

## **EURO ELECTION MANIFESTO 1989**

Adopted at the Luxembourg Congress 8-9<sup>th</sup> December 1988

### **A Europe of Free and Caring Citizens**

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- I. Streamlining the Community for European Union
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- 

### **A Europe of Free Citizens**

Every five years European citizens are called to cast their vote for their own Parliament. For the third direct elections in 1989 we, the European Liberal, Democratic and Reform Parties, again present our programme for the next five years. You can therefore judge for yourselves the consequences of your vote.

Forty years have passed since Europe started to integrate. Today, «Europe» has become an everyday concept in the thinking of its citizens. Yet, it seems that public expectation is sometimes more ahead in its acceptance of the consequences of European integration than bureaucracies are willing to accept. The process of unification in Europe has meant that nations previously at war with each other for centuries now live in peace and increasing prosperity, this process has to be intensified.

True and far reaching European integration must become a reality in this millenium. It is essential that integration, as public opinion demands, is both political and economic. Prosperity in an integrated market entails full

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recognition of civil rights, social cohesion and protection of the environment. Economic integration must be accompanied by political unity, with fully democratic decision-making, and by measures to protect the environment, enhance social cohesion and benefit all European citizens.

Today's economic situation is characterized by unacceptable levels of unemployment, in spite of renewed growth. Whatever merits the social welfare state has, its continued demands put a heavy responsibility on public expenditure in a number of EEC countries, preventing flexibility in the European economy. The social market economy can only be safeguarded through fundamental reform; this must lessen old-fashioned state intervention and curb bureaucracy. We want to see less regulation in economic and social life, maximum decentralisation and the power of public authorities used so that people can help themselves. We accept, however, that a role of the state in economic and social life is to ensure that those citizens less able to help themselves are supported so they too can play their full part in society.

The nation state has become too interventionist in our daily lives, we want it to become a force for moderation once again. The realisation by 1992 of the Single Free European Market affords a unique opportunity for further European integration. European legislation and administration should replace its national counterpart and be less curtailing of the individual initiative.

Our first objective is a federal and de centralised Europe for the citizens, aimed at enlarging their freedom and promoting a growing togetherness by effective freedom of circulation and establishment. This Europe of citizens needs symbols, such as a common flag, passport, driving licence, postage stamps and money. More important however are the abolition of internal border controls and the possibility for any Community citizens to live, work and study wherever they want in the Community.

For us a united Europe is the expression of our long and unending struggle for freedom, democracy and social justice under the rule of Law.

## **I. Streamlining the Community for European Union**

The European Community was set up to avoid conflicts between nations who enjoy a common heritage. It is a first step towards a true European Union and we must continue to strive for more integration, whilst developing its institutions according to democratic principles. The ELDR calls upon the European Parliament to produce a draft constitution for the European Union.

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The European Parliament elected in 1989 should take Europe's Agenda firmly beyond the implementation of the Single Act and the completion of the internal market. Its aims should be to enhance the representative capability of the Community institutions, to broaden their functions where appropriate and to build popular confidence in the Community. In particular, the Parliament should assert its own right to share fully in all the political, legislative and budgetary powers of the Community. First and foremost, the Parliament must carry out its obligations under the Treaties of Rome and Paris and agree a proposal for a uniform system of elections based on proportional representation. It will elect the members of the Commission.

The Community Institutional framework must become more like that of a Federal State, with maximum autonomy and cultural identity of Member States, with an Executive nominated by Parliament, the Council as a European Senate and the Court of Justice guiding the direct administration of Community law by national Courts.

Democratic control over Community legislation must be further improved and procedures in the Single European Act should be extended to all areas of legislation. The time the Council takes for discussion and adoption of Community legislation should be limited in the first, as in the second reading. If the Council of Ministers cannot decide within this period the proposal, as amended by the Parliament, should be enacted.

Further budgetary reform is necessary to make the EC budget more effective and to strengthen parliamentary control. Revenue should in future be determined by the Council of Ministers and the European Parliament acting in common accord. This stresses the responsibility of the members of the European Parliament towards the electorate concerning direct European taxation. Parliament's amending powers must be extended to all budgetary items including agriculture. The European Development Fund should no longer be kept outside the budget. Increased Community expenditure must not lead to heavier taxation of the individual taxpayer in the Member States. The organisation of the European Community has to be efficient at the lowest possible costs.

Strenuous efforts should be made to ensure value for money and avoid misuse of Community funds. Recommendations made by the European Court of Auditors, which controls the use of Community expenditure, should be binding unless rejected by an absolute majority in the European Parliament.

The European Community must evolve into a European Union, this is a conglomerate of states which deals with a number of common issues in a federal way.

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We are aware that the image of the European Institutions needs to be developed, both within and outside the Community. We feel that a decision according to Article 216 of the Treaty should be taken as soon as possible.

## II. Liberalising in a Single Market

Abolishing the frontiers between peoples and economies is a liberal idea. Our essential objective is an area without internal frontiers by 1992, based on monetary stability. The mobility of the factors of economic life will ensure the optimum allocation of resources in the interest of all Community citizens. The creation of an internal market, inhabited by 320 million people, is the greatest non-fiscal supply side programme Europe has ever witnessed.

We demand the complete abolition, by 1992, of all controls at the borders between Member States. As long as there remains any reason whatever for requiring people and goods to stop and to be checked, our objective will not have been met. Once physical barriers have been dismantled, there must not be other barriers to divide the common market. A precondition is that uniform requirements should be established for all controls at the outer borders of the Community, both with regard to the quality of those controls as well as the way they are carried out.

Controls must be removed by administrative co-operation, mutual recognition, the approximation of laws and common policies. In particular, we want:

The creation of European citizenship carrying the right to vote at the main place of residence. However, the application of the principle should be subject to special transitional measures to take account of the particular situation in those Member States where the proportion of citizens from other Member States is greater than 20 % of the total population.

Reinforcement of controls at the external borders of the Community and the introduction of a common visa and immigration policy.

Closer and institutionalized co-operation between police and between judicial authorities to combat crime, terrorism and drug trafficking by information exchange, legal co-operation, extradition and the enforcement of criminal sentences.

The establishment of the essential requirements for the maximum safety products by Community legislation, whereas

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the drafting of detailed technical specifications should be entrusted to independent and professional standardisation bodies.

Effective health and safety controls, at least according to standards established by the Community, over goods at the places of production, distribution and of sale.

The liberalisation of public procurement.

The development of a common legal framework for enterprises.

Free movement of services.

The development of the European Patent Office so that it may issue patents valid throughout the Community; a solution to the remaining problems before the European Trademark Office is operating and the establishment of a Copyright Clearing Centre, on the lines of the US model, to collect fees from reproduction of copyright material.

The degree of approximation of indirect taxation (VAT and excises) that is necessary to secure a single market.

A liberalised transport policy, that recognises user interests.

Harmonisation of the dates on which summertime and wintertime are changed.

The abolition of all existing exchange controls, the extension and strengthening of the EMS, with all Member States participating fully in its operation and closer coordination between national budgetary and interest rate policy.

An increased role for the ECU, especially in private use, including the introduction of ECU coins, as well as the foundation of an independent European Central Bank devoted to non-inflationary growth to promote stability.

Member States should take initiatives to stem the flow of money and weapons to terrorists in all Member States.

Completing the internal market does not mean that there should be the same rules and products everywhere. Instead of uniformity, we advocate mutual recognition of national rules and controls. The Treaties already enjoin administrations to work together. Instead of imposing a further layer of rules, the Community should help reduce the regulatory burden on enterprises.

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But the competition in a free market economy needs safeguarding against monopolies, cartels and excessive influence of public enterprises. Economic policies, including fiscal policy, must ensure fair competition in a fair society. We support the development of a more vigorous competition policy, especially merger controls at Community level. National competition policies are increasingly irrelevant in an integrated market and the Community must develop a stronger role in ending them.

We believe that the abolition of national regulations necessary to complete the internal market must not result in lower standards. Common acceptable practices, standards of health and safety, workers' rights, consumer and environmental protections need to be set and maintained.

### III. Sharing Prosperity

Completing the single market must be accompanied by policies to strengthen Community cohesion and solidarity, reduce existing regional and social inequalities, prevent new inequalities and ensure that everyone shares the prosperity the single market will create. The more developed regions will benefit too because of the increased demand for their products.

If the Community is to be a success, the social dimension must be incorporated and there must be more investment in human resources. In this context, we call for genuine collective negotiations to take place in a Community framework between employers and unions on matters which concern all sectors of European economic life: vocational training, changes in the job market and mobility of labour within Europe (especially of managers, researchers and technicians).

We have called for Community structural funds to be doubled and the European Council has also resolved to follow this course. This must be fully implemented by 1993, but we want these increased funds spent more effectively. As far as the Community is concerned, this means that genuine partnership must be established between the Commission, the governments of the Member States and the local and regional authorities so that the financial aid granted under the structural funds can be administered jointly and by common agreement.

The Community must also exercise more control over the way national governments allocate and use regional funds, they must be additional to and not an alternative for national expenditure. Many regions are being disadvantaged through Community regional funds being used to replace national funds; particularly Northern Ireland suffers in this way. The

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Community must have power to designate in which geographical areas regional funds may be used.

Whilst the realisation of the Single European Act means new market opportunities for both rich and poor areas, it also means considerable and necessary changes to industrial and social structures; this is particularly true of areas where industries are in decline. Thus, both the Community and national governments must develop policies to help people adapt to these changes. We need instruments which will make it possible, within the single market, to identify the supply of new jobs and changes in professions and qualifications, as well as to ensure a high standard of education and training for young people and training and skills which take account of technological changes for unemployed workers or those working in economic sectors in difficulty.

Economic structures face new challenges, too: a true single market implies an end to exchange controls. A stronger and Community-wide EMS would lessen the danger that movements of capital would lead to exchange rate instability.

The present large international structural imbalances threaten to bring about protectionism in the world economy. To play its part in lessening this threat the Community must take account of the social dimension of the internal market. Sustained non-inflationary growth through optimal use and allocation of resources as well as a co-ordinated international economic policy for the Community are important steps towards Monetary Union.

We believe in the development of a Community strategy for industry which promotes investment, ensures adequate skilled labour and stimulates dynamic innovation in private enterprise; this should promote competition and the development of small and medium-sized businesses, which are the greatest job creators; they also lessen the chance of price agreements and market domination being operated by large concerns and they often make the best use of new technologies.

In order to bring about real social cohesion, to ensure that prosperity is fairly shared between rich and poor regions and to prevent the emergence of two Europes, we call for:

Implementation of the Council decision to double structural funds for 1993.

Better control and management of regional funds through guidance and co-ordination of the actions of Community, national and regional authorities.

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Higher priority in the spending of regional funds in the less favoured regions.

Expansion of the European Social Fund to increase the number of programmes for groups such as young people seeking new jobs, the long-term unemployed and women, among whom the unemployment-rate is still very high.

The promotion of the involvement of employees in the decision-making processes of companies. Employees should be represented on the board and financial participation in the ownership of companies by employees should be favoured through taxation. The democratisation of work places should be fundamentally promoted throughout the EC.

A Community programme to promote small and medium-sized businesses and company structures that encourage employee participation in capital provision and running of enterprises.

The development of Community guidelines to identify strategies for long-term sustainable economic growth.

A positive, co-ordinated and non-protectionist Community policy for world trade, This implies that the Community should reduce its protectionist measures against products from other countries, particularly those from the third world,

The region is the ideal entity for managing the different Community policies and relations between citizens and administrative authorities, It is necessary to ensure that the regions participate in the process of European construction.

#### **IV. Extending Social Justice**

The completion of the internal market and the accompanying economic policy measures will create millions of new jobs. This is therefore the basis of our policy to combat unemployment.

Apart from the use of the structural funds, measures to help the most disadvantaged groups socially and professionally should be planned at Community level, in particular, by means of a permanent campaign against poverty, which should give priority to links with the work done in this area at local level. It is important that economic growth takes place primarily in the regions that are the most disadvantaged.

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The development of a common framework for social security systems has to be pursued in conjunction with the reduction of the economic differences within the Community.

The Community and the Member States should support and encourage legislation to protect employees and their representatives from arbitrary decisions, especially in the context of mass redundancies, by improving Community legislation.

The Community and the Member States should encourage the involvement of employees in the decision-making processes of companies, Employees should be represented on the corporate board and employee-owned companies should be favoured through taxation. The democratisation of work-places should be fundamental, promoted throughout the EC.

Real equality between men and women is far from being achieved. As a result of a lack of proper education many women have no prospects in the present-day labour market. The possibility for training and education and the adaptation of the work environment are means for a better entry to the labour market. Liberals are proponents of the alleviation of the double workload of women (having a job and running a household), We would:

Demand the abolition of any discriminatory provisions which still exist in labour and social legislation, except for those necessary for the protection of pregnant women and nursing mothers.

Promote an active policy of comprehensive education for girls to enable them to compete in the labour market and provide for the retraining of unemployed women and skills training for women whose economic contribution is vital as demographic changes reduce the number of new entrants to the workforce.

Propose European legislation on the inversion of the burden of proof with regard to any discrimination in recruitment policies.

Ensure the provision of subsidized or tax deductible high quality child-care to enable parents to combine a fulfilling home and work life.

Encourage more flexible patterns of work and better protection of flexible work, but part-time work should not lead to further inequalities in the division of paid and unpaid labour. Great care should be taken to protect the social security rights,

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day nursery facilities included, and the possibilities of advancement of part-time workers.

Support independent taxation of men and women.

We recognise the needs of Europe's older citizens, we support proposals for a flexible retirement age within everybody's own responsibility for the financial consequences and are committed to enhance older people's opportunities for self-realisation. We are therefore of the opinion that the present system of letting elderly people benefit from certain concessions should be validated for the whole of the European Community. We support the proposal to make 1990 the Year of Elderly People.

We recognise the important contribution migrants have made to our economic development. We call for the complete application of the principle of free movement of workers within the Community. The status of European Community migrants must be made equal to that of national citizens with regard to voting rights, at local authorities level, social security, trade union rights and wage levels. However, in the case of certain countries, the right to vote in local elections should be subject to the transitional measures referred to in Chapter II.

Immigrants from outside the Community should be granted all fundamental rights and freedoms. We condemn racism.

We are opposed to all discrimination whether on the basis of gender, race, colour, religion, sexual orientation, ethnic origin or physical or mental disability and we believe the Community should guarantee the right of any person lawfully resident within the Community to enjoy job opportunities based only on ability.

## **V. Facing the Challenge of New Technology**

We welcome the development and implementation of new technologies, these offer more choices to the individual, reduce arduous and monotonous work and increase incomes.

It is important to involve workers in the changes taking place in the business world as a result of technological changes; we call for European legislation to guarantee the right of workers to information and consultation, while leaving those concerned free to make appropriate arrangements at sectoral level through decentralized agreements.

The fast-moving new technologies of information management and distribution, of biotechnology, of computer-aided design and production by robots present old and new problems. The former concern the retraining

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and redeployment of workers made redundant by new methods, the latter of ensuring that young people are adequately educated and trained. The world of new technology they enter will change so rapidly that working ways in both business and industry will alter radically several times during their life. Proper attention needs to be paid to the ethical aspects of these developments.

Europe is and must remain at the forefront of fundamental research, an activity where progress depends absolutely on free exchange of ideas and results between researchers and whose necessary support is mainly by governments, this we want to see continued and strengthened by the Community as well as national governments.

The problems in relation to the friction between, on the one hand, ongoing technological development, i.e. the storage of personal information of the individual, and on the other hand, the protection of privacy, need to be solved by a system of European regulations. These should contain, amongst other things, the explanation under which conditions a person may have access to stored information, which connections to other stored information are allowed, and how to update the information. In this field it is of the utmost importance that the citizen has the right of examination and correction of his personal file.

We believe that most technical developments originate in the discoveries of fundamental research and we want to see them better adapted by our own industries; too often these discoveries are used by others, consequently we not only miss the benefit, we have to buy the products from countries to whom we should be selling.

Efforts to improve the application of new discoveries must not be allowed to lessen support for fundamental research and investment. Investment in research is probably one of the most cost-effective activities that governments can undertake, after all, it is the discoveries of fundamental research that shape our material future and prosperity. Member states should therefore devote a growing proportion of their GNP to the support of fundamental research.

The European Parliament has already started a programme to increase awareness amongst scientists, industrialists and political circles. We urge further action through the Single European Act and by use of provisions in the Treaty to develop a common technological policy and continued development of the Community strategy for support of well managed research with clear objectives through «earmarked» funds. We affirm our support for the full funding and implementation of the 1987-91 Framework Programme for sectoral research and technology development, as well as for the strengthening of all horizontal measures of the EC to stimulate

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technology transfer and industrial innovation. The European Parliament must assert its powers of budgetary control and develop new functions of technology assessment.

Although the Community countries spend more on research and technology than Japan, there is duplication and lack of coordination at both national and Community level. During the next five years expenditure on research and technology should increase from the present 2% to 5% of the Community budget. We want to initiate and co-ordinate action and research in areas such as:

Space technology, to improve and to expand communications.

The social and economic consequences of new technology for traditional industries.

Mobility of research workers.

Development of high-tech small and medium-sized enterprises and research institutes, and the promotion of intra-community research and training links involving both the academic and industrial sectors.

A better and more objective analysis of the environmental consequences of new technologies.

The establishing of a European agency to set European standards for food and drugs.

A European agency to safeguard our patents, trademarks, copyright and intellectual property and ensure other countries pay the proper price for their use. Marketing of counterfeited items of trademark products must be prevented.

Measures to combat the brain-drain to countries outside the European Community by increasing the financial resources allocated to scientific research.

We believe such a programme will encourage our scientific and industrial community to develop ideas into technological products aimed at the whole of Europe as one market, not at its constituent parts. We believe part of our competitors success in penetrating our markets with new technology is that they already look at Europe like this.

It is our opinion that, apart from a Community programme for research and development, liberalisation of private communication infrastructure within the Community is of great importance. The proposals of the European Commission on this subject deserve support. Equally,

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economic life in the Member States will be positively influenced by competition and non-discrimination concerning on-line equipment and new services, on the national as well as on the Community level.

We also believe that more effective co-ordination of European Defense Research, Development and Procurement programmes - which we support - would release both funds and skilled manpower to realise these aims. Such a policy, however, will only be effective if there exists the political will for a furthering of defence co-operation in the countries concerned.

## VI. Improving Our Environment

We aim to maintain and improve the fundamental natural conditions necessary for human health, happiness and development. But, since isolated national environmental actions cannot successfully protect this basis for human life, we have always demanded European-wide measures to deal with the matter effectively. This has been finally recognised in the Single Act and since July 1987 care for the environment has officially become a European Community policy. We believe concern for the stewardship of natural resources should inspire policy in all areas.

The environment is a scarce resource. We need to treat it as such, not as a «free» factor in production. In calculating the costs and benefits of economic activities, environmental cost should be one element taken into account. Public policy should ensure there is more incentive to use the environment and its resources as rationally as possible.

Our environmental policy is based on three principles:

Prevention of damage by fostering greater awareness using public power to establish high standards of environmental protection, as required by the Single European Act.

Liability, where those responsible for any adverse impact on or damage to the environment should be liable for its elimination and future avoidance. The «polluter pays» principle should be applied regardless of national borders.

Co-operation, all citizens, industries and states in the Community should cooperate to solve environmental problems.

For us, environmental and economic policy cannot be in conflict, because in the long term they are identical. For the economy of industrialized countries environmental protection can stimulate innovation and demand

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and so increase economic activity. New technologies offer the chance of more rational use of scarce resources. Furthermore, a sensitive environmental policy needs a successful economy to support it. Ecologically sustainable growth is what we seek.

The protection of the environment is a world-wide task and therefore co-operation on an international basis is needed. The EC must encourage all other countries to take an active part in the negotiations in the relevant (e.g. UN) bodies for the improvement of the environment.

Our European-wide environmental policy calls for:

The harmonization of national legislation so that environmental protection is as efficient as possible and avoids unfair competition. This action should not prevent national governments from establishing their own more rigorous laws and regulations.

A common infrastructure policy with the aim to reduce the environmental impact caused by the transport of persons and goods.

The reduction of pollution of all kinds (air, water, soil) to a level which avoids harm to human health and ensures self-regeneration of our environment.

More co-operation and joint efforts to protect the marine environment in particular the North Sea, the Irish Sea, the English Channel, the Baltic and the Mediterranean. Where the discharge of untreated effluents should be prohibited.

Initiatives by the Community and Member States to solve the urgent problems of hazardous waste and the transport of wastes across national borders. We should stop the exploitation of Third World countries as a dumping ground for Europe's toxic and nuclear wastes.

The extension for the European list of projects and substances which have to be tested for environmental impact. The requirement of companies to produce an environmental impact statement on new building development that they undertake. This statement should not only take into account the effects on the immediate environment but also, on a longer term, transnational effects.

The development of joint measures to prevent the extinction of threatened species and the creation of a European-wide network of nature reserves.

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More co-operation in the field of climatological research and on international measures to combat the effects of the reduction of the ozone layer with an immediate Community-wide ban on the production of products containing CFCs.

The development and implementation of information and education programmes to show young people and adults how to respect the environment.

The encouragement of the transfer of expert knowledge, the sharing of alternatives and eventually the offering of necessary financial support from industrialized countries to developing countries.

The establishment of a Community information system and an «environmental early warning unit» to which the effects of chronic pollution and any environmental accident would be automatically reported.

International co-operation to combat the deterioration of the environment and more co-operation with countries outside the Community in order to discuss, and to solve in an appropriate way, the problems of crossborder environmental matters.

Top priority to be given to energy conservation and the development of renewable sources of energy so that dependence on nuclear power can, if possible, be phased out, while in parallel environmentally damaging emission from fossil-fueled power stations are drastically cut back. We urge the Community to play a leading role in ensuring quick international agreement on acceptable standards of fossil-fuel emissions.

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## VII. Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises

Small and medium-sized undertakings play a key role in the economic life of EC Member States both because of their productivity and their impact on employment. SMEs are free from the bureaucratic procedures of state-owned industries and the general tendency of large private companies towards bureaucracy. All measures initiated by the European Community must take full account of the interests of small and medium-sized enterprises.

The management of small and medium-sized businesses requires a variety of skills. Ways must be found to provide for professional training for those who run a small and medium-sized enterprise. This kind of

training must be easily available, along the lines of the arrangements already in existence for employees.

The common commercial policy with third countries should serve the interests of the small and medium-sized enterprises by giving them easier access to markets and by adequate coverage for the risks of export operations.

### **VIII. Adapting Farming and Fisheries**

Our long-term objective, in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Rome, is to make farming more competitive and more responsive to the market. Prices that farmers receive must be realistically related to the cost of more effective production and the consumers must pay these realistic prices for their food.

We recognize that market prices alone cannot protect the environment, rural economy, nor rural society. We will promote an active policy to reward farmers to undertake alternative economic enterprises and to protect the environment.

Through price support and market protection the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) has achieved the goals of assured supply; more technically advanced farmers; steady prices and better returns. But the success of these policies has brought large surpluses which distort and depress prices on the World market, so that most of the agricultural budget goes to storing and disposing surplus production and less and less to the farming community proper.

The CAP needs profound reform, people rightly cannot understand why we have famine in Africa and elsewhere when butter and grain are sold to the Soviet Union at less than the cost of production; nor why changes, said to lead to greater efficiency, mean higher taxes and a less pleasant environment. Farmers, who have modernised to become more productive, find themselves with rising debt, falling quotas and lower prices.

The conditions of stagnant demand, continued potential for more production and protection of prices throughout the developed world call for new policies. These must respect the need of agriculture to have a long period for adaptation.

Europe is not only the World's largest importer of food but also the second largest exporter. In our view, it is essential that agricultural commodities be brought into the structure of GATT to achieve a balanced and multilateral reduction of agricultural subsidies. We seek true world prices in food trade and an end to the situation where world prices of

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many commodities are determined by the dumping of only a very small percentage of total production. In this way we can recognize the interdependence of the developed and the developing world and help the latter to evolve appropriate agricultural systems.

Although production quotas, stabilisers and «set-aside» schemes are important signs of Europe's determination to tackle the problems of surpluses, they are only temporary expedients. Agricultural policy needs to be more than damage limitation. The agricultural funds should be used:

more positively to achieve shared environmental goals, whilst supporting the income of the farming community in a way that genuinely benefits the whole rural economy.

more efficiently so that much more of them reach deserving farmers.

more selectively so that more is paid to the smaller farmer.

The policy for restructuring farming must respect social needs of rural communities and in countries heavily dependant on agriculture help to achieve economic viability. To this end the guidance section of the CAP must be co-ordinated with the ESF and the ERDF. It should promote schemes for early retirement of farmers, provided these lead to less production of commodities in surplus and ensure that the rural environment is properly cared for and not depopulated.

Recognising the significant degree of dependence in the designated disadvantaged regions, such as the Republic of Ireland, on its agricultural economy, we believe that agriculture and its related industries must be accorded special status and treatment in these regions.

It is important to prevent rural society from becoming depressed, in particular in the mountain or less favoured regions, but also wherever the CAP reforms threaten the area's vitality. We would take the following actions to facilitate restructuring:

Encourage new programmes to expand training, research and development, with a view to introducing new, less demanding methods of production by developing the biotechnology and promoting non-food outlets for farm products.

Develop environmentally sensitive programmes for a continuing agriculture consistent with multi-purpose land use, such as tourism, and more non-agricultural activities in the countryside that will enrich and develop rural communities.

Where appropriate encourage forestry

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Promote solidarity between richer and poorer regions of the Community, by doubling the structural expenditure of agricultural funds by 1993.

Ensure that social measures cushion the impact of restructuring on farmers' income and that young people from farming families have a choice of continuing their way of life.

A policy for sustainable exploitation of fish resources in Community waters remains as imperative as ever. Community fishing agreements should be extended to all common waters in the Community and ensure that the natural limits of stocks are strictly adhered to, so as to ensure a viable fishing industry.

### **IX. Playing Our Part in World Affairs**

The Community must develop a coherent and consistent approach in international affairs. This is a natural consequence of the fact that our developing internal solidarity and cohesion means that we are perceived by the rest of the world as a single entity. Our policy should reflect our image.

The dynamic development of European Political Cooperation has been given new impetus by the Single European Act and presented the Community with the chance to work more efficiently for peace and democracy throughout the world. We want this opportunity to be fully and effectively used.

Due consideration should be given to the welcome interest so many countries show in joining the Community, but for the time being priority must be given to achieve the objective of the Single European Act.

The Community has to be prepared for developments now becoming visible in the Eastern Bloc, as well as in the Soviet Union. These developments need to be encouraged without being provocative or patronizing. We clearly acknowledge that the borders of Europe extend beyond the Community, we would seek regular consultation with EFTA authorities and develop relations with Eastern European countries.

In more general terms we believe the Community must encourage world-wide trade. In particular we would actively:

Seek a world trade system, as free as possible, based on international agreement and within the framework of GATT, which must include agricultural produce and services.

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Defend ourselves against the abuse of monopoly power, unfair competition, dumping and production supported by government subsidies whether direct or indirect.

Consider that reciprocity in trade advantages in goods or services must be multilateral, non-discriminatory and transparent, be based on national treatment, and secured through GATT. We therefore believe that bilateral or sectoral reciprocity should only be undertaken in exceptional circumstances.

The development policy of the European Community and its member States must be based on uniform principles. The European Community should therefore be allocated responsibility for policy which can be implemented more effectively and more economically at a European rather than a national level.

We call for mandatory Community sanctions against South Africa.

Europe has a central role to play in assistance to developing countries both by increased aid and by sympathetic trade policies. We believe the Community can act as the focal point, bringing together the unique needs of developing countries with the skills and material resources of individual member countries of the Community. Aid should be targeted on poorest and priority areas, providing them with a number of options for development, elaborated so that they are attractive to both the recipient and the donor.

We believe European Development Co-operation must leave a developing country free to make its own political decisions on development policy, but should elementary human rights be violated we reserve Europe's right to promote freedom and democracy in the most appropriate way and according to the UN charter of Human Rights.

European Development Co-operation must have the aim to foster as much as possible the economic self-reliance of developing countries.

In particular we urge that:

Member States' bilateral funds and schemes be consistent with agreed Community development policy.

Private development initiatives with similar aims be supported by governments and Community Development funds, and co-operation sought with them.

All schemes bear in mind and are consistent with the need for balanced and farsighted use of natural resources; as a

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consequence, the environmental impact of all economic development schemes should be assessed.

Community development policy should support those developing countries which have a programme aiming at the reduction of population growth, or which are asking for support for creating such a programme where available natural resources are inadequate to sustain the population. Continuous information and participation through international organisations must pay particular attention to the problems of over-population and the still threatening explosive growth in order to enlarge the knowledge and acceptance of the need to take action.

A European Volunteers Service be established.

The creation of a single market should not lead to an increase in protectionist tendencies.

Regional co-operation between developing countries should be encouraged and supported by the Community.

The debt problem of developing countries requires immediate attention. The poorest countries should be relieved of their repayment obligations so far as possible. For those that are developing better, the arrangements must ensure that economic development and democracy are not put at risk and that they facilitate easier repayment. This must be related to an adequate economic policy.

## **X. Working for Peace and Security**

The Community must develop a common foreign policy. Only if it speaks with one voice in global affairs can the Community discharge the political responsibilities that stem from being the world's largest trading partner. Only if the Twelve act in unison can the division of our continent be overcome in a manner safeguarding both European security and human rights.

The defence and security of our nations as well as peace and stability must be seen today as prime goals of a truly integrated Community. Europeans should take more responsibility for their own defence and security and do so within the context of NATO, which is the cornerstone of our security.

The Atlantic Alliance is political as well as military. Since the Harmel Report of 1967, NATO has had a political strategy to reduce tension in

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Europe, this is an indispensable counterpart to having prudent defence capabilities through collective security. So long as it is necessary, we must continue to follow our policy for collective security; but our long-term aim is common security; building confidence and trust through removing the sense of threat on both sides.

The desire to curb the nuclear arms race and to reduce the size and nature of the nuclear capacity of the Superpowers, has been our main political objective in Western Europe for 20 years. We see the INF Treaty is an important first step towards this. Nevertheless, the removal of INF weapons from the nuclear posture, along with the possibility of deep cuts in strategic nuclear systems, will have a major impact on present defence policies.

Changing circumstances in East and West call for an urgent reappraisal of our security policy. We Europeans have to approach this new situation from two aspects. One is enhancement of the European security capability within the existing financial constraints; the other is by developing a common defence policy evolved in the spirit of the Helsinki final act which concentrates on dialogue, arms control and disarmament and aims to reduce defence disparities and asymmetries. We would give priority in arms control negotiations to the elimination of biological and chemical weapons and to reducing short-range nuclear weapons to the lowest possible level in conjunction with reduction of conventional arms. We attach particular importance to the positive trend in relations between the two Germanies on the frontier between the political systems and the military alliances as a step towards creating peace in Europe.

There are five main requirements that a European defence and security policy must meet:

It must be effective in giving Europeans the assurance that they are properly defended

It must give priority to a substantial reduction of disparities and asymmetries between East and West, which ultimately should lead to the exclusion of aggression with invasion potential.

It must be efficient in terms of arms development, procurement and deployment.

It must show that Europe, by making a firmer commitment to the common defence policy of NATO, has achieved and will sustain a policy of equal partnership.

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It is important that the national nuclear forces of France and the United Kingdom should be taken into consideration, both for European defence and for arms negotiations.

For the cohesion of a European defence policy we must recognise that the three European theatres, of the North, Centre and South, are indivisible and interdependent.

The Single European Act has given the European Community the power to deal with the non-military, i.e. political and economic, aspects of security. It also endorses the WEU as the forum for increased defence co-operation for those countries wanting to do so. We believe that for the time being WEU is the institution which, if properly revitalized and restructured, can meet some of their policy objectives. We welcome the WEU platform on European security, when enlarged with other EC Member States it provides constructive evidence of European cohesion within the North Atlantic Alliance.

We recognise that the Republic of Ireland - and some potential member countries - do not belong to NATO and that it is militarily neutral.

Europeans are threatened by terrorism and associated crime. In this regard the European Community has a responsibility to adopt a common approach to the protection of its citizens, and in particular we must move towards a situation where anyone wanted for a major criminal offence in a Member State is returned to that country.

One of the major unresolved armed conflicts in the Community is in Northern Ireland. This conflict is exacerbated by social and economic deprivation and by the failure of politicians in Northern Ireland to find a political compromise. We are committed to working to reconcile the two communities in Northern Ireland and we recognise the effort made by the governments of the United Kingdom and Ireland in the Anglo-Irish Agreement to produce the framework for political progress, but would urge both governments to use their best endeavours to establish a devolved administration in Northern Ireland, which would accommodate the rights and aspirations of both sections of this divided Community. We deem it our duty to contribute towards the solving of conflicts between groups of citizens of the Community.

## **XI. Promoting Culture and Education**

We believe that the European culture, whose richness is one of our major assets, is founded both in our common heritage and the cultural diversity we enjoy. We put a high priority on the protection of all aspects of this

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cultural heritage, as for instance for that most easily visible part, our architectural heritage.

Diversity is an essential ingredient of European culture, both at national level vis-a-vis the regions and at European level vis-avis countries. Respect for such diversity, particularly that of language is in keeping with the liberal notion of freedom.

Our other priority is to bring about an awakening to the fact that we belong to a European cultural entity which reflects those moral, social and intellectual values that reinforce our common European identity. The protection and development of our cultural heritage should be an integral part of Community policy.

We promote freedom in both the production and enjoyment of cultural activities.

We favour the development of private sponsorship for cultural activities through tax relief and public sponsorship through grants.

Over the years, the Council of Europe has been active in the fields of cultural, artistic, educational and general youth activities cooperation. We believe that the Community and the Council of Europe should complement each other and not compete in their activities and initiative. Such co-operation is essential to build in Europe that generosity of creative thought, which we believe to be a prerequisite to progress. We seek to liberalise and diversify at all levels and for all types of cross-border cultural activities, encouraging and allowing free exchanges, dialogue and co-operation. Political and bureaucratic obstacles to exchange must be removed.

Amongst other factors, aging of the population and effects of the Single Market in conjunction with a rapidly changing society with impressive technological developments, bring about the necessity for every citizen to be able to enjoy permanent education through out his life.

We call upon the European Community to support national, regional and local cultural institutions in their efforts to develop a European dimension by providing a stimulating environment to encourage such efforts. However, we are opposed to a central European cultural authority which would be active in national, regional and local areas, thereby depriving or robbing the existing authorities of their responsibilities.

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Where audio-visual activities are concerned we want a European response to the technological, financial and cultural challenges and urge the following actions:

Agreement on multilingual television programmes between all interested European states, to be transmitted via satellite.

Ending of state monopoly of broadcasting which has to be accompanied by legislation safe-guarding against monopolies and cartels. The unique character of this market requires appropriate legislation in order to ensure equal access to everybody.

In the light of changing technologies of cable and satellites, consumers should be given free access to programmes transmitted by cable or satellite from all European countries.

Urgently develop a common broadcasting policy, which standardises receiving equipment, regulates advertising, guarantees high standards and ensures the provision of a balanced range of high quality programmes reflecting the diversity of the European cultural tradition.

Education is the key to everyone's future, but Europeans must pay special attention to communication between each other, We would ensure that in all Community countries:

The teaching of a second Community language at primary school level becomes mandatory.

The teaching of the history of Europe and its Institutions becomes mandatory.

Bilingual and multilingual integrated schools, like the European schools, are introduced.

The structure and the tasks of the European Community and its Institutions are incorporated in school curricula.

Diplomas and degrees from schools and universities and other professional and vocational qualifications be mutually recognized, so as to facilitate free movement in the European Community.

Pupils' consciousness is developed in the European schools to learn about the protection of the environment and about shared cultural and artistic heritage.

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In view of the demand, triple the funds for the ERASMUS programme for stimulation of co-operation between universities and student exchanges between Member States by 1992.

Exchange of young people and teachers between Member States is one of the most important initiatives to be taken in the interest of the future of the Community, Thus young people will learn about the cultural diversity and shared heritage of the European Community, We recognise that the young people of today are the most important asset of a united Europe of tomorrow,

We repeat therefore that:

Existing exchange programmes for young people be continued and their financing be increased.

The Community must use more imagination in creating programmes which will really fit the needs of young people for information and training.

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