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European People's Party

FEDERATION OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTIES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

POLITICAL PROGRAMME

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OUR GUIDELINES FOR EUROPE

The aim of the EUROPEAN PEOPLE'S PARTY (Federation of Christian-Democratic Parties of the European Community) is European unity. This represents an extension of the successful policy adopted by the Christian-Democratic statesmen, Robert SCHUMAN, Alcide DE GASPERI and Konrad ADENAUER, who laid the foundations for what has already been achieved. We are accordingly firmly resolved, by the creation of a European union, to continue and complete this historic undertaking, the political aim of which is a Federation of Europe, as proposed by Robert SCHUMAN on 9 May 1950.

We have put an end to the conflicts between our peoples which led to the Second World War. Guided by our Christian ideal, as exemplified in the 'European Manifesto' and 'World Manifesto', we aim to continue along the same road and to give the unity of Europe a form which will eliminate the threat posed by the totalitarian powers and allow Europe to fulfil, at world level, its joint responsibility for the maintenance of human dignity.

Only by joint action can Europe safeguard its own personality (its identity), its right of self-determination, and hence its ideals of freedom, solidarity, justice, peace and democracy.

The European union must be open to all European states which recognize these principles and the political objective of unity. In a federation, Europe will achieve this unity and safeguard its diversity.

The unification of Europe and the achievement of a free, democratic and socially just community is a challenge for the citizens of Europe, and in particular for European youth. It is very important to let young people participate actively in the construction of Europe, for it is their future. The first direct elections to the European Parliament represent a decisive step towards the achievement of these objectives.

The new Europe will have its own personality. It will be:

- *dynamic* in realizing its Christian ideals and belief in human endeavour,
- *strong* by virtue of its freedom, justice and democracy, and
- *constructive* by virtue of its creative power, its international solidarity and its desire for peace.

This European union must be a community in which all the forces of democracy find freedom of expression and in the formation of which such forces can actively participate. Thus, no political movement should be allowed to claim Europe for itself alone in order to enforce its own social system. Any move in this direction would jeopardize the freedom of a truly pluralist Europe.

Europe must remain open to the world and make its own essential contribution to the fight against hunger, poverty and violence and to the achievement of justice and true peace in freedom.

1. Our concept of man

- 1.1 Our policy is based on a concept of man which is characterized by the fundamental Christian values and finds its expression in the inalienable and inviolable dignity, freedom and responsibility of man—in equality in diversity, in the struggle for self-realization and in the awareness of the fallibility of man.
- 1.2 Man is dependent on the community for his development and cannot therefore attain to self-realization unless he bears responsibility for himself and for others. The cornerstones of our society—freedom, justice, solidarity, pluralism and openness—all have their place in this personal concept of man.

- 1.3 In accordance with this philosophy, we confirm the value of the family, which is the mainstay of our society, which is particularly suitable as a means of furthering the development of each of its members and which is a crucial element in the education of children.

2. Human rights and basic freedoms

- 2.1 We will safeguard human rights and basic freedoms as a foundation for the development of the individual and for the establishment of a just society. We believe that these rights and freedoms must be respected throughout the world. They are set forth in the European Convention on Human Rights, they are laid down by the national constitutions of our Member States and they are formally confirmed by the European Community:

- the right to life, to protection from inhuman or degrading treatment and from unlawful arrest
- the right to liberty and security
- the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion
- the right to freedom of expression
- the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association
- the right to take part in free and secret elections
- the right to respect for one's private and family life, home and correspondence
- the right to education and the right of parents to choose the kind of education to be given their children
- the right to own property
- the right to protection against discrimination
- the right to freedom of movement
- the right to leave any country, including one's own
- the right to enter one's own country and immunity from expulsion therefrom
- the right to a hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal
- the right to legal remedy in the event of violation of the fundamental rights and freedoms.

- 2.2 We also advocate the creation of conditions which will make it possible for everyone in our modern society to benefit fully from

these human rights and basic freedoms, and in particular the right to a minimum income, to treatment in the event of illness, to work, to strike, to equal pay for equal work, to a healthy environment, to accommodation, to access to freely chosen educational establishments and the right to objective information.

3. Solidarity and justice

- 3.1 The solidarity which we are striving to achieve represents a bond between all men and women. It is a prerequisite for community life. Solidarity finds expression in rights and duties. Everyone has a right to participate in the community; everyone has a duty to do everything in his power to help to ensure that the community as a whole can accept responsibility for the individual.
- 3.2 Our social policy is based on the principles of solidarity and subsidiarity. This means helping others to help themselves and implies a duty to ensure that social justice is maintained. The political community must give individuals and organizations scope to develop to the full their capacity to operate on their own responsibility.
- 3.3 In this spirit we are ready to fight against injustice, discrimination and poverty. The social problems of inequality between social groups, regions and countries can be solved only by a European policy of solidarity and by structural change.
- 3.4 We have a particular duty to the socially underprivileged. Our aim is also to give such people the opportunity to develop their personalities and to participate in our prosperity and common progress.

4. Political democracy

- 4.1 Pluralist democracy is the form of government which best corresponds to our concept of a modern society based on partnership. It finds expression in controlled power over a limited period and backed up by a true constitution. It makes it possible, in accordance with the wishes of free citizens, to introduce adjustments and changes without force and to eliminate tension in society through the self-determination of the individual in the interests of the community as a whole. This calls for the respect of the rights of social, ethnic, ideological and religious groups.

- 4.2.1 The political parties bear a measure of special responsibility for the promotion of representative democracy and for the greater involvement of citizens in the decision-making process. To enable them to discharge their responsibilities to the community in full, their constitutional status must be legally recognized, clearly defined and safeguarded by the allocation of public funds. We support electoral systems which take due account of the pluralism of political movements but at the same time favour the formation of larger parties in order to guarantee stable and strong government. Since society in its modern form tends to encourage increased governmental power, parliamentary rights of supervision must be strengthened.
- 4.2.2 Our aim is to strengthen democratic institutions at regional and local authority level and to promote the dialogue between citizens and individuals with political responsibility. We will increase the participation of social groups. At political level, however, their decisions cannot act as a substitute for the decisions of the democratic institutions.
- 4.3 We also believe that political power should be decentralized wherever possible. In accordance with the principle of subsidiarity, States, regions and local authorities should be empowered to decide on, carry out and supervise everything which can best be done at their own particular levels. In particular, local government must be strengthened. It offers citizens the best opportunity for influencing living conditions in their immediate neighbourhood.

5. Culture—the basis of our European identity

- 5.1 One of the principal aims of culture is to interpret the world creatively and critically; it should help men, as individuals and in their community, to understand and master their destiny. The wealth of European culture, with its diversity and unity, forms a basis for cooperation between the peoples of Europe in a united Europe.
- 5.2 We will preserve and extend our cultural heritage, and give contemporary art more scope for development and bring it within reach of all sections of the population. In particular, we will make national and regional cultures more accessible to each other and in this way further European culture as a living reflection of its Christian and humanist traditions.

- 5.3 We see the stimulation and full development of culture as a golden opportunity for counteracting the tendency towards uniformity and lack of commitment in society, growing materialism and the spread of Marxist ideology. General facilities for extracurricular and further education are an essential means to this end.
- 5.4 We see the representatives of the arts and the sciences as important partners in the construction of a humane society. The competent public authorities should ensure that our historical, cultural and artistic heritage is preserved and protected. In the process they should support private organizations.
- 5.5 The curricula of the various types of schools and universities should gradually be harmonized to that diplomas can be recognized in all Member States of the Community.
- 5.6 Schooling and further education, in particular in history and languages, in the arts and the sciences, should be used to promote European awareness and thus to encourage the emergence of truly European citizens.

EUROPE IN THE WORLD

Only if Europe is united will it be strong enough to further effectively the cause of freedom, solidarity, peace and justice for the peoples of the world.

Only if Europe is united will it be able to make a real contribution, as a motive force behind progress and international social justice, to the creation of a new world order.

Only if Europe is united will it be strong enough to fulfil its responsibilities, to look after its legitimate interests in the world, to assert itself against the threat of military action and to safeguard its future existence as a free and sovereign power.

Now more than ever, at a time when the process of unification is not complete, Europe must 'speak with one voice'. European Political Cooperation which has developed in the spirit of the Treaty of Rome is an encouraging step in this direction. We must build on this foundation. We therefore support the TINDEMANS proposal for a common foreign policy

and for the establishment of a decision-making centre to deal with matters of foreign policy.

6. Responsibility and solidarity

6.1 Europe should not be satisfied with strictly safeguarding its own particular interests. Its historical role, its solidarity, its cultural and spiritual calling and its economic power invoke its responsibility.

6.1.1 We have a duty to defend human rights, basic freedoms and the rights of peoples. Unless these rights and freedoms are respected, true peace is impossible. Human rights and basic freedoms are regarded throughout the world as more important than the right of sovereignty. The protection of such rights and freedoms cannot therefore be interpreted as interference in the sovereign rights of another country, particularly when governments have formally committed themselves to respecting them. In this spirit we shall fight against tyranny.

6.1.2 We have a moral and human responsibility towards the countries of Eastern Europe with which we have common historical bonds. We will overcome the division of Europe by peaceful means. The right to self-determination of all European peoples, including the German people, remains for us a principle of European policy.

6.1.3 Europe must also assume responsibility for the Third World. We see cooperation in achieving a better balance of interests between the industrialized and the developing countries, in other words the achievement of a more just world economic order, and the provision of more funds for development aid as priority aims in a European policy of solidarity.

6.1.4 Finally, Europe has a responsibility to help safeguard world peace. We will therefore contribute to the peaceful solution of conflicts. However, we must also make it clear that we are prepared to defend ourselves and protect our independence.

7. Our alliances

7.1 *Our partners in Europe and the Mediterranean*

7.1.1 We confirm the Rome Treaty's undertaking to keep the Community open to all democratic countries in Europe. We support the Greek,

Portugese and Spanish applications for membership of the Community. Culturally and historically these nations belong to Europe. We advocate negotiations aimed at providing these three countries, as soon as possible, with the opportunity to participate politically and on an equal footing in all the Institutions of the Community, even though the economic problems which undeniably exist can only be solved by means of transitional arrangements. While negotiating the treaties of accession we must at the same time take steps to safeguard the further development of the Community and the consolidation of its Institutions.

We advocate close cooperation with the other democratic countries of Europe. Openness and fairness in our dealings with all such partners, the evolution of common positions, and solidarity in times of crisis are our answer to the dangers facing free Europe as a whole. The Community and its members must continue to cooperate fully within the Council of Europe—our link with non-member states.

7.1.2 The Mediterranean countries are also our partners—by virtue of agreements which must be further extended. Peace in the Eastern Mediterranean is a matter of vital importance. In the context of political cooperation, Europe must make its contribution to the search for a balanced solution to the problems of the Middle East which takes account of the legitimate rights and interests of all countries and peoples in that region.

7.2 *The United States of America*

We want the European Community and, later, the European Union to participate as an equal partner in a constructive dialogue with the United States. Relations between Europe and the United States are characterized by broad agreement on the value of freedom and justice, by considerable similarity in political objectives and by the Atlantic alliance, which is essential for the security of the entire Western world.

7.3 *The democracies outside Europe*

7.3.1 In its relations with other Western countries, Europe must strive to achieve solidarity and common standpoints, especially in times of crisis.

- 7.3.2 Together with the other democratic states it must commit itself to solving the major economic problems of the world, strengthening the pluralistic democracies in their confrontation with totalitarian regimes and protecting the fundamental human rights and freedoms.

8. Relations with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe

8.1 Balanced détente

- 8.1.1 We firmly advocate effective and lasting detente on a balanced reciprocal basis. The furtherance of human, political, economic and cultural relations between the peoples of East and West contributes to the credibility of détente and is thus an important factor in the maintenance of peace.

- 8.1.2 Berlin (West) is part of the European Community and continues to be one of the barometers of real détente in Europe.

8.2 The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and its results

The Final Act of Helsinki represents an important step towards détente between East and West. All the provisions of this Final Act must be fully respected and, where possible, extended. The implementation of the provisions of the Final Act on human rights will make an important contribution to the 'humanization' of the living conditions of the peoples of Eastern Europe. We fully realize that these people are relying on our solidarity.

8.3 Greater security

- 8.3.1 Considerable importance attaches to mutual balanced and controlled troop and arms limitation, particularly in view of the growing military potential of Eastern Europe.

9. Europe and the Third World

- 9.1 We will cooperate on the formulation of a comprehensive new development and growth strategy in which the developing countries will participate on a basis of equality; Europe can contribute its economic

and social experience to this dialogue. To this end we must make the peoples of Europe aware of the real importance of the problem.

9.1.1 The developing countries must use this opportunity responsibly in order to encourage the evolution of a better, and more just system in their parts of the world.

9.2 *The Community's policy based on the Lomé Convention*

9.2.1 Worldwide development policy does not exclude the possibility of special arrangements for certain regions. In the Convention of Lomé, the European Community and about 50 associated developing countries in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific embarked on a new form of cooperation based on partnership and equality which is already bearing fruit and which, in a sense, sets an example for cooperation throughout the world between industrialized and developing countries.

9.2.2 The ideals embodied in the Lomé Convention are an essential prerequisite for the creation of a climate of confidence, without which cooperation cannot truly succeed at world level.

9.2.3 In this connection, we believe it important for special relations to be established, in particular with the peoples of Latin America, with whom we have many intellectual and cultural ties.

9.3 *Expenditure, trade and international division of labour*

9.3.1 The industrialized countries—including the Community—must contribute to public development aid at the agreed level (at present at least 0.7% of the gross national product) within prescribed time limits. Steps must be taken to ensure that the funds available are allocated primarily to the poorest nations. It should not, however, be forgotten that the development aid provided by the private sectors in the industrialized countries of the West makes a particularly effective contribution. Favourable conditions for the constant growth of private development aid should be maintained and extended.

- 9.3.2 Acceptable solutions based on individual cases must be found without delay for the pressing problem of increasing debts, in particular those of the poorest developing countries.
- 9.3.3 Multinational undertakings must contribute effectively to national development programmes in the developing countries in order to help satisfy the vital needs of the populations of the countries concerned and to encourage socially acceptable developments.
- 9.3.4 As regards trade in raw materials, international cooperation policy must pursue the following aims, as far as possible within the framework of market solutions: stabilization of the revenue of developing countries by means of compensatory mechanisms, the improvement of market structures and the diversification of production and economic structures.
- 9.3.5 We recommend that, in the relevant conferences, the debate on the financing of raw materials supplies should be continued and that steps should be taken to ensure that results are obtained which favour the necessary stabilization of particularly important markets.
- 9.3.6 In accordance with the Community's development policy, the division of labour between industrial and developing countries must be improved. This involves enlarging the scope of the processing industries, extending access to the European markets to products from the developing countries and extending generalized preferences to further products in the context of the Community's commercial policy.
- 9.4 *Priority for food problems and the promotion of agriculture*
- 9.4.1 In the short term, the world's food supplies must continue to be secured by making reserves available and by implementing food programmes by means of cooperation in the appropriate international organizations, between countries in surplus and countries in deficit.
- 9.4.2 Increased food production must be stimulated by the promotion of agriculture in the developing countries themselves, an aim which must also find expression in aid programmes, projects and technical and financial assistance.

9.5 *Greater balance between bilateral and Community development aid*
We believe that the Community should take over more responsibility for bilateral aid provided by the Member States. In this connection funds must be made available to the Community which are more in keeping with its responsibilities. The development aid provided by the Member States must be increasingly coordinated by the Community's institutions.

9.6 *Non-governmental organizations*

Private initiative plays an important role in this field. We draw particular attention to the unique human value of the work of recognized non-governmental social, cultural and religious organizations involved in development aid. The Community must step up its financial support to these organizations and remove administrative difficulties which hamper them in their work.

10. Europe and the United Nations (UN)

10.1 If Europe wishes to be a credible ally of the young nations, it must help to strengthen the United Nations. In close cooperation with the Western democracies and its other partners, the Community must advocate more effective decision-making procedures, stricter and less wasteful running of the secretariats of international organizations, and material decisions which are just as much in keeping with the interests of the young nations as they are with its own ideals.

10.2 Certain new issues transcend the sovereignty of individual states, for example, the setting up of a Council for the defence of human rights, measures against international arms trading, measures for the protection of nature and the environment, measures to prevent the pollution of the seas, measures on the use of the seabed and of space, and the drafting of a code of good conduct for multinational undertakings. Such issues call for a coordinated international policy and the gradual establishment of a recognized international legal system. The Community must contribute to the achievement of these objectives on the basis of its own ideals, legal principles and vital interests.

THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY'S POLICY

11. Towards a liberal and socially just policy

- 11.1 Christian-Democratic policy has made a decisive contribution to economic and social progress in Europe. We take as our basis the fact that, for the time being, the economic and social integration of Europe will be a matter for priority. However, we also firmly believe that such integration must be accompanied by corresponding political progress. Economic development is not an end in itself. It centres on mankind. Its aim must be to improve living conditions for everyone and protect the quality of man's natural and cultural environment.
- 11.2 As a basic prerequisite, the efficiency of the social market economy must be maintained. This is a dynamic economic and social system, the efficiency of which depends on the principles of responsible freedom, the initiative of the individual, the creative power of everyone working in the economy, and competition on the free market. In this system social responsibility finds its expression in active solidarity. It transcends capitalism and collectivism. It ensures a maximum of co-determination and co-responsibility, the development of personality, property and prosperity, and social security for everyone. It is a system in which decision-making powers as well as property are better distributed. It aims to provide full employment and is the most suitable instrument for harmonizing growth with the maintenance of a healthy environment and the sparing use of limited supplies of raw materials.
- 11.3 The main aim is to create and safeguard employment. In this connection working conditions should be brought into line with technical, economic and social developments. Work is essential to the self-realization of man. Full employment cannot be divorced from the need for effective measures to counter inflation and for satisfactory economic growth.
- 11.4 In our view a society of this kind is a better way of gradually eliminating unwarranted economic and social inequalities between

countries, regions and individuals. This economic system is based on a variety of independent decision-making centres and permits a better distribution of resources. Moreover, effective national action against cartel formation and excessive concentration is essential. Particular attention should be paid to small and medium-sized undertakings, the viability of which is a prerequisite for the smooth operation of this system.

- 11.5 The State must lay down the main economic and social guidelines and draft outline provisions to be adopted by Parliament. The relevant organizations and self-governing bodies must be consulted on this matter.
- 11.6 In order to ensure the full development of Europe's economic power, our policy will be designed to strengthen the individual's desire to work and to encourage market competition. This calls for a policy which eliminates barriers to competition and helps to provide a more uniform basis for the activities concerned. To this end steps must be taken to harmonize, *inter alia*, taxation laws, social laws and labour laws.

12. Economic and monetary policy

- 12.1 Although a solution to the problems involved can only be sought at world level in the framework of international agreements, such a solution nevertheless calls, at Community level, for the immediate definition of the objectives to be pursued on a joint basis, particularly in the following fields:
- the fight for full employment, particularly for young people;
 - the fight against inflation;
 - the creation of a climate favourable to investment;
 - the facilitation of the necessary structural changes within undertakings and at sectoral level;
 - the promotion of the free movement of workers;
 - the promotion of energy and research policies;

- the promotion of structural and regional policy, accompanied by a harmonized and active social policy.
- 12.2 The present stage of integration favours (for internal political reasons or because of the requirements of international relations) individual action on the part of the Member States as opposed to joint action by the Community as a whole. This situation must be modified so that a genuine decision-making centre is created from which a European government will emerge.
- 12.3 In the longer term, it will be necessary to make Economic and Monetary Union a reality. This is one of the most important prerequisites for the maintenance, consolidation and further development of the Community's achievements.
- 12.4 We endorse the proposals contained in the TINDEMANS Report, which expresses the view that the achievement of Economic and Monetary Union calls for new Community efforts and adjustments:
- 12.4.1 • Short and medium-term economic policy must be pursued as a Community policy. This calls for the development and coordination of the areas connected with Economic and Monetary Union, i.e. of regional, social, industrial, energy, environmental and research policies.
- 12.4.2 • The monetary and financial policies of the Member States must be brought into line with each other. The 'snake' must be maintained as a first step towards greater stability. Steps should be taken to make it easier to extend this system to other Member States' currencies. For this reason it should once more be placed on a Community basis and supplemented by economic, monetary and financial policy measures.
- 12.4.3 • The powers and the size of the European Monetary Cooperation Fund must gradually be increased and brought into line with the aims of economic policy. This Fund should first be developed as an exchange equalization fund. It will guarantee a continuous adjustment of exchange rates and prevent sudden inflationary fluctuations and currency speculation.

- 12.4.4 • More agreement is required between the social partners. The Tripartite Conference, the Standing Committee on Employment and the Economic and Social Committee can make useful contributions in this connection.
- 12.4.5 • A European currency must be created.

13. Social Policy

- 13.1 Social policy must aim to fight against regional and social inequalities and should not simply react to the consequences of these inequalities. It must also function as a social structural policy.
 - 13.1.1 As part of our basic philosophy, we believe that social policy should stimulate initiatives to benefit the weakest, unorganized groups of the population, in particular the handicapped and the old, and should contribute to the fight against poverty. Special attention also needs to be paid to those groups of people who in this day and age are being deported from country to country and to political refugees.
 - 13.1.2 Social policy must contribute to the achievement of equality between men and women and in particular the realization of the principle of equal pay for equal work.
 - 13.1.3 The Community's social policy is not intended to replace the social policies of the Member States. It is designed to stimulate the inherent powers of people, social groups and regions. It should therefore supplement national policies, provide coordination in certain cases and make for harmonization and progress. It is important to strike a fair balance between the harmonization which is essential to social progress and excessive centralization. Pluralism and versatility must be maintained in the Community.
- 13.2 *Partnership and solidarity*
 - 13.2.1 Partnership and solidarity should guarantee justice for everyone and at the same time ensure that our economic system is more effi-

cient. The Christian-Democratic option is based on freedom and justice and not on capitalism with a social face or on collectivism.

13.2.2 We attach considerable importance to regular consultations between the social partners themselves and between the social partners and the competent Community authorities.

13.2.3 We will promote at European level:

- the creation of a Charter on the rights of workers in undertakings;
- worker participation at shop-floor, plant and undertaking level, particularly by means of balanced representation on boards of directors and works councils in European limited companies;
- greater participation in property formation with a view to a more balanced distribution;
- freedom of movement and more mobility for workers based on free choice and not imposed by the social differences between favoured and less favoured regions of the Community; and
- measures for migrant workers, relating in particular to their accommodation, professional training, social, political and cultural integration and the education of their children.

13.3 *Quality of life and working conditions*

13.3.1 With a view to ensuring that the individual can experience the value of his work—and this applies to both manual and non-manual work—we are fighting for the further 'humanization' of living and working conditions, in particular by minimizing monotonous and production-line work and by reducing night work, Sunday work and shift work.

13.3.2 Community policies designed to improve industrial safety and working conditions must:

- lay down minimum Community norms;

- provide funds to enable regions and undertakings faced with particular difficulties to comply with these provisions; and
- safeguard the continuity of national efforts, but take steps to ensure that working conditions are not degraded in the process.

13.4 *Family policy*

13.4.1 Social policy must recognize, promote and safeguard the importance of the family in a free democratic society. We are in favour of a policy which enhances the cohesion of the family, strengthens its educational capacity, protects the life of unborn babies and furthers the personal development of children. A social policy with these aims must ensure that large families also have incomes which are sufficient for the upbringing and education of their children.

13.4.2 This policy must enable men and women to discharge their responsibilities in the family, at work and in society on a basis of equality.

13.4.3 The woman's job of running a home and caring for a family must be seen as comparable to other professions and valued as an important social and economic contribution to the community and the State.

14. Structural and regional policy

14.1 The European Community's structural and regional policy measures must be considerably intensified. In this connection, regional, national and Community measures must be brought together to form a coherent whole.

14.2 The Community's contribution should cover the factors listed below:

14.2.1 The expansion and diversification of the financial instruments of the Community's budget used in particular for structural measures in the following areas:

- infrastructures which are of European importance or which affect frontier regions; and

- investments, particularly in cases where it is especially urgent for inter-regional differences in capital resources and productivity to be eliminated.
- 14.2.2 New Community funds and the Community's lending resources, which are still largely untapped, should be used to finance these various measures.
- 14.2.3 The creation of Community instruments for initiatives to stimulate and encourage economic and technical development.
- 14.3 A large proportion of the structural problems which impede the progress of European integration concern the less developed regions of the Community.
- 14.4 European regional policy must be coordinated with industrial, agricultural and social policies. The funds available must be channelled to specific areas. Considerable importance attaches to private initiatives as well as to the European Regional Development Fund.
- 14.5 In accordance with the basic principle of subsidiarity, the Community's regional policy should not replace the regional policies of the Member States of the regions themselves. Instead it should supplement these policies and act as an instrument of coordination, guidance and stimulation. The more national and regional authorities participate in the planning, financing and implementation of measures under this policy, and the greater the responsibility they bear, the more successful the policy will be.
- 14.6 In this connection, special measures will have to be adopted for frontier regions.

15. Transport policy

- 15.1 The importance of a Community transport policy will increase in proportion to the development of a uniform Community market and the progress towards Economic and Monetary Union, which must be established on a basis of equal competition. This means that national distortions to competition in the field of goods and

passenger transport must be eliminated and that a common market must be established for the transport sector and related services. As a matter of particular urgency, the Community must adopt a policy designed to counter patently unfair competition from the state-trading countries.

- 15.2 All forms of transport must be financially self-sufficient. To ensure that this is the case, terms of competition between the railways, road transport, sea transport and air transport must be brought into alignment and harmonized at Community level. The same applies to fiscal and social measures in this field.
- 15.3 Moreover, attention should be given, when working out a Community transport policy, to the contribution such a policy could make, on the basis of Community criteria, to the improvement of the results yielded by a long-term, comprehensive regional and structural policy.

16. Agricultural and fisheries policy

16.1 Agriculture is so far the only sector in which the European Community has succeeded in implementing a truly *common policy* in all the Member States. This policy should therefore be consolidated and expanded, and any undesirable features removed, on the basis of the Treaty of Rome. Efficient agriculture within the Community must also be compatible with the interests of the developing countries.

16.1.1 In the common agricultural policy, efforts centre in particular on:

- the safeguarding of what has already been achieved, especially by eliminating monetary difficulties;
- the correction of imbalances on the agricultural market by means of an appropriate price and structural policy; this involves ensuring that the intervention system is effective in achieving a better balance, providing all producers with differentiated, but comparable, guarantees.
- the further extension of existing agricultural systems;

- the use of regional policy measures in areas with natural disadvantages; and
- the intensification of measures to improve agricultural and sales structures.

16.1.2 We shall continue to support the development of modern family farms, which have so far stood the test of the rapid evolution of our economic structures.

16.2 In its *fisheries policy*, the Community must take steps to ensure the survival and future expansion of stocks. To this end, the following four basic principles must be adopted:

- management of resources in the interest of the fishery industries of Member States;
- special arrangements for the fisheries sector in regions in which, for historical or economic reasons, this industry is of particular economic importance;
- financial solidarity in providing suitable assistance for the necessary adjustment of production; and
- political action at international level to secure maximum fishing rights in the waters of third countries.

17. Trade and industry

17.1 The European Community stands in need of a Community industrial policy. Such a policy should improve the competitiveness of European industry and create more job opportunities.

17.2 An important aim of this policy would be to give full effect to the Common Market by eliminating the remaining obstacles to trade. To this end, a legal, fiscal and financial framework will have to be created in order to make it possible to exploit fully the advantages of such a large internal market. The Community's measures must be focussed on two factors:

- an energetic policy with regard to the inevitable process of industrial reorganization, including Community assistance for the modernization and restructuring of undertakings;
- an active research policy with the aim of developing new technologies; and
- solidarity in economic relations with the countries of the Third World as a contribution to the improvement of the world economic system.

17.3 We attach particular importance to small and medium-sized undertakings, since such firms, with their will to work and their willingness to take risks, do much to improve competition and thus to contribute to a dynamic economy and an effective social system. Many of the leading figures of industry come from such undertakings. At the same time, these firms also offer workers particularly responsible positions and considerable scope for promotion.

18. Energy policy

18.1 The energy crisis has made a common energy policy essential. Such a policy must form part of the Community's foreign and external economic policy.

18.2 The aim of this policy must be to reduce oil consumption, to increase oil supplies within the Community, to diversify oil imports, to increase supplies of natural gas, to encourage coal mining in the Community, to use all energy sources sparingly, and to develop alternative energy sources and give more encouragement to the use of such sources. Where nuclear power is concerned, all necessary safety measures and precautions must be taken to protect life and the environment.

18.3 In order to reduce dependence on third countries in the energy sector, the Community must take steps to ensure, within the framework of its energy policy, that its energy requirements are covered as far as possible by its own resources. Guarantees are necessary in this field.

19. Environmental protection

19.1 High priority must be given to Community environmental policy, which must take the form of a comprehensive preventive policy. The main aims of this policy should be as follows:

- the adoption of Community minimum norms on emissions in order to prevent distortions of competition between undertakings and to afford the same protection to all citizens of Europe; and
- the attainment, in cooperation also with countries outside the Community, of common solutions to environmental problems.

20. Consumer protection

20.1 The constant changes in the range of consumer goods are making life more and more confusing for the consumer, particularly in view of the massive advertising campaigns occasionally mounted. The complexity of the markets within the Community aggravates this situation.

20.2 We therefore advocate:

- measures to protect health, in particular as regards the purchase of foodstuffs and medicines, and measures to ensure that technical equipment can be operated safely;
- objective consumer information and education;
- advertising which is consistent with fair competition and conveys the real quality of the goods and services offered; the case for introducing legally enforceable rules needs examining; and
- the harmonization of current national legal provisions in the Community.

THE COMMUNITY'S INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

The unity of Europe must be based on the determination of its peoples, which means that this unity must be truly and unequivocally democratic.

Democracy is based on the institutions which, in conformity with the law, ensure that the population can express its political wishes freely, on the formation of an authority founded on these wishes, and on the democratic control of this authority by the democratically elected representatives of the peoples.

At present, of course, national thinking and patterns of behaviour continue to impede the functioning of the Community's institutions, as do the difficult problems facing individual countries in domestic and foreign policy.

In the transitional period leading up to political union and Economic and Monetary Union, it is crucially important for the Community to move towards the establishment of a Community decision-making centre, the true partner of which will be the democratically elected European Parliament.

The direct election of the European Parliament heralds a new stage in the process of European unification. We expect the directly elected and democratically legitimated Parliament to provide a new constitutional and institutional impetus for the achievement of European union and progress towards a European federation, the ultimate political aims of unification.

Thus, the citizens of Europe, the political and social forces, the parliaments of the Member States and in particular the European Parliament, must increasingly bring their influence to bear in order to ensure that national governments adopt the decisions essential to the success of this historic enterprise.

In particular, young people must be actively involved in the construction of Europe; this applies, too, to the Community bodies which should hear the views of the responsible youth organizations on matters concerning them. The 'European Youth Forum' proposed by the Conference of Heads of State or Government in the Hague in December 1969 should be set up.

21. European Union

21.1 It is particularly important that existing Community regulations should now be made fully effective. The Community's decision-

making procedures in the Council leave much to be desired. Thus, the considerable international difficulties besetting us cannot be dealt with efficiently. The Community's institutions must therefore be given more powers so that they are in a better position to cope with the requirements of authority, effectiveness, internal cohesion and double (national and Community) responsibility. The European Parliament will have to exercise a genuine influence, the Council will have to be able to take the necessary decisions and the Commission will have to be able in particular to make full use of its independent powers of initiative.

21.2 In this way we can prepare for the transition to the next phase of the process of European integration, in other words the achievement of European Union as described in the TINDEMANS report. This central aim must be achieved in the directly elected European Parliament's first term of office.

21.3 To this end,

- the existing Treaties must be applied in full and maximum use must be made of their potential;
- the authority and powers of the European Parliament and Commission, which are the main institutions representing the Community, must be strengthened;
- the powers of the European Parliament must be strengthened at least to the extent required to offset the loss of powers by the national parliaments following the transfer of responsibility to the Community;
- new powers facilitating the qualitative improvements essential to the realization of European union as the only adequate democratic answer to the challenges of our time must be transferred to the Community on the basis of proposals submitted by the Commission in agreement with the European Parliament.

21.4 The *European Council* must stimulate and encourage European unification by defining the various stages involved and in particular those new fields which are to be incorporated in Community

policy and legislation. Its decisions must take the form of instructions to the organs of the Community on the implementation of such measures.

22. The Community organs

22.1 *European Parliament*

The European Parliament's powers must be extended; it should have unlimited budgetary and supervisory powers and should also be endowed with increased legislative powers. Moreover:

- every Commission should be installed in office by Parliament
- the President of the Council should report regularly to Parliament on the activities of the Council
- Parliament should have the right to take decisions instead of the Council in cases where the latter—within a given period after the conclusion of the conciliation procedure—has twice declined to take a decision on matters falling within the terms of reference of the Treaties.

22.2 *Commission*

The Commission should be the motive force behind European unification. To this end it should represent the political powers of the European Parliament more fully and become much less technocratic. This will mean that:

- the new Commission Presidents should be appointed only after consultation of the European Parliament;
- the European Parliament should hold a debate on the constitution and programme of each new Commission as it enters into office; this debate should be followed by a vote of confidence;
- since it is answerable to the European Parliament, the Commission should be placed under an obligation to adopt Parliament's proposals and to submit its own proposals to Parliament for consideration.

22.3 *Council of Ministers*

The Council must improve its effectiveness and authority as a Community institution by:

- *making its work more coherent*: as a Community institution, the Council is responsible for all areas of activity, including consultations and decisions on foreign policy in the context of 'political cooperation'; 'conciliation' between Parliament and the Council should be extended to the entire range of activities;
- *speeding up its activities*: it should return towards the practice of majority decisions on Community matters in accordance with the Treaty;
- *concentrating more on its legislative function*: it should leave detailed implementing provisions to the Commission;
- *improving the coordination of its work with that of the European Parliament*: by means of regular discussions in the European Parliament on the report of activities and by improving the procedure for conciliation between the two institutions.

22.4 *The European Court of Justice*

The European Court of Justice ensures that the Treaties establishing the European Community are fully applied in every respect; it will be the guardian of the constitution of the European Union. So that the Community can continue to function as a 'constitutional state', the Court of Justice must extend its powers to the new fields which fall within the Union's terms of reference. Individuals must be able to appeal directly to the Court of Justice against an act of one of the institutions of the Union infringing their rights.

22.5 *The European Court of Auditors*

We welcome the creation of the European Court of Auditors and hope that it will soon be fully operational. The Community's growing budget and the increasing number of cases of abuse and fraud call for the permanent supervision and strict control of Community funds. Thus, the European Court of Auditors, while fully maintain-

ing its independence, will have to work in close collaboration with the executive institutions and the European Parliament.

23. Advisory Bodies

- 23.1 *The Economic and Social Committee*, which draws representatives from various economic and social circles, must increasingly assume the role of an advisory body for the definition of Community economic and social policy.
- 23.2 *The regions* must—through their responsible representatives—participate adequately in the adoption of decisions affecting them.

OUR GOAL: A UNITED EUROPE

For the Christian-Democrats, the European Union as described in the TINDEMANS Report and formally proclaimed by the Heads of State or Government meeting in the European Council, will represent an important step towards European unification.

We are firmly committed to the final political objective of European unification, that is the transformation of the European Union into a unique European federation of the type described, many years ago, by Robert Schuman in his declaration of 9 May 1950. This Europe will not be able to manifest its capacity for dynamic and unequivocal action until the necessary institutions have been created: a directly elected European Parliament, a Chamber of States, a European government, a Supreme Court of Justice and a Court of Auditors.

- a *Parliament*, which gives expression to the free will of the people;
- a *Chamber of States*, which represents the legitimate interests of the Member States; and
- a *Government*, which is willing and able to govern effectively.

THEN EUROPE WILL BE ABLE TO RESPOND TO ITS VOCATION.