



GREEN PARTIES OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

1994 ELECTION PLATFORM

AGALEV
BÜNDNIS 90 / DIE GRÜNEN
COMHAONTAS GLAS
DEI GRENG ALTERNATIVE
DE GROENEN
DE GRONNE
ECOLO
FEDERAZIONE DEI VERDI
GLEI
GROEN LINKS
LES VERTS
LOS VERDES
OS VERDES
POLITIKI OIKOLOGIA
UK GREEN PARTY

and THE GREEN GROUP
in THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

PREAMBLE

The continent of Europe has seen great changes over the past five years. Since the last elections to the European Parliament, the Iron Curtain has fallen and the peoples of the continent are confronting historic choices. New opportunities and new dangers are before us.

- * New opportunities to unite a continent whose cultural, historic and linguistic networks stretch back for centuries.
- * New opportunities to recreate a sense of common security after decades of deadly enmity. Now is the time to remember that the original intention of the founders of the European Union was to bind together in a common interest the warring states which had twice taken the continent to the brink of destruction. That intention has a new relevance in post-Cold War Europe.

New dangers confront us too. The breakup of the old systems have created uncertainty and released long suppressed emotions. The divisions between societies, whether economic or ethnic, are allowing destructive forces to rise, seducing people with their simplistic and authoritarian proposals. These forces, born of fear and insecurity, have the potential to devastate Europe if they are not opposed.

Today the most violent conflicts since 1945 are being fought in the Balkans and the Caucasus. Divided and directionless, the EU stands helplessly by while ethnic conflicts rage in Bosnia. Yet only a short while ago when Iraqi aggression against Kuwait disturbed the glibly proclaimed New World Order, EU Member States joined the coalition in waging a bloody war that could have been prevented by firm political and economic pressure and the avoidance of lucrative arms sales to Iraq in the preceding years.

The twelve Western States of the European Union have the opportunity bring about a united, democratic and stable Europe. Yet until now they have failed to do more than look after their own common interest. Their only concern has been to export their flawed economic model whose obvious failure is evidenced in soaring unemployment, environmental devastation and escalating social crisis. The experiments of the Single Market and the Maastricht Treaty have gambled on economic integration at any cost. Based on the illusion of limitless economic growth, and dismissive of social and democratic considerations, they are witnessing the price of social exclusion : poverty and marginalisation amid plenty. The advocates of economic integration are now forced to acknowledge the failure of the European Monetary System (EMS) and the eighteen million unemployed.

Both the historic crossroads and the economic crisis require a redefinition of values, parameters and objectives. Instead, the answer being proposed is more competition, more production and consumption, under the tired slogan of more economic growth.

These concepts are presented as immutable dogma, not negotiable elements to be reconsidered and redefined ; yet they represent the very approach that is clearly identified as the cause of the present crisis.

The Rio Treaties, so solemnly agreed upon in June 1992 to combat the global environmental crisis and to promote sustainable development, have remained inoperative and the planetary imbalance has since worsened. That the EU blatantly flouts these agreements in its action programmes is intolerable to the Greens.

Mindful of the disproportionate role of the EU in causing the global environmental crisis - in prodigal resource consumption, waste generation and pollution - Greens are committed to fighting for the implementation of the Rio agreements.

Greens throughout Europe are convinced that in an increasingly interdependent world, new directions and priorities are required. This has been the keystone of the actions of Greens in the European Parliament during the last ten years and of Green Parties and their elected representatives at national, local and regional levels. Greens have achieved much in promoting sustainable policies and improved regulation.

Greens continue to campaign vigorously for democratic institutional reforms within the EU and for entry to the Union by any European State where the majority of the population wishes to join. Greens aim for a political Europe involving communities and citizens safeguarded by a new integration structure providing for decision-making shared equitably at European, national and regional levels.

Greens seek a European economic policy that will put an end to economic centralisation, ecological devastation and wastefulness, and which is defined according to environmental and social criteria: a policy able to tackle the problems in the Southern States of the EU so as to avoid their marginalisation and transformation into peripheral regions.

Greens seek a Europe that respects cultural diversity, a wealth the Greens want to preserve and enhance, valuing all members of society and rejecting nationalism, racism and anti-Semitism.

Greens seek a global cooperation with the peoples of the South to avoid the polarisation of our planet and their exploitation and marginalisation.

On the eve of the new millenium, there is only one course for Europe : that of building a world order based on equity and cooperation, able to safeguard peace and repair environmental damage, to pass on to coming generations a planet with an intact heritage of natural resources, and an ethos of justice.

It is to this new vision of Europe that the Green Parties of the European Union are firmly committed. This Common Platform is a synthesis of the ideals, goals and experiences gathered by the Green Group of the European Parliament during the past legislatures as a guideline for the coming legislature. It is in line with the Guidelines of

the pan-European Federation of Green Parties, in which the Green parties from the EU cooperate with Greens from all over Europe.

The European Green movement has reached a new stage. Over the past decade, many issues championed by the Greens have entered the everyday vocabulary of citizens, the media and political parties. Greens are now able to influence decision-making in many national parliaments as well as regional and local councils. A stronger representation of the Greens in the European Parliament will further promote Green ideas and influence within Europe. The Greening of Europe has begun.

I. TRANSFORMING EUROPE INTO A MODEL OF ECO-DEVELOPMENT

The policy of the EU is still based on faith in unlimited economic growth, ignoring the real social and environmental costs. At present, the organizing factor in the Internal Market is to pave the way for business. The Greens want a radical change to organize production and consumption within the limits of what the environment can tolerate. Greens promote eco-development, which puts quality above quantity.

A reform of the economies to eco-development implies a profound change in the policy of the Union. The EU must cease to be conceived as a war machine for conquest of the world market in competition with the USA, Japan and new industrialized countries in the South. The EU must be transformed into a community of solidarity among the peoples of Europe, enabling them to improve their well-being, with a view to cooperation with all the world's peoples.

Its 350 million citizens and economic weight as world's foremost exporter and importer, the diversity of its ecosystems and resources allow Europe to find the answers to the needs and aspirations of its populations. But this requires changes in the Union's structures (meaning the Treaties), objectives, policies and tools.

1. Green Parties propose entrusting the European Parliament with the drafting of a Constitution for Europe that sets eco-development as an objective of the Union. The content of the existing treaties must be modified to replace references to the goals of growth, competitiveness and free trade by eco-development, cooperation and fair trade.
2. The objective of the European Union must be to ensure, for all regions, in the best way possible :
 - * diversity of environment, socio-economic structures and non-commercial activities
 - * quality of life, notably implying quality of the environment :

- * a high degree of local autonomy and political decision-making at the lowest appropriate level ;
 - * openness to the outside world, with structures and projects to promote cooperation, solidarity and exchange.
3. EU policies in various fields must be reoriented so as to favor the dynamics of eco-development, pursuing objectives such as diversity, quality of life, social effectiveness, environmental quality, autonomy, openness to the world and cooperation between regions.

a. **Agriculture**

The Common Agriculture Policy (CAP) must be reformed to develop sustainable and integrated agriculture ;

b. **Transportation**

Infrastructure policy must be reoriented toward intermodal transportation (rail, waterways, road), and priority must be granted internal regional networks over trans-European networks. Superfluous mobility needs to be sacrificed to fend off ecological catastrophe. Short distance air traffic must be replaced by rail networks.

c. **Energy**

Energy conservation, the exploitation of renewable sources of energy and the promotion of decentralized energy technologies must be priority objectives. The EU must adopt a nuclear-free scenario for the short run and a fossil fuel free scenario for the long run. This involves, notably, a commitment by the EU (as well as other OECD countries) to bring CO₂ emissions down 20% from the 1990 level by 2000 and 50% by 2010.

d. **Environment**

Operational programmes to meet three priorities :

- * prevention ;
- * sustainable levels of production and consumption ;
- * rehabilitation of polluted and contaminated zones.

e. **Industrial policy**

All information efforts will be concentrated on eco-technologies ; ensuring the competitiveness of clean sources of supply, technologies and products must be a constant objective of EU industrial policy.

f. Research and development

Two main orientations :

- * implementation of new technologies and new products based on use of renewable raw materials and energy sources ;
- * systematic analysis of social problems and interactions between science, technology and society.

g. Economic and social cohesion

It follows from the objectives defined above that regional policy aimed at the reinforcement of social and economic cohesion must offer lagging regions the opportunity to intensify policy measures in relevant sectors, in order to obtain positive impact on the corresponding indicators.

4. Conversion to eco-development requires implementation or improvement of economic tools (eco-taxes), prescriptive and regulatory measures (norms, eco-labels, eco-audits, etc.), budgetary measures (reorientation of EU spending), and prior and on-going evaluation of social and environmental impact of programmes and new technologies.
New development indicators must be used to evaluate the pertinence of new measures to policy objectives. These indicators must evaluate the quality of life, inadequately indicated by GNP. Structural Funds and Cohesion Funds will be organized in function of new Union objectives.

II. COMBATTING THE NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF THE INTERNAL MARKET

The opening of internal borders, effective since January 1, 1993, for goods, capital and services but not for people, has taken place under conditions that are dangerous for the environment as well as for the social protection and rights of European citizens. To combat the negative effects of the internal market, which is currently poorly regulated, generating social and environmental dumping, the Green Parties propose :

1. Establishment by the EU of common standards at a high level in such fields as social problems, the environment, consumer safety and protection.

Various incentives (including eco-audits, eco-labels, tax breaks, etc.) are needed to stimulate a dynamic process toward achieving higher levels of common standards. The reference should be the existing norms of the most advanced country.

- * In the field of consumer protection and safety, the common standards should be applicable immediately ;

- * For social and environmental problems, they must be achieved with a few steps ;

- * Single States retain the right to adopt stricter regulations in the environmental and social fields.

2. Integration of social and environmental costs in the price of goods

This must be achieved by :

- * Specific eco-taxes, of which the most fundamental is the Union tax on energy and CO₂, according to the model proposed by the Green Group (Green Paper #3 of March 1992) ;

- * A framework Directive establishing the basic principles of civil liability for damages caused to the environment.

3. Institution of a common tax on revenue from transferable assets and movable property, without discrimination between residents and non-residents, and harmonization of corporate taxes at a high level.

4. Programmes to encourage small businesses, cooperatives, craft industries, maintenance and repair shops.

III. REGULATING INTERNATIONAL TRADE ACCORDING TO ENVIRONMENTAL AND SOCIAL CRITERIA

The Greens opposed the main thrust of the Uruguay Round which extended the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) to agriculture, services, textiles, investment and intellectual property. The agreement reached will have severe consequences for global environment, social conditions and cultural expression. The ability of signatory countries to pursue policies for ecological sustainability, decentralization, and local self-reliance will be undermined. Moreover, the lack of transparency, of information, and of parliamentary control characterising the negotiation process, as well as the incredible power conceded to the experts for its application is in contradiction with the global political impact of such an agreement. Furthermore, even if the three major trading blocs - the EU, Japan and the USA - officially adhere to the principles of free trade, they continue to rule the world market by enforcing so-called voluntary export restrictions, as well as by quotas and tariff barriers. Maintaining subsidies for their own crisis sectors, they continue to turn a blind eye to justified demands of Southern and Eastern countries for fair trading conditions.

In Europe, awareness of the risks of free trade logic which ignores environmental and social imbalances and cultural differences has grown steadily. The stakes are more decisive than ever, now that the opening to the Eastern European countries offers a significant potential supplementary volume of export and import trade. The European

In consequence, it is vital that an International Trade Organization be set up on a democratic basis within the context of the United Nations and begin operations as soon as possible, to ensure that agreements are respected. The ITO's priority mission should be to define the specifications of structures for international trade to be carried out in accordance with the principles mentioned above.

IV. AGRICULTURE : REFORMING THE REFORM

1. Analysis of the Common Agriculture Policy

The Common Agriculture Policy (CAP) has existed since the beginning of the European Community. After the Second World War, the Western European countries involved had a food self-sufficiency rate of 60% and a substantial need for industrial workers.

The CAP was therefore constructed with the following main objectives :

- * food autonomy for the European Economic Community ;
- * modernization of agriculture ;
- * increased availability of rural workers for industry ;
- * income parity between farm workers and those in other branches.

The main policy instruments were :

- * price guarantees for products like milk, oleo-protein crops, grain, beets ;
- * market support for meat, wine, etc. ;
- * financial incentives for modernization and restructuring ;
- * protection at the borders against imports.

To a significant degree, this policy attained its objectives. By the eighties the Community had become self-sufficient, the number of rural workers had sharply decreased in favor of the industrial worker population, modernization was largely achieved as productivity per worker had progressed more in agriculture than in industry. The European Community's restructuring strategy based on price reduction and financial aid for farm modernization worked only too well.

The eighties were the years when the first cracks appeared :

- * The massive imports of grain substitute products, the explosion of milk and cereal production forced EC countries to export on a world market where prices were much lower than on the internal market (e.g., some cereals were re-sold for export for three times less than the price paid to the producers);
- * The entrance into the Community of Great Britain, with its particular world trade traditions, had an influence on willingness to import cheaper agricultural products, such as New Zealand lamb ;

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2. The CAP Reform

After two years of debate, the MacSharry reform was deprived of its initial good intentions concerning survival of small farms and limitation of intensification. The worst features survived. Its main points :

- * "Set aside" of 15% of cultivated land surface ;
- * Price cuts of 30% on cereals, 15% on beef ;
- * Compensation payments: by area for cereals, by head for cattle and sheep ;
- * Pre-retirement compensation schemes for older farmers ;
- * Rural environment measures specific to certain zones whose implementation is entrusted to the Member States.

The consequences were :

- * For the European Union's budget, the advantage of budget planning several years in advance thanks to stable parameters such as surface and head of livestock ;
- * Competitive advantage for cheaper EU products on world markets ;
- * A supposedly strengthened EU negotiating position in GATT thanks to reduction of subsidies ;
- * Ongoing inequities in a system that provides the most substantial aids to the biggest farms and most productive regions ;
- * An ominous split between highly productive intensive agriculture that is hard on the environment and landscape maintenance on less productive lands ;
- * Ongoing or worsening environmental damage: the projected use of "set aside" lands for industrial non-food crops by intensive methods, without the check of chemical residue limits set for food crops, is an obvious aggravating factor.

3. How to reform the reform

The CAP reform proposed by the Green parties is designed to attain several important objectives :

1. Full utilization of Europe's own food production resources, reducing imports of livestock feed from Third World countries, in order to enhance food security ;
2. Development of environment-friendly agriculture over the Union's entire farming territory ;

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V. FITTING TRANSPORT INTO THE ENVIRONMENT

Ecological reconstruction is especially urgent in the field of transport. Traffic causes huge damage. At present, most social and environmental costs are not included in prices. The social burdens threaten to become heavier and heavier. The volume of traffic transporting merchandise is forecast to increase 50% by 2010. The restructuring of industry toward dispersed assembly plants, the creation of the European Economic Area, the opening of the Central and Eastern European countries and above all the completion of the Internal Market have all been accentuating this trend. The European Union plans to stimulate still more traffic by the project of transnational networks, almost entirely devoted to construction of yet another 12,000 km of freeways.

The Greens call for a radical shift away from freeways and air traffic, giving priority to combined rail- waterway- road transport. A decrease of superfluous mobility is required to stem ecological damage. Externalized social and environmental costs of all types of transport must be internalized, meaning higher prices for mobility of merchandise in particular. Greens want to see road transport reduced by 50%.

The Greens propose :

- a. Reorientation of infrastructure policy toward transport by rail and waterways. Abolition of distortions that currently favor road and air transport ;
- b. Development of a high speed train network parallel to reduction of continental air traffic and long distance automobile traffic. Existing tracks must be used for this network whenever possible ; otherwise, new sites can be chosen only after impact assessment and consultation of concerned populations ; when passing through urban areas, HST trains must slow down ;
- c. Banning of night flights to and from airports near residential areas. Adoption of VAT on air traffic and excise tax on kerosene. Surcharge on flights for distances below 1000 km ;
- d. Strict speed limits on freeways, roads and city streets. Equipment of trucks, buses and cars with speed limiters ;
- e. Harmonization of social standards for transport work: adoption of a Directive on working hours for lorry drivers and airline personnel; preservation of railroad workers' social protection. Worldwide upgrading of seamen's social rights to combat social cost-cutting under flags of convenience ;
- f. Harmonization of maritime, road and air safety standards at the highest level, notably for transport of polluting and dangerous goods.

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Within the framework of its privileged relations with Eastern European countries, the Union should give priority to drawing up a contract concerning safe disposal and storage of radioactive materials and waste accumulated in those countries.

F. A new framework for cooperation with Central and Eastern European countries and the Commonwealth of Independent States in the energy field

The European Union, in compliance with its own programme of nuclear phase-out, must take a leading international role in ecologically and socially sound reconstruction of the former Eastern bloc countries' energy systems, excluding any recourse to nuclear energy.

To this end, the EU must actively support a four-year Nuclear Phase-out Plan for those countries, with priority to very rapid shutdown (within one year) of the most dangerous reactors (RBMK and VVER 440/230), followed by all VVER 440/213 and 1000, in that order.

This Plan should be based on active development of investments centered on rational use of energy, energy efficiency, combined production of heat and electricity, renovation of infrastructure for gas and electricity transport, modernization of traditional thermal power stations, construction of new high-performance natural gas and gasified coal-burning electricity generating plants (IGCC turbines), as well as renewable sources of energy.

In its implementation, the Plan must above all take care to call on local design and engineering skills and capacities, giving preference to formulas for financial and technological cooperation, rather than to schemes to export know-how or "turnkey" installations.

With a view to setting up the Plan on an adequate institutional and financial footing, the EU must take the following initiatives :

- * renegotiation of the European Energy Charter in order to state clearly its concerns in the fields of the environment, energy savings and renewable sources of energy, in particular reconsidering the protocol on nuclear energy in light of the objective to phase out nuclear energy ;
- * budgetary reconversion of the "Phare" and "Takis" programmes devoted to nuclear energy to conform to the new priorities, funding only shut-down operations involving nuclear power stations and sealing off the fuel cycle for safety reasons ;
- * broadening the "Thermie" and "Joule" programmes to meet the Plan's objectives ;

d. **Revitalization of the public sector as well as of local and regional associations**

Local public authorities, working in conjunction with associations, are well-placed to promote energy-efficient policies in the fields of transport, housing, land development, waste management, public sector orders or consumer standards for certain types of equipment.

2. **Measures to be adopted in the energy sector**

A. **Euratom Treaty revision**

The Euratom Treaty must be revised as follows :

- * Euratom's main mission becomes managing the phase-out of nuclear energy ;
- * radiation protection standards will be harmonized at the highest level of security, to meet the protection requirements of the most vulnerable segments of the population (foetuses, infants), and regularly revised to take into account the most exacting scientific recommendations ;
- * harmonization of standards will be obligatory, with an authorization and inspection system under EU authority, rather than the competence of Member States ;
- * an inspection and surveillance agency will be set up giving full power to inspectors under control of the European Parliament ;
- * nuclear questions will be handled in the framework of the co-decision procedure in conjunction with the European Parliament, in order to reduce the current democratic deficit in this area.

B. **Third party liability**

Third party liability of nuclear operators must be full and unlimited in order to cover all costs arising from eventual accidents occurring at the facility or during transport of nuclear matter, or occasioned by contaminated material.

C. **End-of-cycle management of nuclear fuel**

- * In accordance with the European Parliament's position, all programmes and activities, whether civil or military, for processing spent nuclear fuel for future use, as well as all operations linked to the manufacture of plutonium-based fuel (MOX), must be terminated :

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Toxic waste

The natural environment is being polluted by dispersion of toxic substances such as pesticides, radioactive substances, heavy metals and chlorine-containing poly-aromatic hydrocarbons. These toxic substances are poisonous to plants, animals and humankind. Several programmes are needed to overcome this problem. Export of toxic waste outside the EU must be totally banned. In particular, it is urgent to implement a strategy of conversion of the chlorine industry so as to eliminate all discharges of chlorinated organic substances into the environment.

Waste disposal

The European Union must start treating waste as an environmental problem and not as merchandise. The Green approach is (1) prevention, (2) reuse and (3) recycling. A Union tax on waste is only a necessary first step.

Stop squandering resources

The earth is finite. Resources of fossil fuels and raw materials are limited as well. A fossil-free scenario is our long term aim. Energy conservation and renewable energies like solar, wind, hydropower and biomass are the answer. Natural gas and gas obtained from coal will help to make a clean transition to a fossil fuel free society.

Reduction, reuse and recycling of materials is the answer to the need to limit use of raw materials. Producers must be made responsible for the whole life cycle of their products. Quotas on extraction and use of some natural resources may be necessary to protect scarce resources from total depletion.

Prevent holes in the ozone layer

The EU should seek rapid revision of the Montreal/London/Copenhagen Protocol to gain worldwide agreement to stop production of all chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), as well as of halons and other ozone depleting substances as soon as possible. The Union must set a good example by stopping production of all these ozone depleting substances immediately and carefully destroying those that exist.

Stop acid rain

In parts of Europe, especially the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Germany, Poland and the Czech Republic, the yearly acid loads for the atmosphere are 30 times higher than the natural load of 200 acid units per year. In the EU, 80% of the land must bear more than the 'critical acid load' of 400 acid units. Severe green taxes on sulphur dioxide and nitrogen oxides are necessary (Sweden already taxes sulphur).

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Reduction, reuse and recycling of materials is the answer to the need to limit use of raw materials. Producers must be made responsible for the whole life cycle of their products. Quotas on extraction and use of some natural resources may be necessary to protect scarce resources from total depletion.

Prevent holes in the ozone layer

The EU should seek rapid revision of the Montreal/London/Copenhagen Protocol to gain worldwide agreement to stop production of all chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), as well as of halons and other ozone depleting substances as soon as possible. The Union must set a good example by stopping production of all these ozone depleting substances immediately and carefully destroying those that exist.

Stop acid rain

In parts of Europe, especially the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Germany, Poland and the Czech Republic, the yearly acid loads for the atmosphere are 30 times higher than the natural load of 200 acid units per year. In the EU, 80% of the land must bear more than the 'critical acid load' of 400 acid units. Severe green taxes on sulphur dioxide and nitrogen oxides are necessary (Sweden already taxes sulphur).

Today, it must be observed that Union aid as such to Third World countries is not subject to real democratic control and remains marginal in terms of its budget :

- * The budget of the European Fund for Development which finances the Lomé Convention -- a pillar of EU cooperation policy -- remains in the hands of the Member States; the Commission and the Council play the main role, jointly defining the meagre Union budget.
- * EU aid represents only 12% of all aid from Member States and 3.5% of overall aid. This percentage has remained unchanged for the last ten years. Over a fifth of this aid takes the form of food aid which serves mainly to get rid of EU farm surpluses.

Reorienting the policy of the Union towards eco-development, as suggested by the Green Parties, must of course be concretized in choices regarding cooperation and by way of all the policies of the Union affecting North-South relations. The EU should promote fair and stable prices for raw materials which are of special interest to many Southern countries.

Based on recognition that what is called development aid can rectify the imbalance between North and South only if accompanied by a general revision of international relations, and considering that all action should be guided by the saying, "taking less is better than giving more", the Greens propose the following ten measures :

1. coordinate national development policies so as better to transform relationships left over from the colonial period and center development aid on combatting poverty and contributing to self-reliance :
2. focus on achieving and carrying out a Union agreement whereby each Member State agrees to devote 1% of its GNP to development aid by the year 2000 :
3. make sure that 50% of projects favor women in developing countries, which means that these projects must focus on meeting the primary needs of the population, with special attention to effects of development projects on children:
4. redistribute aid geographically and socially to ensure that it reaches the poorest populations, which implies transforming the Generalized Preferential System so as to improve access of the moderately advanced nations to the Common Market ;
5. halt all structural food aid and limit food shipments to providing emergency relief, essentially on the basis of triangular operations (EU-financed delivery of surpluses from one Southern country to another Southern country suffering from shortages) ;
6. implement European legislation prohibiting the obligation to purchase products and services from the country supplying aid :

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3 - Proscribe authoritarianism in the field of birth control

Since the right to sexuality and to reproduction is an inalienable human right, the EU must ban any attempt to link development aid to implementation of a policy on birth control.

It should on the other hand contribute to :

- * guaranteeing universal access, free of charge and not based on any form of discrimination, to sex education and a whole range of sure, safe and effective methods of contraception as well as related health services ;
- * eliminating all standards, rules and procedures which constitute a hindrance to the provision of information and the free choice of these methods of contraception.

4 - Guarantee the dignity of indigenous populations

No project involving indigenous populations or carried out on their territory may be initiated without recognition of their rights, prior consultation and joint management. The EU must recognize such indigenous populations as their partners, notably :

- * by concretizing the Council's decision of December 1992 to promote the rights of ethnic minorities ;
- * by including a clause on the rights of indigenous populations in contracts and treaties.

IX. ELIMINATING SOCIAL EXCLUSION

Many people in the European Union are marginalized. Social exclusion is escalating dangerously, aggravated by long-term unemployment. More than 18 million persons in the EU are currently unemployed, and within a few months, the figure will have risen by another three million. No less than fifty million persons in the EU are living below the poverty level. The gap between rich regions and poor or peripheral regions is deepening. The 1988 Cecchini report promise of five million additional jobs thanks to completion of the Single Market is only a vague memory. And now the latest Delors White Paper pins all hopes on traditional economic growth and more competition on global markets.

For the Greens, the objective of work for all is an essential priority. It must determine the entire economic and social policy. In the framework of proposals for eco-development, we support the creation of new activities, meeting needs that are so far unsatisfied or unpaid, as well as better redistribution of work.

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- d. Extension of such essential public services as education, public health, day-care. The EU must establish framework guaranteeing a sufficient level of public services at local and regional level, including those in peripheral regions.
- e. Support and development of local initiatives to set up cooperatives and to start enterprises in suburban and rural districts.
- f. Introduction in all Member States either of minimum wages as well as minimum levels of assistance to persons without means of subsistence, or of guaranteed basic income, linked in each case to the average wage in that Member State, to ensure existence above the poverty line.
- g. Total equivalence of treatment between men and women concerning access to the job market, wages and social security rights.
- h. Revision of the relevant articles in the Economic and Monetary Union to include full employment and fair income distribution as objectives for the 1996 stage.
- i. Setting minimum social protection levels by qualified majority instead of unanimity in the Council, in co-decision with the European Parliament.
- j. Actions at international level (EU, UN, GATT) to prevent social and environmental dumping. Inclusion of the International Labour Organization (ILO) social clause in all trade agreements. The EU as such must ratify the ILO Convention, the European Convention on Human Rights and the Social Charter of the Council of Europe (currently undergoing revision).
- k. Transformation of the new loan mechanism of the European Investment Fund and the European Investment Bank for financing regional eco-development projects, industrial conversion, promotion of the non-commercial sector and environmental protection. The EU must support the right to housing by a policy of privileged loans for home renovation and social housing construction.
- l. Establishment of European enterprise councils in multinational organizations not only for the sake of information flow, but also to make possible genuine participation of employees at the European level.

X. USING MONETARY POLICY FOR EUROPE, NOT VICE VERSA

The Maastricht Treaty stresses the creation of a single currency as the main means of uniting Europe. However, as set forth, the forced march to a single currency seems more likely to split Europe. Trying to create a single currency even before the EU has a solid social dimension is irresponsible and implies ceding absolute priority to price stability. The reasonable aim of keeping inflation under control must be pursued in combination with other social and economic objectives such as employment, social security, international solidarity and ecological reconstruction.

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7. **Preservation of the possibility of periodically readjusting rates, while remaining within the European Monetary System, in order to attain the level of flexibility called for by structural adjustments without exposure to risk of uncontrolled exchange rates. A single currency and Central European Bank may emerge as the outcome of this process, but not of a forced march that most Member States are unable to follow.**
8. **Measures against tax evasion and money laundering, such as revision of banking secrecy rules.**

XI. EUROPEAN CITIZENSHIP: OPENING TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD

The Maastricht Treaty introduces the notion of "citizenship of the Union", substantially limiting innovations to questions dealing with the right to vote. The Greens, however, are also strongly concerned with other matters such as free movement, immigration and the right to asylum.

Both the method envisaged to deal with these matters and their formulation appear inadequate. The promised, but still lagging, removal of frontiers to allow free movement of persons is in fact a relaxation of controls applying only to citizens of the Member States. No initiative is planned to extend free movement to the approximately nine million citizens of non-EU countries residing legally in the Union.

As for the fight against drugs and crime, police or customs cooperation, or legal and penal cooperation, all have two common characteristics: they are based on an exclusively repressive approach and are handled in utmost secrecy by intergovernmental agencies, most frequently by civil servants who are not democratically accountable for their decisions, in particular not to the European Parliament.

European citizenship must be based on the following principles :

1. **Citizenship of the Union is not a closed concept. While citizens of one Member State automatically become citizens of the Union, citizens of third countries who have legally resided in an EU country for three to five years must be able to have easy access to citizen status in the country of their residence, together with Union citizenship, while at the same time they should also be allowed to retain the nationality of their country of origin (double nationality).**
2. **Legal residents from third countries who do not have or do not yet have European nationality must be guaranteed as to their fundamental rights, including freedom of movement (Article 8A of the EU Treaty), thanks to a European Resident Card.**
3. **Residents must also be able to benefit from a series of specific rights, notably regarding reuniting of families, access to work, professional training, administrative independence for women, political rights and electoral rights for local elections. To this end, a framework Directive must be drawn up and adopted concerning the status of residents from non-EU countries.**

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European cooperation in the fields of justice and internal affairs

European common policy in all these matters should be elaborated with the participation and consent of the national and European parliaments and be subject to adequate democratic control. Such eminently sensitive matters concerning individual rights cannot be dealt with by mere interministerial agreements (such as the ad hoc immigration group) or international conventions (such as the Schengen, Dublin and Interpol accords).

Cultural identity

European identity is characterized by interaction of different cultures: diversity, complexity and permanent change are the key words. The role of the European Union is to encourage cultural exchange and to protect and develop cultural diversity, with the special task of supporting minority languages. The Greens' proposal to include cultural development among regional funding objectives was adopted by the European Parliament, but not yet by the Council and the Commission.

Media

In Europe, the media landscape is losing diversity and quality in a process of concentration and commercialization. To ensure diversity, Europe's audiovisual production must be promoted.

XII. PROMOTING GENDER EQUALITY

In the needed transformation of society, it is essential for women to obtain the right of self-determination, including individual status within the social security system. For all their differences, a common denominator of the Member States is the unequal position of the sexes. Discrimination on the basis of gender must be combatted in all spheres of social and cultural life.

The Equal Opportunities Unit of the European Commission obstructs regional projects for affirmative action on ideological grounds of free competition. The Greens reject this position. In collaboration with the European Women's Network and the European Women's Lobby, the Green Group in the European Parliament will pursue a policy of affirmative discrimination for women in all fields. This entails:

1. Equality between women and men and full democratic participation of women in all sectors of society ;
2. Until both sexes reach equality, there should be affirmative action using such devices as quotas to achieve participation of women in public and private fields. Women must receive equal pay for equal work. Women's entrance into the higher echelons of salaried employment must be ensured ;

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development for all the world's populations, improvements in trade and international relations.

2. Domestic policy : The Union must ensure harmonious development of society in a context of balanced relations with the rest of the world, based on: equitable and ecological use of natural resources, gradual elimination of imbalances between the Regions, constant promotion of the quality of life.

Institutions to remedy the democratic deficit

At present, the Union's legislative power is not clearly separate from its executive power: its decision-making system is complex, applying a whole range of different procedures to various fields without any clear rationale, and resulting in extraordinary ambiguity regarding the role of Union authorities.

The Parliament is not a full-fledged legislative body; the Commission has both legislative and executive competences; the Council is simultaneously a government, a legislator and a diplomatic conference; the Court of Justice is not a real constitutional court.

A democratic European Union needs a transparent structure. The construction of three separate 'pillars' in the Maastricht Treaty is in itself an obstacle to democracy. Moreover, regulations that lend themselves to unverifiable spending, misuse of power and fraud damage trust in the political system.

The Greens propose :

- a. Along with enlargement of the European Union to the EFTA countries, a time schedule should be set for step-by-step entry of the Visegrad States (the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Poland). Entry should be subject to referendum in the applicant country.
- b. The European Parliament constitutes with the Council the legislative and budgetary authority of the European Union. The Parliament must have power to initiate legislation, as well as the power of political control over the Commission.
- c. The European Parliament must be elected according to a uniform electoral procedure of the proportional type.
- d. Modification of the Treaty, admission of new Member States, enlargement of the competence of the Union and approval of the Constitution should require qualified majorities in both the Parliament and the Council. An EU-wide referendum should be held on the Treaty to be revised in 1996.
- e. The Committee of the Regions, established by the Maastricht Treaty, must be made up of democratically elected representatives of the regions.

Its aim must be : promotion of peace, cooperation between all nations, disarmament, arms industry reconversion, harmonious and equitable development for all the world's populations, improvements in trade and international relations.

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The enlargement of the European Union should not be limited to the EFTA countries. As was the case for Greece, Spain and Portugal, joining the Union can be an important instrument of democratic and economic stabilization of the countries of Central, Eastern and Southern Europe.

But this process cannot take place without giving special care to the following aspects:

- * respect for human rights should remain a strict condition for joining the European Union ;
- * opening the Union market to Central and Eastern European products must be accompanied by a deliberate policy aimed at overcoming ecological and social imbalances between East and West.

The Greens propose :

- a. That equal treatment be accorded to the examination of applications regardless of the size, economic weight or strategic importance of the respective applicant countries ;
- b. That negotiations for enlarging the Union to include the four countries of the Visegrad group take place on the basis of the priority defined above ;
- c. That the transfer of competence from the national to the European level and the transformation of the Community into a Union of the federal type go hand in hand with a process of decentralization and transfer of competences from States to Regions ;
- d. That the Union seize the occasion of the negotiations underway to review with the applicant countries existing Community legislation on environmental protection with a view to alignment at the highest possible levels of protection. The Union should be ready to modify its level achieved ("acquis") where the legislation of applicant countries is more strict ;
- e. That "opting out" clauses in fields of Community competence be eliminated to ensure the internal cohesion of the enlarged Union ;
- f. That a common foreign policy be established independent of existing military alliances, to allow neutral countries to participate fully ;
- g. That a European Constitution be adopted in order to overcome the ambiguities of the Maastricht Treaty and to offer to all the peoples of Europe the possibility of choosing with full awareness and freely joining in a project of democratic Union, rather than in a vast market regulated by intergovernmental procedures. In this context, the draft Constitution recently elaborated by the European Parliament can be considered a useful start.

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- e. **creation of a pan-European security system capable of the prevention, management and resolution of disputes without recourse to violence ;**
- f. **general and complete disarmament as advocated by the United Nations.**

A new European security system

1. **The end of the Cold War presents new challenges. Territorial, ethnic, and economic conflicts threaten peace and security. The changes in Central and Eastern Europe have led to various problems which in some countries include economic chaos, massive unemployment, shortage of consumer goods, dismantling of government provisions, great social unrest and growing nationalistic or chauvinistic tendencies. The former Soviet troops have not yet been completely pulled out from foreign countries, and military threat is still used as an indirect argument in negotiations. In the post Cold War era Europe is more plagued by armed conflict than ever before since the Second World War.**

The most violent conflicts are being fought in the Balkans and the Caucasus. For all its proclamations, the EU was unable to elaborate a common foreign policy, let alone to play a consistent role for peace. There was scarcely any real effort to exert peaceful forms of influence, notably through support for local peace movements, to ensure enforcement of the embargo or to mobilize substantial peace-keeping forces. In the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina this amounts to a betrayal of the people, especially the very large proportion who have continued despite everything to maintain a multi-ethnic society. The EU and UN negotiators were all too willing to acquiesce in the country's division along ethnic lines. The Greens urge recognition and protection of the right of the legal government of Bosnia-Herzegovina to a viable state and the provision of sufficient UNPROFOR troops to ensure safe areas. Active assistance must be given to all those throughout former Yugoslavia who support human rights, democracy and dialogue against chauvinism and ethnic cleansing.

2. **No single European institution can be expected to address these problems, but the systems "interlocking institutions" currently being developed is seriously flawed due to the dominance of Western European defence interests (NATO and WEU). These have commanded almost unlimited resources while peacekeeping and the prevention of conflict have been effectively ignored.**
3. **We want to abolish NATO and WEU - which have failed to produce a fresh strategy to match the dramatically changed international situation - and to replace them with a pan-European collective security system, comprising all European countries, which is prepared to deal with the prevention, managing and solving of conflicts between and within member states. In this system security policy is subject to full parliamentary control and aimed in the first place at the minimizing of violence when solving conflicts. All types of settlement should be institutionalized by means of a binding treaty: inquiry, mediation,**

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3. We want to abolish NATO and WEU - which have failed to produce a fresh strategy to match the dramatically changed international situation - and to replace them with a pan-European collective security system, comprising all European countries, which is prepared to deal with the prevention, managing and solving of conflicts between and within member states. In this system security policy is subject to full parliamentary control and aimed in the first place at the minimizing of violence when solving conflicts. All types of settlement should be institutionalized by means of a binding treaty: inquiry, mediation, good offices, conciliation, arbitration, and jurisdiction. To keep the peace, once

3. **The CSCE also has a central role to play in the ongoing European arms control and disarmament process, supported by integrated CSCE institutions for verification and conversion management. In the CSCE Security Forum we will seek for concrete measures to be aimed at:**
 - a. **complete ban of nuclear, biological and chemical arms. The greatest menace at the moment is the risk that nuclear and other arms for mass destruction are spread. All nuclear testing will be prohibited and all arms for mass destruction be placed under UN control, to be destroyed afterwards ;**
 - b. **harmonisation of the various arms control obligations already concluded;**
 - c. **deeper cuts in conventional arms and military spending, restructuring remaining conventional forces to defensive military doctrines ;**
 - d. **promotion of multilateral reductions in arms sales and cooperation in respect of non-proliferation of all categories of weapons ;**
 - e. **cooperation in converting the defense industry to civil production.**

Guarantees for democratic rights

- * **It is our aim that the terms of multilateral treaties on human rights will be incorporated in national laws ;**
- * **Each member of the CSCE shall submit to a supranational judicial regime regarding democratic and human rights, which would have a significant impact on its lawmaking process.**

Civil society : towards a Europe of Regions

The common security system process will not be limited to the institutional level: contacts between people within and between countries - within a framework of a Europe of Regions - are necessary to find sustainable solutions to many of Europe's pressing problems. An Assembly of European Regions will be developed as a citizens' forum within the CSCE. The CSCE should not be merely a club of diplomats and generals: NGOs should be recognised as partners in the CSCE process. They should be allowed to speak in the CSCE meetings and have access to all documentation and proposals as soon as they are tabled.

Reform of the United Nations

1. **The UN must be made more democratic, and thus enabled to play a central role in promoting integrated regional peace and developments programmes. We will campaign for the reform of the Security Council to reflect the global regions, and the veto to be abolished. Decisions shall be taken by qualified majority.**

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2. **The European Greens stress the necessity of a constabulary role of the UN in order to prevent further armed escalation of a conflict ('peace keeping'). The objective of all forms of intervention must always be to start a process leading to a solution of the conflict, rather than to the freezing of the conflict.**
3. **We will also press for the establishment of :**
 - a. **UN centres for conflict resolution, with mediation teams trained in all cultural and religious backgrounds, to monitor conflict areas and bring their skills to bear before violence breaks out ;**
 - b. **a UN Verification Agency for early warning and treaty verification procedures.**

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