

appendix 6

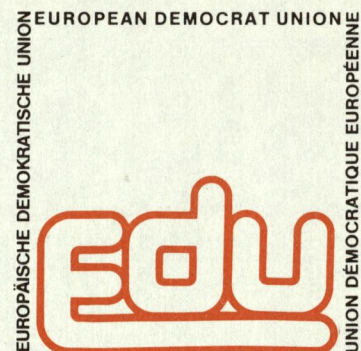
EDU/1979/97/e.  
20th July 1979

EMPLOYMENT POLICY IN A SOCIALLY ORIENTED  
MARKET ECONOMY

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE  
2nd PARTY LEADERS' CONFERENCE ON 20th OF JULY 1979  
IN LONDON

In their constitutive meeting on 24th April 1978 the EDU Party Leaders' Conference decided to establish a Sub-Committee of EDU to elaborate guidelines of policy and other bases for political decision-making on the subject of Employment Policy in a socially oriented market economy for submission to the Party Leaders' Conference 1979.

Under the Chairmanship of Mr. Juppé the above Sub-Committee adopted a report which was discussed at the Party Leaders' Conference of EDU in London on 20th July. The following recommendations on Employment Policy in a socially oriented market economy were adopted by the Party Leaders' Conference of EDU.



Central office  
Bureau central  
Zentralbüro

A-1030 WIEN,  
Jacquingasse 43

☎ (0043 222) 73 51 01, 73 71 84  
Telex 7681

DR. JOSEF TAUS  
Chairman  
Président  
Vorsitzender

R. ALISTAIR McALPINE  
Treasurer  
Trésorier  
Schatzmeister

DR. ANDREAS KHOL  
Executive Secretary  
Secrétaire exécutif  
Exekutivsekretär

Mitglieder  
Members  
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AUSTRIA  
Österreichische Volkspartei

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Høyre

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NORTHERN IRELAND  
Conservative Party

The following documents were discussed by the Sub-Committee and submitted to the Party Leaders' Conference; they may be obtained from the EDU secretariat by request.

Part one: Recommendations

App. 1: Members of the 1st meeting of the Sub-Committee

App. 2: Questionnaire

App. 3: Contribution of Mrs. Grethe Fenger-Möller, Denmark

App. 4: Contribution of CDU, Germany

App. 5: Contribution of CSU, Germany

App. 6: Contribution of Mrs. Margaretha af Ugglas, Sweden

App. 7: Contribution of Arne Skauge, Norway

App. 8: Contribution of Barney Hayhoe, United Kingdom

App. 9: Contribution of RPR, France

App. 10: Contribution of Pedro Luis Gomis and Vicente Perez Menayo, Spain

## Employment policy in a socially oriented market economy

### Recommendations

#### 1. The purpose of full employment

The members of the EDU Sub-Committee on Employment policy assert that, for human, political, economic and social grounds reducing unemployment and realising full employment should be the paramount goal of European countries.

Any conception that would admit unemployment as a fatality or as a regulating factor of the economy is rejected.

They maintain that governments and social partners have the imperative obligation to research, - by constructive co-operation -, the means to provide or to keep up a sufficient number of qualified jobs.

They state that unemployment has grown extensively during the last years, even though considerable success has been achieved on a regional level by means of a structural policy.

They stress that European youth is particularly stricken by the scourge of unemployment and that their confidence in the ability of our societies to construct a better future is consequently shaken.

They appeal therefore to all European governments and social partners to intensify and coordinate their efforts to improve the employment situation considerably during the next months by direct and effective measures.

#### 2. Research for economic growth

The members think that one of the basic conditions to improve the employment situation in Europe is a return to a constant growth of the economy.

We do not neglect the constraints weighing upon the economic policies through the exigencies of the balance of external payments and the struggle against inflation; the members are perfectly aware that for a few years a return to the fundamental economic equilibrium would be one of the determining factors for the development of productive employments.

An emphasis of the political short-term strategy should be suitable to create a more favorable situation for investment which will result in higher employment and more particularly for the small and medium sized companies; initiatives to lighten the tax burden and simplify the system would be the necessary steps to give a spur to investments.

It is necessary that a real European solidarity should express itself through common industrial and research projects to face the changes of the economic structures carried out by the new international division of labour and the competition of the new industrial countries.

It appears necessary to establish a European commercial policy that should be able to diminish the consequences of a unfair competition and to foster dynamism in exports, while avoiding a return to the protectionist system and encouraging the development of an organized cooperation with the developing countries.

### 3. Joint actions

The representative members put in evidence that unemployment could not be considered as a general phenomenon but that on the contrary suitable answers should be brought to the different specific questions which are raised according to the regions or the categories - for example, youth unemployment.

Professional training is in the first place of their preoccupations and four main objectives are proposed:

- Schools should be geared to the world of industry and vice versa so that the curriculum of training and vocational guidance should take into consideration the greater range of opportunities on the employment market; the possibilities aiming at fastening the bonds between the school system and industries - trainings, and parttime teachings preceding training in industry for future masters in technical schools - should be developed.
- Workers should be encouraged to participate more actively in decision making at their place of work so as to increase a feeling of involvement.
- Incitement to professional mobility in each country and among European countries, in order to promote higher productivity which still is the prerequisite of a lasting increase of employment.
- an aid in favour of innovation and for the settling of individual workers should be brought.

The members consider that in a near future the small and medium sized companies will play a leading part in the improvement of the employment situation. Therefore, they wish a special status, including, tax, social - tax exemption or a lightening of the social charges - juridical aspects, should take into consideration the conditions of working specific to the small and medium sized companies. A less conformist and more efficient policy for the creation of industries is requested.

A more active family policy could really give to the workers an opportunity of choice between work at home and work outside; an increase of part-time jobs as well as a scheme aiming at granting an education allowance to families supporting children is asked by the members.

As regards the duration of work, the members agree to say that a general and sudden reduction of the working time could not be considered as a means contributing to the restoration of full employment.

The reorganisation of the working time in its daily, weekly, monthly and yearly rhythm will inevitably be determined by the dictating social pattern and, as far as the limits of the general economic constraints were concerned be the result of the negotiation of agreements among the social partners of the different economic sectors; at any rate one ought to ease the modalities of retirement leaving every one a greater freedom of choice.

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To simplify the analysis of unemployment as well as the study of its evolution, the members express the wish that a standardized statistics apparatus should be adopted by all the European countries; they ask governments to approach OECD in this matter.

appendix 7

EDU/1979/94/e.  
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## EUROPEAN STRUCTURES

### EUROPEAN POLICY

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE  
2nd PARTY LEADERS' CONFERENCE ON 20th OF JULY 1979  
IN LONDON

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Under the Chairmanship of Ministerpräsident Dr. Ernst Albrecht the above Sub-Committee adopted a report which was discussed at the Party Leaders' Conference of EDU in London on 20th July. The following recommendations on European Structures and European Policy were adopted by the Party Leaders' Conference of EDU.

Central office  
Bureau central  
Zentralbüro

A-1030 WIEN,  
Jacquingasse 43

☎ (0043 222) 73 51 01, 73 71 84  
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Contents:

1. Terms of Reference of the Sub-Committee
2. Two Focal Points in the Work of the Sub-Committee
  - a) The Relationship between EDU Parties in Countries of the European Community and their Partners in Countries outside the Community
  - b) The Problems and Tactics of assembling the non-collectivist Parties in Europe

## 1. Terms of Reference of the Sub-Committee

As the mandate of the sub-committee was not precisely defined, the committee dealt at first with the organisation and method of its work. The members agreed that the sub-committee had to deal with important topical questions of European policy; even more than other sub-committees it ought to be a platform of a permanent dialogue between the parties concerned. Based on this principle the sub-committee selected a series of topical European questions at its first meeting on 16th November 1978 and condensed them to working papers after previous discussions at its second meeting on 23rd March 1979. Furthermore the sub-committee tackled additional topics which however - according to its viewpoint - have not yet attained a state where they could be laid down into final papers. Here the discussions ought to be continued.

## 2. The two Focal Points of the Sub-Committee's Work

- a) Relations between EDU Parties from European Community States and Friendly Parties in Non-Community States in the Light of the European Direct Elections and the Enlargement of the EEC.

In the view of the EDU parties Europe goes beyond that what we call "free Europe". Also those nations who are excluded from free political participation in Europe and its institutions are parts of our European culture and history which they have to remain even though they cannot manifest their free will for the time being. When considering Europe as a whole one has to keep in mind this larger Europe.

Political trends in the free part of Europe are being influenced on an increasing scale by the European Community. Despite the relative stagnation of the latter's process of integration, it is exercising an external impact which has made itself felt throughout Europe and in the Third World. In addition to the USA and Japan, the Community is increasingly becoming the spokesman of the Free World in international affairs.

The two important innovations facing the EEC - the Direct Elections to the European Parliament and the enlargement to include Greece, Portugal and Spain - have resulted in a concentration of the political discussions in Europe on the problems of the Community. In addition, this apportionment of roles has also been brought about by the fact that the Community's choice of name appears to monopolise the whole concept of "Europe".

These trends are desirable inasmuch as they promote the growing strength of the European Community and the economic and political upswing of the whole of Europe and the enhancement of its position throughout the world. However, there is a danger that the non-EEC states on our continent will not play a full part in significant developments and that their affairs will not be discussed adequately at a European level. The parties united within the EDU - together with other allied parties whose accession to the EDU is desired - must try to reverse this trend by means of transnational co-operation. Owing to its broad territorial basis EDU could be a very important link. EDU parties could make use of the consequent possibilities in the ways described in the following.

The parties from the Community states should use their best endeavours to ensure that the commitment contained in the Treaty of Rome in regard to the accessibility of the Community to all democratic states in Europe desirous of joining is

taken seriously (Preamble and Article 237 of the EEC Treaty). It must be emphasised in all clarity that the use of the designation "European Community" is only justifiable if the Community is open to other partners. By virtue of its name and concentrated commitment, the Community is designed for enlargement. At the same time, other legal forms of subsidiary participation parallel to the institution of complete accession ought to be devised. Fresh forms of co-operation could form an important link with those states which are not full members of the Community.

Already at present the European Parliament has contacts with a number of non-member states. These contacts ought to be intensified and should include a greater number of matters. Non-member states, such as Austria, who do not yet participate in this parliamentary cooperation should be covered soon. There are a number of delicate political issues in Europe where misunderstandings could be removed by direct mutual information between parliaments. Regular personal contacts between the leaders of parliamentary groups would be particularly useful. One could also consider mixed parliamentary committees or working groups, participation in study meetings of the groups of the European Parliament, positions of observer, "sponsorships" for certain parties etc. etc. It is essential to satisfy the need for information of parties in non-member states as to the work of the European Parliament by regular, well organised cooperation yet without unnecessary organisational efforts.

All EDU parties must provide their support to ensure that the institutional links between the countries of free Europe, in the economic and political sector alike, are retained in full and consolidated still further. That includes above all the Council of Europe, in whose Consultative Assembly the EDU parties must work closely together with the other non-collectivist parties in order to create comprehensive arrangements for the whole of free Europe within the areas of activity handled by the Council of Europe. Greater concentration by the Council of Europe on certain clearly defined areas would help to strengthen its position. Mutual links between the European Parliament and the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe should take place on the level of parliamentary groups. The members of these assemblies coming from EDU-parties should insist upon the need for cooperation between the parliamentary groups which take the technical interest and the need for information of non-member states seriously.

Considerable importance is also attached to concurrent efforts by all states in free Europe within the OECD, the successor organisations of CSCE and the Western groups of advisers at United Nations. Finally, the free-trade arrangements covering the whole of free Europe and deriving from the Agreement between EEC and EFTA as well as the supplementary agreements of association between European states and the Community must also be retained in their entirety.

Even more than until now the EDU parties ought to make use of their co-operation in order to intensify their spiritual confrontation with Socialism. It is therefore the task of EDU to create a cultural climate in Europe which is favourable to its political aspirations. Deliberations as to the technical means which could make effective this "intellectual presence" (congresses, discussions, mass media policy) should be carried on within the framework of EDU.

A balanced relationship must be created between the interests of the Community and those countries outside the Community within the European party organisations in which the EDU parties are active, i.e. in the EDU working group itself as well as in the EUCD, the EPP etc. EDU ought to make the relations between countries within the Community and countries outside the Community a standing item of



their agenda, e.g. of the sub-committee on European Structures, in order to make EDU a platform where like-minded parties constantly redress the balance between a desirable progress of integration in the European communities and the overlapping interests of free Europe as a whole.

Moreover, the future cooperation in European parliament, which the EDU parties from the Community countries are pursuing in their party federations, must still make it quite clear that the democratic legitimation of the Community institutions is no mere internal organisational process for the EEC, but a matter affecting the whole of free Europe and one which must interest citizens in all these countries.

b) The problems and tactics of assembling the non-collectivist parties in Europe

The fragmentation of the middle-of-the-road-parties at a European, and frequently at a national level, too constitutes a distinctive feature of the European party scene. Hitherto, no-one has succeeded in bringing together within the framework of transnational party co-operation all the Christian Democratic, Conservative, Centrist and other non-collectivist parties.

By contrast, the European left-wing parties - the Socialists and Communists - have a long tradition of working together on a transnational level and, despite the considerable heterogeneity of a fundamental nature existing within the two groups, they present a very effective image in the Communist Movement steered by Moscow also in the Socialist International. This effectiveness is enhanced by the support they enjoy in the mass media: that applies in particular to the Socialists.

The vulnerability of European Socialism vis-à-vis Marxist philosophy and the lack of any strong will of some European socialist parties to differentiate itself from Communism also poses problems for the objectives of "democratic" Socialism or even a Social Democracy conceived as a conscious rebuff to Marxism. There is still a danger of Communism and Socialism linking up together, inspired by the claim that united they have a majority among the political forces of Europe. Hence, the alternative blueprint of a "Socialist Europe" remains a tangible threat. Similarly, one should not overlook the threat that looms from an extremely totalitarian right-wing movement, although that menace is smaller in magnitude.

In view of these threats, the fate of free democracy, based on equal partnership, will depend to a major degree on the non-collectivist parties. For this reason, it is indispensable to bring these parties together. Acting together, these parties must come to the fore in the European institutions, in the public eye and in democratic elections - at European and national levels alike - as the strongest force and thus in a majority. The proper point of departure for achieving this aim is the European Democratic Union. It may and ought to become a comprehensive association of non-collectivist parties, where EPP and EUCD can co-operate without losing their identity. The only criterion for a party's cooperation with EDU is the endorsement of the Klessheim-declaration of 24th April 1979. The time immediately after the first direct elections to the European Parliament is particularly suited for the achievement of the aim of EDU to broaden its basis by gaining new partners.

However, a number of parties and party groupings entertain deep-felt reservations towards co-operation on such a broad scale in consequence of their national history, regional peculiarities, denominational differences or semantic and psychological difficulties. The most serious difficulties stem from the self-awareness of

the Christian-Democratic parties, which see themselves as middle-of-the-road parties inspired by the Christian ethic and possessed of an open mind vis-à-vis left and right. Yet that ought not to preclude the possibility of them seeking dependable, non-collectivist majorities whilst fully preserving their own identity.

Another obstacle is the ambivalence of European liberalism, whose left-wing movement is no longer willing to delimit itself from Socialism, which by its non-collectivist tendency may become a precious reservoir for EDU. These difficulties frequently muffle the identity of the aims and views of the non-collectivist parties.

The most promising approach to resolving these problems consists in ascertaining the common features - as well as the divergences - in the non-collectivist parties by means of detailed and relevant study.

This will help to provide a better idea of the extent to which Christian-Democratic, Conservative, Centrist and other non-collectivist parties concur in their picture of the society they wish to create in Europe and also of the extent to which they agree in their rejection of a Socialist Europe.

This work and study is also intended to qualify the historically explainable designation of many parties and to overcome the semantic reservations (e.g. in respect of the word "conservative") generated in many languages as a result. It will direct attention to political substance and promote an approximation of standpoints by joint discussion.

A standing offer ought to be made to those parties still not members of the EDU to join this preparatory study and work. Moreover, the results of the studies ought to be freely available to the reluctant ones.

The really important thing in the present situation is to counteract the impression propagated by certain interested circles that the EDU is an alliance of backward-looking parties by stressing their progressive and forward-looking joint view-points, thus making the EDU more and more attractive for the other parties of the Centre. This includes subjects in the field of social policy, labour legislation and energy policy. By the same token, a critical look should again be cast at the principles enunciated in the preamble to the Klessheim Declaration without, however, amending its closely overlapping nature.

These efforts can only prove successful if certain tactical requirements are observed and if EDU maps out its activities with prudence and an eye to the long-term objectives.

These comprise the following points:

- Renunciation by the EDU of any further organisational consolidation, retention of a high degree of flexibility and repeated emphasis of its self-identity as a working group of parties and not as a European party.

-Also for its work in the various subject matters it is of advantage for EDU to offer a wide range of possibilities to cooperate. It should therefore be made possible to have flexible forms of observers and means of cooperation which would allow to other parties a gentle rapprochement to EDU. All efforts to win new parties should be made accordingly.

- Attention by the EDU to the self-awareness of the "political families" among the non-collectivist parties and where necessary, renunciation of firm coalition ties (e.g. in the future European Parliament). Cooperation should, nevertheless, be more than casual, in particular in the framework of the European Parliament. A close connection between EDU parties will no doubt also affect their cooperation in the framework of the European Parliament.

- Irrespective of the need to differentiate oneself from one's competitors in national politics, the parties belonging to the EDU should make every effort to retain the desire and capacity of all non-collectivist parties for a coalition at the European level.
- When bringing together the non-collectivist parties, use should be made of the special contribution which large-scale popular parties stretching beyond the limits of traditional party families can furnish by virtue of their manifold international party links. They have a special intermediary role to play.
- It is of great importance to try to find a modus vivendi with EPP, EUCD and the christian-democrat parties - one form or the other of mutual links. Thereby all possibilities should be kept open in order to make possible even closer links.

appendix 8

EDU/1979/92/e.  
20th July 1979

## ENERGY AND ENVIRONMENT

### RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE 2nd PARTY LEADERS' CONFERENCE ON 20th OF JULY 1979 IN LONDON

In their constitutive meeting on 24th April 1978 the EDU Party Leaders Conference decided to establish a Sub-Committee of EDU to elaborate guidelines of policy and other bases for political decision-making on the subject of Energy and Environment for submission to the Party Leaders' Conference 1979.

Under the chairmanship of Mr. Anders Wijkman the above Sub-Committee adopted a report which was discussed at the Party Leaders' Conference of EDU in London on 20th July 1979. The following recommendations on Energy and Environment were adopted by the Party Leaders' Conference of EDU.

Central office  
Bureau central  
Zentralbüro

A-1030 WIEN,  
Jacquingasse 43

☎ (0043 222) 73 51 01, 73 71 84  
Telex 7681

DR. JOSEF TAUS  
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R. ALISTAIR McALPINE  
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Part 1: Recommendations

Part 2: Conclusions

App.1: members of 1st meeting of the Sub-Committee

App. 2: members of the 2nd meeting of the Sub-Committee

App. 3: replies to the questionnaire

App. 4: Energy conservation - Function of the market and influence of the Government (Dr. Heinz Riesenhuber)

App. 5: Europe et économie d'énergie (André Turcat)

App. 6: Research and Development Program in the field of energy (Dr. Fritz König)

# ENERGY AND ENVIRONMENT

## part one

### Recommendations

1. The industrial revolution would not have been possible without abundant supplies of cheap energy. The very significant improvements in the standard of living in the industrial world in the last decades are mainly due to the increased use of cheap oil and other energy sources.

There exists a very strong link between economic development and energy consumption. The correlation factor has been approximately 1,0 in the industrialized countries during all this century. For the developing world it will take many decades before the correlation factor between growth and energy demand starts to decrease. The correlation factor in developing nations to-day is estimated to be approximately 1,3, i.e. energy demand is expected to increase by 1,3% when the economy grows by 1%. We believe that the link between energy demand and economic growth should be substantially reduced in the future. For the foreseeable future, however, we will definitely have to accept that energy demand will increase with economic growth - but hopefully at a lower rate than to-day.

2. Considering the population explosion and the aim by most governments -both in the industrialized and developing nations - to improve the standards of living for their citizens, there is no doubt that there will be a rapid increase in the global demand for energy.

In most international studies it is supposed that the world demand could be more than doubled by the year 2000 and possibly tripled by 2020. We foresee very large difficulties when it comes to supplying these estimated high demands. Supply will be able to meet demand only if a number of prerequisites are fulfilled.

3. European and national policy actions in the energy field are needed mainly for the following reasons:

- Most countries are not self-sufficient in terms of energy supply. The dependence on imports leads to two basic problems - one is the security of supply, the other is the impact on the balance of payments. When energy supply in the world markets becomes scarcer, both these aspects turn out to be very serious for most nations in the world.

- The lead times in the energy field are very long, i.e. it takes decades to change the structure of the energy system both at the production and the consumption levels.

- The environmental impacts from a steadily increasing energy consumption are major. The effects on the climate resulting from the increased use of fossil fuels could be dangerous.

4. Although we believe strongly in the formation of coherent national policies in the energy field, we want to underline the importance of trying to avoid too many regulations and restrictions. The price mechanism plays an important role in this field and neglect of this fact would only lead to money being invested in the wrong types of projects and in the creation of uncalled for bureaucracy.

5. The dominating problem in the energy field is our nations' great dependence on oil. Almost 50% of the world's energy consumption is supplied through oil.

There is not enough oil in the world to continue the past rapid expansion in oil production. Most projections lead to the conclusion that world production will peak around 1990 at a rate of approximately 100 million barrels/day and then successively decline. (Present oil production is around 70 million barrels/day.) This means that the estimated doubling in energy demand through to the end of the 90's must to a large and ever-increasing extent be supplied from other sources of energy. Oil cannot be relied upon to account for more than about 1/3 of total world supply by the year 2000.

Natural gas will be available for a somewhat longer period of time. An advantage compared with oil is that gas supplies are more evenly distributed. Gas could, however, not be regarded as a real long-term solution of our energy supply problems.

6. We find it very difficult to-day to see how future energy demand will be covered. There are in principle four paths to choose from

- conservation
- coal
- nuclear power
- solar energy and other new sources.

7. A strong conservation policy is essential no matter which energy sources we try to develop. This is especially important when it comes to reducing our heavy dependence on oil.

Through energy conservation the dependence on insecure energy supplies decreases, negative environmental impacts are reduced and the danger of trade-balance deficits - in case of drastic price rises - is lessened.

8. We believe that we still lack adequate information and knowledge to decide which combination of supply systems could secure the world's estimated future demand for energy. The uncertainties are especially serious when it comes to environmental impacts and production costs. As for the new alternatives - i.e. various forms of direct and indirect solar energy - an additional problem exists: no matter how strongly those alternatives are supported, it will take decades before they can provide us with more than a marginal contribution to our supply systems.

We do think that it is absolutely necessary to keep all possible energy-production options open, until we do have more knowledge in this field. Therefore a vigorous research and development policy concerning energy production systems - and especially concentrated on the new alternatives - is essential.

9. Coal is one of the most important European primary energy sources. An increased use of coal will, however, lead to severe environmental consequences. Nevertheless we believe coal must play a dominant role in our future supply systems. Because of that vigorous research and development programmes are needed specifically directed to the environmental problems.

10. As for nuclear fission, we believe Europe as a whole can not do without it - at least not during a period when oil will become scarcer and when new alternatives have not yet been developed.

However, nuclear energy can only be used on the strict condition that human health is protected. This demands very high safety standards.

Furthermore, we urge the European countries - in addition to their national programmes - to work together with the rest of the industrialized world to come up with proven safe systems for waste management and final disposal and to try to lessen the risks of proliferation of nuclear - weapon technology.

11. All conventional energy forms - i.g. fossil fuels, hydro, nuclear, etc. - involve environmental problems. The new alternatives, on the other hand, in most applications pose less environmental problems. This is one strong argument for developing various solar energy forms. We recommend giving high priority to research and development programs in this field. We also recommend policies aimed at trying to promote these new technologies on the market.

12. A special problem is the present situation in the oil market. The world is to a large extent dependent on a smaller number of OPEC-countries for its oil supply. Of these countries Saudi-Arabia and Iran have been the most important exporters. Recent events in the Middler East show how vulnerable and insecure the oil supply system is.

The oil market already shows tendencies towards an impending shortage. A number of prerequisites must be fulfilled if a situation of permanent shortage is to be avoided. The prerequisites include changed attitudes in both producer and consumer countries.

We believe the risk to be great that the world will face a shortage of oil as early as the next few years - a shortage which will mean higher prices and, as a consequence, reduced economic activity all over the world. This will lead to severe problems for many countries, especially the developing nations because of their limited ability to pay more for their oil imports.

13. European countries - as well as the USA and Japan - are characterized by a high degree of technical expertise and scientific resources. Therefore, European countries play an important role in the changing of energy production and consumption behaviours on the basis of present knowledge and of intensified research and development program.

In contrast most of the developing nations do not have - even in the long term - the same potential for applying highly developed technologies. They will therefore be limited to conventional resources and primarily fossil fuels. In view of this, the industrialized countries do have a special responsibility in developing alternatives to oil, thereby reserving more oil for the developing nations.

## part two

### Conclusions

1. The parties of the EDU must try to coordinate their energy policies. The over-all objective must be to secure Europe's future access to energy supplies.

2. Long-term energy policy must be based on national as well as international elements. Every responsible action must be organized and planned in view of the global dimension of the energy problem.

3. The most essential elements in forming a strong long-term energy policy are the following:

- strong conservation measures

- support for broad research and development policy efforts is important over a wide range of production alternatives. Among these programmes gasification and liquifaction of coal, nuclear safety and different solar energy systems are especially important.

- Taking into account the respective necessities and legal situation energy production from both coal or nuclear must be increased in the next decades, in the various countries.

- direct as well as indirect solar energy forms must be developed;



- the objective should be not only not to expand but indeed gradually to phase out oil used for power production and heating;
- each country must try hard to develop its own energy sources;
- it is important to try to analyse energy demand not only from a quantitative point of view; i.e. each user's specific energy demand is of great importance (e.g. low-grade heat versus electricity etc. . . .)

4. On the European level the following elements are of utmost importance:

- cooperation and coordination of research and development policies, as well as joint ventures in introducing new alternatives on the market.
- Intensified cooperation in promoting different kinds of energy distribution systems throughout Europe.
- Joint evaluation of conservation programmes in different European countries.
- joint ventures in uranium enrichment, reprocessing, waste management, breeder research and fusion.
- Forming a coordinated European policy in relation to the oil-producing countries.
- Formulating common European environmental and safety standards in the energy field.

5. In forming an effective conservation policy the following elements are of special importance:

- The price mechanism should be relied on as much as possible. This will induce a more effective use of energy.
- Consideration should be given to the possibility of offering a guaranteed equivalent minimum forward price level as an added incentive to potential alternative energy producers.

Through such a mechanism many of the present restrictions and regulations in the energy field could be abandoned. The confidence among users that a higher price is definitely coming will stimulate conservation and investments in various alternative energy sources much better than any (bureaucratic) legislation.

- Constant information campaigns about different conservation measures are needed.
- Exemplary energy savings and energy savings investments in the public sector.
- Incentives for industries in developing and producing energy saving technologies.
- Economic incentives for household and industries for their energy-efficiency investments and/or results. Particularly important is the industrial sector, where there is the greatest scope for energy-saving. But the very short pay-off times demanded by industry often prevent such energy-saving investments taking place under present conditions.
- Public support in the development of heat pumps, solar collectors and systems for seasonal storing of solar heat.
- Public support in developing co-generation and district heating.
- Mandatory regulations concerning cars and vehicles.

6. A widened participation of the public in all measures and decisions in executing a responsible long-term energy policy is absolutely essential.

appendix 9

EDU/1979/93/e.  
20th July 1979

## EUROCOMMUNISM

### RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE 2nd PARTY LEADERS CONFERENCE ON 20th OF JULY 1979 IN LONDON

In their constitutive meeting on 24th April 1978 the EDU Party Leaders' Conference decided to establish a Sub-Committee of EDU to elaborate guidelines of policy and other bases for political decision-making on the subject of Eurocommunism for submission to the Party Leaders' Conference 1979.

Under the Chairmanship of the Hon. Douglas Hurd, MP and Baroness Diana Elles the above Sub-Committee adopted a report which was discussed at the Party Leaders' Conference of EDU in London on 20th July. The following recommendations on Eurocommunism were adopted by the Party Leaders' Conference of EDU.

Central office  
Bureau central  
Zentralbüro

A-1030 WIEN,  
Jacquingasse 43

☎ (0043 222) 73 51 01, 73 71 84  
Telex 7681

DR. JOSEF TAUS  
Chairman  
Président  
Vorsitzender

R. ALISTAIR McALPINE  
Treasurer  
Trésorier  
Schatzmeister

DR. ANDREAS KHOL  
Executive Secretary  
Secrétaire exécutif  
Exekutivsekretär

Mitglieder  
Members  
Membres

AUSTRIA  
Österreichische Volkspartei

DENMARK  
Det Konservative Folkeparti

FINLAND  
Kansallinen Kokoomus

FRANCE  
Rassemblement pour la  
République (RPR)

GERMANY  
Christlich-Demokratische  
Union (CDU)  
Christlich-Soziale Union (CSU)

NORWAY  
Høyre

PORTUGAL  
Centro Democratico Social

SWEDEN  
Moderata Samlingspartiet

UNITED KINGDOM OF  
GREAT BRITAIN and  
NORTHERN IRELAND  
Conservative Party

The following documents were discussed by the Sub-Committee and submitted to the Party Leaders Conference; they may be obtained from the EDU secretariat by request.

- Part 1 Recommendations
- Part 2 Conclusions
- App. 1 Members of the Sub-Committee
- App. 2 Questionnaire
- App. 3 Synopsis

## EUROCOMMUNISM

### Part 1

#### Recommendations

1. The parties of the European Democrat Union must try to coordinate policies at national and regional level to answer the challenge of Communism. These must meet the needs of the electorate and win over potential democrats.

We must go from the defensive to the offensive and we must use all the political weapons available in order to make ourselves understood by all. We need to develop a view of the State as guarantor of human rights - a state in which citizens of all social and economic groups and of minorities are equal before the law.

2. We must develop coherent policies within our trade unions and towards trade unions.

3. We must show that it is our parties which are the "popular" parties, and that our electoral supporters are workers, the young, minorities, the underprivileged etc. The working class is not the natural supporter of the communist parties. This must be continually exposed.

4. We should not rely on socialist parties to defend our democracies against communism.

5. We should expose the element of tactical showmanship in the foreign policy of "Eurocommunist" parties.

6. Since the "Eurocommunist" parties cannot come to power on their own, without the Socialists, we should attack the contradiction between the "tribune" and "government" stances adopted by these parties. (By this we mean that these parties preach radical change and revolutionary alternatives and claim at the same time to show they are responsible in government, accepting pluralist democracy. This phenomenon is particularly apparent in France and Italy where many communists hold key positions in local government.) This problem is of course a problem for Communists and we must draw attention to "the crisis of Communism". Marxism-Leninism is at the opposite pole from free democratic pluralist society. We must go on repeating this truth.

7. We must exploit the serious divisions between the western Communist parties.

8. We must make our own parties and the general public more aware of the "Eurocommunist" policy of convergence with socialist parties and show the important role played by socialists in this, especially in the United Kingdom. The tendency of an important socialist faction towards convergence with the Communists in the directly elected European Parliament must also be exposed.

9. We must keep on exposing violations of human rights anywhere they exist in any form.

10. EDU-member parties must support and encourage observer movements (DEMYC, EDS, EUW) in their political activity, particularly in their fight against communism.

11. EDU-parties should ensure better representation of members of our parties in non-governmental organisations and on official bodies whether at local, national, regional or international level - including the UN.

12. We must see that those members of EDU participating in the European institutions - for example the European Parliament and the Council of Europe, make the necessary political alliances to counter the threat from Communist parties.

**13. In order to take effective measures against "Eurocommunist" parties, it is necessary to understand and to follow closely the development of these parties. The EDU should therefore set up a study group to coordinate these studies, to provide factual information for our member parties and to submit outline proposals for action. This study group could also usefully include the study of european socialism and the respective developments.**

## Part 2

### Conclusions

1. "Eurocommunism" is not a new brand of communism. The three main parties of western Europe which are referred to as "Eurocommunists" (the Parti Communiste Francais - PCF, Partito Comunista italiano - PCI, Partido Comunista espanola - PCE) all share the ultimate aims and objects of international communism - the world-wide establishment of Marxist-Leninism. To be properly understood, "Eurocommunism" must be looked at as a phenomenon in the developing crisis of Marxism.

2. We believe that if a "Eurocommunist"-party were to take over power in a democratic country no aspect of the democracy in which EDU member parties believe and which is enshrined in their founding Declaration would long survive.

3. The term "Eurocommunism", though not invented by the communists, is being exploited by them as a tactical device to achieve power in today's democratic societies. The new, flexible, approach adopted by these parties is designed to attract the electorate.

4. It also provides a means of bringing about convergence with socialist parties and groups and social democrats are frequently taken in by these manoeuvres. Through this convergence the communist parties aim to set up reunified working-class movements.

5. While on some issues "Eurocommunist" parties act autonomously, they nevertheless tend to abstain from any criticism of the USSR. On some specific issues, for example China, Czechoslovakia, some Western parties have found it tactically desirable to pursue a critical line.

6. Owing to the strong economic and organisational links between the management of most communist parties and the CPSU, it is doubtful if they could in practice achieve real independence from Moscow even if they wanted it.

7. The totalitarian nature of communist parties is not dependent on the closeness or otherwise of their links with Moscow: it is inherent in communist beliefs and practices.

8. There is a fundamental contradiction between what they say out of power and what they do in power and their attitude on certain ideological concepts should be closely scrutinised, namely:

- a) the dictatorship of the proletariat
- b) proletarian internationalism
- c) democratic centralism
- d) the collectivist (as opposed to our) conception of human rights
- e) the genuineness of their acceptance of pluralism
- f) the genuineness of their commitment to the holding of free elections
- g) inconsistency between simultaneous verbal commitment to both democracy and Marxist ideology.