals for further cooperation.

On behalf of the parliamentary delegation for relations with EFTA, we have tabled a motion for a resolution in accordance with Rule 42(5) of our Rules of Procedure, as you, Mr President, announced. We, the signatories of this motion, believe that future cooperation between the European Community and EFTA will have to go beyond the limits of the purely technical field. Let me give examples of the sectors which

this cooperation might cover: development policy, human rights, GATT. I think that, although it is not possible or likely that such agreements can be reached with all the EFTA countries, it should be possible at least to confine them to those countries which are prepared to enter into such cooperation. I would like to add, that in the course of our discussions, the heads of delegations of certain EFTA countries expressed reservations about the motion for a resolution which we have tabled, and it is my duty to convey to you these reservations of theirs, which mainly concern the wording of paragraph 3, in which we mention political cooperation.

Mr Newton Dunn (ED). — Mr President, the discussions which we had yesterday and this morning with the EFTA visitors were extremely friendly, as one would expect from a trading area which is in fact our Community's best trading partner in terms both of imports and exports. No major points of difference, no major arguments, erupted during our discussions, which lasted six hours. That was extremely reassuring.

There were, however, two particular points that did emerge from our discussions which, I think, are worth mentioning. First of all, there was strong emphasis by our colleagues from EFTA that State aids and, in particular, secret State aids by Community countries are very much outside our common interests, not only because they are our best trading partners but because this distorts trade and competition.

The other point that was very firmly emphasized to us is that the EFTA countries want closer consultation with the Community whenever we are taking harmonization measures within our own markets because, naturally, that affects them very much as well. And it is no answer, of course, to say that they should be members of the Community, for they are outside for extremely good and understandable reasons — either, like Austria, because their constitution forbids them to join or because they are traditionally neutral. I think that the point of closer consultation with them is one that we have to bear in mind, though it is not a particularly easy thing to carry out.

We discussed the motion for a resolution to wind up this debate with our EFTA colleagues, and I am happy to say that they gave their tacit approval to everything in it with the exception of two words. In section D of the preamble, the second last word in the English version which says: 'including *political* cooperation' and the word 'political' appears again in the first line of paragraph 3. Our colleagues pointed out that they have no legal objections to the words 'political cooperation' and 'political approach' but would have preferred that we dropped those words. Apart from that, it was an extremely amicable and satisfactory discussion.

Mr Adam (S). — Mr President, I shall be extremely brisk in raising the point that I want to mention, which arose out of the meeting.

I welcome the President's mention of the costs involved in EURONET, but there was a strong feeling during the meeting that we should develop much more our contacts in the field of research. We also made reference to problems in State aids in the ship-building industry and in the paper industry. I welcome too the mention of the agreement on fishing but would point out to the President of the Council that we do need to get the Skagerrak and Kattegat area under control as well.

I would like to add a personal note. I did not get a longer-term view from the President of the Council. What is the object of our cooperation? I see it this way. We were reminded very much during our two days that we, EFTA and the Community, are neighbours; but together we are also neighbours with Eastern Europe, and I should like to hope, as a personal comment on our discussion, that we can extend our trade with the East European countries. I hope the Council will bear that point in mind in their further discussions.

President. — The debate is closed.

(Parliament agreed to the request for an early vote on the motion for a resolution)

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

10. Consumer credit

President. — The next item is the second report (Doc. 1-1180/82), drawn up by Mr Prout on behalf of the Legal Affairs Committee, on the

proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-10/79) for a directive relating to the approximation of the laws, regulations and administrative provisions of the Member States concerning consumer credit.

The debate will also include the following oral question with debate (Doc. 1-1141/82), tabled by Mr Collins on behalf of the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection, to the Commission:

Subject: Consumer Protection Policy

A second action programme for the protection and information of consumers was adopted by the Council on 19 May 1981. The first action programme (1975-1979) resulted in only two directives being adopted by the Council, and now,

eighteen months into the second programme, no concrete measures have materialized.

1. Does the Commission consider that the present impasse in the area of consumer protection is largely due to resistance at Council level?
2. Would the Commission not agree that the political will in the field of consumer protection expressed by the Heads of State and of Government at the Paris Summit in 1972 is now being disavowed? What steps does the Commission intend to take to remedy this situation?
3. How many directives are at present pending in the Council, and can any progress be expected during the coming presidency?
4. How seriously does the Commission take the requests made by the European Parliament in its resolution on the second action programme?
5. Will the Commission set out clearly its priorities over the next two years, within the framework of the second action programme?

Mr Prout (ED), rapporteur. — Mr President, this is the second report drawn up by the Legal Affairs Committee on this proposal. In the first report published in June 1980 the committee argued that the Commission had failed to justify, either by evidence or argument, the existence of a legal basis for the proposed directive. We accordingly requested the withdrawal of the proposal.

On 8 October 1980 the Commission submitted a substantial working paper on the proposal which sought both to fill the evidential gaps and to take issue with the Legal Affairs Committee on a number of points of principle. In doing so it made out precisely the kind of case in support of its position that the Legal Affairs Committee had hitherto sought in vain.

The committee is grateful to the Commission for its speedy and thorough response. At the same time, it would like to point out that it had requested such a reaction on numerous occasions in the past, but to no avail. It regrets that confrontation was necessary to obtain it. The Legal Affairs Committee considered that no purpose would be served by further argument on the legal basis. Constitutionally, it is the function of the Court, not of Parliament, to pronounce on the validity of Community legislation. Where a Commission proposal manifestly lacks a properly argued legal base, it is the duty of Parliament to require the Commission to provide one. That, after all, Mr President, is part of our legislative function. We fulfilled this duty in our first report. We should not, however, attempt to usurp the role of the Court when considering arguable questions of law upon which there is no clear authority, as

Prout

is the case here. Parliament should not, moreover, lay itself open to the charge, however false, of using legal arguments as a means of opposing draft legislation to which it is really opposed politically.

Mr President, in tabling amendments on behalf of the Legal Affairs Committee to the 18 articles which comprise the proposal, I have tried to achieve a balance between three sets of conflicting interests, between consumer and creditor, between Community and Member State and between the contrasting legal traditions of the Member States themselves. To what extent should the consumer be protected against the consequences of his own poor financial judgment? How far should we go in imposing harmonized rules on Member States? To what degree is it desirable to introduce rules interfering with well-established private law practices in certain countries? These are just a few of the examples of the kind of issues we have to confront.

Although we have substantially redrafted the text, especially in relation to connected transactions, running accounts, unsolicited visits, repossession and the definition of charge, we have broadly speaking, respected the balance between consumer and creditor interests proposed by the Commission. In particular, we support their definition of what constitutes a consumer transaction for the purposes of this legislation. We accept of course that whatever the definition of consumer adopted by a legislator, it is bound to be controversial. This is because it reflects a political judgment as to who needs protection. Should, for example, the small businessman be included? Some argued that sole traders, partnerships or small companies are in just as weak a bargaining position as the private individual. Others wondered whether it was the function of consumer legislation to protect commercial interests at all. Again, should it comprise transaction in goods intended for both private and commercial consumption? In the end we had to make our own political judgment and we endorsed the Commission's approach.

We did not, however, Mr President, endorse their approach when it came to their proposals upon the correct balance between those rules which should be made by the Community and those which should be left to the discretion of Member States. In particular, we believe that the Commission's proposal is defective in failing to provide a uniform system for calculating the effective annual rate of interest. Their proposal, Mr President, merely states that it shall be calculated in accordance with the rules laid down by the Member State. Given that so much emphasis has been placed in the recitals upon the importance of creating a single credit market, the omission is especially puzzling. Indeed it is wholly inconsistent with the stated objective of establishing a common market in credit transactions.

To remedy this defect, therefore, Mr President we have drafted a new Article 1 (2)(d), defining the

annual percentage rate of charge, setting out its essential components and obliging the Commission to issue a decision establishing a uniform method of calculating the annual percentage rate of charge within one year of the entry into force of this directive. We have also redressed the balance between Community and Member State in other parts of the directive.

As to the problem posed by differing private law systems in Member States, we have largely followed the line taken by the Commission, interfering as little as possible with remedies. As rapporteur, I have tabled a number of technical amendments and I hope that Parliament will find it easy to follow them without engaging in too much political controversy.

President. — Mr Prout, for your information, I recommend you to read the agenda for this sitting. You will see that all the rapporteurs on Thursday have five minutes each, so please do not use up more time than is necessary.

Mr Prout (ED), rapporteur. — Mr President, I understand that, but since the the eighteen articles that comprise this directive took 56 hours of voting in the Legal Affairs Committee, you will appreciate that I need a little time to explain the matter to the House.

Mr Collins (S), Chairman of the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection. — Mr President, may I emphasize that the point made by Mr Prout, really is that this is a very important proposal and deserves a rather better place on the agenda than Mr Prout has been given. A great deal of work went into this in the Legal Affairs Committee as well as in my own, and I really do think the Enlarged Bureau must pay more attention to this than it has until now.

Having made that point of order, Mr President, I can start my speech. Since that was a point of order, the time should be set at zero and not at 41.

I want to turn my attention to the oral question and I want to speak as chairman of the committee, because the oral question was put down by me on behalf of the committee.

It is ten years now since the Community established consumer policy as a legitimate part of its operations. Since then the Commission, Parliament and the Council have passed two five-year so-called 'action programmes' and a number of directives have passed through Parliament. While I certainly do not believe in measuring the success of these programmes by the numbers of directives produced and adopted, seldom can any action programme have been so singularly lacking in action. We have only two directives in place from the first programme and precious little but hope

Collins

and faith to show from the second. That, frankly, is a statement of some considerable charity.

On Tuesday, Mr Genscher came all the way from Bonn to tell us in a statement of quite spell-binding inadequacy that the field of consumer protection had many technical problems, but never mind, the Council was working on it. At the time, I described his statement as complacent but now I must say I have thought about it and I believe I did Mr Genscher an injustice. His attitude is not complacent. It is negligent; it is flying in the face of his own grand plans for Europe; it is pathetic in its poverty of ideas and understanding of the problem.

The problem is that there is increasing uncertainty in industry and trade because no one knows what is going to happen in product liability, no one can plan ahead properly because there is no information about misleading advertising or doorstep selling. Mr Prout has put in a great deal of work to his report on consumer credit, and many businesses need to know what is going to happen to it; but if it has the same fate as all these other reports and proposals, then these businesses will have to wait for several more years before anything at all happens. That cannot be satisfactory in economic terms; but when you compare it with the ideas about making the Community better adapted and more sensitive to the needs of ordinary people, then it becomes positively ludicrous. The fact is that behind the fine words designed, no doubt, to win elections in the Federal Republic, there is no real commitment, no will and no desire to help the consumer at all.

Of course, it is true that there are technical difficulties and that these difficulties take time to resolve; but — and here I must turn to the Commission, because they are not without blame — if the preparatory work were being done properly, comprehensively and systematically, there would be no need for the grossly expensive duplication of effort that goes on. The Commission produces draft after draft; it consults and discusses with myriads of representatives of myriads of associations and organizations; it produces more drafts, and then, when everybody's patience is exhausted, it publishes its final proposals. Parliament produces an opinion — not always in good time, I may say — and then Council starts all over again and consults and discusses and makes very little progress. That is why we in the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection have been so keen on the consultative Green Paper system and a much more open and yet regulated procedure for establishing proposals for legislation. The fact is that the present endless, spineless shilly-shallying demonstrates how weak is the commitment of this Community at the moment to the interests of the consumer. How can we expect to build any European framework for peaceful international cooperation if we ignore the consumer and merely pander to the every demand of organized lobbies?

Mr President, I want to conclude by saying this. The delays in the consumer programme are in the end in no one's interests, and I think I speak for the whole Parliament when I demand that the European Community should become a Community in the service of its citizens. That means that the Commission must prepare its proposals with a sensitive eye to political reality as well as to technical detail; that the Council should be more honest and open in its work with Parliament and should put an end to its constant bad faith with the electorate. Mr President, I am finishing. I told you at the beginning I was making a point of order. Maybe you were not listening.

On Tuesday I received a poor reply from Council. I should like to hear the Commission's views of the problems I have outlined in my question and in my speech. How does the Commission believe that the present log jam can be burst asunder?

President. — The fact that you started your speech with a point of order does not automatically entitle you to extra speaking time. You can ask to speak on a point of order separately, and you will be allowed to do so, but your normal speaking time cannot be extended just because you started with a point of order.

Mrs Seibel-Emmerling (S). — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the Socialist Group is pleased that the House now at last has Mr Prout's second report on consumer credit. It is particularly important, at a time when more and more workers in the Community and their families are having to cope with serious reductions in their incomes, that we should be devoting our attention to the credit issue, although we would prefer much more extensive consumer protection, including — in my personal view — protection against advertisements advocating the irresponsible use of such credit — and I know how much suffering debts of this kind have caused.

A few years ago, I took on the guise of a cleaning lady in my own country to investigate the conditions under which credit is given, and I can tell you that what I came across — don't forget that this was before consumer protection measures were introduced in my country — made a profound impression on me. Many credit agreements are made simply because the consumer has no idea of the burdens such an agreement will impose on him. We therefore particularly welcome Amendment No 2 tabled by the Legal Affairs Committee, but we would ask for a separate vote to be taken on Article 1(2) (d) (v) and for the word 'statutory' to be deleted on the grounds that the consumer must be aware of *all* the obligations, including those the creditor tries to impose on the consumer without any real statutory justification.

We are most definitely against the amendments — and I would make particular mention here of those tabled

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by Mr Tyrell and Mr Taylor — which are hell-bent on imposing even more restrictions on the few rights that consumers do enjoy. Let us please not forget that there are too many people in this Community of ours for whom amounts which may appear to you as a mere trifle present serious problems. For that reason, it is important that we should not set the lower limit for this proposal too high.

My group attaches special importance to the right of rescission to be granted to the consumer for a seven-day period, and to the fact that he should be indemnified subsequently should he make use of that right.

We also want to protect the consumer against the problems which can result from door-to-door sales techniques and hurriedly proffered credit agreements. We have a particular interest in Article 16, and we interpret any attempt to delete that article as a head-on assault on consumer rights, which are in any case not exactly in fine fettle in this Community of ours. The Socialist Group therefore gives its full support to the oral question with debate tabled by Mr Collins on behalf of the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection attacking the Community's lack of action in the field of consumer protection. What use to us are the cheap references to market partners if the harsh light of reality exposes the isolated — indeed, threatened — figure of the consumer bereft of rights left to fend for himself in the jungle of the Common Market?

(Applause)

Mr Janssen van Raay (PPE). — *(NL)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I should like first of all to address a very definite word of praise to Mr Prout, who, with boundless patience in the Legal Affairs Committee, has managed to bring our deliberations on this directive to a successful conclusion. In the five minutes available to me, I shall not go into the niceties of whether the directive should be based on Article 100 or Article 235. We have now got passed that stage; thanks to the excellent documentation we have received from the Commission, we now all agree that the directive should in fact be based on Article 100, and that it should be adopted.

There is indeed every reason for the European Community to aim for the harmonization of legislation on consumer credit. Both the previous speaker and Mr Collins rightly pointed out that what we have here is a directive which is of the utmost importance to the man in the street, and we should be delighted whenever the House gets a chance to deal with a matter which affects ourselves and the European Economic Community, and which can bring the nature of the Community home to the people of Europe. We also have a special obligation to people in the lower income groups, who are currently facing a situation of great uncertainty. In the full employment situation of

18 years ago, it was all too easy to enter into long-term commitments, in the absolute certainty that there would be no erosion of income. The situation now, though, has changed radically, and it is a good thing that we should now have a directive at European level aimed at protecting the consumer, because the basic element is, after all, ladies and gentlemen, consumer protection, and the Christian-Democratic Group wholeheartedly supports that principle.

What we are concerned with here is protecting the consumer against aggressive sales methods and also against himself, in that he should not be stimulated too much into buying things irresponsibly, with the rider of course that we must do nothing to restrict an adult person's freedom of choice as a consumer. We must strike a balance between protecting the consumer on the one hand and recognizing his own sphere of responsibility on the other. What we must do is protect the consumer against the kind of dubious clauses which feature all too often in credit agreements because, when a sale is made, you need credit if you are financially not so well off. In that situation, there is a great temptation to insert dubious clauses, and that is the kind of thing the consumer must be protected against.

Fourthly, Mr President, it is also essential that the consumer should be quite clear as to the conditions on which credit is given. He must be given the choice, and the finance houses must be in honest competition with each other. We are of course stressing the consumer protection aspect, but clearly, those people who make the credit available, and the companies which supply the goods once the credit has been advanced, are an important aspect in any uniform, transparent and honest set of provisions to harmonize competition conditions throughout the European Community. Finally, in dealing with this directive, we have also tried to bear in mind the interests of migrant workers. Anyone moving from Italy to the Netherlands, for example, should expect to find the same kind of financing system as he was used to in his home country.

In the interests of the consumer, and with a view to the establishment of honest competition conditions between companies, we shall be giving our wholehearted support to this directive.

Mr Tyrrell (ED). — Mr President, like my colleagues, Mr Janssen van Raay, I support this directive as amended by the Legal Affairs Committee. I must emphasize the need for the amendment. When I first saw the directive way back in 1979, I was aghast because it would deprive the consumer of credit or it would make that credit so expensive that the consumer could not afford it.

The directive as proposed by the Commission would mean, first, that if you go into a shop where you have

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a running account and try to buy goods on that account with an open-ended date by which you should repay, that would be a credit agreement; it would need to be in writing; all the paraphernalia of Article 6 would be drawn down on your head.

Similarly, with credit cards, if you buy your meal with a credit card, or attempt to pay for it with a credit card, that would be a new credit agreement; it would bring into effect the provisions requiring a written agreement to be signed by the person putting up the money, i.e. the credit card company that might be hundreds of miles away.

As far as the finance companies were concerned, they were faced with a situation whereby they either had to have the walls of their business premises plastered with advertisements for every kind of credit which they gave which, in some cases, amounts to 70 different kinds of credit, or else they had to bind themselves that on giving a quotation they would then be bound by the quotation no matter how uncreditworthy the person asking for it turned out to be.

As far as the mail order trade was concerned, they too were in the position where every purchase on a mail order account was going to be a new credit agreement. One mail trading firm alone estimated that it would need an extra two million letters a year in order to comply with the directive.

As far as the building societies are concerned, and the banks who lend money on mortgage, they were going to be brought into the legislation for the first time in cases where one mortgage was exchanged for another. The banks themselves would be under heavy extra postage liability for sending unnecessary communications to some millions of customers at regular intervals.

Now the Legal Affairs Committee has produced a workman-like directive. Under the highly skillful and, if I may so, most patient guidance of its rapporteur, Christopher Prout, it has now produced a directive which would work and of which we can be proud and which I find myself only too happy to support.

At this stage I would say to Mrs Seibel-Emmerling, — whom I am very happy to see has come back into the Chamber to listen to what I have to say in view of her unwarranted attack on myself — that a great number of these amendments that were put down and passed by the committee, which extended consumer protection, were put down by me. If one looks at that protection now as it stands in the amended proposal, one finds — I will just mention a few of them — all consumers are going to be entitled to know the annual rate of charge every time they get credit; there will be no misleading advertisements; there will be joint liability of the supplier of goods with the person who puts up the money if things have gone wrong; every one who gives credit will either have to be authorized or else

they will have to be under the supervision of a body which can receive complaints; they will have the right to choose the insurer of their goods in most circumstances; there will be a cooling off period for those who buy goods on the doorstep.

All those protections for the consumer are now in the amended directive — some of them were there before — and they all have my support. So let it not be said that I am in any way weakening protection for the consumer. Let me add that if it were really thought on that side of the House that this directive does not give enough protection to the consumer, then I would have expected to see some amendments put down that did, and the paltry few amendments that have come from that side do not add any protection whatsoever.

There must be, Mr President, some exemptions. The Commission themselves have put forward one exemption, namely three-month credit agreements. The Legal Affairs Committee decided to retain that. They also put down a small limit exemption. The Legal Affairs Committee has slightly increased that. I do not think they have increased it enough by putting it up to 200 ECU. I think it ought to be 400 ECU for the following reason: these small purchases, attracting the attention of the Consumer Credit Act, in fact prevent the small buyer from getting credit because the finance houses who put up the money just will not be bothered with the enormous paperwork and expense involved. That is why I think one needs a much lower floor than that put forward by the committee because it is stopping people who need the credit from getting it.

My last point is on the question of harmonization in Article 16. This is a harmonization directive. We want customers, wherever they may be, throughout the Community to know where they stand. We want the same annual rate of charge, we want the wording to be the same in every country, and it will not be a harmonization directive if we adopt Mrs Seibel-Emmerling's suggestion and leave in Article 16, which enables Member States to do exactly as they like. What are the 56 hours of work to which Mr Prout referred for if it isn't in order to get a directive which will stand throughout the Community? This one does.

(Applause)

Mr Collins (S). — Mr President, the trouble with making allegations in speeches is that they go into the record, and since the allegation was not correct, because Mrs Seibel-Emmerling walked from there to there and back again and was never out of the Chamber, I should be very grateful, first of all, if somebody over there could keep his mouth shut while I'm speaking and, secondly, if the allegation could be struck from the record on the grounds that it was inaccurate anyway.

President. — I cannot express an opinion on what is said in a speech. What is said is printed in the verbatim

President

report of proceedings. If an erroneous statement is made, you can point it out, and that too will appear in the verbatim report. That way, readers can make up their own minds.

Mrs Van Hemeldonck (S). — (NL) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, not a week goes by without someone coming to my parliamentary surgery session to discuss some problem he or she has encountered in connection with consumer credit, in most cases because his or her income has suddenly been reduced by unemployment. That is why we Socialists attach so much importance to the subject of consumer credit. But I should like to speak more specifically today on the oral question tabled on behalf of the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection.

Since 1972, when the summit meeting of heads of government first came out in favour of improved consumer protection, the number of people unemployed in the Community has risen to 12 million, not to mention quite a few million people who have had to retire early at a pension lower than they had originally expected. The net result is that, in the Community, we now have 100 million people living on what we might term as 'replacement' income. Now, we all know that the lower one's income, the higher the proportion of the family budget that has to be spent on essential consumer goods such as food, clothing, footwear, public transport and medicines. In other words, consumer protection is becoming increasingly important and should be a priority task in the eyes of the Council and the Commission. In fact, though, things have been getting worse since 1972, the start of the economic crisis. Since the Paris Summit of 1972, there has been no further interest in consumer protection — at least not publicly. This attitude is evident in such things as the fact that the Council absents itself from debates in this House on consumer problems, does not even take the trouble to attend committee meetings on consumer matters, and makes hardly any mention of consumer issues in its statements, despite the fact that a second programme of action was adopted in May 1981, setting out what needed to be done. What a display of social irresponsibility! What is the Commission actually doing about the second plan of action? Is it a list of priorities? It is about time we had a clear answer on that point.

Mrs Schleicher (PPE). — (DE) Ladies and gentlemen, it is a terrible dilemma: whenever we have a combined debate on a particular subject, either one or the other gets short shrift, and each Member's speaking time is so short that it is practically impossible to conduct a real debate in the Chamber. On behalf of the Group of the European People's Party, I should therefore like to concentrate my remarks on the question which our committee contributed to the subject of consumer protection legislation in the European Com-

munity. In connection with the directive before us today, I should like to begin by asking the Commission what chance there is that the said directive will be discussed — in the near future — by the Council, and what chance it has of being adopted as soon as possible.

Secondly, Mr Narjes said in our committee last year that the Commission was planning to present two major discussion documents for the purposes of inter-institutional dialogue, covering judicial access and dishonest provisions in consumer agreements. I should like to ask him now how much progress has been made on these two points. Only the day before yesterday, we had a discussion here with the Council on the same subject, and Mr Collins has already said how unsatisfactory the Council's answer was. It may be that the Council responded in that way merely to gain time, but the fact remains that the Council has admitted that it has made no progress on certain points, and it is quite obvious here that the questions of product liability and unfair competition are simply marking time in the Council.

That being so, I should like to ask the Commission what opportunities and what instruments exist, in cooperation with the European Parliament, to put some pressure on the Council; after all, the difficult economic situation facing all the Member States has highlighted the fact that those who are financially not well off are facing more difficulties than most in this respect, which is why the European Parliament should be concentrating on improving the situation with regard to the economic standing of consumers. Perhaps the Commission could tell us then what we can do to influence the Council and ensure that a decision is taken at long last in the consumers' interest. And one final question to the Commission, which is somewhat similar to a question put by a previous speaker. We have a lot of things to deal with at the moment, and there is really not point in demanding thousands of things at once; nonetheless, I would like to ask the Commission to say what specific plans it has for improving consumer protection under the terms of the consumer programme. What proposals can we expect in 1983, and what does the Commission intend doing with a view to making progress on this issue?

Mr Narjes, Member of the Commission. — (DE) First of all, I should like to thank the rapporteur, Mr Prout, and the Legal Affairs Committee for their report on our proposal for a directive on consumer credit, and for the attached motion for a resolution.

Like all financial matters, the question of consumer credit is a complex one with highly intricate and obscure links to many aspects of our lives, including the private sphere. That may well be one of the reasons why the House has discussed this proposal in such detail and at such unusual length. I myself had the opportunity of presenting the Commission's pro-

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posal to the Legal Affairs Committee back in June 1982.

The Commission has said on a number of occasions that it agreed with the general tenor of the report.

Now that the Committee has tabled its motion for a resolution, I should like to reiterate that the Commission sees no reason whatsoever to modify its basically positive appraisal of the report. The proposal itself is concerned with legislating for credit transactions involving consumers, any attendant legal transactions being dealt with in a subsidiary capacity. If the proposal were to be accepted as it stands, all forms of consumer credit would be covered, with the effect that protection would be extended to many consumers whose interests enjoy no protection at the present time. The effect of this broad approach would be to avoid distortions of competition between persons offering different forms of credit. I am glad that the Committee chose to retain this broad approach.

We hope that we have thereby struck a balance between the interests of creditors, and there are a number of detailed elements I should like to discuss in this respect.

We welcome the fact that the Committee has made no changes to Article 16 of the directive, with the result that one of the main aims of the proposal — a minimum level of harmonization — has been left unchanged. Of course, Article 16 must not be used as a pretext for introducing checks on capital transactions.

It therefore follows that the Member States with the most highly developed form of consumer protection have no need to backslide; all we are doing is creating a certain basis of harmonized legislation in the field of consumer credit.

More comprehensive provisions on consumer credit are of course conceivable but, like the Commission before it, the Legal Affairs Committee has had to weigh up the interests of the consumers against those of the creditors. As far as I can see, the amendments which have been tabled to the motion for a resolution do not affect the actual structure of the proposals. Even if the amendments were to be adopted, the directive would still impose certain obligations on the creditor to provide information to his customer both before and after conclusion of the credit agreement, which must contain the basic elements expressed and formulated clearly. It should be noted that, as a result of our cooperation with the Legal Affairs Committee, the present document now contains more detail than was in the Commission's original proposal.

At this juncture, I should like to say to Mr Tyrrell that, while sharing his reservations about superfluous paperwork, I feel that his fears are somewhat exaggerated. For instance, if he were to pay for his meal by

credit card, it would normally not involve any paperwork, because I cannot imagine that he is in the habit of regularly spending 200 ECUs on a meal; and that is the lower limit we have set in the directive. We have in fact set the limits so that they can be increased to take account of inflation, with the result that not all that much bureaucracy will be involved. The Commission would be prepared, however, to give consideration to minor changes in one way or another. Not least though, we have taken our cue from the British expert, who told us that, in the United Kingdom, the lower consumer protection limit is — unless I am mistaken — somewhere between £ 60 and £ 70: in other words, less than our 200 ECU's. The same expert said in the House of Lords that this proposal was by far the best to have emanated from Brussels. For that reason then, and in the light of experience gained in the United Kingdom and which we have in part taken into account and incorporated in our own directive I am bound to defend our work, with the expert points of detail being the possible basis of acceptance by the Council.

I also think it important that progress has now been made with a view to defining the relationship between suppliers and creditors.

An important problem in this respect is the joint liability of the creditors and the suppliers of goods. As I pointed out in the Legal Affairs Committee, there must be a link between the credit agreement and the delivery contract, even in cases where these are separate documents. The problem has now been solved by amending Article 13 and incorporating the concept of connected transactions. Logically, therefore, the definition of a credit agreement in Article 1(3) had to be changed accordingly. The important thing — and Article 13 provides for this — is that the consumer is no longer bound to the credit agreement if the supplier fails to produce the goods in question, for reasons for which he is responsible.

The Commission can accept Amendments Nos 1, 3-13, 14-18, 20-22, 24-34, 43, 49, 57, 58 and 60-62. We feel that a few minor changes are required to Amendments Nos 2, 19 and 23. The other amendments are unfortunately not acceptable in their present form. There is a small linguistic problem with respect to the English text of Article 9(2), which is covered by Amendment No 58. While acknowledging the problem dealt with in Amendment No 56, we shall endeavour to take account of it in a different form.

Finally, on this point, allow me to comment briefly on Amendment No 2, to which reference has already been made. The Commission's original proposal left the Member States a good deal of leeway for calculating the effective annual rate of charge. As Mr Prout pointed out, the Legal Affairs Committee called on the Commission to give consideration to the method of calculation in the form of a draft follow-up decision. The Commission agreed to this suggestion in princi-

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ple, and is now taking steps to commission outside experts to make the necessary preparations for calculations along these lines. However, in view of the complexity of the subject, a certain preparatory phase will be inevitable.

All in all, I regard the proposal in its present form as a result of extremely stimulating, fruitful and intensive cooperation between Parliament and the Commission, and I should like to take this opportunity of reiterating my thanks to Mr Prout.

Over the coming months, the proposal will become one of the Commission's central consumer policy elements in negotiations in the Council. However, if I were asked for my opinion of the outcome of the Council's deliberations months in advance, I would have to point to the old adage that making prophecies is usually a tricky business, especially as far as the future is concerned, and even more so when it comes to trying to apply anything like a time scale to the Council's bureaucratic proceedings.

Having said that, though, we do not think this is going to be one of those proposals that gets left to gather dust somewhere. At any rate, we would not allow any such thing to happen, but would apply political levers, a particularly powerful one being the support of this House.

As for Mr Collins's oral question, I am very grateful to him for having tabled it, because it gives me the opportunity to go beyond the proposed directive on consumer credit to discuss general questions to do with the Community's consumer policy. Of course, I view these problems against the general background of the political and economic system set up under the Treaties of Rome and based on market principles. The aim of our consumer policy is to improve the legal system on which the free market economy is based.

Within the Community, we are endeavouring to establish common rules for the production, distribution and consumption of products and services with a view to the creation of a single European internal market. This package of rules will include provisions designed to take adequate account of consumers' interests including protection of the consumers' health, safety and economic interests and to keep the consumer informed and ensure that his views are heard. Against the background of an economy which is coming to be organized on a European or even world-wide basis, consumers' problems cannot be solved exclusively at local, regional or even national level.

Even in the medium term, it is impossible to formulate European rules for the production and distribution of products, as against national rules for consumer protection. That kind of division of work is bound to lead, within the Community, to protectionism on the basis of consumer protection legislation, and has therefore been consistently rejected — and will con-

tinue to be rejected — by the Commission and by the European Court of Justice in connection, for instance, with the scrutiny of national advertising legislation.

That kind of national protectionism under the pretext of consumer protection would jeopardize the very foundations of the European internal market. Accordingly, the Commission's communication to the Council on the revitalization of the internal market contains a warning against renationalization and a call for the formulation of joint rules, bearing in mind the interests of all concerned. The Commission is very pleased that its ideas have so far been received so favourably by the European Parliament.

In response to a number of questions which have been put here today. I hope that the next set of internal market provisions will incorporate consumer protection measures, initially in outline terms at the end of March, in more definite form at the end of June, leaving subsequent presidencies to continue the work.

What I have particularly in mind is that, in connection with the forthcoming June package — our jargon for a set of decisions we are expecting in June — we can incorporate the principle of product liability. Nor have I entirely lost hope that a decision on door-to-door sales may also be ready by then. My biggest headache at the moment concerns misleading advertising and all its attendant elements. But pressure is being brought to bear here too for a decision to be taken — probably in conjunction with provisions concerning the legal aspects to do with the introduction of satellite television, and other constraints, which are forcing us to introduce standardized consumer protection and advertising legislation in the Community in the very short term. I hope that consumer protection will likewise benefit from this hectic situation.

To reply to the question put to me by Mrs Schleicher, I should like to say that the two green papers she rightly referred to will be published in the course of this year. I would beg your indulgence for the fact that I cannot say exactly in which month they will be available, because some work still remains to be done.

That brings me to the question of the role of the consumer programmes. We of course remain determined to comply with the commitment entered into by the heads of state and government in 1972 — a commitment which, incidentally, has been confirmed on a number of occasions since then — to ensure that a consumer policy is implemented at European level and to put our weight behind the passing of all relevant legislation.

I also feel — and I am replying here to two separate questions — that our consumer programme is not over-ambitious, but quite realistic, and for this reason I see no reason to place further restrictions on a programme which was deliberately formulated with a view to its feasibility by specifying priorities and thus

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committing anything that is not designated a priority task to oblivion. Our programme as a whole is balanced and feasible, and we have no intention of doing the Council's work for it or saving it work by deleting parts of the programme to the detriment of consumers.

To take up another point, the changing political, economic and social conditions since 1972 have of course meant that the odd measure here or there no longer meets with such enthusiasm in the Member States as it may have done 6 or 7 years ago. Those are problems which will have to be dealt with on their merits, but they are certainly no reason to abandon the programme itself.

It therefore follows that we shall not drop the idea of a consumer policy in principle because of the change in the economic situation. At least, the Commission has no intention of doing so. We must, however, come to terms with the fact that a change has also taken place in the relative positions on this issue. Incidentally, the resistance we are coming up against is of course not confined to consumer policy alone. Many other policy sectors are having problems in the Council — as you and we have pointed out on a number of occasions in this House.

We are therefore working on the assumption that making progress on the internal market will give us the chance to catch up on consumer policy, with the exception of the advertising regulation, which is causing us particular trouble or will do so in the future.

As regards the time-scale, I think it is fair to say that it is not only the Council whose ways are slow. Work is sometimes done very thoroughly in Parliament and in the Commission too, and I think we should refrain from placing the blame too much on each other in this respect. I must also address a word of praise to the degree of commitment shown by the few colleagues I have to work on this issue, and whose work certainly does not deserve to be referred to as inconsistent, unmethodical or quite simply unsatisfactory. It is only because they are so small in number but so efficient that they have been able to carry out such a mammoth programme properly.

The real problem facing this particular sector and many others is that many committees expect too much of the Commission. The Committee on Budgets will allow us no extra staff, and the representatives of the other committees are usually not able — when it comes to the vote in this House — to get the Committee on Budgets to accept the demands on our staff which emanate from the committees themselves. I think some of the changes could be made by the House pursuing a different policy on the Commission's staffing requirements in future budgets.

This rather frank expression of my feelings was prompted by remarks made about the Commission's speed of work. I think the position is now somewhat

clearer. Incidentally, I would be pleased if we were to have the opportunity in the foreseeable future, within the committee responsible for this field, to carry out a general review of consumer policy and discuss in detail those questions which, because of the lateness of the hour, we cannot discuss here today.

President. — The debate is closed. The motion for a resolution will be put to the vote at the next voting time.¹

(The sitting was suspended at 8.05 p.m. and resumed at 9.15 p.m.)

IN THE CHAIR: MR ESTGEN

Vice-President

11. *Urban concentration in the Community (continuation)*

President. — The next item is the continuation of the debate on the report (Doc. 1-1001/82) by Mr Griffiths on the problems of urban concentration in the Community.²

Mrs Boot (PPE). — *(NL)* Many of us have a favourite town such as Paris, Vienna, London, Rome or Liverpool. In most cases, the choice is not made for any particular reason, and people who do not share the same preference usually totally fail to understand it. That is the gist of the opening lines of a study by Professor Zijderveld, which has just appeared in the Netherlands, entitled 'Onstedelijkheid der steden' which means something like 'the inhumanity of cities'.

Reading the Griffith report reminded me of this since, at first sight, you cannot see quite what he is getting at. He has a particular aim in view, i.e. financial aid to run-down inner-city areas, but this idea is not properly supported in his report and is hardly logical in relation to the aid granted to peripheral problem areas. It is difficult for my group to accept the report as it stands. The general aim is one we can go along with, but we baulk somewhat at the practical details. The report has not yet taken shape properly, which is a pity since such an important subject is involved, i.e. the problem of the inner areas of conurbations in the Community, which I might refer to as 'the survival of inner cities'.

¹ Membership of committees: see Minutes.

² See debates of 8 February 1983.

Boot

Mr President, the report on behalf of the Committee on Regional Policy and Regional Planning has, as it were, seen the light of day prematurely, and it unfortunately happens fairly often in our committee that a report is regarded as 'dealt with' as soon as it has been put on the agenda, and just as a premature baby needs extra care, this report needs polishing up a bit before it can 'survive' — just as it is a question of the survival of the inner-city areas.

For this reason, my group has tabled a number of amendments aimed at adjusting the motion for a resolution to some extent. First and foremost, we must develop a theory of balance between peripheral problem areas and the problems peculiar to big cities, since the migration to the big cities has turned a large number of peripheral areas into problem areas, while the big cities have problems which are very much their own.

This question has already been excellently dealt with by Jane Jacobs in her book entitled 'Death and Life of Great American Cities' which appeared at the beginning of the sixties but which has only just begun to receive attention, since our cities nowadays look more like American cities of twenty years ago. Jane Jacobs was also the person who pointed out that criminality arises where people can escape into anonymity, be it in a large city or in sparsely populated rural districts.

The explanatory note mentions riots in the big cities, and I should like to point out that today's urban riots do not depend on the size of the city but have much more to do with the discovery of the psychological mechanism involving 'bobby-bating'. Secondly, Mr President, the report speaks of deglomeration policy alongside the strengthening of inner-city areas, again without sufficient justification or clarification. Since many things are not really clear and since when we consider the problems of inner cities we think of a lot more things than riots or poverty, it strikes my group that the Commission should consult external bodies on the question of how it can be of assistance to local and regional authorities, before setting up any advisory body or financial mechanism whatsoever. The main consideration is that we must make the inner cities livable-in again, and we must consider how we can contribute towards creating viable urban concentrations which form, as it were, centres for living, working, recreation, culture and transport, and I was pleased to hear Mr Giolitti speak in the same terms when he said that the situation should first of all be studied in greater depth.

Thirdly, Mr President, to return to the question of the composition of the advisory body proposed in paragraph 10, I must point out that it would not be possible to set up an advisory body with a composition as proposed in the motion for a resolution if only because of the great differences in the authority vested in the local authorities in the various cities in the Community. Furthermore, the business sector has been

conveniently forgotten, as well as questions such as 'to whom' and 'about what' opinions should be given. At the risk of repeating myself, I should like to say that here too it strikes me that insufficient thought has been given to this report.

Fourthly, Mr President, speaking in the spirit of the rapporteur, the report appears to boil down to the question of the financial contribution the Community can make towards solving the problems in alienated inner cities. It would seem to me, in that case, that the report should also have an appropriate title, such as 'Community contributions to . . . etc.'

As regards the form which this contribution should take, subsidies would be far more appropriate than loans. I can make no sense at all of paragraph 12 as it stands in the Dutch version, and I should like to ask the rapporteur whether he has looked into the question of whether the rules of the European Investment Bank would permit it to grant loans to help alleviate the problems in the inner cities? I tend to agree with Mr Giolitti that we should think in terms of both the ERDF and the Social Fund and have tabled Amendment No 20 for this reason.

Finally, Mr President, the explanatory note also begs a number of questions. It uses obsolete definitions, makes policy proposals without backing them up adequately and is too arbitrary in its choice of quotations from the otherwise excellent Cambridge study. My group regrets that Parliament should be producing reports of this kind and would suggest to the rapporteur that he withdraw his report for further consideration in the Committee on Regional Policy and Regional Planning.

Mr Harris (ED). — Mr President, may I first of all take issue with my good friend, Mrs Boot. I would oppose any move to withdraw this report. Mrs Boot claimed that it was not mature enough. Well, Mr Griffiths was appointed rapporteur 14 months ago! The Committee on Regional Policy and Regional Planning has considered it on three occasions. With the greatest respect, I believe that if Mrs Boot had amendments to move to the report, the proper place to do that in the first instance was in the committee itself.

I would, however, quarrel with Mr Griffiths on only one aspect of his report. That is in paragraph 11 where he says that a non-quota proposal for inner cities or urban areas should be confined solely, in the first instance, to assisted regions. My group has always very firmly taken the view that one of the attractive features of the non-quota section of the European Regional Fund is that, hopefully, this would give some flexibility to the Fund and that in certain circumstances it could be used in special cases outside assisted areas. I can think of many cities, including some in my own country, which are not in assisted areas and yet which have real acute economic and social problems, albeit on a

Harris

localized scale. Tomorrow therefore, when we vote on this report, I shall be asking for a split vote on paragraph 11 so as to give the Commission a flexibility which I would hope it will take advantage of in drawing up programmes for urban areas.

Of course, I recognize that the size of the non-quota Fund is very limited indeed. I am not suggesting that this money should be spread all around the Community. However, I do believe that we should give some cities at least a chance to make a case for a bit of this money. I shall therefore ask for that split vote tomorrow on paragraph 11.

Mr Kirkos (COM). — (GR) Mr President, Mr Griffiths has made a very carefully studied attempt to summarize the conclusions of the work of many months of the Committee on Regional Policy. Since these include several of our own observations, we shall vote for the motion, but would request the Committee to intervene with even more effective programmes and to get their priorities right, since everywhere there is need, but the need is greatest in the less developed regions of the Community, such as Greece.

Note, ladies and gentlemen, that Greece has developed so abnormally that 35% of the population, 45% of private investment and 49% of industry has become concentrated in Athens, causing serious pollution problems, unbearable communication problems, and unacceptable shortcomings in the basic social structure, so that the most basic human right, the right to live in decent conditions, has been violated. These problems arising from population concentration should be made known, and we should join our own efforts to those of the people involved.

Therefore, on behalf of my party, I propose that 1984 be declared the year for a coordinated attempt on the part of the European Parliament to create a more civilized city, placing special emphasis on the struggle for the protection of the natural and historical environment and the fight against degradation of the regions inhabited by the unemployed or low wage earners. This step, Mr President, would bring the Parliament into contact with the everyday problems of hundreds of millions of Community citizens, would assert the value of our representative institution and would simultaneously enrich us with new experiences and knowledge which will make our decisions made on the basis of today's motion from Mr Griffiths more effective.

Mr Maher (L). — Mr President, I also wanted to congratulate Mr Griffiths on a most important report dealing with a growing and serious problem in practically all of our countries — that of urban renewal. I am one who has never agreed with the idea of creating these large urban conurbations. I wish we could have found a better way forward for society than packing

human beings, like hens in battery cages, into huge urban conurbations. Indeed, it is one of the reasons why I so stoutly defend agriculture, because by ensuring that we have a healthy agriculture we prevent this problem from getting worse. The trend in all our countries has been out of agriculture and out of the rural areas into the urban regions where now, of course, we have, in some areas at least, problems that we can hardly cope with.

I want to draw attention to one. I feel that serious mistakes were made in the '50s and '60s and indeed the '70s, when local governments and national governments, trying to cope with this problem of bad housing and inadequate infrastructure, were moving people piecemeal from inner city areas to the suburbs. In so doing, they frequently broke up the community life that existed in the inner city areas. Even though the housing was inadequate and poor, and even though the infrastructure was not adequate, at least these people were communities. They lived together, they knew each other and they also had a kind of a built-in protective system to prevent members of the community from going astray or becoming anti-social or violent. Once they took the people piecemeal and began to situate them, admittedly in better houses, in the outskirts, they broke up that community life. Very often they were moved out when there was not much more than new houses present — without adequate newly developed infrastructure, sometimes even without shopping facilities, adequate sporting facilities or community centres. The result was, of course, that many of the young people, frustrated because they had nothing to do and because there was not the control that existed in the old communities, began to turn to anti-social behaviour and violence. We have examples of this happening in all our countries — in the UK, to some extent in Ireland, and in other countries. The situation has almost got out of control. I think it is very important for us now to remember this fact when we are trying to cope with this serious problem.

Could I also draw attention, Mr President, to something that I think is a disgrace. The Community institutions did agree some time ago to provide special help for certain very seriously depressed areas like, for instance, the city of Belfast, where there was agreement reached on an integrated housing scheme. Although the decision has been made, the resources have been held up and, of course, the result is that those much desired improvements cannot be brought about. I would like a call to go out to the governments concerned to take action to ensure that this scheme can be put into operation and help one of the most direly hit cities in our whole Community, affected by violence and by serious underemployment. I think it is the least that we could do.

Mr Pasmazoglou (NI). — (GR) Mr President, Mr Griffiths' report is important because it provides fresh guidelines for the Community regional policy. I would

Pesmazoglou

therefore like to congratulate both the Committee on Regional Policy and the author of the report, Mr Griffiths. I should like to point out that, as my colleague Mr Kirkos has said in many countries where there is a significantly low level of economic development, the development process is accompanied by irregular concentrations of population. This is a very serious problem for Greece. I should like to draw your attention to a few figures to match the figures provided a short while ago by Mr Kirkos, which are quite striking. In the twenty years from 1961 to 1981 the population in Athens rose by 64%, although in Paris it only rose by 32%, in Copenhagen by 11.5% and when in Vienna the population even fell by 10%. As a result Athens has now accumulated approximately 35%, i.e. one third of the population of Greece, although Copenhagen accounts for only 27% of Denmark's population, Vienna 21% of Austria's population Paris 18% of France's population, and Brussels 10% of the population of Belgium. Mr President, this means that the working and living conditions for those employed in Athens are seriously inadequate. Greece cannot have a development policy if the serious overcentralization problem is not dealt with. Athens and Thessaloniki should therefore be included in special development programmes. Without such programmes to deal with the problem of the abnormal population concentrations in Athens and Piraeus, the whole country will be unable to develop, because the living and working conditions mentioned previously have an adverse effect on the productivity of these two large urban centres.

I would therefore emphasize, Mr President — and I hope that the Parliament will vote for this report by a large majority — that a more general design is required to deal with this problem of the abnormal concentration of population in certain cities and I have mentioned as an example the special problems that are so acutely apparent in Athens and Thessaloniki.

My second observation is that the problems which must be dealt with are connected with town planning, housing and the traffic problem, which is almost intolerable in Athens and is beginning to become so in Thessaloniki, as well as problems concerning the protection of the environment, and the pollution of the air and the two large gulfs in Greece, the Saronikos and the Thermaiko.

I also wish to emphasize, Mr President, that this problem is vital for Greece, and I am sure, for other regions in the Community, but I believe that the severity of Greece's problem is unique. This report therefore provides an orientation for a regional policy which deserves to be seriously examined and acted upon by the Community.

Mr Ziogas (S). — (GR) Mr President, I would go so far as to say that this very important report prepared by the Committee on Regional Policy, which was pre-

ented today by Mr Griffiths and upon which the Parliament is to vote is a historic achievement and contribution from the Parliament towards the solving of the most contemporary set of problems which have been created, and are still being created, in the urban concentrations and also, by extension, in the remaining regions of the Member States of the Community.

Mr Griffith's report, Mr President, presents an overall picture of the results and consequences — over the long term — of practically the same development model being applied in all the Member States of the Community, without due allowance being given to the special features of the historical, social and economic background of the development of each individual country.

Mr President, the analysis and investigation of the problem is clear in these reports, and the motions to be forwarded to the Commission and Council are conclusive, practical and realistic.

I should like to highlight the importance of the following three parameters which emerge from the more general problems proposed by the report.

I consider the first parameter to be decentralization. The relief which could be obtained for the abnormal urban concentrations through decentralization will have a catalytic effect on the socio-economic and political life of the inhabitants of the urban concentrations.

At the same time this will encourage the interregional investment working capital to be transferred to the regions, causing revitalization and development.

The second parameter is regional independence and the participation of the people.

I shall read out three points in the enclosed explanatory report with which I am in total agreement 'The millions of urban dwellers can be governed only if they are involved in monitoring the changes which are taking place in the towns and in the management of urban services . . .' 'The inhabitants should be able to influence decisions affecting the future of their town . . .' 'Today it seems impossible to bring about any changes . . . without the participation of the people . . .'

Mr President, the present Greek Socialist government has attributed in principles of decentralization, local independence and popular participation to the most basic factors of democracy and development, factors which the Griffiths report itself believes will be vital in solving these problems.

Integrated programmes comprise the third parameter. Mr President, I believe that this practical motion is the most realistic act which the Community could have undertaken to deal here and now with the accumu-

Ziogas

lated problems associated with the large cities in the Community and the other cities of the backward urban regions which they support.

At this point it would be a failure of duty not to admit that the Commission has already taken steps to deal with this type of problem relating to inner city areas and not to appreciate their continued efforts; i.e., the communication of the Commission to the Council in reply to the Greek memorandum, and their work with the Greek Government to examine the best combined use of Community funds in the region of Athens, particular attention being paid to the problem of pollution.

Mr Clinton (PPE). — Mr President, I just want to explain that I am standing in in this debate for my Irish colleague, Mr O'Donnell, who had to go home to vote on the budget and, from what I heard of the harshness of this budget, he has my full sympathy.

(Laughter)

This is what he would have said if he were present, Mr President:

'I would like to congratulate Mr Griffiths on his excellent report on a subject of very grave concern to this Community and to every Member State. The continued growth of major conurbations and the corresponding decline of the peripheral regions is a fact of life which is clearly having, and will continue to have, catastrophic economic and social consequences throughout the Community.

'The magnitude of this problem can be gauged from the fact that 20% of the citizens of this Community live in major conurbations. The situation varies from country to country. For example, in the United Kingdom it is 28%; in the Federal Republic of Germany, 31%; and in Greece, as has been explained, is a special example, with an enormous proportion of its population concentrated in Athens and Thessalonica. In Ireland, one-third of the population of the State is concentrated in the capital city of Dublin, while many areas along the western seaboard have lost more than 50% of their population in the past 50 years. Many of the problems associated with the growth of major conurbations and with the decline of the peripheral regions, which have been pinpointed by Mr Griffiths, are to be found in my country.

'The rapid growth of Dublin in recent years has led to enormous problems in relation to housing, schools, services, employment, law and order, traffic congestion and the decay of the inner city of Dublin. In addition, the migration of people from the provinces to the capital has sapped the growth and development of the peripheral regions of the Community.

'I am convinced that the twin problems of urban concentration and rural depopulation must be tackled as a

matter of urgency by this Community. I believe that this can only be done effectively by the formulation and implementation of a comprehensive and realistic Community policy directed towards promoting decentralization and regional development.

'This Community, and this Parliament in particular, stand committed to the principle of a Community regional policy as a means of overcoming the enormous disparities which exist. A coherent and realistic Community regional policy must, of necessity, embrace the twin problems of excessive urban concentration and serious peripheral depopulation.

'I fully support the motion for a resolution approved by the Committee on Regional Policy and Regional Planning, and I ask the Parliament to endorse the Griffiths report.'

Mr President, may I add just a short personal note? I have lived through the havoc of this unfortunate migration of people from the rural areas to Dublin city, and I have seen at close range, as a public representative, both in the local authorities and in the Parliament, people who were attracted by the bright lights or came to Dublin in search of employment. I have seen the disenchantment, the disappointments and the disillusion when all the great things that they expected never took place, and when I see the number of these people that transplanted so badly, I have to endorse everything that Mr Maher has said before me: spend what is necessary to keep the people in the rural areas of the Community, in order to give them some sort of reasonable living there, because it is a tremendous problem and once it be allowed to happen, the cost of disentangling it and correcting is simply enormous. Stop it before it starts, if possible — and we have an opportunity to do so in some of the Member States who are now joining the Community.

Miss Hooper (ED). — Mr President, it is a sobering thought that by the year 2000 half the population of the world will be living in an urban environment. There is, therefore, a vital need for us to try to find solutions to the problems affecting us in Western Europe as a result of our early industrialization, since our experience may be of value not only among ourselves now, but to others in the future.

As the mover of one of the resolutions on which this report is based, I wish to thank Mr Griffiths for his efforts, and in particular for the detail of his explanatory memorandum. I also thank Mrs Squarcialupi for her opinion from the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment, although I was not too keen on her suggestion that my motion might call for an authoritarian and repressive reaction to the 1981 riots in Liverpool. In my view, violence, whatever the cause, if it affects innocent citizens, must necessarily call, at the very least, for an examination of the processes of law and order.

Hooper

On reflection, Mr President, I think it was probably impossible for Mr Griffiths to reconcile all the motions for resolutions before him — in fact, to deal with the problems of inner cities, the solutions to which, of necessity, entail attracting people to them. But he has also had to consider how to help the peripheral regions by preventing migration to the industrial conurbations. The result is that the motion for a resolution is at times contradictory and certainly is not as specific as I would have wished.

Mr Griffiths calls for more studies. Apart from Urban Renaissance Year, sponsored by the Council of Europe, the Commission has already examined the problems, and as Mr Giolitti told us the other day, held a large international conference — in fact, in my constituency of Liverpool — in 1979. The International Union of Local Authorities jointly with this Parliament's Intergroup, also organized a hearing in Brussels in 1981, when civic representatives of many great cities in Europe made contributions and proved emphatically that the problems are common and are the effects of old age and the inheritance of out-of-date industries, with all the consequent problems of malfunctioning sewers, badly-maintained housing — both public and private — the drift of the prosperous and the energetic to the outskirts or further, and the resulting build-up of poverty and the breakdown of services in the centres.

It is now time to call for an action programme to proceed to concrete action. Further studies are required only insofar as is needed to meet the peculiar needs of a particular area, as my colleague, Mr Pearce, requested in his motion on Merseyside.

In my view, one of the most important functions of the European Community is to give us the opportunity to pool our experiences, and I would therefore call upon the Commission to evaluate the many pilot projects on poverty, on ethnic minorities, on public health, on the environment and the integrated schemes — to name but a few fields where experiments in pilot projects are taking place and which particularly affect the inner cities — so that we can try to get our priorities right.

It is not just a question of spending more money. It is a question of ensuring that the money is well spent. This being so, we must ensure the maximum coordination of policies, and I welcome what Mr Giolitti had to say in this respect. But to see, for example, green field sites being developed and the building of more housing in agricultural areas when there are areas of urban dereliction surrounded by existing houses and their unemployed occupants, I find appalling. The existing European Regional Development Fund's criteria actually encourage this: hence my amendment to the report.

We must also coordinate and encourage the development of small businesses and own initiatives, and this is particularly appropriate in this European Year of the

Small Business. We must do something, and be seen to be doing something, to ensure that hope is given to the poor of the Fourth World, to the unemployed, the illiterate, the incapable. I believe and acknowledge the good intentions, optimism and care expressed in this debate, but I want to see it followed by action. Otherwise we are living in a cloud cuckoo land where we are witnessing increased spending on agriculture year after year and a decrease in the expectations of our inner city dwellers . . .

(The President urged the speaker to conclude)

I would say to my constituents in Liverpool: your best solution, as part of the European Community, is to plant grass and put cows on it!

President. — The debate is closed. The motion for a resolution will be put to the vote at the next voting time.

12. European cultural and social heritage

President. — The next item is the joint debate on five oral questions to the Commission:

— oral question with debate (Doc. 1-1135/82/rev.) by Mr Remilly and others on behalf of the Group of European Progressive Democrats:

Subject: Proposals to 'humanize' and 'personalize' Europe

— In order to help 'humanize' and 'personalize' Europe, a large number of projects have been drawn up, some of which have produced concrete and successful results,

— Aware of the difficulty of successfully putting such projects into practice, but anxious to hasten the construction of a Europe which is meaningful in human and civic terms,

— Whereas it is necessary now to pursue the efforts already made to this end and whereas it would undoubtedly be extremely unfortunate if the Community achieved an economic and monetary Europe only to find that it had neglected the task of creating Europeans to live in it.

1. What action does the Commission intend to take in respect of a number of projects first conceived before 1979, relating in particular to Community documents, for example: a European identity card, a European sports certificate, a European university passport and a European postage stamp?

2. What actual measures (European radio, utilization of major transit centres such as stations

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and airports, establishment of telephone data banks) does the Commission intend to take so that there is a broad dissemination of information on Europe which reaches all citizens?

3. How does the Commission intend to contribute to the cultural unity of Europe? Is it firmly in favour of the establishment of a European Museum, a European anthem, a European flag, a Europe Day and a European literary prize (which would be superior to those instituted by private initiative) and the introduction of a European history book for schools?
4. What action can the Community and its Member States take to foster the European ideal amongst young people? How does the Commission view the creation of a major European educational game, the construction of accommodation centres (flying the European flag) and the creation of European sports teams?

— oral question with debate (Doc. 1-1136/82) by Mr Arfè and others on behalf of the Socialist Group:

Subject: Measures in favour of minority languages and cultures

1. Will the Commission outline what measures it has undertaken to date to implement the resolution¹ adopted in the Arfè Report on a Community charter for regional languages and cultures and a charter of rights of ethnic minorities, particularly in relation to:
 - (a) providing the information requested
 - (b) establishing pilot projects to try out methods of multilingual education
 - (c) reviewing all Community legislation and practices which discriminate against minority languages?
2. What additional practical measures does the Commission think it could implement, with the support of Parliament, conducive to development of the languages and cultures in question?
3. What new instruments would the Commission need to adopt to enable it, in the medium and long term to pursue an effective policy of support for lesser spoken languages?

— oral question with debate (Doc. 1-555/82) by Mr Fajardie and others on behalf of the Socialist Group:

Subject: European Social Heritage

1. Does the Commission share the view that our European Social Heritage — such as evidence

of the history of the world of work, industrial development, the birth of factories, the lives and struggles of workers, the creation and role of trade unions, cooperatives and friendly societies — deserves to be preserved in view of its significance in our total cultural heritage?

2. In view of their importance as part of our common social heritage and evolution does the Commission favour, and will it encourage, the acquisition by local authorities of disused factories — a process already begun in some places — which could be used for the collection and exhibition of documentation and evidence such as texts, pictures, machinery tools which could serve as material for travelling exhibitions, such places could also serve as centres for conferences, studies, leisure and culture?
3. Will the Commission examine the possibility of Community finance for initiatives towards the preservation of our common European Social Heritage in those areas which have witnessed the development of an industrial civilization and constitute an important part of the history of the world of work?
4. Will it also consider the possibility of similar measures in favour of preserving evidence of the history and development of the rural world?

— oral question with debate (Doc. 1-1138/82) by Mrs Gaiotti De Biase and others on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (CD Group):

Subject: Language teaching in the Community

In its resolution of 11 March 1982 on a Community programme in the field of education¹, the European Parliament affirmed that 'Language education is essential to enable the people of Europe to effectively exercise their right to freedom of movement and to improve mutual understanding'.

1. Will the Commission say what progress has been made in implementing the programme in the field of education of 9 February 1976² particularly as regards the following:
 - provision for all schoolchildren to learn at least one other Community language;
 - the principle that every trainee language teacher should spend a period of time in a country or region where the language he is to teach is spoken;

¹ OJ C 287 of 9 November 1981, p. 106.

¹ OJ C 87 of 5 April 1982.

² OJ C 38 of 19 February 1976.

- promotion of foreign language teaching outside the conventional school system (e.g. by radio and television), particularly in adult vocational training.
 - 2. Is the Commission planning to present a supplementary programme to improve further familiarity with the Community languages in the school sector or as part of adult education, exploiting the most up-to-date teaching aids?
 - 3. What measures has the Commission taken to promote exchanges between teachers, students and schoolchildren from the individual Member States?
- oral question with debate (Doc. 1-1139/82) by Mrs Gaiotti De Biase on behalf of the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport:

Subject: Meeting of Ministers of Culture on 17 and 18 September 1982 in Naples

Following the informal meeting in Naples on 17 and 18 September 1982 of the Ministers for Culture of the Member States of the European Community and the applicant States, Spain and Portugal, can the Commission say:

1. What subjects were discussed at this meeting?
2. Whether the Ministers took account of the resolution of the European Parliament of 14 September 1982 on the protection of the architectural and archeological heritage which, among other things, expressed the wish for such a meeting? If so, what action is to be taken in response to this resolution?
3. Whether account was also taken of the resolution of the European Parliament of 16 January 1981 on the social situation of cultural workers in the Community?
4. Does the Commission know whether there are plans for such meetings to be held regularly in future given that the draft European Act drawn up by Mr GENSCHER-COLOMBO included culture as a field for institutionalized cooperation between the Ten?
5. Does the Commission know if there are plans for concrete, factual and on-going cooperation in the cultural sector between the Member States of the Community as called for in the recent communication from the Commission to the Council on Community action in the cultural sector?
6. If so, what subjects or projects are seen as having priority and being practicable?
7. How does the Commission expect the European Parliament to be involved in, or at least informed about, this cooperation project?

Mr Flanagan (DEP). — Mr President, I had no idea that I was going to have to introduce this subject, but I do so with pleasure.

First of all, I should like to record my satisfaction that progress actually has been made on the initiative of Mr Arfè, Mr Hume and others on the subject of minority languages and culture, because a line does now exist in the budget. This represents a considerable progress, and it means that we can proceed to build on that foundation.

I will deal very briefly with the oral question tabled in the names of Mrs Ewing, Mr Remilly and myself on proposals to 'humanize' and 'personalize' Europe. There are many things mentioned such as European identity cards, sports certificates, university passports, and European postage stamps, and the question asked about the action that the Community and its Member States can take to foster the European idea amongst young people.

Perhaps, Mr President, it might be appropriate to tie this in with the content, more or less agreed, of the last debate, i.e., that greater effort should be made by the Community to help the rural areas. That seemed to me to be the common theme running through Mr Griffiths' splendid report. There are many practical ways in which the Community could, by the creation of sports centres — not in urban but in rural areas — offer people who live in the countryside access to European activities in a manner in which our present activities cannot do.

Indeed, while we are talking about sport, there is a Gaelic football and hurling team in Luxembourg. Maybe the fact of its existence is one of the reasons why you both voted against having a meeting in Luxembourg.

(Laughter)

Anyway, the President is a Frenchman and we do play matches in both Luxembourg and Ireland each year. There is nothing I would like better — and I am not much good at the hurling though Mr Lalor is — than to introduce a very great game, our native Irish game, to the whole of the Community. There might eventually be rather less violence than there appears to be in other games, particularly in recent times.

While a lot of good ideas have been thrown out about culture and development and the bringing home of the relevance of Europe, particularly to young people, these ideas have not, I think, yet been acted on. Like the minority languages, I hope that this will also merit a line in the budget, not in the long term but in the medium term. All we can do is to try to take these things step by step. I believe what we have tried to do is to revive the interest of Members in the ideas already put forward by other people and ask all of you, whatever your capacity, to think about them and

Flanagan

to consider practical ways of putting them into operation, especially for the benefit of the young and, equally, to include the people who live in rural areas and not just confine these things to the cities.

(Applause)

President. — Thank you, Mr Flanagan, for giving me some explanation for the vote against Luxembourg.

(Laughter)

Mr Arfè (S). — *(IT)* Mr President, Mr Commissioner, ladies and gentlemen, we are combining our question with a motion because we intend to take note of the reply and hence keep the dialogue between Parliament and the Commission open, tighter and more profitable.

The motion which we have submitted is supported not only by those who signed the motion and those who expressed their agreement with it, but also by a lively and active movement in several countries composed of millions and millions of citizens who are an integral part of our Europe and its civilization. Following the approval of the charter of rights of ethnic and linguistic minorities by this Parliament, we were urged by the interested parties to follow this course.

The Socialist Group has therefore sponsored a series of meetings (two in Brussels and one, last month, in Dublin) with the spokesmen of the institutions representing these minority groups. These representative institutions have set up a liaison office where it is possible to exchange experiences, ideas and to establish contacts in drawing up a common programme. Yesterday, here in Strasbourg, there was a meeting between Members of Parliament belonging to various parties, with the aiming of providing this movement with representation in this Parliament. I would like to remind you, Mr Commissioner, of the importance of this fact. This step forward signifies that the representativity of this Parliament is recognized by communities which have often been viewed with suspicion and overall represents an act of confidence in the European institutions. It would be a mistake and a great shame to betray this trust: behind it lies an expression of the will to participate in the common task of constructing Europe and, as Mr Flanagan used to say, of harmonizing the idea of Europe.

This reminder is necessary now that the Council has informed us that it has not yet discussed these problems, although it has stated that it is willing to accept what it defines, in what is at best an unfortunate expression, as 'the opinions and hopes expressed by this Parliament'. I believe, Mr President, that this Parliament expresses more than opinions and hopes: it interprets the will of millions and millions of European citizens.

We have noted with satisfaction that a budget heading has been opened for activities supporting minority and regional cultures. Furthermore it was with satisfaction that we read in the Commission document on the reinforcement of Community action in the cultural sector, that the Commission has decided to protect and support regional and minority languages and cultures, especially today that, and I quote, *they are threatened by the commercial forces of economic and technical change*. It was with satisfaction that we noted the Commission believes that it is vital to stop the cultural exodus from less developed regions, not only so as to avoid increasing the ranks of the unemployed, but also so as to halt the process of increasing impoverishment in society, which makes economic takeoff more difficult. However, the fact remains that the allocations remain more or less symbolic, and a mere sign of good will which does not correspond to political commitment. I should like to know what sort of pilot schemes and how many can be encouraged with a total of one hundred thousand ECU.

It is also true that many cases are brought to us of discriminatory measures which are still in operation in various countries because of legislative shortcomings.

Basically, the fact remains that it is taking a long time for the Community to adopt a policy in this sector in spite of all the formal admissions, and in spite of all the political, cultural and social reasons which would suggest that urgent steps should be taken and incisive and coherent action adopted.

In this motion — and I will say straight away that I will accept Mr Dalsass's amendment and thank him — we intend to contribute to providing a boost to the movement in this Parliament and to encourage those who are working in this direction with national government.

Mr Fajardie (S). — *(FR)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, our Parliament recently manifested its well-founded interest in Europe's architectural heritage. The socialists, who incorporate both tradition and movement, are dedicated as you all no doubt are to the preservation of the vestiges of the past. These vestiges, to our mind, are symbolic of mankind moving forward; they represent work carried out by men with faith for the sake of doing a job well, symbolizing hard struggles and the long road to freedom. They tell us about our history, with its bright and dark sides, and about each of our countries and what we have in common. They provide a link between us and our roots and it is these roots which justify our action for the future.

Man is not a fleeting moment without significance but a link in a chain whose creations must be preserved at every stage. These creations, however, are also for a large part man's achievements in the social, industrial and rural spheres: what we have learnt from a century

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and a half of history of the world of labour in Europe. We must consider as major elements of the living world the development of the trade union movement, the development of cooperation, friendly societies, associations, all activities contributing to the progressive liberation of man through the workers' and peasants' struggles. This profound transformation of society which has been achieved since the start of the 19th century is also part of our common heritage.

Mr President, local government is already aware of the need to revive places where human activity has developed and where man's greatness and dignity have been embodied in his labour, struggles and hopes. I have seen what has been accomplished in the way of revival in the United Kingdom, in the Severn Valley. In France, on the abandoned site of the Val de Fer in Lorraine, and in many other parts of Europe mines and metallurgical plants could be subject of successful campaigns which would set an example for protection and education.

There is one thing I am very certain of: the human spirit can be found where man has striven and suffered. It is also there that an important page of our common history has been written and where part of our culture, too, can be discovered. The question, therefore, is that of knowing today whether our Community intends to become associated with this search and effort, and whether it wishes to be a driving force, how it can start campaigns and coordinate them, how it can encourage with financial assistance, too, any developments in this sphere and arouse interest in something whose significance and importance, ladies and gentlemen, each of you is well aware of.

Everyone knows in fact that, by way of this question and the answers to it, we are faced with the fundamental problem of the implementation and success of a construction of demanding both commitment and determination from the working population. This is the context in which we are submitting a motion to the vote of the European Parliament.

Europe's social sphere stands to gain from our joint desire for solidarity. It is already interwoven with what was achieved before us which we must be capable of preserving as an example, as evidence and as a guide for the future, because, ladies and gentlemen, our future depends on it.

Mr Gaiotti de Biase (PPE). — *(IT)* Mr President, Mr Commissioner, exactly seven years ago, almost to the day, the Council of Ministers, in a fit of goodwill the like of which has never been seen since, expressed a series of sound proposals in a resolution on education policies.

Amongst the many important ideas in this resolution, there was a set of objectives and measures on the teaching of foreign languages: this was a good idea,

because there can be no freedom of movement, no Community awareness and no common balanced and harmonious development if it is not made possible for the citizens of the Community to communicate with each other more easily.

Few of the aspects closely tied to the cultural policy are implicitly and explicitly mentioned in the treaties as is this need for the knowledge of foreign languages in the Community. We are under the impression that these proposals have, in the meantime, either been completely forgotten or very much neglected.

We would therefore ask the Commission what has happened to the various aspects of this programme. What happened, for example, to the principle whereby every future language teacher should reside in the country or region where the language he wishes to teach is spoken? What happened to the promotion of language teaching outside the traditional school system for, in particular, vocational training for adults? Yet these general objectives, such as the principle whereby each language teacher should have resided in a region where the language he wishes to teach is spoken, would seem to be absolutely essential if languages are to be taught well.

What developments have occurred in the exchanges and contacts between those responsible for organizing language teaching and specialized research workers in this sector? The problem of how to teach language teaching is complex, and is certainly being dealt with in several countries, but much more should be done to compare the various teaching theories.

Today the problem is not only that of teaching a foreign language. I believe that only by dealing decisively with the problem of teaching theory, the teaching of the mother tongue, and the initial teaching of reading and writing in the mother tongue, can we enable all the citizens of the Community to rapidly learn in various phases of their lives second, third and fourth languages.

For example, there is the problem of the relationship between language teaching and the new technologies. What programmes have been drawn up to provide a standard method for using these new technologies and for the production of common Community software and hardware for language teaching?

We recently read an important contribution from the Commission on the problem of automatic language translation, which is certainly also necessary for the Community institutions. Links have been set up between research into automatic language translation and the new teaching methodologies and the possibility of using such contributions in teaching.

Language teaching presents serious problems: one of them, as we well know, is schooling for the children of immigrants, for whom the most common major prob-

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lems for their integration into society is the difficulty entailed in having to learn several languages at an early age and in using several languages at school.

We all live in a multilingual society these days, where there are often children from — mixed marriages and where there are an increasingly large number of problems — mentioned a short while ago by Mr Arfè — concerning ethnical minorities who, by definition, have to struggle with problems of multilingual schooling.

If instruments are not offered to deal with the linguistic mobility made necessary by the present geographical mobility of society, there is a risk that a series of ghettos will be created, rather than a genuine multinational society.

Naturally, as we are well aware, steps have been taken at national level during the last few years. In Italy, for example, primary school reforms have finally, during the last few months, made provision for the teaching of a foreign language from the very beginning of primary schooling.

I believe that the problem is illustrated in the coordination of these national policies. Some support the idea of Esperanto or imagine it to be possible to create a common language artificially in a short period of time. If a common language is to appear in Europe, it will certainly not be an artificial product, but will be the culmination of a long period of increasing interpenetration, development and ability to communicate at many levels. Only committed, vigorous programmes of language teaching can provide suitable preparation. Mr President, I believe I have five more minutes for a second question on behalf of the Committee on Youth and Culture. This committee could not help asking for a comment from the Council of Ministers for Culture on the seminar conducted in Sorrento.

This question is rather late since it was approved by the Parliamentary Committee some time ago and the Commission, in its document on the relaunching of the cultural policy has already taken steps to reply. Although this meeting, which took place on invitation of the Italian and French ministers, Mr Scotti and Mr Lang, was informal and did not reveal total unanimity, our committee still considers it to be the first significant reaction from the cultural ministers of the Community, and a sign that, to a certain extent, attention has been paid to the pressure brought to bear by Parliament. This Parliament is not always accustomed to such attention.

We have, in particular, noted that in the seminar's final statement there was a certain agreement on some of the many positions held by the Committee on Youth and Culture i.e. (a) recognition of the fact that the cultural dimension represents an important aspect of Community economic and social activities — scientific research, industrial development, balanced

regional development, social progress, the free movement of workers and the employment policy; (b) recognition of the importance of the cultural industry and market — the cinema, audio-visual equipment, the publishing trade and artistic craftsmanship and (c) recognition of the risk of cultural uniformity caused by the new means of communication, and a whole series of other aspects which I will not go into in detail.

We share the statements's recognition of the role of the Council of Europe, since the European dimension is necessarily a continental one. We do not however, consider that the role of the European Council is alternative to that of the Community itself, just as the Council of Europe is not alternative to UNESCO, and the individual nation is not alternative to the Council of Europe. As some of the statements made at the seminar revealed the nature of the Community specifically establishes the relationship between culture and economic integration, which is the relationship between culture and technology, which implies the desirability of making plans on a European basis for anything related to the cultural industry, from the cinema to audio-visual equipment, from satellites to copyright protection and from the social conditions of cultural operators to vocational training for artists and restoration craftsmen.

It would be absurd, and all the ministers at Sorrento agreed — to plan greater cultural cooperation between the Member States of the Community and the ACP countries, and yet at the same time to reject the principle of a European cultural sector in which common policies could be followed. In Commissioner Burke's statement at the seminar, the Commission, with praiseworthy modesty, uses the expression 'common action in the cultural sector' almost as if it was afraid of using the expression 'cultural policy'. However, we are not discussing words, but facts. We can say that, without a common cultural approach, the very concept of development and any discussion on models for development will be suspended, nor will it be possible to establish development models which conform to our aspirations.

The Commission, as I mentioned earlier, has following the Naples Seminar already presented an important document, and the Committee on Youth and Culture will make a statement on it in the report entrusted to Mr Fanti, but we should like to learn of its assessment of the Naples Seminar as from now, and how it hopes to make use of its positive aspects and overcome the reserves expressed mostly by a few countries, the United Kingdom, Germany and Holland in particular, and if it is to press for other meetings which might also cover more specific issues. Mr President, I believe that all the questions asked today and all the statements which have been made on the cultural policy reflecting various approaches and with which I fully agree increasingly show that the cultural dimension is a vital factor in the progress of European policies and that Parliament reflects the moods, the opinions, aspira-

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tions and hopes of our peoples and that on this issue the Parliament has the right to obtain conclusive replies from the Commission and the Council.

President. — I have received four motions for resolutions with requests for an early vote. The vote on these requests will be taken at the end of the debate.¹

Mr Schwencke (S). — (*DE*) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the Socialist Group welcomes all these oral questions since they are a further demonstration of how those things which are of vital importance in the field of cultural and educational policy receive such across-the-board attention in this House.

Mrs Gaiotti has already shown quite clearly that there is a particular need and opportunity for an active cultural and educational policy in this Europe of the Ten. We particularly welcome the fact that these oral questions provide the Commission with an opportunity to give us some answers regarding specific questions concerning, for example, cultural minorities, education policy and language teaching and, above all, our social and cultural heritage. Thus, as we see it, the Commission has an opportunity of making a little more progress in the practical implementation of the measures it has announced in the recent report on the strengthening of Community activities in the cultural field and which it to some extent regards as already implemented, since if these things are not put into practice, we in the Europe of the Ten will stand very little chance of using our cultural policy to make it clear to the public what this Community is all about — and we have greater possibilities in this respect than the Council of Europe which, while it can be more ambitious in its recommendations, nevertheless is not in a position either from the economic, social or legal point of view to do what we can in practical terms.

We should therefore welcome the fact that we all have to deal jointly with the Commission — and Council? — in the cultural task facing the European Community about which, I think, no one in this House has any doubt nowadays. These five questions, I think, make it clear that, at least since the European Parliament has existed, cultural and educational policy are fundamental aspects of the policy of the Europe of the Ten. The discussion we had at the beginning is a thing of the past.

I do not intend to go into the details on behalf of my group as the other speakers for the group will do this instead. However, I should nevertheless like to stress once more what should be the real purpose of a cultural policy which is yet to be specifically drawn up. I should like to refer, for this purpose, to the UNESCO Resolution adopted in Autumn last year in Mexico City which states that cultural identity, which is a task

for us all, is a life-giving spring which enriches man's possibilities for personal development by leading each person and each group to draw on the past and to react to external influences which are compatible with their own characteristics and in this way to continue the process of their own renewal.

Mr Dalsass (PPE). — (*DE*) Mr President, our adoption of a resolution in October 1981 brought us a good step further forward as regards the protection of ethnic minorities. So many ethnic groups began to hope that their situation would finally improve to some extent — for example, to mention just a few of the most important points, they hoped that they would finally be granted certain rights as regards education, language and access to the mass media.

We were possibly aware at that time that this resolution was nothing definitive or comprehensive but merely dealt with one of the many aspects of the protection of minorities — the political part proper was still to come. I maintain permanent contact with these minorities and it has become apparent that so far very little has actually been done so far by the competent national governments who are called on to put this resolution into practice.

These hopes were dashed to some extent and I think it was right, therefore, that the then rapporteur, Mr Arfé, should finally have inquired once more as to what people actually had in mind, so that this resolution would not remain simply a dead letter but would indeed be put into practice in the interests of effective protection for minorities. He was also, I think, quite right in following his oral question up with a motion for a resolution.

This motion for a resolution states that we in the European Parliament should continue to monitor progress in the implementation of this resolution and also calls for a final end to be put to the discrimination against minorities which continues to exist in certain national legislation. However, it is not enough merely to put an end to this discrimination, since this would not guarantee the continued existence and free development of an ethnic group. Positive measures are also called for.

I have therefore tabled an amendment to which Mr Arfé has already given his approval and in which I call on the Commission to report on what it has already done and what it intends to do in future.

It would be a good thing for us to keep a constant eye on the implementation of this resolution. We can only hope that the second part of the resolution on the protection of ethnic minorities — i.e. the political part proper — will soon be adopted in this Parliament.

Miss Brookes (ED). — Mr President, Mr Commissioner, ladies and gentlemen, as a MEP for a region of

¹ See Minutes.

Brookes

the Community where Welsh, the oldest of the modern European languages, is spoken, I would like to stress the importance of preserving the minority languages of the Community.

(Interruption)

These languages are a vital part of the cultural heritage of the countries where they are spoken and also of the Community's common heritage and I would therefore like to encourage the Commission to play an active role in ensuring that they do not disappear.

The best way in which the Commission could contribute to the preservation of languages such as Welsh is to ensure that Community legislation itself does not contribute to their decline. An example of the way in which Community legislation has prejudiced the existence of minority languages is the commercial legislation which makes it compulsory for the labels of products to bear at least one of the official languages of the Community. This is grossly unfair. This has recently resulted in Welsh whisky bottles labelled only in Welsh being prevented from being sold in Wales, where wine bottles labelled only in French are perfectly legal. Again this is unjust!

(Cries of 'shame')

This seems to me a field in which the Commission could alter its legislation to take into account the possibility of goods being labelled only in a minority language in areas where that language is spoken.

I would also like to see the Commission taking a more active part in the promotion of minority languages, and I welcome the fact that in the 1983 budget it contains for the first time a special line for minority languages and cultures with an appropriation of 100 000 ECU. I hope this will be increased in the near future to provide substantial aid for the teaching of minority languages, similar to the action taken to promote the teaching of other Community languages in schools.

I would also ask the Commission to make public the findings of its report on methods of bilingual teaching in Wales, as the results of this research would no doubt be of very great interest to schools and other educational institutions.

May I, Mr President, in answer to Mr Dalsass, the previous speaker, say that the present national government of the United Kingdom gives a generous and ongoing financial contribution to the Royal National Eisteddfod of Wales, one of our leading festivals.

(Applause)

Mr Maffre-Baugé (COM). — *Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, en prenant la paraula davant nosautres en lenga occitana, dins la lenga de mon país, voldriái*

plan afortir que se tracha aquí d'una lenga illustra, la que dins la renaissença del sègle dotze donèt amb la poèsia dels trobadors una morala de l'amor e un art de cantar tant coma de viure a l'Europa . . .

President. — Ladies and gentlemen, I also have a native language which is not an official one here. If we carry on like this, we are not going to get very far. I come from a small country that represents a tiny minority within the Community. This was made clear again today! Even though I speak a national language, it is not one of the official languages of the Community. I am required to speak an official language here. If you do the same, we shall be able to understand each other.

(Laughter)

Mr Maffre-Baugé. — *(FR)* You are speaking a minority language, Mr President.

President. — Exactly. I said I sympathized with you because we have no opportunity to speak our languages here but I am still going to ask you to speak one of the official languages, even though I admired the splendour and beauty of your native tongue.

I am sorry that my language is not one of the official languages because that would make our work much easier.

(Applause)

Mr Maffre-Baugé (COM). — *(FR)* Mr President, the interpreters and you yourself have been given my translation. However, since you insist, out of courtesy towards you, I shall continue to read this text in French. I shall repeat the five lines and ask you to give me 30 seconds more, Mr President, because you interrupted me.

In speaking to you in Provençal, the language of my homeland, I would like to testify that it is a renowned language and one which, in the Renaissance of the 12th century, gave Europe, with the song of the troubadours, an ethos of love and a singing art and way of life.

This you already know, but I would like to say it again because I believe that all you Europeans can stand shoulder to shoulder with me if I place my language on a par with yours, rather than higher.

This language is also that of the peasants and workers who fought with it for their rights and for a little more happiness in life. For me, Provençal represents not just a lullaby of the past, my other tongue, but a war cry and yearning for freedom which have continued through the centuries, through to us. We, together

with our small farmers, our Cévennes miners and factory workers, now know that if we say, 'We want to live, work and take the decisions in our region', we are combining one of the latest developments of our day with the stubborn resolve of our ancestors. And so allow me to speak (but you will not) in this Provençal language.

You nevertheless recognized how modern this language was recently when you redrafted your resolution of 16 October 1981 following the Arfè report. The unfortunate part of it, however, was that you prevent us from expressing ourselves in these minority languages. On that occasion, you established a normal link between the defence of Europe's regional languages and defence of the economies. You clearly said that societies, wherever they were, had the right to exist materially as well as culturally. You even asked the national governments to grant 'the minorities, for their cultural events, on an appropriate scale, material and financial aid equivalent to that from which the majorities benefited'.

If I had had to speak two years ago, I would no doubt have had to deplore the fact that France did not recognize this international right you wanted to have established but, as you know, in my country, something has changed as far as principles are concerned since the change of direction taken by democracy. I am pleased to endorse here, following the solemn declaration made by our President of the French Republic on the right to be different, the pledge made by our Minister of Cultural Affairs with regard to our right to historic reparations in a pluricultural France.

This week, there was talk of an inter-ministerial committee of the cultures of France and, something which will interest all of you here, of a meeting in France of the cultures of Europe. France is therefore emerging from the shell of intolerance into which she had withdrawn, but as you may well think, Paris won't be rebuilt in a day and neither will democracy. This is why we find that implementation has been dragging on for almost two years.

Help us therefore. If in this context — and I shall soon be finished, Mr President — we do not confirm the rights of cultural communities, each of us will have no further means in his country to demand what is but simple and basic justice. But if you will allow me, Mr President, — I shall only say a short sentence — I would like to conclude in my mother tongue (*the speaker continued in Provençal*): We shall no longer have the right to regard the use of this beloved and proud living language as normal in Montpellier, Toulouse and Marseilles, just as it is regarded as normal in Strasbourg among all the other expressions of the heart and history'.

Thank you, Mr President.

(Applause)

President. — If this Parliament ever meets again in Luxembourg, Mr Maffre-Baugé, I shall invite you home to read to my children as your language is very beautiful.

Mrs Tove Nielsen (L). — (DA) Mr President, as part of the heritage to be found in our Community, I would like to speak in one of the official languages — my own language. I would like to say that if we in the Liberal Group are taking a very active part in the debate on cultural policy, it is because we set great store by the cultural values to be found in the various countries, because we respect each other and because we believe that only by becoming acquainted with these things are we able to really understand what the pre-requisites are for our cooperation in general.

I would like to deal with a rather specific subject and steer completely clear of many of the symbolic items which, every once in a while, unfortunately take up too much of the debate, with the result that we become estranged from everyday reality. I would like to take a small step back in time and remind you that we in the Liberal Group tabled a motion on the 1983 budget to the effect that we should enter a new item to provide funds for the exchange of teachers and pupils between our Member States. We consider this particularly important, because there is one thing we must realize, namely that there are no longer so many people who, from their own personal experience, know the background to the Community we are living in today. It is very important for the new generation which is now growing up to have the possibility to travel and see for itself what is happening in the various Member States. This is why we intend to request the Commission to realize the importance of having these funds earmarked, and why we intend to appeal as strongly as possible to our colleagues in Parliament to ensure that funds are set aside when we are called upon to vote on the next budget.

The interest is there. We do not know the background or the values which united the people when the Community was started. But teachers and pupils are eager to travel to other Member States to become acquainted with the customs and traditions of those countries. Therefore, all we wish to say is: we citizens of Europe are part of this regional community we live in; this is natural to us. We are part of the country we live in; this is natural to us. And we are also very much part of this Europe we live in; this is also natural to us. If we wish to steer clear of the symbols and artificial concepts and get back to our everyday life, the generation now growing up must be given the possibility of finding out for itself that we have to cooperate, and we can cooperate and learn to respect each other only if we really know what is happening elsewhere. We therefore hope that the Community will open up possibilities for creating this understanding in the up-and-coming generation.

IN THE CHAIR: MR LALOR

Vice-President

Mrs Ewing (DEP). — Mr President, it is with the greatest of pleasure that I rise to support the motion for a resolution on minority cultures and also all the oral questions.

Each language is unique and, like each human being, has a right to life. Each language has got something unique to offer man as a means of expressing himself. It follows that the death of any language is the death of part of all of us. Really, every language has within it the secrets of our own heritage. How awfully difficult and irritating it is for us to look at a Sanskrit tablet and have to try to work out the meaning by deductive processes. How much better if the language had been there to tell us the secrets contained in it.

Now I represent an area that is a bastion of an ancient, yet modern European language — just as old, with all respect to my friend Beata Brookes, as Welsh. It is spoken by many, many thousands of people and has an enormous literature and music. To some extent your sympathy towards me tonight will be the measure of the confidence of that people in the goodwill and human face of this Community. I want you to hear a few lines only. I am not going to ask you to learn the language or ask to have everything translated into it, but just want it to be on the record for the goodwill of these people.

I am going to say a few words in Gaelic to you: *‘Tha mi uamhasach toilichte agus proiseal a bhi ann seo an nochd anns a pharleamaid roinn Eorpa. Tha mi sona a bhi a Alba an tir as alainn agus cuideach tha na cuantean anns roinn Eorpa’*, which means: ‘I am very happy and proud to be here in this Parliament of Europe and to be from the land of Scotland, one of the most ancient, beautiful and farthest away of all Europe’.

That really perhaps goes to the heart of what we are talking about tonight because these people who speak Gaelic aren’t asking you to learn it. They are really only asking that their children might have a chance against the very powerful media influences of today, such as television, which is almost the biggest single shock to mankind since the wheel was invented and very damaging, at the moment anyway, to minority languages. When you think of Europe’s history and on the Viking sagas how tragic if that amount had not remained to tell us about these people. The ancient Celtic Christian documents of Ireland and the Western Isles that I represent are some of the earliest documents from a period when Europe was in the Dark Ages. Those people with their writings illuminated the Dark Ages for you.

These achievements themselves give this language a right to live, but it needs positive financial nurturing,

protection and encouragement. I would like to ask the sordid question of the Commission: how much? I have heard various figures bandied about and I have been delighted to hear these figures bandied about, but perhaps we could hear what the figure in money is to be. Naturally, all of us here who care about a minority language will be looking at practical ways of using whatever money we are offered. In our case we have a shortage of teachers. There are plenty of teachers who speak Gaelic but aren’t trained to be teachers of Gaelic, so they need a conversion course. That is a very simple project. We need encouragement for books. We need encouragement for the Gaelic College, because if we can just keep that Gaelic College in Skye going almost all the people with Gaelic libraries will contribute books to it so that it becomes a repository. Without the existence of the College, that possibility vanishes.

There are so many practical things. I think the Eisteddfod was also mentioned. Oddly enough the Commission gives ten thousand pounds a year to the Eisteddfod and not a penny to the Mod, which is an exactly parallel Scots Gaelic festival. Not a penny, and there is no reason for this, because it qualifies in every respect as having an intercommunity interest, i.e. to Scotland, Brittany and Ireland, three Community countries. It is quite a scandal, and I have never been able to understand why.

(Cries of ‘Hear, Hear!’)

I must conclude by pointing the finger of blame at successive British governments. I don’t want to go too far back into history, because we have really got to try to forget some of the bad things that have happened in our history, in the Highlands, which must be one of the most tragic of all Europe. But it really was the genocide of a people and a language. Gaelic was proscribed, and no government has given real, positive encouragement to it. It looks as if this Community is going to outdo our own government in this respect.

Mr Vandemeulebroucke (CDI). — *(NL)* Mr President, it is a good thing to be reminded briefly of the Arfé resolution since 15 months have now passed since we adopted this resolution on a positive approach to the so-called minority languages and cultures. In all that time, all the Commission has done is give us a budgetary item of 100 000 u.a. which is merely a drop in the ocean. I am afraid that people may well content themselves with such a small budget but this will never be enough to solve the problem.

We have just heard what Mrs Ewing had to say. She needs money to recruit Gaelic-speaking teachers and in the Basque country there are the Ikastolas. There are a whole range of problems concerning education, but what in heaven’s name can you do with a mere 100 000 u.a. The Commission would not appear to have really grasped the problem of ethnic languages

Vandemeulebroucke

and cultures. In fact, it does not even have documentation on the subject. However, the main responsibility lies with the Council of Ministers itself and not the Commission, since it is the Council of Ministers and the Member States who have for so long not deigned to include the resolution on the Council's agenda. The reason is clear — everything is to be left as it is because some Member States are still working from the mistaken assumption that a positive approach to the diversity of languages and cultures might constitute a threat to the national identity of the country in question and the unity which has been artificially constructed.

I am one of those, Mr President, who really believe that not only individuals but communities too have a right — an inalienable right — to an identity of their own, since language and culture are the main expressions of this own identity of a population group which is all too often disparagingly referred to as a minority. What in heaven's name is a minority? Well, Mr President, the neglect which certain regions have suffered from the linguistic and cultural point of view should be compared with the economic and social neglect. If one looks at the various regions, the areas of cultural neglect very frequently corresponds very closely to the areas of social, regional and economic neglect. I think, therefore, that the Member States should regard the diversity of linguistic and cultural communities as something to be valued and that they can learn from each other by giving each other examples of positive approaches and positive exchanges of ideas as regards, for example, educational and media policy. This would be possible by means of such things as contacts with the local authorities and populations and by examining how, for example, the elements of discrimination in the various legislations have been eliminated.

Reassessment of language and culture means, as I see it, doing some positive work on the building of Europe since we will never have European unity without genuine respect for the various elements going to make up this unity. Federalism is unity in diversity. Unity and diversity are never contradictory but complementary, and for this reason I am enthusiastic about this new resolution by Mr Arfé, which I also signed and which I hope will shortly or tomorrow be adopted unanimously. I also hope that the Commission will finally urge the Council to pay some attention to the question of language and culture, which would constitute real work towards the construction of Europe.

(Applause)

Mr Romualdi (NI). — *(IT)* Mr President, I shall not be speaking: in view of the late hour and since the topic has been broadly treated by my colleagues, I do not believe it necessary to make my modest contribution.

I agree with those who have stressed the need to strengthen these initiatives for the benefit of all the languages of the European nations.

(Applause)

Mrs Pery (S). — *(FR)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I spoke in this chamber for the first time more than a year ago on the Arfé report. This evening I shall reaffirm that Europe's regional cultures are determined to live. This is clear, even in this Parliament, to judge from the speeches of the European parliamentarians representing the regions concerned.

Several months ago we voted on the Arfé report, which recommended that the Member States recognize and assist the regional languages and cultures of, it should be recalled, 30 million citizens of the Community. Since then, the French Government has taken a number of initiatives which I would like to talk to you about briefly but very specifically.

Agreements have been signed between the State and some cities to finance the development of regional cultures and promote artistic creation in dancing, music, the cinema and theatre.

Moreover, teaching of regional languages has developed in numerous schools. The Minister of Education proposes to create this year in the Basque region experimental bilingual classes for children wishing to be taught both the Basque language and the national language. These classes will develop in parallel with the existing 'ikastolak'; these are private schools created by the parents themselves to promote the teaching of the Basque language in the first few years; they are partly subsidized by the State and local government. In a few years, this dual experiment will have to be reviewed and future policy decided upon. It is the start of a new cultural policy founded on dialogue, respect for identity and exchange between cultures.

The Arfé report, too, recommended that the European Community should finance projects. It will perhaps be difficult to create Community measures in view of the diversity of the situation from one country to another and the modesty of the budget earmarked for this new policy. However, we must back the original initiatives taken by some Member States and participate in the financing of pilot projects which could subsequently be developed in other countries. We must show a little boldness and imagination. With a joint effort at the European level, we could provide the impulse for a different cultural policy which all too often remains inhibited. Each of us must be allowed to be himself, to remain faithful to his roots, to communicate and create in the languages of his choice; this is the very essence of culture.

To conclude, Mr President, I cannot resist the pleasure of saying my last few words in Basque since we

Pery

have heard other languages, too. I shall simply thank you, ladies and gentlemen, and wish you a good evening: 'anderek eta jaunak, mileskerranitz eta gabon.'

(Applause)

Mr Price (ED). — On a point of order, Mr President. These are oral questions with debate. They refer to a debate which took place in this House on the Arfé report in October 1981 and ask the Commission, in the main, what action it has taken. We have not yet had a reply from the Commission. Surely the purpose of an oral question of this kind is to find out what the Commission has done and then to comment on it. Can I ask that we should hear the Commission and have that opportunity before proceeding any further? Otherwise it is pointless, and what we are really doing is to repeat a debate of some fifteen months ago. Could I ask that you call the Commissioner now before proceeding any further?

President. — We have here a collection of five different oral questions, and I think I can truthfully say they have not all been put.

Mr Price (ED). — Before you occupied the Chair, all the questions were put. Since then we have had a round of speakers from all the political groups and you have just started, by calling Mrs Pery, on the second round from the political groups. I feel that to have a Commissioner replying at the end of the debate defeats the entire purpose of a series of oral questions with debate. The purpose is to ask questions and to be able to respond to them. We shall not be able to do that at all if we go on at this rate.

(Applause)

President. — Mr Price, the information available to the Chair is that at the very commencement of the debate there was a request from the Commission that they would like to speak at the end of the debate.

(Protests)

Boyes (S). — Rubbish!

President. — This has been the practice. I am sorry if so much rubbish is emitted by the Chair, but this is the situation and I have seen it done on a regular basis. The Chair normally gives way to a request from the Commission in this regard, and the request from the Commission was that they would like to contribute at the end of the debate.

Mr Natali, Vice-President of the Commission. — *(IT)* It is true, Mr President, that I said I wanted to

speak at the end of the debate. I made this request because I intended to reply to everyone who spoke in the debate as well as to those who tabled the questions. If it is your view that I should answer right away, I am happy to do so. However, I must add that I reserve the right to speak a second time in order to reply to the supplementary questions that will be put to me.

President. — If that is the case, Commissioner Natali, you have made an offer which I in the Chair could not possibly refuse, because in this way we get a double reply.

Mr Natali, Vice-President of the Commission. — *(IT)* There is something I have to say at the outset, Mr President. My speech is not going to be as short as the hour would dictate, and this is because the oral questions which were tabled and the ensuing speeches include specific queries to the Commission to which I should like to give specific answers. They may or may not be satisfactory but at least they will be specific.

First of all, I want to make a general point. I think it is extremely important that the European Parliament decided to devote some of its work to this matter which, however you look at it, is linked to a truth which all too often — it has to be admitted — is not so obvious to us. I mean the fact that the life of the Community cannot be based solely on one or two economic aspects but consists of a cultural heritage as well of spiritual values which ought to inspire us.

The first oral question, tabled by Mr Junot and Mr Remilly, makes specific reference to a number of problems which I would say were characteristic when it comes to a better awareness of the people of Europe. I mean the task of humanizing the idea of Europe.

The first specific query which crops up concerns the problem of easing the integration at school of the pupil who moves from his own country to another. In this connection let me say that the Council of Europe and the Commission have worked on preparing a school record book which is supposed to remain with the pupil throughout his school career. The book should contain all the basic data on the pupil: exam results, medical data, and so on.

Then there is the matter of the European passport. As you know, the idea of a European passport was dealt with in decisions by the Council in 1980 and 1981 and something is now being done about it. The introduction of this European passport — which has now become possible after lengthy discussion about where to mention the European Community before the name of the Member State — is without doubt the first sign that all the citizens of the Member States belong to the same Community. It goes without saying that the issue of this passport will encourage real awareness among Europeans and will bring home to third countries the

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meaning of belonging to Europe by way of its most precious possession: the people of the Community.

There was also a query about a European identity card. With regard to this let me say that the Council's special group had several problems to consider and it felt that priority should go to the matter of the European passport. As a result, it has not followed up the work involved in the introduction of a European identity card.

The same is true in the case of the European sports certificate. On the other hand, however, I must tell you that the idea of a European postage stamp was mooted at a meeting with postal authorities.

Another problem which was brought up was about making everyone aware of the idea of Europe, its prospects and its problems. Through its departments and its information work, the Commission does all it can to fulfil this need, and in our view audiovisual methods are the most suitable. We have set in motion a definite programme to encourage maximum awareness among the mass media, especially radio and television, so that news broadcasts, current affairs programmes and educational programmes include information about the Community. I should add as well that the Commission departments, through the European Broadcasting Union, provide correspondents with copy from named sources on Community affairs.

Of course — and I shall come back to this when I reply to Mr Arfé's question — we realize that the Commission's efforts in the cultural sector are not trying to eradicate the cultural differences which have developed in Europe over the centuries. The Commission wants to channel its help in particular towards European initiatives which it gets to know about as part of the cultural activities organized in the Member States.

The motion for a resolution also mentions a European anthem and a European flag. I think we should give some thought to these ideas. Let me say as well that we do intend to take a look at the idea of creating a European literary prize.

The idea of a Europe Day is especially appealing. We shall look at the possibility of introducing such a day, which could be held on 9 May in memory of the Schuman Declaration.

We also realize the importance of making young people aware of the idea of a united Europe and of the role the Community plays in this. This is even more important when you remember that we are going to have European elections in 1984 and that in 1985 the United Nations will be organizing the International Youth Year.

I am also able to tell Parliament that the information services of the Commission organized a big survey of

young people in 1982 and the results of this should be available in the next few months. As soon as they are, they will be forwarded to Parliament. And again on that wide sector of the public we call young people, we are working on a series of information schemes and we are also considering in this connection a European educational game.

I think that answers the first question, Mr President, and I shall now turn to the second question. For the benefit of Mr Arfé who tabled the question and for all the Members who spoke — and some of them used particularly attractive languages here in the Chamber — let me say that they can rest assured that we are absolutely convinced that cultural identity is a major spiritual need nowadays and in this regard we feel that we have to protect the living heritage of every language and culture in order to strengthen the bonds between the peoples of Europe and so enrich their culture in all its variety.

In the light of this and in connection with the Parliament resolution which was mentioned on a number of occasions, the Commission has asked the *Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana* to carry out a survey in collaboration with the *Board Na Goelilge* on the Community's ethnic and linguistic minorities. The survey programme is based on a careful consideration of your resolution, since the idea is to collect recent, accurate and comparable data on the attitudes and reaction of people in the Member States to the regional languages and cultures of their particular countries. This descriptive survey will cover native and alien minority languages — but not dialects or the languages spoken by immigrants — and will provide for each language an historical outline, details of the number and location of speakers and the legal status of the language. There will also be a careful study of the problems connected with the conservation and promotion of minority languages, and this will include the educational and cultural aspects and the role of the mass media, radio and television.

In the second half of this year we hope to get in touch with leading experts as a result of a provisional analysis of the survey and by the end of the year we hope to have a descriptive outline and some definite proposals. We have set up an informal working party within the Commission with the idea of providing the best possible response to the other proposals in the resolution which I have already mentioned a couple of times. In particular, we are going to look at youth exchange schemes, education and various sectors involving the Community's financial instruments.

Someone mentioned Parliament's decision to allocate 100 000 ECU to specific ends. Some people complained that this was not very much. We know as well that this is just a drop in the ocean. The fact of the matter, ladies and gentlemen, is that the Commission does not control the budget. We simply implement it. Be that as it may, we are trying to see to it that there is

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consultation with the representatives of ethnic and linguistic minorities and with those in charge of certain projects in this area.

We are convinced of the usefulness of these initiatives as a whole and we feel we have set in motion something which can help safeguard and develop our common cultural heritage, which also includes — as I said before — aspects of difference and variety in line with the history and tradition of the people who inhabit Europe.

Mr Fajardie asked a question about European social heritage. We are aware of the cultural importance of European heritage and we approve of the action which is taken locally to conserve and promote this heritage. Accordingly, we are ready to consider Community financing to conserve our European social heritage, including of course anything connected with the rural world. In the final analysis, of course, implementation of these ideas will depend on what is decided by those who are responsible for the budget.

Mrs Gaiotti De Biase tabled two questions and one of them was about language teaching. I should like to say to Mrs Gaiotti De Biase that we too are convinced that greater understanding among the people of the Community and effective use of their rights of freedom of movement and freedom of establishment depend to a large extent on their ability to communicate in other Community languages apart from their own.

Let me say again that we endorse the European Parliament's resolution of 11 March 1982 in which emphasis was laid on the importance to be given to the teaching of foreign languages. This idea is contained in the resolution which the Council of Ministers of Education adopted on 9 February 1976, and on 14 June 1978 we forwarded to the Council a communication on an action programme for the teaching of languages in the Community. Unfortunately, nothing came of this action programme as the Council did not agree to it.

Among the various Community measures we intend to pursue we shall lay constant emphasis on the need to make it easier to learn at least a second Community language. As for these various Community measures, I want to stress the importance of languages for anything which has economic implications.

We have encouraged moves by various non-governmental bodies which, apart from the idea of training young people in a European dimension, are also trying to make it easier to learn other Community languages. We realize that all these measures cannot offer everyone in the Community — young people and adults — the chance to learn two languages, apart from their own one. We therefore go along with Parliament's expressed hope that the Member States take more positive action to achieve this aim.

Finally, Mrs Gaiotti De Biase also asked about the meeting of the Ministers of Culture which was held in Sorrento. The purpose of this meeting — and I believe that Mr Beumer, Chairman of the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport, also attended the meeting — was to allow the ministers to get together for the first time. They had no opportunity to look at the resolutions referred to by the honourable Member, or to consider the Commission communication on promoting Community action in the cultural sector, which had not been submitted at that time.

As we see it, the Sorrento meeting was useful, even if nothing definite was decided. It showed that this is a Community which is developing and we hope that similar meetings will give a boost to Community action in the cultural sector.

Mr President, I am sorry if I have replied at length. I have tried to answer all the queries which were put, and of course I shall feel bound to answer any other questions which are put to me.

(Applause)

Mr Estgen (PPE). — *(FR)* Allow me to tell my British colleague that the agenda precisely provides for questions with debate, which I approve of because this is the very heart of European politics: the creation of a genuine European awareness by means of European education.

We shall not have a real, political Europe if we do not educate European citizens in advance, and in the same way there can be no real European policy without a Community cultural policy.

We are a generation in a state of transition. The first generation of great Europeans, fired with the enthusiasm of peace and brotherhood, envisaged Europe from an economic angle, but also from the point of view of this European civilization. It is up to us, the second generation, to implement these ideas and hand on the torch of the founding fathers of Europe to the young people who, today, are disillusioned and do not believe all that much in this Europe. To reinspire confidence in young people, we need symbols of European unity: a passport, anthem, flag, postage stamps, European diplomas. It is very important because symbols are, after all, the poetry of politics, and which of us would like to live without poetry?

What is more important still is the need for European education. You know what I mean: I have said it time and time again: I would not like a uniform educational system for all Member States but I am convinced we need a European educational system with coordination in certain subjects: in history, for example. History books have cultivated nationalism to the extreme for too long; they have created prejudice and harmful

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clichés. It is therefore highly desirable that the Ministers of Education should agree on the introduction of school books of European history.

It will not be easy, however, Mr President. I have here a brochure entitled *The European Parliament*. I find that in the English edition an important chapter entitled *A conscience for Europe* has been left out. Our British electors and citizens will thus be deprived of an important part of this brochure. This makes me wonder.

I would also like to stress the need for the teaching of foreign languages in our schools. For me, one of the ways of beating unemployment lies in the learning of European foreign languages. This encourages not only mobility and free movement but also helps, and is an absolute prerequisite for, redeployment, vocational recycling and promotion, which today are guarantees for employment.

I come from a country where normally two or three foreign languages are taught. This is perhaps one of the reasons why the unemployment rate is so low in Luxembourg; this learning of languages gives people a degree of flexibility. The learning of a language is accompanied by a better understanding of the people of another country and by human and cultural enrichment as well. Moreover, we need a Community policy which would morally oblige host countries to ensure that the mother tongues of the children of migrant workers are taught as well, so that they do not lose their original culture.

Here in Parliament, we call for European television. I am in favour of a daily programme teaching a Community language. Pascal said 'In love, silence is better than language'. This is certainly true, but it does not apply to all the other areas of life and I believe that, in order to multiply our chances in modern society, there is nothing as effective as the learning of foreign languages.

Mr Price (ED). — Mr President, when Parliament adopted its resolution on the Arfè report in October 1981, it incorporated an amendment from me which called upon the Commission to review all Community legislation and practices which discriminate against minority languages. I tabled that amendment because of the incident mentioned by my colleague, Miss Brookes, in which it was found that a wine-bottle label written only in Welsh infringed the Community's wine-labelling regulations. Over a year has passed, and we should be able to look to the Commission for news of substantial progress. But the Commissioner has said absolutely nothing about any action taken by the Commission to review Community legislation, although that is part of the first question put to him in the Arfè oral question.

I would like to ask him specifically: has the Commission done anything to review Community legislation

as requested and, if so, what? I notice that in the motion for a resolution to wind up the debate this call is repeated as if the Commission had done nothing. What I have heard so far would suggest that that is entirely correct. But can I further ask the Commissioner, noting the format of that motion for a resolution, whether he will undertake on behalf of the Commission, to produce by the end of 1983, as that motion suggests, a report showing the action taken.

Finally, Mr President, it seems to me that in just one particular, that part of the motion for a resolution is not very realistic, because it enlarges upon the call we have made previously and asks the Commission to look not only at Community legislation but also at national legislation. Bearing in mind the absence of proper action about Community legislation, I think that it really must, at this stage, press our point relating to the Community itself before it takes on the much wider task.

Mrs Cinciari Rodano (COM). — (IT) Mr President, first of all let me say that I disagree with the procedure you followed on the Price proposal, without even consulting the House. As far as I am concerned, I had some questions to put to the Commissioner and I cannot see how you and Mr Price felt that it would help us get through the proceedings better if Mr Natali spoke twice.

Anyway, having said that, I should not like the Commissioner to assume from a superficial reading of the question by Mr Arfè that it is restricted in scope and that it deals only with the problem of minority languages and cultures. The resolution of 16 October 1981, which is mentioned in the motion for a resolution by Mr Arfè, referred to the problem of regional languages and cultures as well, and as you well know this is something quite different but no less important.

I do not think we can get away with various measures to safeguard minority languages and cultures and disregard cultural features which are just as important and deserving of protection but which cannot however be described as 'minority'. I am thinking of places such as Sardinia or Scotland, or other areas in the Community, where there is a linguistic and cultural heritage covering a whole country but where there are nonetheless regions which are fiercely proud of their own identity.

If you ask me, this variety of regional languages and cultures represents a boon for our European cultural heritage and it is something which has to be developed, even though in doing so we shall need in some instances a different approach from the one needed to satisfy the rightful aspirations of ethnic and linguistic minorities which are to be found in limited areas or across borders, and this is the most tricky part of the matter as far as the Community concerned. It is only right and proper that we should recognize and respect

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these situations as they are and people should no longer be oppressed and subject to discrimination.

I think the Commissioner was right to recall that the 1981 resolution emphasized the need to draw up Community provisions which could eliminate any discrimination, and I am thinking of a map of regional languages and cultures as well as of a charter of the rights of ethnic minorities.

I did not quite understand — and I should like the Commissioner to come back on this — whether the survey which has been commissioned refers simply to the problem of ethnic minorities or whether it refers to the more general problem of linguistic and cultural heritage, either of these minorities or on a regional basis.

Secondly, I should like to hear from the Commission whether, apart from these surveys it has commissioned, it has made contact with local authorities and with bodies which represent these minorities or these regional movements. This was suggested by Parliament. In short, I should like to know if the Commission intends to draw up a kind of record or catalogue or map, which will serve as the basic tool which is needed if we are going to adopt measures which are bound to be distinct but linked.

We are talking about more than 30 million people in this Community of ours. We have heard several times here that we are dealing with a problem of cultural identity and of how to safeguard this identity, which is one of man's strongest and most deeply felt needs. It is vital that we should satisfy this legitimate yearning, also because it will help to create the idea of genuine European unity.

Mr Eisma (NI). — *(NL)* Mr President, I am a little hesitant about speaking after Mr Natali's recent remarks, since all he managed to say was that the Commission went along with all our ideas. However, he was not able to report on a single act or result on the part of the Commission or Council and I had the same sort of feeling as Mr Price. We have been talking here for perhaps some three years, but in all this time we have seen no signs of any results whatsoever, although we must realize, when we are talking about the question of foreign language teaching, that the Council of Education Ministers decided on 24 May last year to instruct the Committee on Education to examine the question of whether, following the resolution adopted by this Parliament on 11 March last year, the Community education programme should be revised. As far as we know, the work of this Committee on Education is nowhere near finished so that the Commission has not been able to come up with the new proposals either so that this evening's questions anticipate the Commission proposals, although we are afraid that whatever the Commission proposes as regards language teaching, its proposals will not stand much chance with the Council. I would nevertheless

urge the Commission to come up with bold proposals and not to make allowances in advance for the opposition we can expect from one or two Member States. We are thinking in particular of Denmark's resistance on this matter.

We will obviously be glad to support the resolution by Mrs Gaiotti de Biase although it should be borne in mind that the Commission does not have the necessary power to directly influence the policies of the Member States as regards language teaching in schools or adult education. Thus, we must restrict ourselves to promoting cooperating between the Member states which in itself would appear to be a difficult matter. I do not think, therefore, that we should aim too high and we will be pleased even if the Commission merely manages to give a clear and concrete form to the cooperation. We cannot expect any more even if we were to spend hours discussing this matter.

We intend to support the resolution on minority languages and cultures by Mr Arfè and the amendment by Mr Dalsass calling on the Commission to report on measures in this field. However, we wonder whether, in view of the rapidly increasing number of requests by the Parliament to the Commission and the Council for reports, assessments or studies of various matters, the Commission still manages to get round to the real work. I should also like to know what article in the Treaty of Rome could form the basis for the Commission activities in connection with minority languages and cultures called for in the resolution. Would the European Foundation have a part to play here? We should be grateful for a clear and realistic answer by the Commission and look forward to receiving one.

Mrs Clwyd (S). — *(Mrs Clwyd made several introductory remarks in Welsh)* — Mr President, I had hoped that by now you would have stopped me, because I wanted to illustrate a point in the remaining time I have got. That point is that the minorities always have to give in to the majorities and that is the reason why so few people in Wales now speak Welsh, because the English language has always prevailed.

We do have a Welsh Language Act which in theory gives equal status to Welsh and English. In practice, it is rather different. On very many occasions, when people wish to use the Welsh language they are not able to do so.

The Community has been very active as far as the Sex Discrimination Acts are concerned and has put a lot of pressure on Member States to make sure that those acts work. In Wales the Welsh Language Act does not work, and I would hope that the Commission will look at ways of persuading a reluctant UK Government to tighten the loopholes in the Welsh Language Act so that Welsh does really have equal status with English. I hope that the Commission will very soon take action on that very important point.

(Mrs Clwyd concluded her speech in Welsh)

Mr Van Minnen (S). — *Foarsitter, ik ha it besocht, mar ik kin it knopke net fine om it snoade petear fan frou Clwyd yn it Frysk oerset to krijen.* (Mr President, I have tried, but I can't find the button to have Mrs Clwyd's funny language translated into Frisian.)

Mr Habsburg (PPE). — (DE) Mr President, I should first of all like to thank Mr Natali for going into many details, but I should nevertheless at the same time like to express my bitter disappointment at the fact that he did not show even a quarter of the enthusiasm which our friend Mr Arfè repeatedly shows.

We should be grateful that our Parliament is once more dealing with the question of regional languages and language teaching, since this is central to our intellectual life and we should also take care of our languages — regardless of whether they are majority or minority languages — because diversity is the essence of our culture. Europe should not be a melting pot — that would be the end of it. The disappearance of any language, however minor, would be an irredeemable loss and we would all be much the poorer for it. There are 20 million people in the European Community who speak regional languages — and this is a substantial number. They have just as much right to recognition as those who speak the major languages even though we should do all we can in their own interests to give them access to a world language as well as education in their own languages, not least because of the growing importance of cross-frontier trade.

Nor should we forget that this is only the thin end of the wedge since the big problems involving the rights of linguistic and ethnic minorities are to be found in those European countries which are still forced to live under a foreign totalitarian hegemony. The decolonisation of these countries is our aim and it is in the interests of these hitherto unliberated Europeans that we in the West must prepare those measures which will subsequently, after the reunification of Europe, permit diversity in unity in our part of the world. We should therefore insist on our demand for a pan-European legal code on linguistic and ethnic minorities, which is one of the most important tasks which the representation of the people of Europe should fulfil.

I should like to remind you at this point that Mr Richard reacted very positively and receptively to the adoption of the Arfè report. However, we have unfortunately heard very little from the Commission since then — hence the number of questions and the work undertaken by ex-President Dr Goppel in the Legal Affairs Committee.

Thus I should like to say that I hope the Commission will lose no more time and soon come up with clear proposals for which we can draw on the past for valuable examples such as the Morasian compromise. *Hál-ásan köszönön Eluök úr!*

Mr Patterson (ED). — Mr President, I shall resist the temptation to speak in this Parliament in Manx, which is the language of the place from which my family comes, partly because the Isle of Man is not in the Community anyway and partly because I want to talk about language teaching, a very important subject.

This Community was created with the aim — and I quote from the first sentence of the Treaty — of creating 'an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe', and you would have thought from that, that a primary object would have been to increase understanding and notably promoting the ability of peoples to speak and understand each others' languages. This indeed was one of the object outlined as long ago as 1976 in the Community's first education programme, but this remained, as has already been noted, as one of the 'blocked dossiers'.

I too was very glad to hear the Commissioner's reply because he said he was stressing the importance of language-teaching. Browsing, earlier this evening, through this great big Sixteenth General Report on the Activities of the European Communities in 1982, I can find no mention anywhere of language teaching. That is as much stress as the Commission has placed on it so far. It could be said that this is to be blamed upon the Danish Government, which in the past has refused to admit education as a suitable matter for the Community to undertake, but we now have an enlightened Danish Government, I am happy, to say, and perhaps the Commission will now find the time fruitful to press ahead with its language teaching programme.

May I stress three particular matters which the Commissioner might like to give me detailed answers on? First of all, the programme in the blocked dossier that all foreign language teachers must spend a period of their training in the country of the language which they wish to teach. This is something which would seem common sense. Secondly, that the same facilities should be available as part of in-service training. Both these matters could be financed and aided out of the Community budget. The third point I would like to make, which is not in the question, is that there should be a systematic programme of promoting the use in schools of *assistants* from the country of the language to be taught. Unfortunately, in my own country the number of *assistants* has declined in recent years, yet where they have existed, the results have been excellent. I can quote an example, not from my own constituency but from Sheffield, where particular success has been achieved by German *assistants* who have been revolutionizing the teaching of German by running a mock shop, in which German is spoken and only German marks used.

We in this Parliament are lucky to have interpreters and translators turning our every word into six other languages. It costs us 60% of our budget, and I notice from this report requires 76 000 interpreter days and 659 306 pages of translation. Let us today turn our attention to those less fortunate than ourselves — our constituents — and spur the Commission to put

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through a real policy for language teaching in the European Community!

Mr Ephremidis (COM). — (GR) Mr President, In such a wide-ranging debate as this on culture and cultural heritage I would draw your attention to our resolution 1261, which concerns the return of the Elgin Marbles to the Acropolis. I would remind the House that at the meeting of Community ministers of culture in Naples last September the Greek delegation put forward this demand and was broadly supported by most of the other delegations.

Firstly, I should like to stress that the return of the Elgin Marbles to the Parthenon is not simply the satisfaction of a legal claim to the national heritage of the Greek people. In the museums of many countries there are foreign works of art which have nevertheless been acquired by legal means. But the Elgin Marbles were removed from the Parthenon illegally and in a way which was technically unacceptable. Secondly, the Elgin Marbles have no separate artistic identity like that of a statue such as the Venus di Milo, but constitute an integral part of the Parthenon. They are works of sculpture to complement the architectural creation. I would even say that they constitute the particular and inseparable aesthetic quality of the Parthenon as a creation.

Ladies and gentlemen, imagine Notre Dame Cathedral without the famous sculptures on its facade and without its unique stained-glass windows. Imagine the Sistine Chapel without Michelangelo's splendid frescoes.

Ladies and gentlemen, help to bring about the restoration to the Parthenon of its statues. The Parthenon can be neither moved nor accommodated in the British Museum, but the Elgin Marbles can be returned to the Acropolis. I address myself particularly, Mr President, to the British Members of this House and to the British Government. I sincerely believe that they can support the Greek claim. In doing so they would be performing an honourable act which would erase from the historical record the barbaric act committed by Lord Elgin.

Mr Hume (S). — Mr President, the importance of the issue of minority and lesser-spoken languages in the European Community has been well demonstrated by the reaction in this Parliament itself, and by the amount of support from the different groups and the different nationalities in this directly-elected Parliament for the protection and the development of minority cultures and languages in the European Community. It is also, of course, an important issue because, in fact, it affects directly some 30 million people in the European Community whose mother tongue is not the dominant tongue in the country in which they live.

It is also important because of the rich diversity of cultures which exist in the European Community and the need to protect and develop such diversity. Since the

original resolutions were put in this Parliament, some modest progress has been made. We have had a budget heading opened by the Commission, which is very welcome, but it is only a small beginning. Outside of this Parliament, in reaction to the actions taken by the Parliament, there has also been an important development in that the representatives of the different lesser-spoken languages in the European Community have come together to form a European Bureau for Lesser-spoken Languages. This is a development which those of us who have been promoting this issue in this Parliament ought to welcome, and indeed the Commission itself should welcome and take note of the setting up, on a voluntary basis of a European Bureau for Lesser-spoken Languages. Indeed it is a body which the Commission might well use as a sounding board for the development of its policies and projects on lesser-spoken languages. It should consult them and also consider ways in which it can help that body, both financially and otherwise, to be more effective in its coordinating role.

I think also it is in the interests of the Commission and the Community in general to recognize that it is from the areas where there are strong and powerful minorities who feel threatened that at times has come the most energetic opposition to the whole idea of a European Community, largely because they feel that the creation of this Community threatens further their identity and their very existence — and this particularly at a time when they are suffering an immense onslaught from the mass consumer culture — if I may use the word 'culture' in that sense. If this Community can demonstrate, as is its duty, that the rich diversity which exists in the European Community, particularly among those peoples who speak what we describe as the lesser-spoken languages, is going to be not only protected but helped to flourish within the European Community, then we can also harness the enormous energies that those minority groups generate in support of the European ideal, rather than the opposition which, because of justifiable fears, has come from those quarters in the past.

I would ask the Commission in particular, as I say, to show positive encouragement to the voluntary setting up of the European Bureau for Lesser-spoken Languages, because in effect goodwill in these matters can often achieve a great deal more than finance.

Mr Turner (ED). — Mr President, may I first thank you very much for granting me what *Gaulleiter* Simmonds of my own group would not.

I wish to speak for a moment on the Remilly oral question on 'humanizing' Europe. Paragraph 4 refers to 'the construction of accommodation centres flying the European flag'. There is a rapporteur who has made a report to the European Parliament that we should have the Council of Europe flag, which is blue with a circle of gold stars, and that is fine. I regret that we have not gone for a stronger flag than that. The rapporteur agrees, and I hope that all of you will agree, that one can put in the middle of this circle of stars our own particular motifs. One might put in the

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Elgin Marbles, for instance, if one were Greek or British, as well as other motifs for special occasions and special interests. So we could have a whole family of European flags — all blue, all with a circle of gold stars and in the middle your own particular motif.

I fought the last election with a silver map of Europe in the middle of the circle of stars, and everybody said as they saw me go by 'That is Europe' because they saw the map. It is just as in mediaeval battles when the man-at-arms recognized his leader by the flag that he flew. Now the voters can also recognize our flag if we have something which means something in the middle of the circle of stars.

I ask this Parliament to accept the principle of a European flag — blue with a circle of stars, but with a gap in the middle which one can fill with a motif expressing one's own particular interest.

(Laughter)

May I ask the Commissioner to give a detailed answer on this matter, because I am quite convinced that this fits in — you may laugh, ladies and gentlemen — with what you are debating. You are debating particular interests in the greater breadth of Europe, and this is what this flag would do. It would allow you to have your own particular interest — Gaelic, Welsh or whatever you like — in the middle of the stars of Europe.

(Applause)

Mr Natali, Commission Vice-President. — *(IT)* Mr President, I will only reply to the specific questions which I have been asked, because some speakers have made general observations which can be answered in the statement itself.

Mr Price asked us to look at Community legislation and national legislation so as to obtain documentation on the amount of opposition to the use of minority languages.

To be frank, since the Community assessment which is at present being carried out will be completed by the end of 1983, a review of national legislation cannot be completed for that date.

In my preceding statement, I emphasize that we are operating on the basis of a task assigned to the Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, so as to collect all recent, accurate and comparable data on the attitude and the behaviour of regional languages and cultures in the various Member States.

Mrs Cinciari Rodano, I mentioned regional languages and cultures and expressly excluded dialects, I therefore believe that my interpretation agrees with yours but, obviously, we need data and references which could, moreover, be drawn from this study.

As regards the Arfè motion I would like to say that we welcome the establishment of the European Bureau

for Lesser-spoken Languages and would like to inform Mr Ewing that the Commission is willing to examine and implement cooperation with this institution.

I would also like to reply to Mr Patterson concerning the problems relating to language teaching. We have submitted a resolution to the Council. The Council did not give its approval. When we take action we attempt to contribute as far as possible, and as far as our budget allows, to cultural exchanges, including teaching, and to the language training programmes organized by various organizations of the Member States.

Mr Turner has raised the problem of a European flag. I believe that the European Parliament is more qualified to decide on such issues. The Commission obviously has no authority over the moon and the stars, or at least it has not had any so far, unfortunately.

(Applause)

President. — The debate is closed.¹

13. Information policy for the 1984 elections

President. — The next item is the report (Doc. 1-1058/82) by Mr Beumer, on behalf of the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport, on the information policy of the European Communities for the 1984 direct elections.

Mr Beumer (PPE), rapporteur. — *(NL)* Mr President, it is getting towards the time when we should start discussing information policy for the 1984 elections even if these elections are not yet exactly imminent. The 1984 elections will, however, be a first in certain sense since it will be the first time that the directly elected Parliament has to account for itself to the voter, which means that a clear stock-taking of the various positive and negative points will have to be drawn up for the voters with the emphasis on comparison of programmes. More than in 1979, party-political information will be a central issue and the political party will play a major role which must be reflected in the distribution of the available funds among other things. Nevertheless, it would not be right to neglect non-party information and I should like to sound a warning against this for the benefit of the enlarged Bureau of this Parliament since if the entire amount were simply to be handed over to the various political parties this would mean that we would no longer have the leeway which might subsequently prove to be necessary. There is a need for purely objective information for the press and society, i.e. facts which can best speak for themselves.

¹ Decision on request for an early vote: see Minutes.

Beumer

This Parliament also operates in an institutional framework, i.e. the EEC, in which the Council and the Commission also have their parts to play. It is useful that the Council and above all the Commission can give a down-to-earth account of the significance and achievements of the EEC and the Commission should also give an account of its role *vis-à-vis* the Council and Parliament. I should therefore like to urge the Commission to draw up an information programme which in principle would also require extra financial leeway, as is also stated in the report.

More use should be made of radio and television than in 1979 and here too it is in the non-party political context that there should be a certain amount of room to manoeuvre from the financial point of view. The best approach would be a campaign designed to promote public awareness followed by a typical party-political campaign, and a start should be made on these things without delay. In addition, more use should be made of new communication techniques than in 1979 and I could also well imagine that we could take advantage of the available satellites — a possibility opened up only yesterday by the Dutch Government. It would be a very good thing if, for example, the European Broadcasting Union could make specific proposals in this respect. As regards the scale of the financial resources for the information campaign, I should like to recommend rational self-restraint, since during the period of austerity Parliament should also work with an appropriate information budget, i.e. no more than is really necessary to provide accurate and complete information, and for this reason the report also calls for specific programmes to be submitted before any aid whatsoever is possible. Expenditure on the information campaign should also be subject to still more effective checks than in the case of the previous elections in accordance with strict guidelines drawn-up by the Court of Auditors and the Committee on Budgetary Control.

In contrast to 1979, funds should be earmarked for campaigning by parties which are not at present represented in this Parliament so that they will have equal chances. A working party on which Parliament, the Commission and the various political groups are represented should be set up for the organization of the information campaign with a view to coordinating both technical and substantive aspects of information activities. External experts might also be involved.

Furthermore, the campaign should, while maintaining its European dimension also have to be orientated on the basis of the Member States from the political and cultural point of view, and for this purpose national and regional teams should be set up. Information should not least be directed towards all the organizations with European and international contacts, not only because the number of organizations of this kind is increasing substantially, but because they have practical experience of the advantages and limitations of European cooperation. Obviously, the content of the campaign should be primarily determined by the

themes selected by the various political parties including, in all probability, the main topics as dealt with by this Parliament, such as unemployment, hunger in the world, the domestic market and human rights etc. However, the campaign could at any rate stress the peace-keeping potential of Community cooperation after all the conflicts in Europe up to 1945.

The socio-economic achievements of Community cooperation must be clearly demonstrated as well as the way in which Parliament has performed its democratic role involving supervision, advising and budgetary initiatives. We must be aware of the fact that the European ideal is no longer in itself an adequate inspiration and has no self-evident significance for the future as far as young people are concerned, since they do not know the climate in which this idea grew and blossomed, and for this reason we must once more demonstrate its viability. What are the advantages for the citizens of Europe and elsewhere of European cooperation from the social, political and economic point of view? The campaign must deal with absolutely fundamental issues — indeed, we must in a certain sense go back to square one.

Considerable attention must also be paid to the national Parliaments which tend to take far too little account of the European consequences of action at national level, which is one of the reasons why the national press tends to underplay the European dimension. The increasing inevitability of European cooperation is acknowledged in general terms but very little happens at a specific level. Nowhere does nationalism strike me as so strong as in the national governments and I think the people of Europe are tired of the continuing stagnation at European level. However, this can also be reflected in indifference as regards Parliamentary elections. For this reason, the European Parliament must, during its campaign, call on the people of Europe for support in its fight against the indecision and fruitless nationalism of the Council. Has it not become apparent over the last few months that a resolute and firm Parliament can have an impression on the Commission and Council, and that a stand taken up by the Community has hitherto in itself been enough to dissuade the United States from taking harsh economic measures *vis-à-vis* a number of Western European countries? A well-thought-out information policy should take these main points as its basis, outline future policy and give a general idea of what Europe has to offer the citizen and the world — and this is more than a divided and indecisive Europe. This was the main point of the report by the Committee on youth and culture.

President. — The debate will now be adjourned and resumed at the next sitting.¹

(The sitting was closed at 12 midnight)

¹ 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.

MOTIONS FOR RESOLUTIONS 'NIGERIA'

- GAUTHIER (Doc. 1-1220/82/rev.)
- CROUX (Doc. 1-1228/82)
- GLINNE (Doc. 1-1240/82)
- FERRERO (Doc. 1-1245/82)

replaced by Amendment No 1 which was ADOPTED.

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MOTIONS FOR RESOLUTIONS 'SHCHARANSKY-SAKHAROV'

- DELEAU (Doc. 1-1219/82)
- NORDMANN (Doc. 1-1232/82)

replaced by Amendment No 1 which was ADOPTED.

- LANGES (Doc. 1-1029/82): ADOPTED

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SIEGLERSCHMIDT MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (Doc. 1-1237/82/rev.
'Turkey'): ADOPTED

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MOTIONS FOR RESOLUTIONS 'OIL'

- SELIGMAN (Doc. 1-1218/82/rev.)
- COUSTE (Doc. 1-1221/82/rev.)
- WIECZOREK-ZEUL (Doc. 1-1239/82)

replaced by Amendment No 1 which was ADOPTED.

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**PEDINI MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (Doc. 1-1230/82 'Super-Sara'):
ADOPTED**

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MOTIONS FOR RESOLUTIONS 'SHIPBUILDING'

- **QUIN (Doc. 1-1238/82/rev.): ADOPTED**
- **PROVAN (Doc. 1-1243/82): ADOPTED**

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**DRAFT AMENDING AND SUPPLEMENTARY BUDGET No 1 (Doc. 1-1222/82)
— ARTICLE 707 — AMENDMENT No 1: REJECTED**

ROBERT JACKSON REPORT (Doc. 1-1233/82 'amending budget'): ADOPTED

Explanations of vote

Mr Alavanos (COM). — (GR) Mr President, we do not see the Draft Amending Budget for 1983 or the Jackson report from the vantage point of the European Parliament as opposed to that of the Council and Commission: we see it as representatives of our country and workers. For this reason this even partial victory of the European Parliament over the Council and Commission causes us grave concern.

Naturally we understand the problems of Great Britain as described by Mrs Castle in her statement previously. However, in spite of this, we must emphasize that to remove a problem for Great Britain could create much larger problems for Greece and other Member States of the Community.

We are referring both to the introduction of legislation concerning returns to countries such as the United Kingdom, Germany etc. and to the various other ideas for special taxes on agricultural goods, and the reduction of agricultural loans in favour of loans to large monopolies of Western Europe.

We European Members of Parliament belonging to the Greek Communist Party do not believe, as the Greek Government perhaps believes, that any transfer of resources from the North to the South of the Community could justify the presence of our country in the EEC. We do, however, believe that to refuse such a transfer and to change the balance of the budget in favour of the strong countries of the Community, to the detriment of the weaker countries, and in favour of loans to the large monopolies, to the detriment of loans for agricultural production etc. will do much to aggravate the consequences of Greece remaining in the Community, and for this reason we will vote against the Jackson report.

Mrs Ewing (DEP). — Mr President, I will be voting for the Jackson reports and I welcome the fact that there are to be stricter controls in the way the money in question is to be spent. Frankly, if it had not been for stricter controls, I would have had to vote against the proposals entirely.

However, there are one or two points on which I have reservations. First of all, in correspondence with various authorities in Scotland, I have established that the Scottish Office has no knowledge as to whether any EEC funds have been granted to any projects. I think

it is time that the people concerned had more advance information. One recipient had no idea that he was even to be a recipient and was not consulted.

In the case of energy, we had hoped that the regions would benefit from this money. Many people in this Parliament agree that there should have been more concentration on renewable energy, such as peat and wind and wave. Instead of that many of us fear that the money is simply going into large projects. It is maybe up to many of us to use pressure, but that is another reservation that I have.

As the champion of the refunds, Mrs Thatcher may have solved at the UK's budgetary injustice for the moment, but I think she has suffered in the bargaining by having to sell the fishermen down the river.

If Scotland were to receive compensation . . .

President. — Mrs Ewing, time is money and your speaking time is over.

(Laughter)

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ROBERT JACKSON REPORT (Doc. 1-1235/82 'Energy strategy'): ADOPTED

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ROBERT JACKSON REPORT (Doc. 1-1234/82 'United Kingdom: supplementary measures'): ADOPTED

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GAUTIER REPORT (Doc. 1-949/82 'Fisheries'): ADOPTED

The rapporteur was:

- IN FAVOUR OF Amendments Nos 1, 4, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19 and 20;
- AGAINST Amendments Nos 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 21, 22 and 24.

Explanations of vote

Mr Gontikas (PPE). — *(FR)* I am delighted at the European Parliament's initiative in opening a debate on fisheries in the Mediterranean. The people of the Community's Mediterranean regions, who have been the silent witnesses of a long and difficult struggle for a few tonnes of fish — and outsiders have had an image of a Community which is far from united and capable of tackling the major problems of the moment — now want to see fishing in the Mediterranean accorded its proper political significance. Now that the Community has solved its fisheries problem in the northern part of the Community, it is time to look at the other half of this Europe of the Ten so that a Community fisheries policy can be worked out for the Mediterranean. For all these reasons, Mr President, I shall be voting in favour of the Gautier report.

Mr Adamou (COM). — *(GR)* Mr President, since these two subjects are connected I will explain my vote for both, i.e. both for the Gautier and the Papaefstratiou reports.

Greece, which has 15 000 kilometers of shoreline, 50 000 hectares of lagoons and with the most favourable climatological conditions for the development of fish-farming, instead of exporting fish, imports each year for its own needs 30 000-40 000 tonnes of fish, because the organization of its own fishing industry is one of the most backward in the Community.

Mr Papaefstratiou's report on the development of Greek fishing and Mr Gautier's report on the common fisheries policy in the Mediterranean include general explicit measures. As regards Greece, Mr Papaefstratiou represents the actual fishing situation and the prospects for development in a very realistic way and from this point of view deserves all praise. However, for fishing to develop, it is, in our opinion necessary, to show decisiveness in applying the following measures:

Protection of the seas, lakes and rivers from pollution from solid and liquid industrial waste.

Support and encouragement of modern aquaculture methods for sea fish and shellfish and fresh-water fish farming by supporting cooperative ventures.

Modernization of fishing vessels and improvements to equipment. Gradual replacement of equipment which destroys spawn. The creation of adequate refrigeration and storage facilities. The development of industries for the processing of fish and fish byproducts. Improvement of the trade circle and decisive support for cooperatives.

The development of shellfish farming and centres for cleaning shellfish. Support and expansion of the various stages of reproduction and support for the development of research into ichthyology. These are the measures contained in our proposal. If these measures are not adopted, not only will fishing not develop, but there will also be a threat of the entire marine wealth of the Mediterranean and Greece being destroyed.

Mr Kirkos (COM). — (GR) Mr President, I too would like to congratulate the two rapporteurs, as well as Mr Battersby, Chairman of the Working Party on Fisheries, for their efforts, because I believe that these reports and motions will lay the foundations for a Mediterranean fisheries policy and will provide a framework within which it will be possible to avoid clashes. In the 25 years that the Community has been in existence there has been no such policy. Talks always referred to fishing in northern countries which was accompanied by a more general orientation of the common agricultural policy towards the produce of the northern developed countries. It is evident that the problems of Mediterranean fishing cannot be solved by adapting the principles applied to fishing in northern seas, or by adopting agreements relating to these seas.

Drastic steps must be taken to modernize the old structures, to renew and modernize the fishing fleet, to improve the production, marketing and fish processing structures with the support of the fishery cooperatives. Ladies and gentlemen, small loans will make it possible to harness an incredibly large wealth of resources which has so far remained unemployed. By exploiting the Amvrakikos Bay fishing area alone, for example, . . .

President. — I am afraid your time has run out, Mr Kyrkos.

Mrs Théobald-Paoli (S), in writing. — (FR) Mr President, the Committee on Agriculture has asked the House to vote on a particularly detailed report on fishing in a region which supplies 35% of the Community catch: the Mediterranean. No aspect is disregarded: the improvement of market organization, development of structural policy with regard to fleets, aquaculture, links with the Community's integrated projects, fishermen and social problems, international aspects, and so on. The protection of the marine environment is also considered, and this was a matter on which the French Socialists insisted, successfully, during the budget vote that more funds be allocated.

Even if we have some reservations on the technical side, the general conclusions are along the lines we want: a genuine European fisheries policy for the Mediterranean.

On 25 January, when the Ten signed the agreement on a common fisheries policy for the benefit of everyone, the French fisheries minister asked the Commission to draw up without delay a draft regulation to protect the Mediterranean in the same way. There will be three aims: to guarantee an income for all those who live from fishing, to permit the modernization of fishing fleets so that the Community can regain its position on the world market, and to pay careful attention to the preservation of species.

Mediterranean fishermen are now eagerly awaiting concrete measures designed to help them. The European authorities must not let them down.

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* *

PAPAEFSTRATIOU REPORT (Doc. 1-950/82 'FISHERIES'): ADOPTED

The rapporteur was:

- IN FAVOUR of Amendments Nos 1 and 3;
- AGAINST Amendment No 4.

Explanations of vote

Mr Pasmazoglou (NI). — (GR) Mr President, I congratulate Mr Papaefstratiou on his report and should also like to take this opportunity to congratulate Mr Kontogeorgis on his contribution. However, I believe that the essential thing is for the application of this report to result in appropriations for fishing being increased tenfold, which would represent approximately 0.5% of the national product. These remarks emphasize the importance of this report for Greece and explains my vote in favour of the motion.

Mr Muntingh (S). — (NL) Mr President, the last amendment I tabled amounted merely to a confirmation of Parliament's stated views on a cautious approach to Community activities connected with the natural environment. In fact, the said amendment calls for nothing more than a simple environmental impact report on the implementation of this kind of project, and I have asked for no projects to be carried out in one of Greece's most important nature areas — there are not all that many of them left; most of them have already been destroyed — i.e. the Evrosdelta. As Parliament has seen fit to reject my amendment, I feel bound to vote against the report, an unfortunate state of affairs because I have nothing at all against projects like this. The fact is, though, that if such projects are not carried out carefully, I do not think that the European Community as such can do much about it.

SITTING OF FRIDAY, 11 FEBRUARY 1983

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IN THE CHAIR: MR DANKERT

President

(The sitting opened at 9 a.m.)

1. *Approval of the minutes*

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

Are there any comments?

Mr Estgen (PPE). — (FR) Mr President, I should like to make a comment on yesterday's sitting and, at the same time, table a procedural motion, under Rules 22 and 24 of the Rules of Procedure, on the role of the Bureau and enlarged Bureau where the organization of Parliament is concerned.

As you can imagine, I slept badly last night, trying to comprehend the incomprehensible. I have grave doubts about the sincerity and validity of the decision which Parliament took yesterday on the extraordinary part-session. I did not speak yesterday because I was involved in the matter in my capacity as Vice-President. I had suggested to the Bureau that this part-session be held in Luxembourg, and I did not wish to speak in the debate for fear of influencing my colleagues. However, I am completely at a loss. I can quite understand that some Members have reasons, valid political reasons, for wishing to establish Parliament's definitive seat in Brussels; it is something legitimate which I can understand. I can also understand that other Members do not wish to go to Luxembourg because working conditions in Strasbourg are better; that is almost natural. But what I cannot understand is that one should take advantage of the organization of a three-day extraordinary part-session to go to Brussels, to take the risks entailed by improvised surroundings where the working conditions will certainly be much less favourable than in Luxembourg — where a 500-seat chamber is ready — or Strasbourg. Moreover, you are fully aware that the Council of Ministers is meeting in Luxembourg that same week. Consequently, there is no possible reason for not going to Luxembourg.

I regard yesterday's decision as sheer capriciousness and you realize that in politics capriciousness is very dangerous. Moreover, I regard it as a slap in the face for Luxembourg.

Therefore, Mr President, I ask you to have the precise meaning of Rules 22 and 24 of the Rules of Procedure examined at a forthcoming meeting of the enlarged Bureau and, if necessary, ask the Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions to define precisely what they imply. Indeed, when at the end of this sitting I announce, as President of the sitting, that the enlarged Bureau has decided that the next part-session will be held in Strasbourg from 7-11 March, what guarantee do I have that someone will not rise to propose that this part-session too be held in Brussels? With the chance majorities that do occur, it might bear fruit. I therefore request a clarification of these rules.

President. — Mr Estgen, one cannot, I think, contest yesterday's decision by the Parliament. Like you, I am opposed to what is sometimes known as a *régime d'Assemblée*, but in this case the Bureau was authorized by the Parliament to arrange for this part-session to be held only in Strasbourg; the Bureau proposed to the House that this be changed and that an extraordinary

part-session be held in Luxembourg; whereupon the Parliament, in its sovereignty, decided to hold this part-session in Brussels, which is as much in line with the Rules of Procedure as the Bureau's proposal, and I think it is now the Bureau's task to tackle the question of organizing this meeting without contesting the venue chosen.

Sir Fred Warner (ED). — Mr President, I believe that after we voted on the Tyrrell resolution, you stated what you would now do about the special part-session on unemployment. You said that the matter would have to be reconsidered by the Bureau. This has not been recorded in the Minutes. I think it would be helpful to all of us if the Minutes could show how the matter was finally left at the end of the discussion yesterday.

President. — Sir Fred, the Bureau's original proposal put forward a specific venue and specific dates. The agenda of the part-session will be proposed by the enlarged Bureau to the House at a later date. As the Bureau was taken by surprise by the decision of the Parliament, it must now find out whether the material conditions exist to enable the meeting to be held at the time and place indicated. But there is now a mandate from Parliament to do so. That is why I said yesterday we should now have to refer it to the Bureau to see whether it is feasible. But Parliament has decided on the place and date. The material conditions still have to be satisfied, because the Bureau has a responsibility to ensure that Parliament can function properly.

Mr Adam (S). — Further to the point raised by Mr Estgen: what took place yesterday was certainly undignified. Could I suggest to the Bureau that when they are dealing with matters which they know are sensitive for the Members of the House they take the opportunity to consult with the political groups beforehand to see if agreement cannot be reached before the decision comes before the Parliament? With a little prior consultation through the normal channels, I am sure we could avoid these rather undignified occasions.

President. — Mr Adam, the enlarged Bureau is composed of the President, the Vice-Presidents and the chairmen of political groups. I do think that the chairmen of the political groups represent their groups, and that is the channel of communication that has to be used.

Mr von der Vring (S). — (DE) Mr President, I find Mr Adam's remarks very incorrect. Yesterday the Members of this House were trying to express their own will in the face of agreements reached by the governments.

von der Vring

The issue regularly at stake is where this Parliament is to have its final seat. It is a tug-of-war. We have no wish to begin this tug-of-war all over again with every debate, but since we are not asked where we want to go, we are repeatedly obliged to do so.

Mr Forth (ED). — Mr President, I wish to speak on the Minutes, and on something you have just said. You said that yesterday we decided on the place and the date for the special part-session. I do not believe that is so, Mr President. I believe that we decided on the place, because that was all that Mr Tyrrell's resolution referred to. We did not, I believe, yesterday decide on a date, because I do not believe the date was put to the House. It was only the place that was decided on. The House's previous decision was to hold a special part-session in either April or May, as I recall it. No date was referred to or decided yesterday. I believe that the Bureau, therefore, now has the responsibility to arrange for a meeting to be held in Brussels, whenever a date can be arranged. I believe that that was all that was decided yesterday, Mr President. I do not believe the date was put to the House and I do not think the House agreed on a date. I therefore think that your interpretation of what was decided yesterday is not correct and the Minutes should not reflect it.

President. — Mr Forth, the Bureau's proposal concerning the date was 26, 27 and 28 April, and the Bureau decided it should take place in Luxembourg. Mr Tyrrell's amendment to that package of proposals concerning the place and date was only concerning the place. At the same time, I have to accept your remark that there is some uncertainty concerning the date because the Bureau proposed 26, 27 and possibly 28 April, but we do not know yet whether we can fill an agenda for three or two days. That is the situation, and when we come back with the agenda proposals, we can see whether it is to be two or three days.

Mr Forth (ED). — The point, Mr President, is that Mr Tyrrell's proposal was put to the House, the Bureau's proposal was not. Therefore, the House has only made its mind up on Mr Tyrrell's proposal concerning the place. We have not decided on the date.

President. — Mr Forth, Mr Tyrrell's amendment could only be dealt with in the context of the proposal of the Bureau and had to be voted on accordingly. It cannot be otherwise. It is not usual for a vote to be taken on a proposal of the Bureau. It can, of course, happen, but in this case it did not. We simply had an amendment by Mr Tyrrell seeking to change the place.

Mr Arndt (S). — (DE) Mr President, I should like to offer you my unqualified support on this point and ask Mr Forth, who is an intelligent man, to consider the

following. If the part-session had been fixed for May, there would have been no call for any dispute at all, since it could then have been held in Strasbourg; only in connection with the date suggested was there any need for a dispute.

Mr Geurtsen (L). — (NL) Mr President, I merely wanted a confirmation. Yesterday I asked you what we would be voting on. You told me that the Bureau had a proposal for a date, place and subject for a part-session. Mr Tyrrell's proposal was merely to alter the place. So we clearly voted on a date, place and subject for a part-session.

Mr Kellett-Bowman (ED). — Mr President, there is a lot of confused recollection being exhibited this morning. It would be quite easy if you were to defer this matter for an hour. The taped recording of the proceedings will show exactly what you said yesterday. You were pressed to put the substantive motion to the House after taking Mr Tyrrell's amendment. Your words roughly were that, as there had been a change, it would be necessary for the Bureau of Parliament to work out whether it was possible to hold the meeting in Brussels and to look into the details. But the recording of yesterday's proceeding will show whether you are right or whether the Members who are saying you are not right are correct.

President. — Mr Kellett-Bowman, we work on the basis of the Minutes. Of course, I hope they are in conformity with the recorded proceedings, which we cannot change. So we work on the basis of the Minutes. It is quite clear, as Mr Geurtsen confirmed, that by accepting an amendment we took a decision on three elements. Of course, the Bureau, confronted with this new situation and mandated by the Parliament, has to find out whether in practical terms it is possible to do as we were ordered to do. However, the direction of the mandate which the Bureau has to follow has been fixed without any question. That is also the interpretation of Mr Geurtsen.

Mrs Kellett-Bowman (ED). — Mr President, may I respectfully suggest that we work on the basis of accurate Minutes? Now, if in fact you are going to go through the Minutes, as my last honourable colleague has just proposed, I would suggest you go a little further back and you will find that the leader of our group raised precisely the point that is now being raised by Mr Forth. He was anticipating — as were we all — that having put Mr Tyrrell's amendment forward, you would put the original Bureau proposal to the House. If you look back, you will find that that is what Sir Henry said.

President. — Mrs Kellett-Bowman, the Tyrrell resolution reads — after the reference to Rule 10(2) was withdrawn:

President

Having regard to the proposal of the Bureau that a special part-session of the European Parliament will take place on 26 and 27 April, resolves that the part-session should be held in Brussels.

That was the decision taken, that is the Tyrrell proposal. It is quite clear.

Mr Cousté (DEP). — (FR) Mr President, I feel that this debate clearly illustrates two things: the first is that we should trust the Bureau to put forward clear proposals and, that, we should look to you for them at our next part-session because, within the Bureau you will be able to take full account of three elements: the date, the venue and the agenda. In that way we shall have a clear debate at the beginning of March, i.e., 7 or 8 March. I believe that this is the course we should follow, i.e., to trust our Bureau and our President to provide a clear solution which can be clearly adopted.

President. — Mr Cousté, I can carry on letting people speak, but there is no point in doing so. We are discussing the Minutes, and we cannot now start a debate on the functions of the Bureau, enlarged or otherwise.

If there are no more comments, I declare the Minutes approved.

Mr Mart (L). — (FR) I am against, Mr President!

(Parliament approved the Minutes)¹

2. Votes²

Procedure without report³

Mr Forth (ED). — Mr President, on this item, I wonder if you could tell me who has asked for these items to be dealt with without report, and who has dealt with the matters? These matters are coming before the House and we are being asked to vote on them now without any other procedure. Could you inform me which committee dealt with these matters? In other words, under what procedure has the House dealt with it? I simply want guidance before I am asked to vote on something of which I have no knowledge.

President. — I can state, Mr Forth, that in every case it was the committee responsible that asked for this procedure to be followed.

Gerokostopoulos report (Doc. 1-1257/82: EEC-EFTA)

After recital C: Amendment No 1

¹ For items relating to Petitions and Verification of credentials, see the Minutes of Proceedings of this sitting.

² See Annex.

³ See Minutes.

Mr Welsh (ED). — Mr President, on Amendment No 1, I am advised that the German text is inexact and I would like to point out to colleagues that the English text is the definitive version which makes it clear that we the Community generate a substantial surplus with EFTA countries.

Second Prout report (Doc. 1-1180/82: Consumer credit)

Draft directive, Article 16: Amendment No 55

Mr Prout (ED), rapporteur. — Mr President, I sympathize very much with Mr Tyrrell's motives for tabling this article. We would all like to see a directive which harmonized Community law completely. However, the committee agrees with the Commission's point of view that at this stage of the development of consumer law, it is simply not possible to have a harmonization directive which harmonizes all the systems completely. So, reluctantly, the Legal Affairs Committee must oppose Mr Tyrrell's amendment.

I ought to add, Mr President, that should Mr Tyrrell's amendment succeed, I will have to ask that the report be returned to the Legal Affairs Committee.

After the vote on the draft directive

Mr Prag (ED). — On a point of clarification, I have been following this text with the greatest attention, Mr President, and we have voted an amendment, No 23, which says: 'Cheques may only be used as a means of payment.'

I would just like to know what else they may be used for, Mr President.

(Laughter)

President. — Mr Prout will give you his reply in writing.

After adoption of the draft directive.

Mr Prout (ED), rapporteur. — Mr President, we now come to the moment in Parliament's procedure when we turn to the Commission and invite them to react to the amendments to their directive that we have tabled and adopted.

Mr Tugendhat, Vice-President of the Commission. — Mr President, I was, as you could see, seeking advice on the subject. As Mr Prout is probably more aware than I am, the Parliament has passed a variety of amendments which were specifically stated by Mr Narjes yesterday to be unacceptable to the Commission. None the less, they have been passed today and so a new situation has arisen. I think therefore that the

Tugendhat

most sensible suggestion for me to make is that I should convey this news, not only to Mr Narjes, but also to the Commission in order that the Commission may consider the situation in the light of the votes that have taken place this morning.

Mr Prout (ED), rapporteur. — Mr President, I am slightly surprised at that reaction, because it seems to me, from looking at the text, that the only substantial difference between the undertakings Mr Narjes made last night to the House and what we have done this morning is the alteration to Article 1, i.e., the exclusion by Parliament of the word 'predominantly'.

If Mr Tugendhat maintains his position, then I really have no alternative but to advise the House that we ought to wait for a month until the Commission has given its full reaction before we vote on the motion for a resolution. I really think I have no alternative.

Mr Tugendhat, Vice-President of the Commission. — Mr President, if I may say so, that seems to me a perfectly reasonable strategy on the part of Mr Prout. Although Mr Narjes spoke in yesterday's debate and although Mr Narjes is the Commissioner responsible in these matters, as everybody knows, the Commission is a college and it needs to react in collegiate fashion. That takes us a little time. It is natural that the Parliament should wish to await the outcome, and I would have thought the suggestion made by Mr Prout represents a sensible sequence of action and reaction.

President. — Pursuant to Rule 36(1), we shall therefore postpone the vote on the motion for a resolution until the Commission has stated its position on Parliament's amendments.

Before proceeding to the next vote, I would draw your attention to the fact that there are still eight items on today's agenda, most of which are of considerable importance. We already have 37 requests for the floor, without counting explanations of vote. Therefore, if we are to complete the agenda, I must close the list of speakers on all items still outstanding and make it clear that each rapporteur will be allowed 5 minutes' speaking-time and all others must limit themselves to about 3 minutes.

IN THE CHAIR: MR NIKOLAOU

Vice-President

Griffiths report (Doc. 1-1001/82: Urban concentration)

recital C: Amendment No 1

Mr Griffiths (S), rapporteur. — Mr President, none of the amendments we have before us was put to the committee, but I think that the committee would probably have accepted this amendment.

Mrs Squarcialupi (COM). — *(IT)* What Mr Griffiths has just said is, I think, untrue inasmuch as these amendments did figure in the opinion. In fact, this text occurs, word for word, in the conclusions of the opinion submitted by the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment. As there was no further opportunity for the committee to hold a formal meeting, I was obliged to table it in my own name. I repeat, therefore, that by consulting the opinion of the Social Affairs Committee one will find both the amendments concerned, which were consequently already known.

Before the vote on the motion for a resolution as a whole

Mr Prag (ED). — On a point of order, Mr President. It is a matter that has been worrying me for a very long time. I was wondering if our technicians in this age of advanced technology could not get rid of the long delay between your saying that the vote is open and our lights going on. We are all sitting here with our fingers ready to pounce and nothing happens. I hope you will raise this matter with your technical advisers and see what can be done to stop wasting time.

President. — Mr Prag, I have noted your remarks and will pass them on to the officials concerned, but I hardly think that the House can turn against machines that do not always work as it would like.

3. Imports of certain products

President. — The next item is the report by Mrs Baduel Glorioso, on behalf of the Committee on External Economic Relations (Doc. 1-1201/82), on

the proposal from the Commission to the Council (Doc. 1-1007/82 — COM(82) 679 final) for a Council regulation on the import system applicable in 1983-86 to products falling within sub-heading 07.06 A of the Common Customs Tariff and amending Regulation (EEC) No 950/68 on the Common Customs Tariff.

Mr Cohen (S), deputy rapporteur. — *(NL)* Mr President, Mrs Baduel Glorioso could not be present this morning. She asked whether I could take over the task of introducing her report.

We have already discussed extensively the content of this report — in September of last year. This time we are discussing a rather technical aspect of the matter,

Cohen

which is the modification needed in the Common Customs Tariff to limit manioc and tapioca imports from a number of developing countries in order to bring them more into line with the requirements of our own common agricultural policy. We approved the general aim of this proposal last September, and what we now have to do is quite simply to approve the technical adjustments needed to put this proposal into practice. It would thus be illogical for us now, when it is a question of consenting to its technical implementation, not to declare our agreement. We can but accept what the Commission has proposed.

It seems to me appropriate, however, now that we are solely concerned with the technical implementation, to make a number of observations about the heart of the matter. The Committee on External Economic Relations was therefore of the opinion that what we said last September must be reproduced in this resolution, namely — and this concerns the technical adjustment — we can indeed limit grain-substitute imports, but we cannot do it just like that. We have to see such a measure in the light of the entire common agricultural policy. We can only take such measures if we bear in mind the interests both of producers in the Community and of the exporting countries and also, as we stated in September, if we are prepared within the framework of agricultural-price policy to take account of the principles on which our domestic and Community production must in the long run be based. We approved this proposal in September on the assumption that this was indeed the Commission's intention, and for the same reason we shall now support the proposal for the technical adjustment.

In addition to these more fundamental remarks about the common agricultural policy itself, some further observations must, however, be made. It is as though the Community, in taking such measures, actually felt a sense of guilt. Why else the proposal to offer to those countries that are prepared to limit their exports extra financial help to enable them to diversify their own production? This is right in my opinion, but the suspicion remains that it is a problem for which we ourselves are responsible: we force those countries to diversify because we are no longer prepared to accept products that we once did accept. In itself, diversification of production is, of course, a good thing, and, whilst I maintain that the Community provides this aid because of something like a guilt complex, I am glad that it is willing to do so. We are extending this help not only to the country that exports most to our Community, Thailand, but also to another of those countries in respect of which, under GATT, the necessary measures have been taken to limit exports, i.e., Indonesia.

I have to say, however — and this also appears in Mrs Baduel Glorioso's resolution — that the source we wish to tap to finance such diversification does not seem to me the right one — namely, the budgetary item for financial help to the so-called non-associated

developing countries. It has always been accepted, and Parliament has many times confirmed, that that money should be made available for the poorest developing countries. Neither Thailand nor Indonesia falls into this category, and it would therefore be better to create an extra financial item to compensate for the prejudice suffered by developing countries when the Community itself adopts trade-protection measures. This, too, is stated in the resolution.

With these reservations, we are prepared to accept the proposal. We are merely repeating what we said last September. I hope the Commission will accept what we have added in the form of remarks.

Mr Woltier (S), draftsman of the opinion of the Committee on Agriculture. — (NL) Mr President, on behalf of the Committee on Agriculture, I can associate myself entirely with the report drawn up by the Committee on External Economic Relations. I have little to add to it; only on one point do I wish to go a little more deeply.

It is clear that the Commission proposal constitutes an implementation of an agreement concluded with Thailand; and the report makes it very clear that the Commission threatens to undermine the agreement with a problem of classification. Anyone who has visited the northern parts of Thailand will know that more often than not products for sale in Europe are made in the crudest conditions. If one then alters the classification of the product and says: 'It is in fact a bad product which, during transportation, crumbles and becomes floury; therefore we can no longer accept it and shall have to charge a levy', I would answer that we are standing things on their head and using a technocratic dodge to deprive the Thai peasant of his rights.

Mr President, this is the issue before us. Yesterday I broached the subject in the Committee on Agriculture and was given to understand by the Commission representative that it was under discussion. The Commission representative then gave me an express assurance that there was no intention of undermining the agreement. I then proposed — and I can now make the same proposal on behalf of the Committee on Agriculture — that the Commission, instead of seeking by means of an alteration in classification to prevent tapioca exports, should try by supporting the cooperatives to so improve the product we want to buy that it no longer crumbles but remains intact in transit.

Mr President, this is a matter of extreme importance, and I would greatly appreciate an answer from the Commission to the effect that it is absolutely not the Commission's intention to put the skids under this agreement with Thailand in this roundabout way. I know that the Thai Embassy is seriously concerned about this matter and I know what alarm it has occasioned. This concern must be allayed and the situation

Woltier

clarified; otherwise an implementing proposal such as the Commission is now submitting has little sense.

Mr Tugendhat, Vice-President of the Commission. — Mr President, after consulting Parliament, the Council approved on 27 July 1982 the agreements with Thailand, Indonesia and Brazil on manioc. These agreements will enable imports of manioc to be stabilized around 6 m tonnes in the period from 1982 to 1986. The purpose of the proposal under discussion is to translate into Community law the provisions of the three agreements during the period for which they are currently in effect — that is to say, the years 1983 to 1986 inclusive.

The Commission would like to congratulate the rapporteur, Mrs Baduel Glorioso, and the various committees involved, on the work they have done on this proposal and to thank them for their support. I would also like to assure the House that the Commission has taken careful note of the wishes expressed during the debate. I listened with great interest to Mr Walter's point about the terrible circumstances of the deprived areas in Thailand, and the views embodied in the resolution of September 17. We have also taken particular note of the points restated by Mr Cohen on behalf of Mrs Baduel Glorioso in the motion for a resolution.

Perhaps, Mr President, I might give you a brief summary of what the Commission is doing in this field. In connection with the Community's commitments on partially replacing the manioc monoculture, which has developed in some parts of Thailand, the Commission has agreed with Thailand that problems of crop diversification will continue to form part of the remit of the working-party.

In recent years, the Commission has already devoted 3.5 m ECU to studies, research programmes and pilot projects which have helped the Thai Government to draw up a plan of action on crop diversification that is to be implemented over the next five years. The Commission is currently considering the scope of its contribution to these schemes. To give an example, an initial irrigation project in the north-east of Thailand, which is to cost 15.8 m ECU, will receive 11 m ECU from the Community.

The Commission is well aware that a stabilization of the cereals market in the Community calls for efforts to control cereals production in the Community, particularly to bring Community prices closer to the prices of competitors on the world market, and also for efforts to stabilize imports of products, apart from manioc, used as substitutes for cereals.

As regards cereals production, it is worth stressing that 1982 has seen the introduction of co-responsibility. This means that Community prices will be adjusted if there is an imbalance between Community production and imports of products used as substitutes for cereals.

As regards the measures to be taken to stabilize imports of products, other than manioc, which are used as substitutes for cereals, the Commission has included the issue of imports of corn gluten feed in the list of subjects for discussion with the United States. On this important matter the Commission will not hesitate to keep the appropriate committees of Parliament informed of the course that these discussions take.

President. — The debate is closed.¹

4. Information policy for the 1984 elections (contd)

President. — The next item is a continuation of the debate on information policy for the 1984 elections.²

Mr Kellett-Bowman (ED). — On a point of order, Mr President, I would just like to ask what the point is of discussing this in the House now.

In early 1982, the Bureau of Parliament asked the appropriate committee to produce a report on the information fund for the elections. The Parliament voted the funds in December, and Parliament's Bureau has already established the rules. So there seems little point in its being brought forward now. We might just as well have Mr Beumer bring forward the calendar for 1982 and ask us to debate it.

President. — Mr Kellett-Bowman, the agenda we adopted on Monday provides for a continuation of the debate on the Beumer report. You are now raising a fresh problem, and that I cannot allow.

Miss Hooper (ED). — Mr President, this is an important report on an important topic even though it may be, as my colleague suggests, somewhat out-of-date. I speak as a member of the Committee of Enquiry into the Situation of Women. In that committee we are preparing a report on information, which takes into account the special needs of women, who, as a result of their traditional role at home and in the family, have often been cut off from balanced views on current events. The Schall report on information policy in January 1981 and the Maij-Weggen report on women later that year both emphasized the need to increase the political awareness of women. This Parliament's action in the budget vote last December further acknowledged this need by providing special lines and credits for a special information service.

As far as the 1984 election campaign is concerned, both for these reasons and in view of the success of the

¹ For the vote, see Annex.

² See the previous day's debates.

Hooper

women's campaign which preceded the 1979 elections, I am very disappointed that Mr Beumer did not specify the need for a similar campaign in his report. Indeed, Mr Natali has already told the Committee of Enquiry that the Commission is wholeheartedly in favour of a specific information campaign for women, so it seems a most unnecessary omission. After all, women form 52% of the population and there are in existence specialized channels in the form of magazines, radio and television programmes as well as a network of voluntary organizations which should be utilized to the full.

We must remember, Mr President, that women have only comparatively recently won the right to vote: in my country, some sixty years ago, but in France less than forty years ago. I therefore believe that every effort should be made to ensure their full participation in the voting procedures of democratic institutions.

Mrs Viehoff (S). — (NL) Mr President, my group agrees for the most part with the tenor of Mr Beumer's resolution. It views the importance of the elections in 1984 precisely as set out in recitals A, B, C and D; indeed, on more than one occasion in the past we have stressed the need to make better use of the appropriations allocated to the Community's general information policy, not only in connection with the elections but also in general. Information about the 1984 elections naturally has our support, as has the recommendation for the efficient use and closer control of the funds made available. Involvement of the mass media is also to be welcomed, certainly if it is not restricted to the elections but gives an impetus to long-term cooperation.

This, however, is where our paths diverge. My group is of the opinion that the amount allocated in the budget specifically for the elections must be made available exclusively to the political parties and for their campaigns. Precisely because it feels that cooperation with the media must be on a permanent basis, it considers that funds must be found in the ordinary budget to make this possible. A large majority of my group will therefore vote against this resolution.

When this report was last considered, the Socialist Members of the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport abstained in the vote. The reason was the rejection of my amendment to paragraph 7. I shall explain the amendment again, since obviously it is misunderstood. I am not advocating a ban on parties and movements that put out racist propaganda against migrant workers. The acceptance or rejection of such parties is a matter for the individual countries. I merely ask that, as a Parliament, we do not grant money over which this Parliament has a say to parties which, through the spoken or written word, infringe the principles of the EEC Treaty as laid down in Article 7, which states that any discrimination on grounds of nationality is prohibited, and in Article 48, which deals with the free movement

of workers. The latter article specifies that workers have the right to exercise an occupation in another Member State and to remain in the territory of a Member State after having been employed in that State. I trust that Parliament will seize this opportunity to make it clear that it rejects any form of racialism and honours the Treaty provisions, which in other circumstances are so often invoked. Human rights are flouted not only in far-off places but also on our own doorstep.

Mr Hahn (PPE). — (DE) Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I regret that this important report had to be presented by Mr Beumer last night at a very unfavourable hour and that the attendance this morning too is so small.

I thank Mr Beumer for the extremely competent report that he has produced on behalf of the EPP Group.

Perhaps I shall surprise some Members of this House if I say that the subject of this report is as important for the European Parliament and for European union as the report on the progress of institutional development or that on the mandate of 30 May. Why? Because much depends on the implementation of the proposals contained in this report with regard to the second direct elections in 1984, particularly the size of the poll. I shall not be far from the truth if I say that any proposals for strengthening the powers of the European Parliament through the Committee on Institutional Affairs would be of no more than cosmetic significance if the poll in 1984 were well below that in 1979. It is beyond dispute that a big poll at the second direct election of the European Parliament will be more decisive in promoting European union than any demands for greater powers.

What prompts me to make this statement? The latest public-opinion poll carried out by Eurobarometer on the attitude of citizens in the Member States to the European Parliament is alarming. Many know nothing of this Parliament, and of those who do know something, many are either wrongly informed or inclined to a negative view. True, there are also favourable opinions and an interest in the second direct election; but in general one has to say that the work of the European Parliament does not get over to the Community citizen; its multifarious and highly specialized activities, which will stand comparison with those of any other parliament, remain invisible to the ordinary citizen. This is a serious fault, for every democratic parliament must be carried by its electors, whether in a spirit of approval or of criticism. The link with the citizen is essential.

Let us, however, not be too hasty in laying the blame. The fault is not entirely that of the journalists, the press, the mass media. Here in Strasbourg and in Brussels, we have excellent journalists who do all they can,

Hahn

with increasing success, to 'sell' the work of the Community and of the European Parliament in particular to their readers at home. It is gratifying to be able to register a certain amount of progress in this field. But are not we, the European Parliament, and our way of working also to blame? I need do no more, I think, than point to the way we are holding this sitting and ask what, of all this, can really be 'sold' in the media. It is therefore partly our fault too if this hard-working and responsibly-minded Parliament often meets without attracting the public's attention.

Now the second direct election is of extraordinary importance for the promotion of European union, perhaps even more so than the first in 1979. Why? In 1979, it was the idea of European Union that was at stake, and on that occasion a big experiment, loaded with great expectations, was launched; but in 1984 people will be judging our efforts, and here the views of insiders and outsiders differ widely. That is the theme of this report, which I therefore hope will be read with close attention. The result of the 1984 election will depend upon the extent to which we really take its suggestions into account.

(Applause)

Mr Kyrkos (COM). — *(GR)* Mr President, the problem of the campaign for the European Parliamentary elections is essentially a political one. Moreover, we shall have to recognize the fact that public opinion in Europe will relinquish even the very small amount of interest that it has in the European Parliament unless Parliament associates itself with the major problems of the Community's peoples, not by drawing up studies but by coming really close to the struggles of the people to solve the great problems of peace, unemployment, women, youth, etc. It is with this in mind that our Parliament should undertake serious initiatives until the elections, initiatives which might ensure publicity on their own merits.

Fellow-Members, I do not agree with those proposals in the resolution that suggest entrusting the work of publicizing Parliament to bodies occupied with European matters. I do not know which bodies these might be, but I would propose that not a penny should be granted to them, but that all the funds available should be given to the parties that will take part in the elections, the large social organizations in each country — whether of the State, agricultural, womens' organizations, etc. — and to the services of Parliament itself. I also do not think that the targets of this publicity can be predetermined, as called for in the draft resolution. Parliament must project its own work and its aims without attempting to draw up political programmes, which are the exclusive concern of the political forces taking part in the elections, whether or not they support participation in the EEC.

Both the report and the resolution give absolute priority to electronic means of communication. In my view,

the best way to use them would be to ensure, by strict supervision of the national mass media, a pluralistic dialogue between the political forces that are to take part in the elections. Such a dialogue would truly inform public opinion, and we should avoid grandiloquent programmes that might make us look ridiculous. In our country, radio and television services have made some progress, but are still a long way behind in the domain of pluralistic dialogue. Besides, it ought to be made possible for the European Parliament's information offices to offer the facility of a dialogue between the parties and the large organizations, *via* the mass media and the press, granted that we must decide quite clearly that the battle to interest public opinion in the elections should be fought predominantly by the parties.

Mr Vandemeulebroucke (CDI). — *(NL)* I have great respect for Mr Beumer personally and also for the objective manner in which he conceives his role as chairman of the Committee on Youth and Culture. I therefore feel it is a great pity that he should be entrusted with this report on information policy for the 1984 elections. I think that Mr Beumer really deserves better.

In the first place, this report gives the impression that the Committee on Youth and Culture will have some say in the matter of the information budget and election funds. Well, nothing could be further from the truth, since it was long ago decided in the Bureau that a total of 43 million u.a. were to be spent on financing the direct elections. In addition to this sum, further funds may be available for so-called objective or neutral information. Whilst we have been aware of the size of this sum for many months and know that these funds will be spread over three budgetary years, the rapporteur is unable to produce a single precise figure. In paragraph 5 of the resolution, we read:

Recommends that the total funds available be distributed in such a way as to provide adequate means to enable the independent information campaign, especially by the mass media, to sensitize public opinion from an early stage.

How much money will be asked for is thus completely unknown, and it is precisely this that I find so questionable, for it is this Parliament itself that decides the volume of financial resources and the resolution before us confines itself to mere recommendations. Recommendations to whom?

To ourselves, to the enlarged Bureau, to the group chairmen? What is the significance of a so-called campaign to promote parliamentary institutions? Can one point to a single Parliament that on the occasion of parliamentary elections grants extra appropriations in order to convince the voter of the need for its existence? How can one truly conduct an objective and non-partisan campaign? Are non-partisanship and objectivity possible when the various groups have

Vandemeulebroucke

totally different attitudes on so many specific issues? How can one speak of an objective information campaign in respect of those parties which, for example, speak out against the European Community — which, be it said, they have every right to do? If you finance an objective campaign, you are going directly against those parties and you are guilty as a result of very real party-political interference. From a democratic point of view, this is unacceptable and discriminatory.

Obviously, it is the task of Members of Parliament themselves to justify themselves to the voter, even in respect of the European Community. They, and no one else, can point to the real reasons for the state of lethargy and backwardness in which European unification now finds itself. It is the Members of Parliament and no one else who must present the electorate with alternative visions of Europe. This is essentially what the elections are all about. To be sure, information is not a matter only for election occasions, it is a permanent task. Finally, the rapporteur talks about keeping the total amount of resources set aside for the elections 'within limits' and refers to the economic crisis. In view of the political crisis at a time when we are considering a social and regional policy, are 43 million u.a. justified?

Mrs Boserup (COM). — (DA) Mr President, together with my Conservative colleague, Mr Paul Møller, I have tried to prevent the matter we are dealing with here from having any significance whatsoever for Denmark. We both wrote to the former and to the present Minister of State to try to prevent taxpayer's money being used for political propaganda. We were not successful and have to admit defeat.

In December, every penny available in Parliament was scraped together in an effort to find the 17 million ECU needed to provide the liberal handout for the political groups. Most of the groups are in favour of this exercise. I have, unfortunately, been informed that there are still some formal difficulties, since a tiny amount, 3% of the sum, is lacking. I should really like to see what legal means will be used to find this money. It would clearly be against budgetary law to attempt to effect a carry-over from the 1982 budget. I am looking forward to the answer to this problem.

Pending an answer, I can amuse myself by reading Mr Beumer's motion for a resolution. I am forced to ask whether Mr Beumer and the Commission's officials are blind and dumb. It amounts to ham-fisted interference in the problems raised in the difficult electoral campaign in Denmark. It imagines that something called non-party political propaganda regarding the common market exists in Denmark. That is contradiction. Any propaganda on the part of the Commission — be it for children or young people — will be interpreted as party political propaganda. In Denmark one cannot ask people who use their free time and give part of their salary to work against Danish member-

ship to tolerate the Commission using these taxpayers' money to agitate for something to which they are deeply opposed.

I would therefore say to the Commission that if it believes that it can buy goodwill in Denmark it is suffering from delusions of grandeur, and if it wishes to save money and trouble, let it take friendly advice and desist.

Mr Bøgh (CDI). — (DA) Mr President, this report is primarily concerned with the so-called 'neutral' information which Parliament wishes to disseminate concerning its nature and functions in connection with the 1984 election. But there is nothing 'neutral' about this election. Even the Beumer report lays down a long list of political goals.

It is clear from the report that the aim of the election campaign is in particular to acquire more power for Parliament, abolish the right of veto, reduce the Council's role and criticize the Council for being too nationalistic. These amount to crass interference. They are weapons in a battle in which public funds are being used. The subjects are not neutral; in my country they are highly explosive political issues. The population is divided politically on the question of our membership, and there is practically no interest in developing the EEC into a super-State or a union. Therefore, to attempt now to use these Danish citizens' money to indoctrinate them with views which are against their own interests is tantamount to aggravated spiritual rape.

Will it never be recognized that two interpretations of the State and two interpretations of democracy are in conflict in this Chamber: the Nordic and the Roman? To take the Roman interpretation of the State and of democracy and to impose them on Denmark will get people's backs up. What is being done here is totally unacceptable from a democratic point of view.

On the other hand, it could be said that those of us who are opposed to the EEC should realize that if it means stepping up the incompetent and undemocratic propaganda which we have hitherto seen emanating from the Commission's advertising office in Denmark, it will have the opposite effect in a country which thinks the way we think in Denmark.

If the Parliament is not — thank God — a place where political goals are achieved through law-making, then *a fortiori* it must not become a place where political action is carried out through propaganda.

Mr Natali, Vice-President of the Commission. — (IT) Mr President, it should not be for me to underline the importance of the 1984 elections. On this, we are all in agreement. President Thorn emphasized in his speech the other day that it must be our common duty to ensure that these elections are a great success.

Natali

Mr Beumer, whom I wish to thank for his report, has pointed out that the outcome of these elections will turn upon the relation between the platforms of the political parties; he has brought into due relief the need to recruit the wholehearted support of the political, economic and trade-union resources of the Member States, and has stressed the importance of fuller information and reciprocal understanding.

I only want to make a few observations. First of all, I must point out that the budgetary authorities have not considered it necessary to set aside special sums for informing the general public, as was done in 1979. The Commission has taken note of this and will adapt its information programmes accordingly. With the funds normally reserved every year for the requirements of our information policy. The Commission will not be in a position to launch any multi-media campaigns: the modest allocations that can be made available will not allow for any worthwhile activities of that kind.

Our services have already been in touch with the Parliament's Directorate-General of Information to coordinate the activities of the two institutions and so avoid a duplication of effort and expense. I intend to ensure that the Commission continues to work along these lines.

The Commission must therefore make do with its normal means of information, and it has already included the elections as a subject of primary importance for treatment by our external and central services. Quite apart from these 'normal' activities, however, I would point out the especial effort we are making, through high-level contacts, to prompt those in charge of radio and television programmes to provide, in collaboration with the Commission, for broadcasts on current affairs. The contacts we have had so far have confirmed the opportuneness of this approach, which is based on the fact that without the aid of the large-scale media it is very difficult to put a message across, even though it be of the greatest interest and importance.

This brings me to the question of the past and future activities of 'Euroservice'. This group has been re-formed thanks to the interest aroused by the elections and the possibilities offered by future satellites. Formerly an *ad hoc* group, it is now, as you know, Mr Hahn, an official working-group of the European Broadcasting Union. It has already begun drawing up proposals concerning the elections. The Commission is prepared to cooperate with this body, and, indeed, it is already doing so.

Finally, Mr President, I wish to repeat how important it is — as certain amendments and also some of the speakers, among whom I would particularly refer to Miss Hooper, have already pointed out — to provide more information for particular sectors of public opinion, such as women and youth, who make up such an

important part of the electorate, and I offer them an assurance of our especial response to this call.

We shall do everything possible, Mr President, to assure our contribution to the success of this forthcoming historic assignation.

President. — The debate is closed.¹

After the vote on the motion for a resolution as a whole

Mr Alavanos (COM). — (GR) Mr President, I have only just observed in yesterday's minutes that in the roll-call vote on Document 1-1261 my name is not mentioned among those who voted in favour. I should like this mistake to be corrected.

President. — I note what you have said. The necessary check will be made.

5. *Pharmaceutical products*

President. — The next item is the report by Mr Deleau, on behalf of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs, on the production and use of pharmaceutical products in the Community (Doc. 1-979/82).

Mr Deleau (DEP), rapporteur. — (FR) Mr President, it is after 12.20 a.m. We have now to consider a very important report on the consumption, production and sale of pharmaceutical products, a subject which affects the health of 250 million citizens of the European Community. Only 45 Members were present for the last vote. Since then, some have had to leave the Chamber. I do not think that it makes much sense to deal with this report before an almost empty House; 90-95% of the Members are missing.

I should like to point out, ladies and gentlemen, that this subject is extremely important and that there is currently a lot of controversy about it. Some 30 amendments have been tabled. Consequently, I think it would not be fitting for Parliament to hold a debate in such unfavourable conditions; that would not be the correct procedure. Therefore, Mr President, I would ask you to consult the House and, under Rule 87 of the Rules of Procedure, to propose that the report be held over until a later part-session.

President. — In that case, I must call one speaker in favour and one against.

¹ For the vote, see Annex.

Tugendhat

Parliament, we regret that the Council has not come to a decision on the question of a financial contribution towards the construction of the Innkreis-Pyhrn motorway — Austria's principal request. We are, however, endeavouring to reach an overall agreement on the basis of the directives which the Council adopted in December 1981. The most recent discussions on this matter were, I think, encouraging, and we hope that they will further progress.

The financial and commercial protocols through our cooperation agreement with Yugoslavia on 2 April 1982 are now in force. It is our intention to develop that agreement.

As far as Switzerland is concerned, it is inappropriate to prepare a cooperation agreement at present in view of our relations with that country. Periodically, liaison meetings are held and matters such as the road tax and motorway toll are discussed at those meetings.

As far as the specific question of combined transport is concerned, on 26 March the Council authorized us to open negotiations with seven non-member countries with a view to laying down common rules. As regards the three transit countries with which we are concerned here, I can say that talks are fairly well advanced with Switzerland, they opened on 31 January with Austria and should be starting very shortly with Yugoslavia.

Where infrastructure is concerned, the experimental programme which we submitted to the Council on 10 December 1982 goes some of the way towards meeting the concerns expressed in your motion for a resolution, since it contains — placed in a wider context — proposals designed to ease the difficulties encountered in transit through the countries in question and, notably, Austria.

Adoption by the Council of the basic measures referred to in paragraph 9 of the motion would provide a clear and sound basis for resolving the problems arising from transport through non-member countries. We thank you for your support on this matter.

Similarly, as indicated in paragraph 13 of the motion, improvements could certainly be made concerning border formalities. To this end, the Council should approve the proposal for a directive which we have submitted. Clearly, progress *vis-à-vis* non-member countries is dependent on progress within the Community.

Mr President, the other measures advocated by the committee seem very interesting, although some of them — in particular, those concerned with inland waterways — are, we believe, of longer-term interest.

President. — The debate is closed.¹

¹ For the vote, see Annex.

7. Horticulture in the Community

President. — The next item is the report by Mr Vernimmen, on behalf of the Committee on Agriculture, on horticulture in the European Community (Doc. 1-996/82).

Mr Vernimmen (S), rapporteur. — (NL) A number of colleagues have drawn up motions for resolutions dealing with the difficulties directly caused by keeping natural-gas prices in the Netherlands artificially low. In these resolutions, stress is laid on the fact that enormous disparities exist between agriculture in the northern and southern countries. The problem of Dutch natural gas has in the meantime been settled, since the Dutch Government and the Commission have arrived at an agreement under which the natural-gas price for horticulturalists as of 1 April 1983 will be aligned with the gas tariff for industry. The competitive advantage enjoyed for many years by Dutch greenhouse growers over their counterparts in other countries has in recent times created enormous difficulties: closures of undertakings which can no longer be reversed. This demonstrates how vital it is to draw up a genuine horticultural policy for the entire Community in order to prevent such a situation recurring.

The motion presented by the Committee on Agriculture therefore asks the Commission to examine to what extent disparities exist between the horticultural industries in the northern and southern regions and in what way these two types of horticulture can be made to complement one another with a view to retaining the particular qualities of both types of production. In this connection, I would point out that an enquiry shows that horticulture in the United Kingdom is in a very bad way and that some action needs to be taken.

Efforts must be made to save energy in all possible ways. In the horticultural sector, where energy consumption may make up 50 % of the total operating costs, great efforts are being made to keep down expenditure on fuel. In Annex VII to my report, I have made a summary of various technical aspects of energy-saving in horticulture under glass. I shall not go any further into the technical and theoretical problems faced by growers in the north. I would merely emphasize that there is no good reason why horticulture in the north should be allowed to disappear; on the contrary, there is a complementarity between the north and the south which has advantages for both producers and consumers, such as regular supplies of an extensive range of fresh produce.

Finally, I would point out, Mr President, that the Committee on Agriculture adopted this report unanimously.

Mr Bocklet (PPE). — (DE) Mr President, I wish first of all to congratulate the rapporteur sincerely on his

Bocklet

report. He has shown great skill in producing, on a difficult subject involving very different points of view as between north and south, a document that has a chance of winning general approval.

The Commission has its share of responsibility to bear for the fact that the subsidization of horticulture under glass in the Netherlands proved such a protracted problem for all gardeners in the Community, for it was too slow in taking action against these advantages allowed in the Netherlands. Mr Vernimmen has rightly pointed out that this has led to considerable losses for Community horticulture.

The idea of making the Commission responsible for these losses is a good one, but this is by no means to say that in future everyone will be entitled to draw on this source. The idea is rather to teach the Commission a lesson in that it can in future be made financially responsible for any losses that it causes.

For the rest, my group advocates, in an amendment, that goods should be produced at a place which is not only most advantageous but also near to the consumer. Whoever is familiar with the big centres of population in the north will know that there is much to be said for encouraging horticulture in their vicinity, in order to reduce the distance separating it from the consumer. I therefore ask you to vote for our amendment; the rapporteur will confirm that he too is in agreement with it.

Mr Beazley (ED). — Mr President, vegetable-growers readily accept that theirs is a risk business. The devastation caused by the rigours of the 1982 winter to my growers in Bedfordshire, which destroyed a high percentage of their early crops and for which they received no compensation whatsoever, proves this point. The advantages which the Commission permitted Dutch tomato-growers to continue enjoying long after the Members of this House had indicated their illegality under the Treaty of Rome were reflected in low or non-existent profits to other tomato-growers across the north of Europe. I would still like to know what the position will be after 30 March this year and press the Commissioner to advise the House on this matter.

Vegetable-growers in northern Europe face new and unknown risks with the prospect of the enlargement of the Community on 1 January 1984. This House knows full well how much I support the Community's enlargement. However, we must also know on what date and under what conditions the accession of Spain and Portugal will be achieved. So many industrial as well as agricultural interests are involved that I believe it is essential for the Commission to state today whether it is still the case that Portuguese accession may be delayed until the Spanish dossiers can be agreed and whether their joint accession will be delayed until 1985 or 1986.

Mr President, uncertainty is the worst enemy of business. Farmers and industrialists must know where they stand. The details of the transitional periods for each group of product must be displayed for all to see.

I want to speak about competition. Fair competition is as vital to the health of agriculture and horticulture as it is to industry. Because of the time-lag caused in agriculture and horticulture by the seasons, by weather and by the nature of the market for these products, farmers need more warning of changes, and price, quality, regularity of supply are as important to a healthy horticulture as to a healthy industry. We should, however, be aware that the climatic conditions of southern Europe in relation to northern Europe can vitally affect the future of northern horticulturalists. The two vital conditions of growth are heat and water. The south has heat and little water. The north has little heat and a great deal of water. Artificial means such as the heating of greenhouses for tomatoes in the north and irrigation in the south can balance these two factors at a cost — generally a very high cost. Hence this House must know whether irrigation will be one of the benefits brought to Spanish and Portuguese horticulturalists with Community money by accession. If so — and I accept that this may be a reasonable objective — then I need to know how the effects of such a benefit to the south will affect northern growers. We must have the results of any detailed studies put before us as representatives of our constituents.

It may be said that their relative distance from their respective markets will enable southern and northern horticulturalists to enjoy satisfactory trade both in their home and in the more distant Community markets. It must, of course, be noted that the flow of this horticultural trade will be all in one direction, from south to north. All the information I have on transport costs in Europe as in North America, where Californian fruit and vegetables kill the business of the excellent Canadian products of the Niagara Triangle, shows that transport costs will form no barrier. So again we must look for the analysis which the Commission has made.

Finally, I must point out that the horticulturalist does not, like most industrialists and so many farmers, benefit from a fairly constant market price which varies over a period where corrections to production may well be made. The northern vegetable-grower is vitally dependent for his profit on the high price available at the beginning and at the end of the season for particular vegetables. The effect of enlargement may well be to cut off these profitable periods to northern farmers and so render their sectors non-viable. Therefore, Mr President, it is not local protection for which I am calling but an indication of how satisfactory arrangements will be made in connection with enlargement so that satisfactory conditions of supply, price, quality and variety can be established for both producers and consumers in northern and southern markets.

Mr Prag (ED). — As a very large proportion of the pharmaceutical industry of my country is concentrated in my constituency, Mr President, I can only endorse the demand made by Mr Deleau. It would be ridiculous for us to deal with such an important matter when so few people are here.

(Parliament adopted Mr Deleau's request)

6. Transit of goods to or from the Community

President. — The next item is the report by Mr Buttafuoco, on behalf of the Committee on Transport, on problems arising from the transit of goods to or from the Community through Austria, Switzerland and Yugoslavia (Doc. 1-792/82).

Mr Buttafuoco (NI), rapporteur. — *(IT)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I do not have the same worries as Mr Deleau had with regard to the preceding motion for a resolution inasmuch as my report, adopted unanimously by the Committee on Transport, has not provoked the tabling of a single amendment. I think, therefore, that it should be debated even if the attendance at this moment is relatively small, so that we can proceed to put it to the vote.

The free movement of goods within the Community is one of the principal objects of the Treaty of Rome. This Parliament has called for the attainment of this object in a number of resolutions and so contributed to the progress which — albeit extremely modest — has been made in working for a truly common internal market. Under Title I of its second part, the Treaty deals with the movement of goods, envisages a customs union and the elimination of quantitative restrictions between Member States. Nevertheless, we have to recognize that transport within the Community is still subject to not a few difficulties, and the action for default instituted by the European Parliament under Article 175 is convincing proof. The difficulties are further aggravated by the fact that the territory of the Community does not hang together and so goods often have to be transported *via* Switzerland, Austria and Yugoslavia.

Although there are certain obstacles, the flow of traffic along these great axes has never been interrupted. In Switzerland and Austria, transit traffic has a very long tradition, and these countries have been able to draw certain advantages from it. Today, however, the situation is different. For one thing, the use of modern forms of transport has meant that the crossing is effected in a few hours, often without making a halt, so that the countries concerned, so far from profiting from it — with the exception of rail transport — are put to considerable disadvantage in the form of noise, pollution and wear and tear on infrastructures. For another, progress in Community integration has

increased the volume of transport crossing the territory of Austria and Switzerland, so that in many cases these infrastructures are now inadequate.

The resulting dissatisfaction in these countries has already led to the adoption of a number of measures to the detriment of Community transport, including the imposition of duties such as those discussed in negotiations between a Swiss delegation and a delegation from the European Parliament of which I was a member. In the long run, if no adequate solutions are found, there is a real danger that these arterial routes, so vital for the movement of Community goods, will be blocked. The Committee on Transport has always maintained that carriers and their clients in the Community must enjoy the greatest possible freedom, and this is why we have called for the laying down of an overall framework for a Community transport policy — a call that has so far found no echo from the Council of Ministers. Such an outline policy is required if, among other things, we are to solve this problem of Community transport passing through the countries with which we are here concerned. Hence a large part of my report is necessarily taken up with reviewing the few achievements and many shortcomings which characterize the common transport policy. Nevertheless, we consider that the European Parliament can now draw up some specific proposals for improving the conditions governing transport across these countries, and these proposals are all inspired by the principle that relations between the Community and third countries concerned must be based on achieving a balance between the profit and the wear and tear accruing from transit traffic.

From among the many proposals contained in this motion for a resolution, I will merely draw your attention to the one concerning the problem of traffic passing through Austria. The Commission is negotiating with Austria on a mandate issued by the Council in December 1981, June and December 1982, and this mandate contains no reference to any financial contributions from the Community for the construction of the Innkreis-Pyrhn motorway. These negotiations were formally launched on 28 October 1982, and a second meeting took place recently on 27/28 January of this year. We know, however, that these negotiations can only succeed if the Community shows itself prepared to make financial concessions. In the interests of the entire Community, therefore, we must insist that at its next meeting the Council decides, as a matter of principle, in favour of these concessions and accordingly amplifies the mandate it has given to the Commission.

As a European and also Italian parliamentarian, I must express my solidarity with the Italian representatives in the Council, who have conveyed their assent to such financial concessions provided the Austrian Government gives its approval to the Montecroce Carnico link, without which the port of Trieste will be completely paralyzed.

Buttafuoco

Before concluding, I feel I must tell the House that the Transport Committee of the European Parliament has organized a hearing attended by a delegation which included the President of the Venice Region and his assistant in transport matters and also the President of the Province of Venice, accompanied by our colleague, Mr Colleselli. On this occasion, discussion turned on the arguments militating in favour of the Venice-Munich motorway: the document now before us makes no mention of this project, because agreement on it has not yet been reached and discussions are still in progress.

As regards the links between Greece and the rest of the Community, I urge the Commission to take a favourable view of projects for developing links between Greece and southern Italy and also between Greece and the ports of the northern Adriatic and to boost investments by the use of Community funds.

In conclusion, I would like to tell the House that our proposals for facilitating transport through third countries are in complete harmony with the work of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, whose internal transport committee adopted, on 21 October last, the final text of an international convention on the harmonization of goods inspections at frontier-posts, which envisages very simple and rapid procedures.

I thank you for your attention and ask you to vote in favour of the motion for a resolution.

(Applause)

Mr Kaloyannis (PPE). — *(GR)* Mr President, I must express my thanks and congratulations to the rapporteur for his truly notable and objective work, because he refers even to the most outlying of the Community countries, Greece.

The Buttafuoco report, which the Transport Committee are submitting to Parliament following the resolutions by Seefeld, Nicolaou, Roberts, etc., emphasizes the need for Parliament to face the problems arising from the transit of goods and people either from or to the European Community mainly *via* Austria and Switzerland. It also, of course, mentions transit *via* Yugoslavia, but an independent report dealing with that country is to appear shortly; the task of drawing it up was, in fact, recently assigned to me.

The report, then, calls upon Commission and Council to commence as soon as possible negotiations on transit matters with the third countries, Austria and Switzerland, with the aim of achieving a fair arrangement.

In my view and that of the rapporteur, the dramatic situation that prevails in road transport through Austria calls for immediate action in the sector of transport policy, and Council should instruct the Commis-

sion to make available the finance that is essential for constructing the necessary motorways, because admittedly, as things stand today, the order is far too general and proper steps can therefore not be taken.

Council should also approve this financial contribution so that the work can go ahead.

As for the negotiations with Austria concerning the special taxes imposed by that country on goods vehicles from the Community using her roads, the Transport Committee quite rightly calls upon the Commission and the Member States to maintain a unified attitude.

Because of the serious problems connected with road transit *via* Yugoslavia, there is an urgent need to promote a combined transport system, with the use of containers and vehicle transporters between Greece and the other Community countries. Moreover, the Commission should work out plans for developing links between Greece and southern Italy and between Greece and the north Adriatic ports, and should support the necessary investments by means of Community grants.

In the negotiations with the third countries mentioned in the report, the Commission should insist on the demand for a simplification of frontier formalities, which, as we know, give rise to unnecessary delays, additional costs, and unreliability in the Community's transport.

This implies the abolition of road taxes, at least for goods vehicles with Community licenses. To achieve this aim there will have to be reciprocal concessions regarding the payments exacted from these third countries in the transport sector.

Subject to these conditions, the European People's Party, and I personally, will vote in favour of Mr Buttafuoco's resolution.

Mr Tugendhat, Vice-President of the Commission. — Mr President, I would like to begin by saying how much we thank the Committee on Transport for its work and also to express my satisfaction at the extent to which our views and its views coincide. We, too, are seeking a solution which should be as balanced as possible for all the parties concerned. The interests of Austria, Switzerland and Yugoslavia have been mentioned, but it is also important that our carriers should be able to cross those countries at the lowest possible cost and subject to as few barriers as are absolutely necessary.

The Committee on Transport is right to emphasize the general nature of the problems arising and of the solutions which must be found. The negotiations opened with Austria illustrate the fact that this is precisely the direction in which we ourselves are working. Like the

Mr Natali, Vice-President of the Commission. — (IT) Mr President, first of all, our congratulations to Mr Vernimmen and the Committee on Agriculture for the report now before this House. It presents objectively all the problems besetting Community horticulture. It recommends — and this is extremely important — a Community solution to problems which, if not resolved, may well seriously harm the interests of a large sector of Community horticulturalists.

We agree that the Treaties must be strictly applied to prevent national subsidization measures that are contrary to their spirit from distorting competition in agriculture and horticulture. Criticisms have been made, particularly by Mr Bocklet, about the Commission's attitude to problems connected with the subsidization of horticulturalists in the Netherlands. All in all, we believe we have found a solution that is both equitable and practical if one bears in mind the difference at present obtaining between the two tariffs.

The resolution calls for a Community indemnity to horticulturalists who have suffered losses. As a matter of principle, we do not believe that such an indemnity would be admissible. We cannot remedy one distortion of competition by creating further distortions of competition, but we can admit national measures on a limited scale such as subsidies over three consecutive years for the purchase of fuel.

Mr Vernimmen's report raises an extremely important subject — that of energy and agriculture. I need hardly remind you that the agro-economic research programme for the period 1984-88, submitted by the Commission to the Council at the end of 1982, envisages a number of intervention measures in this sector which are, I think, of great potential importance for the development of horticulture.

As regards the Mediterranean regions, the research proposed in this programme will be mainly devoted to the technical modifications required for producing fruit and vegetables out of season by making optimal use of the production factors available.

Finally, Mr President, I should like to say to Mr Beazley that the question of enlargement of the Community brings with it a number of problems, including some concerning horticulture. When the negotiations take place, the Community will undoubtedly bear in mind the need for a harmonious integration without irreversible effects on this important sector.

President. — The debate is closed.¹

8. *Petition No 52/80*

President. — The next item is the report by Mr Sieglerschmidt, on behalf of the Committee on the Rules

of Procedure and Petitions, on Petition No 52/80, by Mr Louis Worms, concerning a request for financial redress (Doc. 1-945/82).

Mr Sieglerschmidt (S), rapporteur. — (DE) I wish formally, under Rule 87 of the Rules of Procedure, to move that the debate on this report be deferred to the next part-session and as far as possible be fixed for a time when considerably better attendance may be expected for the vote.

As the report shows, the committee has considered this petition very carefully, the Legal Affairs Committee has studied it, and we even had two exhaustive discussions in committee with the Commission. It transpired that the Commission had serious doubts about paying compensation to the petitioner, although this is called for in the motion for a resolution. My colleagues will surely agree with me that a vote by this Parliament carried by the number of Members present today will hardly impress the Commission sufficiently to prompt it to put its doubts on one side, for the Commission assured us that it had not yet reached a final decision and would pay due attention to the Parliament's vote, and if we vote today, the Commission will naturally be in a position to say, we do not need to pay much attention to that vote!

I therefore ask the House to agree that the debate on this report be deferred to the next part-session under Rule 87.

Mrs Cinciari Rodano (COM). — (IT) Mr President, I think the arguments adduced by Mr Sieglerschmidt are well founded and that any concern there may be about the agenda for the next part-session should not be allowed to prevail over the importance of this problem.

Since the matter concerns the rights of a citizen who claims to have been persecuted, I do not think we can responsibly proceed to a vote in these conditions. I am therefore in favour of Mr Sieglerschmidt's request for a postponement.

Mr Patterson (ED). — Mr President, I would like to speak against. I know it is very regrettable that such a matter as this, which deals with the human rights of an individual, has to come so late, as indeed do subsequent debates on the agenda which deal with human rights. However, something always has to be last on our agenda, and by systematically putting things off on a Friday we are destroying Friday's debates. We are here and I am here in order to debate these particular matters. If you continually put things off because there are not enough people here, what incentive has anybody ever again to come on a Friday, because we shall be confident that everything will be put off?

I suggest that Mr Worms would be much better served if we now voted on this report, said why we supported

¹ For the vote, see Annex.

Patterson

it and left the Commission to come to its own conclusions. I oppose this request for postponement.

(Parliament rejected Mr Sieglerschmidt's proposal)

Mr Sieglerschmidt (S), rapporteur. — *(DE)* Mr President, I regret this decision, of course, but cannot change it.

The case relates to a petitioner, Mr Worms, who, a good 25 years ago, discovered the existence of scrap frauds on a large scale. The appropriate committee of the European Parliament, the Internal Market Committee, investigated these scandalous events very carefully and came to the conclusion that Mr Worms had performed a very great service to the Community. This is stated in the report submitted by the Internal Market Committee in 1959.

On the other hand, the Internal Market Committee also came to the conclusion that the High Authority should have become aware of its responsibilities in the matter sooner and should have been more alert.

Mr Worms declared that the information he had reported on these frauds had damaged his commercial interests, since he had been boycotted by his fellow competitors and had lost business contracts as a result.

The Internal Market Committee — at that time the Committee on Petitions had not yet been entrusted with the matter — took no action on a further petition from Mr Worms but expressed the view that one might consider paying a sum by way of redress, but that there was no legal claim. This latter point was also established by the Court of Justice.

The Court of Justice could not, however, make up its mind to recommend the Commission to pay such compensation by way of redress, because — in my view and also that of the committee responsible, the Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions — it clung too closely to the establishment of a purely legal causal connection.

The Netherlands Parliament, the Second Chamber of the State-General took a different line. It did declare that there was no legal claim to any form of compensation in this case, but stated that a Member State also affected by frauds — the Netherlands — had a normal obligation to pay compensation. On a unanimous decision of the Netherlands Parliament, Mr Worms then received 20 000 guilders from the Netherlands Government. The Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions has examined the matter carefully, and in addition has considered written statements submitted by respectable and trustworthy witnesses. (It did not examine them orally.) The committee came to the conclusion that the European Community should follow the example set by the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

The Community should not be less generous to Mr Worms than the Dutch have been, and this for two reasons. It is not a matter of having to reward someone who, as a good citizen, has discovered some irregular practice and reported it, but of ensuring that, without acknowledging any legal obligation, he receives a certain compensation as redress. I address these remarks to the Commission, because I am acquainted with their doubts.

In the view of the Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions, this case cannot be treated as a precedent for future decisions of this kind. The Commission is free to state explicitly that it is acting in the interests of equity and without acknowledging any legal obligation.

A man whose interests have been harmed by his creditable act of reporting information should, in the view of the Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions, at least receive some form of compensation. As regards future cases, I see the matter otherwise than the Commission will probably present it in a moment. If we are to encourage people to report such information in future and so run the risk of damage to their economic interests, then they must have at least some prospect that, when such damage is on a considerable scale, the Community shows itself to be appreciative and generous instead of clinging to narrow legal arguments.

Mr Natali, Vice-President of the Commission. — *(IT)* Mr President, this is the third petition presented by Mr Worms to the European Parliament. Nevertheless, the Commission has given the greatest consideration to all aspects of the matter.

We agree with Parliament's rapporteur, Mr Sieglerschmidt, that Mr Worms's action was praiseworthy and helped the Community, understood in the broadest sense — that is, Community enterprises and consumers in their entirety — by preventing the commission of other large-scale frauds against these two categories, even if this action has neither brought financial advantages nor obviated financial losses to the European Iron and Steel Community.

However that may be, the Commission, considering the wider implications of the case in point, was also obliged to consider whether a person who had suffered prejudice as a result of revelations made on his own initiative to improve the application of legal and moral standards was entitled, as a matter of principle, to receive an indemnity.

As my colleague, Mr Davignon, has already had occasion to explain to the Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions, Mr Worms's petition raises a number of questions of principle regarding compensation to be paid as redress.

Natali

In its judgment of the Worms case, the Court of Justice clearly established that the High Authority was in no sense responsible for the prejudice suffered by Mr Worms and had in no way prompted him to undertake the action with which we are here concerned. In its conclusions, the Court also pointed out that the causal connection between the prejudice suffered by the petitioner and the action of the High Authority was very uncertain.

We have therefore come to the conclusion that, without prejudice to Mr Worms's good reputation, the fact that his action had helped to prevent financial losses by steel undertakings and by consumers puts neither a legal nor a moral obligation on the Community to offer any redress.

The favourable decision taken by the Second Chamber of the States-General of the Netherlands adds to the facts no new element that would justify modifying the conclusions I have outlined. The Second Chamber has simply adopted a new interpretation of the facts already known. Moreover, in our view, the payment made by the Dutch authorities cannot be interpreted as giving rise to a new obligation on the Commission.

In the light of these considerations, while confirming the positive judgment given on Mr Worms, we cannot subscribe to the conclusions arrived at in Mr Sieglerschmidt's motion for a resolution.

President. — The debate is closed.¹

9. Discrimination as regards filiation in certain Member States

President. — The next item is the report by Mrs Cinciari Rodano, on behalf of the Legal Affairs Committee, on discrimination between single mothers and married women as regards filiation in certain Member States (Doc. 1-861/82).

Mrs Cinciari Rodano (COM), rapporteur. — (IT) Mr President, I am very much tempted to ask that this debate be deferred. Whilst it is true that, as some members of the Conservative Group have pointed out, the Friday morning is also a normal parliamentary sitting, I feel one is entitled, at twenty past one in the afternoon, to take the view that the ordinary Friday morning sitting has come to an end and that from now on it can only be regarded as extraordinary. Since, however, I have the feeling that there is opposition to any idea of postponing this report, I shall, with great reluctance, proceed to introduce it.

The Legal Affairs Committee has given this report its unanimous approval and asks the House to adopt it. From examining the legislation of the Member States it became clear that there were fairly big differences in the treatment reserved, on the one hand, for legitimate children and, on the other, to children born out of wedlock, and in consequence between unmarried and married mothers.

Some countries — such as Italy, Luxembourg, Denmark and France — have practically assimilated the legal position of natural children to that of legitimate children. Others — such as the Federal Republic, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands — automatically establish filiation, so far as the mother is concerned, in the birth certificate but not in respect of the father, for which special documents are required: consequently, a natural son has the same rights as a legitimate son in respect of the mother but not of the father.

In another group of States — including Belgium, Ireland and, I think, Greece, unless the situation has been changed by the recent vote in the Greek Parliament on the new family bill — a natural son does not have the same rights as a legitimate son in respect of either mother or father, and filiation is not automatically established, even in respect of the mother. In these countries, therefore, discrimination does indeed exist — also between married and unmarried mother.

The Legal Affairs Committee recognizes that this situation is intolerable for the civic conscience of Europeans, quite apart from the fact that it creates social conditions in which there is much suffering. In our view, the principle of equality of rights for citizens regardless of race, language, sex and birth belongs to the established common heritage of the peoples of this Community. It is absolutely unjust to penalize an individual — a child — who bears no responsibility whatsoever for his own birth.

I must, however, point out that this equality of rights must not be identified with assimilating the legal status of a natural son to that of a legitimate son. Since we are dealing with diverse situations, specific measures are required to ensure equality of rights. Let us take as an example the question of *patria potestas*, or parental authority. In certain cases, it may well not be in the interests of a legitimate son or his mother that this authority should be shared by a father who has abandoned the child and takes no interest in him. Incidentally, I consider that the growing number of families with only one parent in the Community should induce us to reflect more deeply on the legal situation and, above all, on the need to offer social protection to this particular type of family.

The Council of Europe has considered matters of this kind and drawn up a convention, which was ready for signature in October 1975 and entered into force in 1978, on the harmonization of Member States' legisla-

¹ For the vote, see Annex.

Rodano

tion on natural children. This convention is based on four fundamental principles which, while not ensuring complete assimilation, nevertheless constitute a step towards harmonization. These are that filiation with regard to the mother is always established automatically and with regard to the father may be established by means of a certificate, that parental authority is exercised by both parents where filiation has been established in relation to the two of them, that the rights of inheritance are the same and that a subsequent marriage between the father and the mother confers legitimate status on the natural offspring. In fact, however, only two Member States of the Community have so far signed and ratified this Convention. It is therefore proposed that the European Parliament should formally invite the other States of the Community to sign and ratify the Convention.

The Legal Affairs Committee, however, has been considering the possibility of action by the Community in view of the fact that questions of family law are certainly not covered by the Treaties, for we are becoming increasingly aware of the effect and the influence exercised by questions of this kind on the achievement of aims explicitly laid down in the Treaties.

Moreover, the possibility of developing the Community beyond the sphere of purely economic activities is implied in Article 235 of the EEC Treaty. Further, we cannot overlook the solemn declaration issued jointly by the Presidents of Parliament, Council and Commission at Luxembourg in 1977 on the importance for the Community of respecting and protecting basic human rights.

In this case, we are unquestionably concerned with a basic right. Moreover, the principle has been reaffirmed by the Court of Justice in the great majority of the judgments it has issued.

In conclusion, therefore, the resolution invites the Commission to consider whether there is any possibility of Community action and to report to Parliament. The motion is a moderate one; it was approved unanimously by the Legal Affairs Committee, and this committee asks the Parliament to adopt it.

Mrs Vayssade (S). — (FR) Mr President, in view of the time I shall limit myself to saying that the Socialist Group agrees with the conclusions reached in Mrs Cinciari Rodano's report and will vote in favour.

Mr Natali, Vice-President of the Commission. — (IT) I must tell the House that the Commission is keenly aware of the legal situation of unmarried mothers and will study the report and the motion for a resolution very closely.

Obviously, we agree that, as Mrs Cinciari Rodano has pointed out, the subject of filiation does not fall within

the competence of the European Community as things stand at present. It is, however, as the rapporteur has also pointed out, being taken up by other international institutions. The rapporteur has also drawn attention to the European Convention, drawn up on the initiative of the Council of Europe, on the legal status of the persons concerned.

I can therefore confine myself to saying that we shall examine the motion for a resolution with a view to seeing what steps can be taken within the obligations and the limits laid down by the Treaties at present in existence.

President. — The debate is closed.¹

10. *Breast-milk substitutes*

President. — The next item is the report by Mrs Castellina, on behalf of the Committee on Development and Cooperation, on the International Code of Marketing of Breast-milk Substitutes (Doc. 1-962/82).

Included in this debate is the oral question, with debate, by Mrs Maij-Weggen and Mr Vergeer, on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (Christian-Democratic Group), to the Commission, on the action taken on the resolutions of the European Parliament on the International Code of Marketing of Breast-milk Substitutes adopted by the WHO (Doc. 1-541/81) and on the export of baby food to the developing countries (Doc. 1-668/79) (Doc. 1-1142/82):

- Whereas, at its meeting of 16 October 1981, Parliament very clearly advocated a Community directive on the uniform implementation of the WHO Code on the export of baby food and the sale of baby food in the developing countries,
- whereas the Commission agreed, in the course of the debate, to present a directive,
- whereas this directive has not yet been submitted to Council or Parliament,
- whereas a recent I.B.F.A.N. survey shows that the WHO voluntary code is not being properly adhered to, since in its first year of existence 2 250 infringements by 54 undertakings from 37 countries — including a number of Community Member States — were reported,
- whereas, at a recent WHO meeting, it was admitted that governments and undertakings hardly ever implement the code,

The Commission is requested:

¹ For the vote, see Annex.

President

1. to give its opinion on the results to date of the voluntary code;
2. to give its opinion on the extent to which European undertakings are involved in the infringements;
3. to state what measures it has taken to persuade European undertakings of the necessity to duly implement the code;
4. to state when a directive on the implementation of the WHO code will be forwarded to Council and Parliament.

Mrs Castellina (CDI), rapporteur. — (FR) Mr President, I would ask you to be so kind as to defer this report, in view of the conditions in which we should have to debate it today.

President. — As in the case of previous requests, I shall consult the House.

Mr Bocklett (PPE). — (DE) In my view, the previous reports dealt with here were also important, and so there is no reason not to deal with this report too.

(Parliament adopted Mrs Castellina's request)

President. — The Castellina report is accordingly deferred to a later part-session.

There are no more items on the agenda. I thank the valiant team of indefatigables who have stayed to the bitter end.

11. *Adjournment of the session*

President. — I declare the session of the European Parliament adjourned.¹

(The sitting closed at 1.35 p.m.)

¹ For items concerning motions for resolutions entered in the register under Rule 49, time-limit for tabling amendments, forwarding of resolutions adopted during this sitting, and dates for the next part-session, see the Minutes.

ANNEX

Votes

This annex indicates rapporteurs' opinions on amendments and reproduces the texts of explanations of vote. For further details of the voting, the reader is referred to the Minutes.

DE FERRANTI REPORT (Doc. 1-1174/82: Electrical equipment): APPROVED

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NYBORG REPORT (Doc. 1-1176/82: Motor-vehicles): ADOPTED

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PAUWELYN REPORT (Doc. 1-1178/82: NAFO Convention): ADOPTED

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**GEROKOSTOPOULOS MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (Doc. 1-1257/82:
EEC-EFTA): ADOPTED**

The rapporteur spoke *in favour* of Amendments Nos 3 and 4.

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SECOND PROUT REPORT (Doc. 1-1180/82: Consumer credit): DEFERRED

The rapporteur spoke

in favour of Amendments Nos 2, 43, 48, 50 and 62; and

against Amendments Nos 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 44, 53 and 54.

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GRIFFITHS REPORT (Doc. 1-1001/82: Urban concentration): ADOPTED:

The rapporteur spoke

in favour of Amendments Nos 1, 3, 5, 6, 9, 12, 13 and 14; and

against Amendments Nos 2, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 15, 19/rev., 20/rev., 22, 23, 24, 25, 26 and 27.

Explanations of vote

Mr Boyes (S). — Mr President, it is with regret that I shall vote against a resolution tabled by one of my colleagues, but I cannot support any resolution that asks for a transfer of cash from the ERDF to areas other than assisted and specially assisted areas.

This is the third attack on assisted areas by proposals concerning the Funds.

The first one was the black-spot theory concerning the Social Fund. There have been special measures from the EIB for non-assisted areas, and now there is the possibility of money from the ERDF going to non-assisted areas.

Whilst I am for urban renewal and fighting against unemployment wherever it exists, there is only a limited amount of cash in this Fund. If that limited amount of cash is to do what it set out to do — namely, to reduce the regional disparities — then the small amount of cash available must not be spread thinly but must be concentrated in the areas for which it is intended.

I say to my colleagues over there, and especially to Mr Harris, if the Conservative Government had not redrawn the maps for special development areas, there would have been more of these cities in it. Your problem is with your government! We have caught the 'Butcher of Lyons', I only wish somebody would capture the 'Butcher of Britain' and put her on trial too, because she should be found guilty of massacring not only the development areas but also the urban areas that Winston Griffiths is so concerned about.

(Interruptions)

Mr President, speaking very briefly, I will vote against the resolution because the money from the Regional Fund must carry out the task which we want it to carry out, and that is to challenge the problems in the areas of highest unemployment and greatest deprivation.

Mr Alavanos (COM). — *(GR)* Mr President, this matter is, of course, of interest to Greece, and particularly Athens, where the pollution of the environment, the chaotic traffic and the *impasse* in the building industry have reached alarming proportions as we all know.

Before the amendments were put to the vote, I too wanted to congratulate the rapporteur, Mr Griffiths, on the sensitivity he displays towards this problem. Following the voting on the amendments, however I can no longer do this, because the rapporteur seemed to be allergic to any amendment that would help the realization of the proposals contained in the report. Thus — and it is Mr Griffiths who is responsible for this — the report has become a mere piece of wishful thinking that will not, I think, do anything practical to solve these problems.

In addition, and particularly in connection with Amendment No 23, I wish to express my surprise at the attitude of the Socialist Group. Amendment No 23 comprised one of the demands in the Greek Government's memorandum. If the Socialist Group itself does not support this, then who will? Mr Romualdi or Mr Almirante?

Even though the resolution in question is no more than wishful thinking, the European Members of the Greek Communist Party will vote in favour of it, because we feel it is a step in the right direction.

Mrs Théobald-Paoli (S), in writing. — *(FR)* Mr President, I welcome the attention which has finally been focused at Community level on the problems facing urban centres.

The virtue of Mr Griffiths' report is that it explodes a myth, namely that conditions in the city are always better than in the countryside.

The decay of urban centres as a result of pollution, insecurity or noise increased sharply during the 1960s and 1970s.

This is particularly true of my own city, Toulon, which has to face the adverse economic effects of incessant Community traffic which is still on the increase.

It has reached the stage where I have had to propose a special Community programme for Toulon, which has simultaneously been particularly hard-hit by the serious crisis in its one and only industry, shipbuilding. The Griffiths report calls on the Commission finally to provide the funds needed for these projects. I fully support it and ask the Commission to do everything in its power to ensure a rapid implementation of the much-needed measures which Parliament has called for in the case of Toulon. Studies must begin as quickly as possible in Brussels with a view to drawing up an infrastructure programme to alleviate Community traffic and to set up the industries and services needed to meet the European Parliament's goal for 1983: employment. Moreover, at a more general level the Community should undertake a programme to evaluate the effects on urban life of technological change. This would fall within the scope of the report, and I have proposed an amendment to this effect.

Finally, the Griffiths report makes an urgent plea for strengthening the legal basis of the EEC's integrated programmes as a means of bringing about more just and more harmonious economic growth

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**ARFÉ MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (Doc. 1-1254/82: Minority languages):
ADOPTED**

**FAJARDIE MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (Doc. 1-1262/82: Social heritage):
ADOPTED**

Explanation of vote

Mr Forth (ED). — Mr President, what worries me about things like this is that one sees the very sharp division between aspiration and reality: it is a perfect example of the use of fine words which will almost inevitably lead us nowhere. I think that the more we allow things of this kind to pass through unchallenged, the less chance the reputation of this House has of growing. In fact, it may positively suffer.

I really do not think that we should be talking of using the resources of the Community, which are limited enough, to promote such matters as this. When one reads the kind of rhetoric contained in the resolution, one finds that a lot of it is of very dubious validity. Then we get the ritual requests for the Commission to use some of its very scarce resources to do things which really are not going to be of benefit to the people of the Community. Paragraph 2, for example, asks the Commission to examine the possibility of Community finance for initiatives, etc. Even asking the Commission to examine something requires resources, staff, time and effort. The use of finances for things like this must inevitably divert them from other things.

I really have to say, as I have said on many things before, Mr President, that it is incumbent on people who ask for financial resources to be expended on matters such as this to identify other matters which will suffer as a result. If we are to be responsible politicians, and if this House is to be responsible, it must learn that in a time of limited Community resources, if you spend on one thing then you reduce the spending on another. I ask all colleagues to bear this in mind when considering such a resolution.

It is for these reasons, Mr President, that I shall be voting against this resolution as a whole.

**GAIOTTI DE BIASE MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (Doc. 1-1256/82:
Language-teaching): ADOPTED**

Explanation of vote

Mr Forth (ED). — Mr President, I would draw colleagues' attention to two aspects of this report which worry me considerably. The first is that I am not sure that we have yet clearly established that education is a matter in which the Community should be involved. I believe that education is of such wide diversity in the different cultures and traditions of the Community and at such widely differing stages of development that to encourage the Community to get involved is a very dangerous step indeed.

I am equally worried by the kind of language used in this resolution. For example: compulsory instruction in at least one other Community language should be provided for a sufficiently long period in the schools of all Member States. I doubt if every Member State has the resources to do that; and if they do not, then it is futile to call for it. It is also futile, I believe, to expect the degree of uniformity of approach that is suggested here to be achievable in any sense in the short term.

So I cannot support this resolution, Mr President, because I think it implies principles which have not yet been widely established or accepted, and yet again makes unrealistic demands on all the Member States. I am not here simply to give my approval to documents which make increasingly unrealistic and unachievable demands, and for these reasons I shall not be supporting this resolution.

Mrs Kellett-Bowman (ED), in writing. — I believe it is crucial to European understanding that the young should be taught to speak each other's languages and that as far as possible older people should do the same.

I am greatly honoured that in my Cumbrian constituency I have an outstanding Institute of European Education at St Martin's College, Lancaster, under its dynamic director, David Peacock.

This Institute has pioneered new methods of language-teaching placing emphasis on fluency in the spoken word and has achieved remarkable results. From very small beginnings, teaching French in a few local schools has now spread to the Isle of Man, Trafford, Wigan, Nottinghamshire, St Helens and other places, covering 60 000 pupils, and extended its range to cover German, Spanish, Italian and Russian. Moreover, parents are encouraged to take these courses in the evening, and are doing so in increasing numbers.

Our thanks are due to the Commission for their enthusiastic support of the Institute and the funds they have made available, and I support the resolution in so far as it draws attention to the importance of this matter, but in *no* sense of reproach to the Commission.

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**BADUEL GLORIOSO REPORT (Doc. 1-1201/82: Imports of certain products):
ADOPTED**

Explanation of vote

Mr M. Martin (COM), in writing. — (FR) The question of duty-free imports of substitute products has been at the forefront of Community preoccupations for some time. The situation has become worse over the years. These imports have increased more than five-fold in fifteen years and in 1982 exceeded the figure of 16 million tonnes, of which more than one-third was manioc. If the present rate of increase continues, they will amount to considerably more than 20 million tonnes by 1985.

These imports have serious agricultural and budgetary implications. They compete unfairly with cereal and proteins produced in the Community. They are the main cause

for the development of 'milk factories', which are nothing more than workshops for the transformation of concentrated foodstuffs, and for the tendency to concentrate cattle-breeding in Northern Europe. Moreover, they are a heavy charge on the Community budget: 750 million ECU in the form of refunds required to export Community cereals with which they are in competition and 650 million ECU in lost revenue resulting from the absence of customs tariffs.

On behalf of French producers, we have on every possible occasion raised this problem with Community bodies by demanding the limitation of these imports and their taxation. Thanks to our repeated efforts, positive results have been obtained.

The Council decision to limit manioc imports from Thailand, Indonesia and Brazil until 1986 is a first step, but it does not provide a complete solution to the problem. Indeed, it would be useless simply to plug the manioc gap while allowing other substitute products to pour in: sweet potatoes, pulps, molasses and maize gluten. Moreover, there is still a danger that other countries, for example in Africa, will be tempted to develop manioc cultivation at the expense of foodstuffs. The problem of substitute foodstuffs imports must be dealt with as a whole and not as it has been dealt with by the Commission, which is trying to reduce cereal prices.

We believe that maize gluten is a priority problem. Between 1974 and 1982, imports have increased fivefold from 700 000 tonnes to more than 3 million tonnes. If the present situation persists, these imports will continue to increase with the development in the United States of starch production. American exporters are exporting maize gluten to the Community to take advantage of the fact that, because of the absence of customs duties, prices here are 70% higher than American prices.

There is, therefore, an urgent need to remedy this unacceptable situation and ensure proper observance of Community preference by taxing these products. Mrs Baduel Glorioso's report takes our analyses into account. For that reason we approve it.

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BEUMER REPORT (Doc. 1-1058/82: Information policy): ADOPTED

The rapporteur spoke

in favour of Amendments Nos, 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 11, 16 and 21; and

against Amendments Nos 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19 and 20.

Explanations of vote

Mr Ephremidis (COM). — (GR) Mr President, we shall vote against the Beumer report because, notwithstanding the claims by its originator, its aim is not to issue objective and neutral political information for the 1984 elections, but on the contrary, to orchestrate a propaganda exercise designed to create confusion and delude the Community electorate. This emerges from a careful study of the text, which defines the import of all this banner-waving. There are very serious omissions and certain matters passed over in silence, while everything is praised that can be used as all-too-familiar propaganda tricks for misleading the public. The proof is that nowhere problems of unemployment or the decline in the purchasing-power of working people are mentioned. Nowhere is there a mention of the flaws in the Common Market as a whole, of its identification with Reagan's cold-war policy, or of its development towards a military alliance that brings the danger, with the Cruise and Pershing missiles, of turning Europe into a theatre of nuclear warfare and holocaust. Again, there is no mention of what is to happen about the progressive abolition of the veto, and of how the weaker countries in the Community are to be protected against the wishes and interests of the larger ones.

I also want to say that we shall vote against the Beumer report because it involves Community institutions not only in political problems — even though their competences are strictly laid down by the Treaties — but also in problems of an electoral nature.

Mr President, the matter of the elections must be left exclusively in the hands of the responsible political parties of each country, and if there is anyone who should be supported by equal and free access to the mass media, it is the political parties, the political groups. Consequently, the involvement of Community institutions and other peripheral organizations mentioned in the report tends, here too, to reinforce the misleading enterprise that is being organized.

Mr Forth (ED). — Mr President, I shall oppose this report, not so much because I oppose the whole idea of this information campaign — I do, in fact, oppose it — but because of the amendments that we have supported today, particularly the two amendments which make what I regard as patronizing and dreadful remarks about women. The amendments we have adopted today actually say that women are still less well-informed and involved in political life, and another amendment said that the information campaign should be specifically directed at the less-well-informed groups, such as women and young people.

I am a great respecter of women, Mr President, and I believe that women are fully capable of informing themselves if they so wish. I believe that young people have every opportunity to inform themselves if they so wish. I do not believe that it is the job of this Community or this misdirected information campaign to take a patronizing attitude towards women and young people and to spend money on them particularly. If we are going to inform the population, let us inform the population as a whole. Let us not single out in this absurd manner particular and very important elements in our population and insult them by suggesting that they need some sort of special treatment. This is the kind of nonsense that we should resist, and it is mainly for this reason that I am going to vote against this report as amended today. -

Mr Kallias (PPE). — (GR) Mr President, I shall vote in favour of the motion contained in the Beumer report, because it aims to foster the broad information of the European peoples, as is necessary if they are to participate on a large scale in the forthcoming elections to the European Parliament.

The extent of this participation will provide an important indicator of the attitude of the people to the European Parliament's mission as the basic organ of the European Economic Community.

Mr Petersen (S), in writing. — (DA) The basic reason why I cannot vote for this report is that the committee is seeking to organize a non-party information campaign for the 1984 EP election. This is against all democratic principles, simply because Parliament's constitutional position, ambitions and powers cannot be described in objective neutral terms but only in political, i.e., evaluative terms. The film which the Bureau has already produced is the best example of what I mean. The Danish Social Democrats in fact protested to the President of Parliament about this film. For the same reason we shall also vote against the Beumer report. Moreover, there is very little interest in Parliament's work in the mass media, perhaps because Parliament does not seem to have any important or even useful role.

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DELEAU REPORT (Doc. 1-979/82: Pharmaceutical products): DEFERRED TO A LATER PART-SESSION

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BUTIAFUOCO REPORT (Doc. 1-792/82: Transit of goods): ADOPTED

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VERNIMMEN REPORT (Doc. 1-996/82: Horticulture): ADOPTED

The rapporteur spoke
in favour of Amendment No 4; and
against Amendments Nos 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11.

Explanation of vote

Mrs Théobald-Paoli (S), in writing. — (FR) Mr President, as a European and a native of the Mediterranean region, I am sure you will understand why I wish to defend horticulture as an essential sector in my region and my department, the Var.

Like all agricultural production, horticulture requires hard work and dedication. But it also needs attention to detail and delicate care.

The flowers we grow in the Midi bring an element of luxury and style into the lives of those Community citizens — henceforward the majority — who live in the towns.

Horticulturists must therefore be given equitable production conditions: for this reason I have always fought against the unfair competition resulting from the subsidies which the Netherlands Government grants for heating greenhouses. We have just won our case.

The time has come to go further. Horticultural production in the Community is clearly a vulnerable and onerous activity.

We cannot permit low-price foreign production, which often amounts to dumping, to inundate periodically our markets, thereby threatening to disrupt prices. Here the 'Signal' price-support system, which should function in the case of excessive imports, has proven to be defective.

What we need, therefore — and this is the subject of the amendment which I have tabled — is a reference-price system comparable to that in operation for certain kinds of fruit and vegetables and ensuring a stable income for horticulturists. This is the only way of initially maintaining business in this important sector and, in the future, of guaranteeing the development and the promotion of European horticulture.

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SIEGLERSCHMIDT REPORT (Doc. 1-945/82: Petition No 52/80): ADOPTED*Explanation of vote*

Mr Patterson (ED). — Mr President, I wish to give an explanation of vote because I have just changed my mind, having heard the Commission's statement. I had previously intended to abstain. I now intend to vote for Mr Sieglerschmidt's report.

It occurs to me that the Commission has overlooked one very important fact about this whole case, and it is similar one to the previous Adams case. That is the matter of the exemplary nature of the money which Mr Sieglerschmidt's report intends should be paid.

Everyone is agreed there is no legal obligation, but Mr Sieglerschmidt concluded his remarks by mentioning one very important matter. If the Commission wishes to enlist the support of the ordinary citizen in making sure that the law and the Community law is not broken, often in conflict with authorities in Member States or other authorities, it must show itself generous in seeing that the law is upheld. Although everybody is agreed there is no legal obligation on the Commission, the Commission would be wise, in the interests of the greater upholding of justice, to concede to what Mr Sieglerschmidt has said.

The Worms case, in fact, and the character of Mr Worms, is quite irrelevant. This is a matter of principle, and I think the Commission should reconsider its decision.

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CINCIARI RODANO REPORT (Doc. 1-861/82: Filiation): ADOPTED

Explanation of vote

Mr Poniridis (S). — (GR) Mr President, Mrs Cinciari Rodano's report and resolution concerning the discrimination that takes place in our societies between married and unmarried mothers, and children born in or out of wedlock, is an effort that our communities should have made long ago by modifying their legislation and repealing these anachronistic decrees. Such discrimination is not only an insult to human dignity and the destiny of man and a denial of basic human and natural rights; it has also given rise to many social tragedies that have invariably stemmed from our narrow-mindedness. There is no doubt that it tends to reinforce the inequality between men and women, and the notion of male superiority.

Societies which stand for the equality of the sexes, which consider themselves as just and fair societies, should regard such discrimination as unacceptable and should not consider that for an unmarried woman to become a mother is almost a crime, to be punished by banishing both her and her child to the fringes of society. It is unacceptable in this day and age for our laws to preserve the term 'bastard', with all the social and economic consequences that follow.

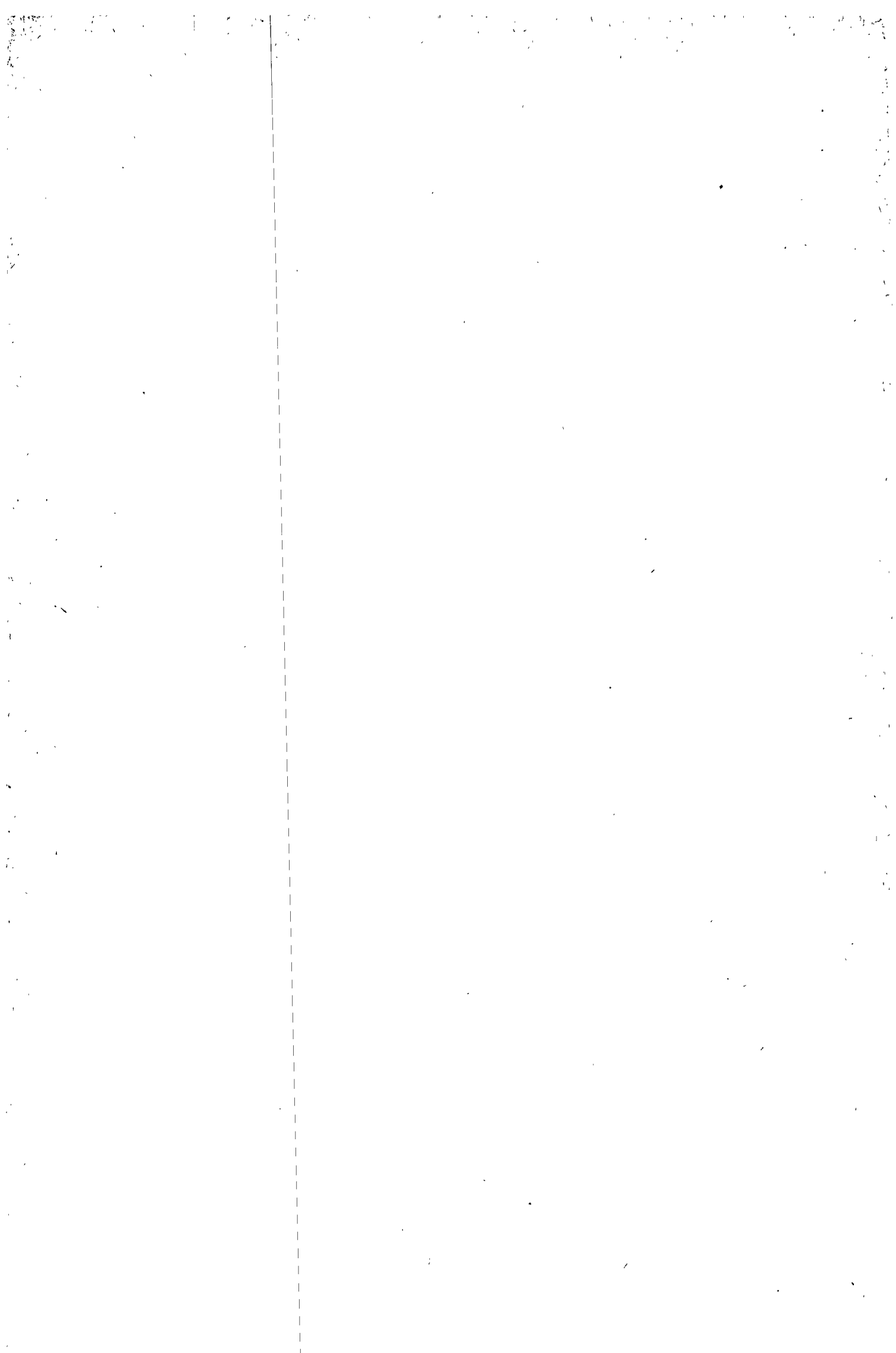
Already my own country, aware of the seriousness of these matters, is adapting . . .

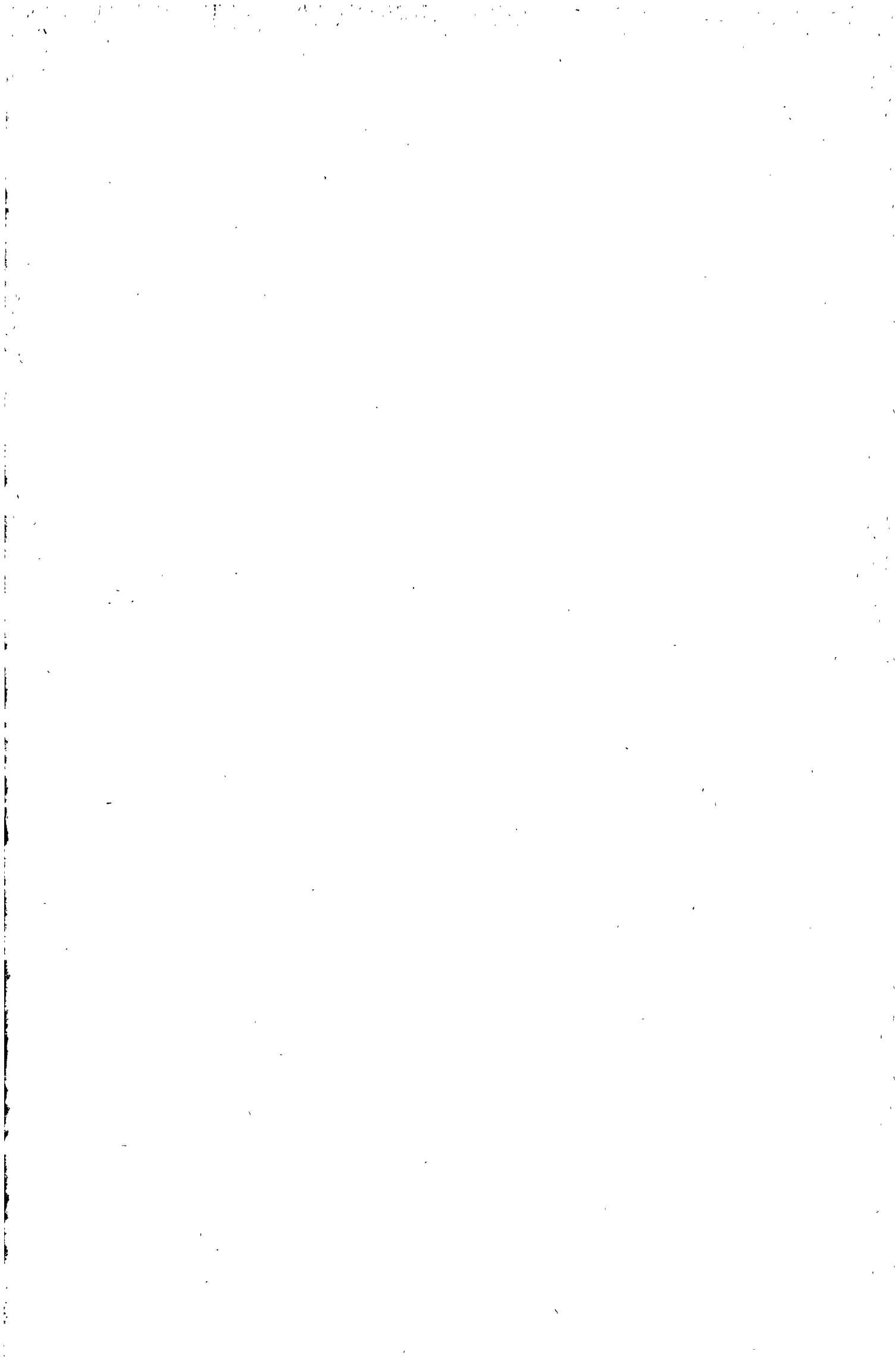
(The speaker was interrupted by the President)

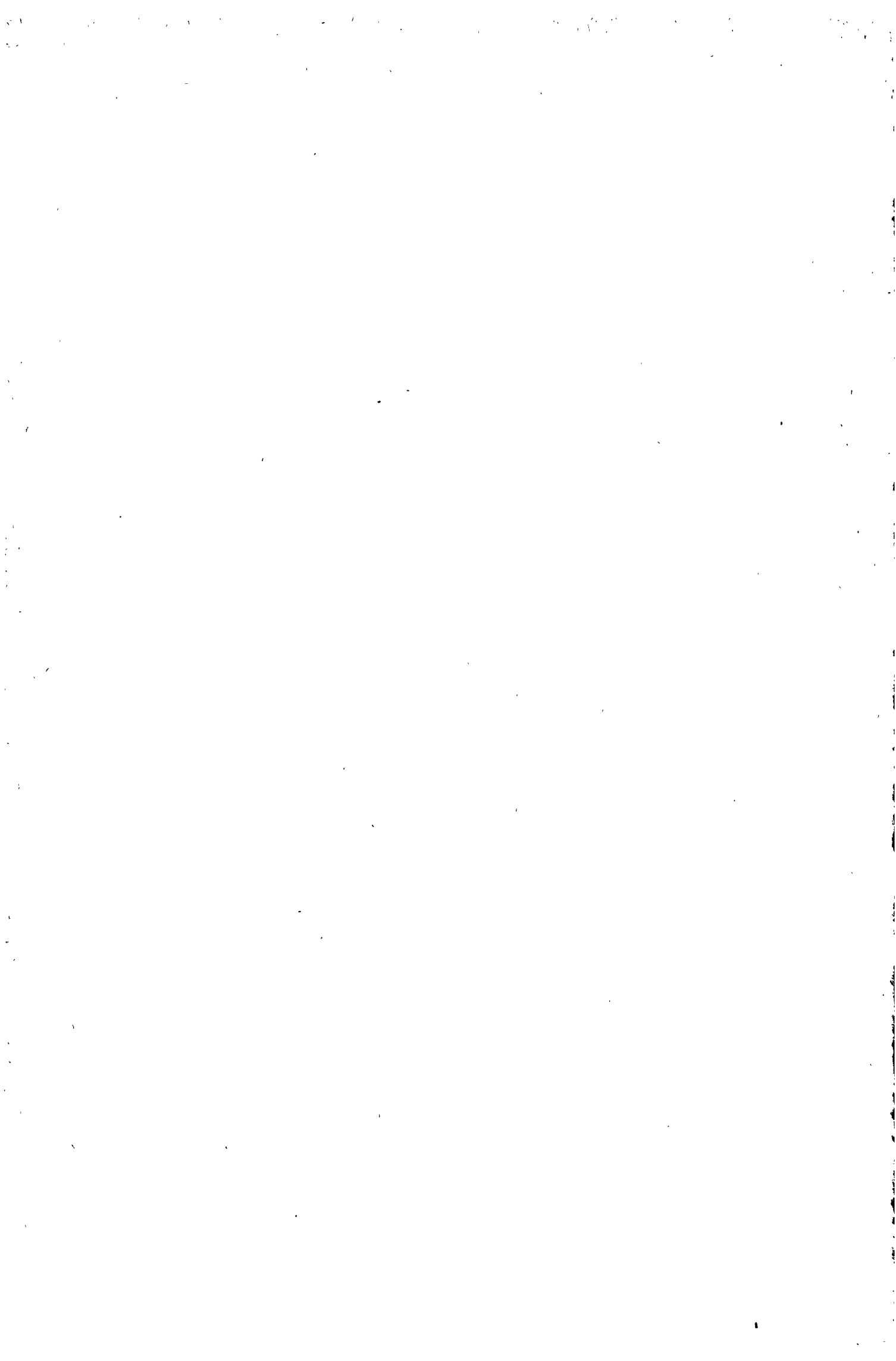
In any event, Mr President, I want to say that my country has recently modified its laws, and that we fully support Mrs Cinciari Rodano's report.

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CASTELLINA REPORT (Doc. 1-962/82: Breast-milk substitutes): DEFERRED TO A LATER PART-SESSION







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