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EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT



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A3-0127/93

R E P O R T

of the Committee on Civil Liberties and Internal
Affairs

on the resurgence of racism and xenophobia in
Europe and the danger of right-wing extremist
violence

Rapporteur: Mr Cesare DE PICCOLI

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- * By letter of 2 December 1992 the Committee on Civil Liberties and Internal Affairs requested authorization to draw up a report on right-wing extremism in Europe and the rise of racism and xenophobia.

At the sitting of 18 January 1993 the President of the European Parliament announced that the committee had been authorized to report on this subject

At its meeting of 24 September 1992 the Committee on Civil Liberties and Internal Affairs had appointed Mr De Piccoli rapporteur.

At its meetings of 24 September and 24 November 1992 and 26 January and 24 February 1993 the Committee on Civil Liberties and Internal Affairs decided to include in its report the following motions for resolutions which had been referred to it:

- motion by Mr Newman on allegations of racism in Spanish frontier controls and customs procedures (B3-0461/92);
- motion by Mr Ramirez Heredia on European Racial Harmony Year (B3-0722/92);
- motion by Mrs Bindi on the re-emergence of right-wing movements in Europe (B3-0723/92);
- motion by Mr Kostopoulos on the recent racial disturbances in Rostock (B3-1279/92);
- motion by Mr Saperia Graneli on racist attacks (B3-1535/92);
- motion by Mrs Muscardini on the institution of an anti-racism day (B3-1656/92);
- motion by Mr Robles Piquer on the Conference on Hatred (B3-1560/92);
- Petition No. 463/92 on the revival of fascism and racism in Europe.

At its meetings of 1 December 1992 and 26 January, 24 February, 17 March and 31 March 1993 the committee considered the draft report.

At the last meeting it adopted the motion for a resolution by 13 votes to 5, with 4 abstentions.

The following were present for the vote: Salisch, acting chairman; De Piccoli, rapporteur; Christopher Beazley, Caudron, Crawley, Elliott, Ford (for van den Brink pursuant to Rule 111(2)), Glinau (for Peters pursuant to Rule 111(2)), Imbeni, Jarzemkowski, Lalor (for Ruiz-Mateos pursuant to Rule 111(2)), Lafuente López, Lambrias, Mebrak-Zaïdi, Gerd Müller, Piermont, Piquet, Ramirez Heredia, Roth, Stavrou, Van Ootrive and von Wogau (for Froment-Meurice pursuant to Rule 111(2)).

The report was tabled on 1 April 1993.

The deadline for tabling amendments will appear on the draft agenda for the part-session at which the report is to be considered.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION

on the resurgence of racism and xenophobia in Europe and
the danger of right-wing extremist violence

The European Parliament

- having regard to the Joint Declarations of the European Parliament, the Council and the Commission of 5 April 1977 and 11 June 1986¹,
- having regard to its resolutions of 17 May 1990, 14 June 1990, 10 October 1990, 22 November 1990, 10 October 1991, 12 March 1992, 17 September 1992 and 30 October 1992² and the resolutions on this subject adopted prior to 1990,
- having regard to the conclusions reached by the two committees of inquiry into this subject set up by the European Parliament in 1988 and 1989,
- having regard to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,
- having regard to the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination of 20 November 1963 and the International Convention of 21 December 1965,
- having regard to Council of Europe recommendations No. 453, 583, 963, 968 and 982 and resolutions Nos. 68(39), 72(22) and 743,
- having regard to its resolution on discrimination against immigrant women and female migrant workers in legislation and regulations in the Community³,
- having regard to the Community Charter of Fundamental Social Rights,
- having regard to the European Council resolution of 29 May 1990,
- having regard to the European Council's declaration on racism and xenophobia issued at Maastricht in December 1991 and its declaration on the principles governing external aspects of migration policy issued at Edinburgh in December 1992,
- having regard to the Commission communications of 11 October 1991 on immigration⁴ and 18 October 1991 on the right of asylum⁵,
- having regard to its resolutions of 16 November 1992 on immigration policy and the right of asylum⁶,

¹ OJ Nos. C 103, 27.4.1977 and C 158, 25.6.1986

² See OJ Nos. C 149, 18.1.1990; C 175, 16.7.1990; C 284, 12.11.1990; C 324, 24.12.1990; C 280, 28.10.1991; C 094, 13.4.1992; C 284, 2.11.1992; and the Minutes of the sitting of 30 October 1992

³ OJ No. C 305, 16.11.1987

⁴ SEC(91) 1855 final

⁵ SEC(91) 1859 final

⁶ Minutes of 18 November 1992

- having regard to its resolutions of 11 March 1993²,
 - having regard to Articles 7 and 8a of the EEC Treaty and Articles 8a - 8c and F of the Maastricht Treaty,
 - having regard to the motions for resolutions by Mr Newman on allegations of racism in Spanish frontier controls and customs procedures (B3-0461/92); by Mr Ramirez Heredia on European Racial Harmony Year (B3-0722/92); by Mrs Bindi on the recrudescence of right-wing movements in Europe (B3-0723/92); by Mr Kostopoulos on the recent racial disturbances in Rostock (B3-1279/92); by Mr Sapena Granell on racist attacks (B3-1535/92); by Mrs Muscardini on the institution of an anti-racism day (B3-1656/92); and by Mr Robles Piquer on the Conference on Hatred (B3-1560/92); and to Petition No. 463/92 on the revival of fascism and racism in Europe,
 - having regard to Rule 121 of its Rules of Procedure,
 - having regard to the report of the Committee on Civil Liberties and Internal Affairs (A3-0127/93),
- A. noting with grave concern the growth and spread of xenophobia, racism, anti-Semitism, and other forms of religious intolerance in the Community Member States and Europe in general,
 - B. whereas recently in the Member States - particularly in the Federal Republic of Germany - refugees, asylum-seekers and immigrants have been subjected to many acts of violence (arson, acts of desecration, etc.) including murder, committed by racist and extreme right-wing groups and, whereas, in some cases the police have been seen to behave in a passive, indifferent manner,
 - C. drawing attention to the proliferation in the Member States of extreme right-wing groups, parties and movements - some of which are organized and maintain links with each other - which have in common an 'ideology' based on racist and anti-Semitic attitudes, leading them to commit acts of violence, acts of vandalism of every kind and crimes against Community and non-Community citizens, refugees, asylum-seekers, gypsies, Jews and other minority groups and exploit a situation of social discontent and disarray to incite others - particularly young people - to racial hatred by blaming 'foreigners' for current economic problems and the rise in unemployment,
 - D. believing that these practices pose a grave threat to those democratic values which form the basis of the common heritage of the Member States,
 - E. pointing out that the countries of Eastern Europe, whose young, still fragile democracies are particularly susceptible to the dangers of an authoritarian backlash, have also witnessed the emergence of extreme right-wing organizations and are experiencing a marked increase in racist, xenophobic and anti-Semitic tendencies,
 - F. emphasizing the insidious nature of revisionist theories, some of which go so far as to claim that the Holocaust did not take place,
 - G. convinced that the growing wave of migration from poorer countries into the Member States calls for a re-examination of North-South and East-West relations in order to enable the Community to make a positive response to the pressures of the new multi-ethnic, intercultural social models,
 - H. concerned at the various forms of discrimination against the 8 million non-Community immigrants in the Community with respect to housing, employment, freedom of movement, and political, economic, social and cultural rights,
 - I. noting the positive response of the public to this worrying situation and its widespread participation in the demonstrations against racism and xenophobia held recently in various European cities,
 - J. reaffirming the duty of the Community authorities to ensure that democratic values are fully respected and to combat any group or movement liable to pose a threat to democracy and basic human rights which, as the Court of Justice first ruled in 1969, fall within the general principles of Community law,
 - K. noting that, despite the repeated demands and recommendations it has made since 1986, Community measures

² Minutes of 11 March 1993

against racism and anti-Semitism are still unsatisfactory.

- L. firmly convinced that the adoption of Community measures against racism and xenophobia is in line with a proper application of the principle of subsidiarity and would contribute towards the achievement of the objectives laid down in Articles 8a to 8c of the Maastricht Treaty.
- M. pointing out that the defence of democracy is one of the Community's duties, as stated in the preamble to the Single Act, and that a clear commitment to democracy is a fundamental requirement for countries wishing to accede to or remain members of the Community.
1. Condemns firmly any form of incitement to extremist violence, racism, anti-Semitism, or religious intolerance involving objectives and behaviour directed against 'the system' and seeking to undermine the principles of democracy, the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms and the constitutional traditions common to all Member States;
 2. Rejects vigorously and categorically all notions of an ethnocentric Europe based on unacceptable nationalist ideologies, while upholding the principle of the 'national identities' of the Member States in accordance with the provisions of Article F of the Maastricht Treaty;
 3. Draws attention to the factors which provide fertile ground for the activities of violent movements and are open to exploitation, such as
 - the seriousness of the economic situation and the resulting widespread unemployment,
 - anarchic urbanization, the deterioration of living conditions and the spread of crime,
 - a feeling of insecurity and discontent among the public, particularly among young people worried that they may be unable to find a place in an increasingly complex and competitive society;
 - trivialization of violence by the media;
 - the shortcomings of educational systems and the lack of understanding of different cultures;
 - the increasing stream of propaganda by political parties and organizations in the Member States seeking to persuade the public that the Community's wealth is being jeopardized by immigration from Third World and Eastern European countries and calling for this wealth to be 'protected';
 4. Considers that these factors contribute substantially to the spread of xenophobic attitudes and a psychotic state of fear of anything foreign or simply 'different' and may lead sections of the public to condone acts of violence and anti-democratic behaviour;
 5. Deplores the failure to take action on many of the recommendations made on the subject by Parliament's committees of inquiry, particularly those regarding
 - the Community becoming a signatory to the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms,
 - the Community becoming a signatory to the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination;
 6. Calls once again on the Commission to come up with appropriate proposals and measures in response to recommendations Nos. 14, 16, 20, 24, 25, 31, 33, 34 and 36 made by the Committee of Inquiry into Racism and Xenophobia⁸;
 7. Considers that, in line with the provisions on citizenship of the Union laid down in Article 8 of the Maastricht Treaty, racism and xenophobia should be considered to be matters of 'common interest' to the Member States and thus to require Community action in support of that of the Member States;
 8. Calls on the Council, the Commission and the Member States to cease discriminating against the citizens of third countries compared with the EC citizens, by offering citizenship of the Union and communal voting rights to those who have been legally resident in the Community for a period of five years or more;

⁸ A.3-0915/90

- 9. Calls on the Member States automatically to bestow national citizenship on the children of immigrants and refugees born in the Union;
10. Considers, therefore, the following legal and institutional measures to be essential:
 - the agreement by the Council of a directive under EEC 235 for the introduction of national legislation designed to combat racism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism on the basis of the most stringent measures existing in the Member States; such legislation must acknowledge that racism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism are not just extremist attitudes but in fact criminal offences and hence must introduce 'Community penalties' for groups and associations whose goal is to incite racial, religious or ethnic hatred and must properly protect minorities;
 - the harmonization at Community level of national legislation designed to combat racism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism, on the basis of the most stringent measures existing in the Member States and the introduction of 'Community penalties' for groups and associations whose goal is to incite racial, religious or ethnic hatred,
 - the setting up of a European Parliament working party to draw up the necessary amendments to Title VI of the Maastricht Treaty in preparation for its revision scheduled for 1996,
 - the fight against racial discrimination and xenophobia being made part of the responsibilities of a Commissioner;
 - the adoption of a Resident's Statute for 'non-nationals';
 - the possibility for the legal persons and organizations concerned to initiate proceedings against perpetrators of racist acts and to claim damages;
11. Considers that the Community's role in monitoring democracy and human rights also extends to its relations with third countries and thus calls for the inclusion in all association agreements of special clauses to protect against the infringement of fundamental rights and racial discrimination;
12. With regard to educational and social measures, calls on
the governments of the Member States
 - to include in the school curriculum, from the beginning of primary school onwards, courses in civics and history from a European viewpoint to give young people a specific grounding in the principles on which a democratic society is based and teach them respect for other cultures and for the principle that European culture is based on the toleration of diversity,
the Commission
 - to submit before the end of 1993 a four-year action programme providing for (a) practical measures to combat racial prejudice, xenophobia, anti-Semitism and other forms of religious intolerance, (b) measures to strengthen the legal instruments existing in this field in the Member States and (c) campaigns to raise awareness throughout Europe,
 - to encourage and promote the work of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to enhance their role in providing information, studies and direct experience,
 - to promote the coordination of, and the pooling of experience gained from, initiatives in the Community directed against racism and anti-Semitism and in favour of the equal treatment of male and female immigrants,
 - to make use of the contribution which the social partners can make with regard to initiatives aimed at integrating people who are at risk or have been subjected to acts of violence,
 - to set up a data bank and a system for monitoring activities in the field of racism, anti-Semitism and xenophobia, in order to keep the Community institutions, including Parliament, fully informed on developments. Such a system to draw on the expertise which exists in those independent organizations already operating in this area,
 - to submit before the end of 1993 a new Eurobarometer survey on racism and xenophobia showing the current state of relations between the various communities, with particular attention being paid to those areas in which the most dramatic rise in episodes of racism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism has been recorded,
 - to submit to Parliament, starting in 1995, an annual report on the implementation of the action programme;

13. Reiterates, with regard to integration policies, the views expressed in its recent resolution on immigration policy and wishes to stress that integration does not mean assimilation;
14. Reaffirms, therefore, the fundamental importance of education at all levels and of vocational training which, in addition to providing a vehicle through which to highlight the positive role which immigrants play in the economic growth of a country, must be used to prepare people for working in places in which there are a large number of immigrants;
15. Calls for immigrants from third countries established in the Community to enjoy equal social and economic rights and full civil, cultural and political rights under arrangements guaranteeing non-discrimination and equal opportunities for all European residents;
16. Is convinced of the fundamental role which the mass media can play in the fight against racial prejudice and therefore calls on the Member States to draw up codes of conduct for the media to ensure that freedom of expression and freedom of the press are complete, but are used responsibly;
17. Suggests that the European conference against racial discrimination proposed by the Economic and Social Committee be held in the first quarter of 1994;
18. Calls for 1995 to be declared 'European Year of Harmony among Peoples';
19. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council, the Commission, the governments and parliaments of the Member States, the governments of the countries which have applied for Community membership and the CSCE.

EXPLANATORY STATEMENT

I. INTRODUCTION

1. It is common knowledge that Europe is currently witnessing a proliferation of extreme right-wing groups and movements which, while differing in some aspects, have in common an 'ideology' whose main component is racism and which, spurred on by racial hatred, commit acts of violence of every kind on immigrant workers, refugees, asylum-seekers, gypsies and Jews. Over the past two years in particular, instances of violence, racist crimes and xenophobic behaviour have become much more common.
In response to the upsurge in incidents of this type, within its terms of reference, the Committee on Civil Liberties and Internal Affairs pointed to the need for a report to be drawn up on these issues and, in view of the relationship between the resurgence of right-wing extremism and the spread of racism and xenophobia, decided to deal with both subjects in the same report.
2. The European Parliament, fully aware of its duty to monitor respect for fundamental rights and democratic values - one of the basic premises of the Community's democratic legitimacy - has been studying these problems carefully for some time.

The impressive body of work performed by the two committees of inquiry set up by Parliament (the Committee of Inquiry into Fascism and Racism in Europe in 1985 and the Committee of Inquiry into Racism and Xenophobia in 1990) deserves special mention. Unfortunately, as we shall see, no further action has been taken on a number of the recommendations made by these two committees. Despite this, Parliament has continued to draw the attention of Community and national authorities to this issue by means of oral and written questions and has adopted a number of resolutions unequivocally condemning all acts of racist violence.
3. In this report, we propose to review the situation from the completion of the second committee of inquiry to the present day, to examine to what extent the Member States have fulfilled their undertakings to combat racism and xenophobia and to consider the action to be taken at Community level in view of recent events.

II. ANALYSIS

4. In 1992, the upsurge in racial intolerance towards non-Community citizens and acts of vandalism in the camps which are seen as symbols of the Holocaust reached new levels of intensity. In Germany alone, around 2100 attacks were recorded, leaving 17 victims. Among these were the repeated attacks in Rostock by bands linked with right-wing extremism against reception centres for asylum-seekers (Zast), the shocking acts committed in the Ravensbrück concentration camp and the tragic attack on a house in Hamburg in which three young Turkish girls were killed. However, Germany is not the only country affected. The desecration of Jewish cemeteries in France, the provocative acts against the Jewish community in Rome in Italy and the countless episodes of racial intolerance and xenophobia in France, Italy, Belgium and Spain, which led to several deaths, show just how dangerous the situation has become. They point to a misjudgment of the situation by the authorities whose job it is to uphold law and order and who failed to anticipate and bring under control in an effective manner the activities of these violent groups tied up with right-wing extremism. They also point to a more general feeling of discontent affecting substantial sections of the public and, above all, the young. The activities of the traditional extreme right-wing parties and of new movements - skinheads, naziskins and others - which exploit issues relating to immigration and the right of asylum must be seen against this background of cultural confusion and social discontent.

To be set against this worrying situation was the positive sight of many demonstrations against racism and xenophobia held in various European cities towards the end of 1992, in which a large number of people took part.
5. The problem often lies in a combination of alienating factors which lead people - as has often happened in the past - to search for a scapegoat. It is becoming very difficult to find one's place in a society which is becoming ever more complex, owing to the speed at which technology is advancing and to the disappearance of the traditional points of reference and doctrinal influences. Using the past as a means of asserting one's identity becomes a way of compensating for inability to find a place in the modern world. Violence thus becomes a

vehicle for the expression of the profound sense of disarray caused by the failure of various social structures.

Although they provide no justification for the rise in racism, xenophobia and anti-semitism, unemployment - which affects young people in particular - and the generally difficult economic situation are exploited by right-wing extremists. There is no doubt that often anarchic town planning and inner-city decline encourage the spread of crime and lead to a sense of insecurity. Special attention should be paid to this feeling of insecurity, which is spreading among the general public, even among those who have never been the victims or the targets of criminal acts.

6. This upsurge of intolerance is particularly strong in parts of the newly democratic Central and Eastern European countries. For example, leaving aside the new German Länder, in November 1992, as the Hungarian public was becoming increasingly worried by a growing climate of intolerance, the Budapest courts sentenced 48 skinheads accused of attacks on gypsies and foreigners.
7. As economic and social phenomena become increasingly internationalized, ignoring national borders, the emergence of a multi-ethnic society becomes increasingly necessary. The European Community must thus move forward on a basis of tolerance and mutual understanding. Under no circumstances does the development of a multi-cultural European society imply a negation of the history and national characteristics of the individual European countries. However, it does require a more rigorous application of legislation against violence and everything connected with it.

The Member States must re-examine nationality laws and, in this connection, European citizenship must not be seen simply as the coexistence or the sum of the existing nationalities.

What must be avoided is that the sections of the population in a weaker position are excluded owing to a discriminatory approach to the granting of rights. In the future, no distinction should be made between origin and nationality with regard to the legal protection afforded to individuals.

III. DEFINITIONS

Racism

8. We consider that the definition of racism given by the first committee of inquiry is still valid and here again endorse the definition given by the UNESCO General Conference on 27 November 1978 in its Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice: 'Any theory which involves the claim that racial or ethnic groups are inherently superior or inferior, thus implying that some would be entitled to dominate or eliminate others, presumed to be inferior, or which bases value judgements on racial differentiation, has no scientific foundation and is contrary to the moral and ethical principles of humanity'. Therefore, all acts of racist violence and intolerance perpetrated on people of a different race, nationality or religion are to be condemned on moral grounds.

Special stress should also be placed on the insidiousness and danger of theories based on the revisionist claim that the Holocaust did not take place, which plays on the fact that the memory of these events grows dimmer with each new generation, especially since witnesses to that awful tragedy are gradually disappearing.

Xenophobia

9. Xenophobia, which can be broadly defined as an irrational fear of foreigners, needs to be studied particularly carefully - especially its causes.

This is made necessary by the spread of xenophobic attitudes in the Community shown up by the findings of various opinion polls. Further research is required into the causes behind these attitudes, which can be summed up as a widespread feeling of insecurity and a psychotic state of fear leading people to shun everything foreign or simply 'different' - anything which can be seen as a threat.

The threat of unemployment, the increase in social problems, the persistence of injustice, poverty and ignorance and, in general, a feeling of uncertainty, lead to a mistrust of others. All of these factors provide highly fertile

ground for xenophobia and racial prejudice, which can be fomented by right-wing extremist groups bent on the goal of a new order based on anti-democratic, totalitarian models. So as to combat effectively the resurgence of racism and xenophobia, greater determination must be shown in attempting to remove the causes behind these phenomena in order to dispel the sense of insecurity, uncertainty and defencelessness felt by individuals and society as a whole and stemming from a society which is confused, introspective and unprepared for the challenges facing it at this historic juncture.

We cannot hope to solve the problems by trying to avoid or demonize them, but only by reacting positively to the contradictory forces at work in society. The Community and national institutions must thus draw up coherent, coordinated policies to help people to face up to the situation and give them back a feeling of confidence and safety. This is the only way of preventing a further spread of intolerant attitudes which may be given collective expression in violently anti-democratic behaviour.

Right-wing extremism

10. The rapporteur feels that the definitions of fascism given in the Evrigenis report remain valid today, particularly the final definition used during the inquiry, whereby fascism is 'a nationalistic attitude essentially hostile to the principles of democracy, to the rule of law and to the fundamental rights and freedoms as well as the irrational exaltation of a particular community, in relation to which people outside it are systematically excluded and discriminated against. This attitude permeates the ideology, the thinking, the activity and the aims of its adherents'.

Among the new conclusions that can be drawn from, among other events, the particularly virulent acts of violence recorded in 1992, is that there has been an increase in the number of extreme right-wing movements and groups which do not necessarily base their ideology on that of the fascist regimes which grew up in Europe during the twenties and thirties.

In addition to the violence with which they behave, these groups or movements stand out because of their strong opposition to the 'system'. They violently reject democracy, its political and institutional structures and the way in which it operates.

The fact that these extremist groups were formed only recently, have a relatively small number of members and mostly come under unfamiliar names does not make them any less dangerous in political terms. Many of these groups can count on the support of substantial sections of public opinion -disenchanted young people in particular - and on attitudes which tend to justify their violent attacks, directed in particular towards non-Community citizens.

Nor should their organizational structures be underestimated; these are not 'spontaneous' movements, but increasingly well-organized groups.

It is becoming increasingly necessary, when trying to identify and define extremist parties and groups, to distinguish between traditional right-wing parties which base themselves on fascist or Nazi ideology and symbolism and those whose main characteristic is an 'anti-system' approach.

Further investigation of the programmes and attitudes of the new separatist, nationalist and ethnic movements is required in order to determine where they stand in the political spectrum.

IV. APPLICATION OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT'S RECOMMENDATIONS

11. No action has been taken on a number of these recommendations, despite the fact that Parliament has adopted a large number of resolutions on the fight against racism and xenophobia. The main resolutions adopted are listed in Annex I, along with the recommendations, addressed to the Council, the Commission and the Member States, referred to in the resolution of 30 October 1992. We briefly outline a few of them below.

The Community has not always respected the main human rights agreements (European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms; United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all

Forms of Racial Discrimination). The European Parliament is still waiting for the Commission to make a recommendation to the Council on the role which education can play in preventing and checking racism and xenophobia.

12. In view of the lessons learned from the tragedy of the Second World War and the growing threat to democracy during the thirties, European integration is based first and foremost on the pursuit of peace and respect for democratic principles. In accordance with the recommendations laid down in earlier reports, the struggle against racism and xenophobia must thus be based on the prevention of acts of violence, the punishment of those responsible and the protection of the victims of such acts.
13. The Commission has drawn up a working document on Member States' legislation designed to combat racism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism. In connection with this, we must reaffirm that accession to the Community should be conditional on the adoption and respect of such legislation.

V. THE DEFENCE OF DEMOCRATIC VALUES WITHIN THE SPIRIT OF THE TREATIES

14. The Community authorities and, in particular, the European Parliament by virtue of its role as an institution with full democratic legitimacy, have the fundamental duty of ensuring that democratic values are fully respected and are obliged to combat all subversive movements and tendencies liable to present a threat to democracy, democratic values and the fundamental rights of the individual.
15. Although initially an economic organization, the Community has always had the objective of becoming a political union and the Treaties establishing the Community thus contain - although in non-explicit form - references to a number of democratic principles and fundamental rights. This initial 'deficit' in the Treaties has, in part, gradually been made good. The preamble to the Single Act states that the Member States are 'determined to work together to promote democracy on the basis of the fundamental rights recognized in the constitutions and laws of the Member States ...', 'aware of the responsibility incumbent upon Europe to aim at speaking ever increasingly with one voice and to act with consistency and solidarity in order more effectively to protect its common interests and independence, in particular to display the principles of democracy and compliance with the law and with human rights to which they are attached ...'.
16. Furthermore, a commitment to parliamentary democracy is a condition sine qua non for countries wishing to accede or remain members of the Community. In the Commission Opinions on applications for accession (which are an integral part of the acts of accession), it is stated that: 'Whereas the principles of pluralist democracy and respect for human rights form part of the common heritage of the peoples of the States brought together in the European Communities and are therefore essential elements of membership of the said Communities ...'.
17. Lastly, Article F (paragraphs 1 and 2) of the Treaty of Maastricht reads:
 1. The Union shall respect the national identities of its Member States, whose systems of government are founded on the principles of democracy.
 2. The Union shall respect fundamental rights, as guaranteed by the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms ... and as they result from the constitutional traditions common to the Member States, as general principles of Community law.'
18. It should be pointed out at this juncture that Article 8 of the Maastricht Treaty establishes citizenship of the Union. The concept of 'European citizenship' obviously implies that, alongside the rights and duties a citizen has under his own national laws, he now has a series of rights and duties under Community regulations. These rights and duties do not involve a simple transfer of the status of citizenship from national to Community level. Community citizenship is additional to national citizenship in the same way that binding or other Community regulations are additional to national regulations and laws.

What is needed in the field covered by this report is the establishment of structures providing protection at Community level with regard to matters of 'common interest' to the Member States for which adequate (effective) protection can no longer be provided at national level.

19. What is more, the existence of a budget line for the fight against racism and xenophobia demonstrates that Community competence in this field is already recognized.

20. In our view, fighting against all form of extremism in the defence of democracy and adopting measures at Community level to combat racism and xenophobia is in line with a proper application of the principle of subsidiarity interpreted as the necessary and dynamic implementation at Community level of actions complementary and additional to those of the Member States in order to achieve the objectives of the Treaty in a more satisfactory manner - particularly those objectives provided for in Articles 8a - 8c of the Treaty of Maastricht.
21. In our opinion, this approach is in within the spirit of the declaration on this subject made in Edinburgh on 11-12 December 1992 by the European Council which, *inter alia*, clearly stated its deep concern at 'the intensification of episodes of intolerance' in Europe and its conviction that 'vigorous and effective measures must be taken throughout Europe to combat this phenomenon, both through education and legislation'. We fully agree with this view and feel that action in the areas of education, vocational training and culture, through programmes providing support, encouragement and information, is of vital importance in the struggle against racism and xenophobia.
22. The need to intensify the struggle against racism and xenophobia has also been clearly stated in a number of declarations, including the joint declarations adopted by Parliament, the Council and the Commission in 1977 and 1986 and the declaration adopted by the European Council in Maastricht⁹.
23. The judgments of the Court of Justice have also played a major role in establishing fundamental rights. As early as 1969, the Court ruled that fundamental rights came under the general principles of Community law, of which it is the guarantor.
24. The Community's role in monitoring democracy and human rights also extends to its relations with third countries. Whenever the Community concludes an international agreement, thus performing a role which is not exclusively economic, it must take into consideration factors and actions in the third country which could constitute an infringement of fundamental rights.

VI. MEASURES REQUIRED

The policies described below are based on two considerations: the need to explore possible legal instruments and the fundamental role to be played by education and information.

25. Legal and institutional measures

- We reiterate the need for Member States to harmonize their legislation in order to combat more effectively racism and anti-democratic political extremism, with the adoption of stricter legal provisions and more repressive measures against groups and associations whose goal is to incite racial, religious or ethnic hatred.
- As part of the general struggle against racism and xenophobia, the Community should be given competence for certain specific aspects, in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity. An ad hoc working party on the subject should be set up as part of the preparations for the revision of the Treaty of Maastricht in 1996.
- Given the persistence and the European dimension of the phenomenon, it is vital for a Commissioner to be given responsibility for matters relating to European citizenship and, in particular, race-related issues.
- The achievement of the objectives of the Treaty of Rome and the Single Act (Article 8a) in accordance with the Schengen Implementation Agreement must not give rise to manifestations of discrimination against 'non-nationals'. We feel the adoption of a 'resident's statute' to be vital in order to prevent this.
- With a view to combating racial and ethnic discrimination more effectively in countries outside as well as inside the Community, special clauses should be inserted in all cooperation and, above all, association agreements which the Community signs with third countries.

⁹ See also the declaration on democracy by the Heads of State or Government of 8 April 1978.

-26. Measures in the fields of education, social affairs and information

- The inclusion in the school curriculum of courses in civics and history from a European viewpoint, drawn up by the Member States and the regions would build an initial bulkhead against intolerance. The Commission could propose a programme under which Member States would offer schools and universities the possibility of joining a campaign against racial prejudice, xenophobia and anti-Semitism.
- The struggle against racism and xenophobia cannot and should not be restricted to the Community and national authorities alone. Various social groups (trade unions, companies, associations) should take appropriate measures to integrate people who are at risk and have been subjected to acts of violence or acts resulting from racist or xenophobic attitudes.
- Vocational training can be used as a vehicle to stress the role which immigrants play in generating the nation's wealth and would find particularly receptive listeners, particularly in establishments employing immigrant workers.
- The professional ethics of the information industry with respect to episodes of political violence and the spread of racist phenomena should be carefully considered. Freedom of expression and freedom of the press, to which Parliament is particularly attached, cannot develop unless accompanied by a sense of responsibility and unless abuses of these freedoms are condemned.
In this connection, the importance of the role which the media can play in reducing racial prejudice and promoting greater solidarity must be stressed once again.
- A new survey should be conducted by Eurobarometer to determine the latest trends and the current state of relations between the various communities, with particular attention being paid to those places in which the most dramatic rise in racism and xenophobia has been recorded.

27. It should be made obligatory for the Commission to submit to Parliament on a yearly basis a series of programmes, measures and initiatives designed to combat racism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism.

An annual progress report on expenditure, the implementation of programmes and the development of these phenomena should be drawn up by the Committee on Civil Liberties and Internal Affairs, as the committee responsible.

28. 1994 should be declared 'European Year to Promote Inter-community Harmony', during which conferences and events relating to the fight against racism and racial prejudice, xenophobia and anti-semitism should be organized and new means of increasing tolerance and solidarity between different peoples and ethnic groups should be promoted.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION

pursuant to Rule 63 of the Rules of Procedure

by Mr NEWMAN

on allegations of racism in Spanish frontier controls and customs procedures

The European Parliament

- A. having regard to the European Community's Joint Declaration against Racism and Xenophobia,
- B. taking into account reports of separate channels for black and white people at the customs facilities in the Port of Algeciras, Spain,
- 1. Rejects this practice as it is not in any way commensurate with simply distinguishing between European Community nationals and non-European Community nationals;
- 2. Condemns racist practices at frontier controls, customs and customs facilities;
- 3. Instructs its President to pass this resolution to its competent committee to fully investigate this matter.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION

pursuant to Rule 63 of the Rules of Procedure

by Mr RAMÍREZ HEREDIA

on European Racial Harmony Year

The European Parliament,

- having regard to the report by Mr Ford on behalf of the Committee of Inquiry into Racism and Xenophobia (A3-0195/90),
 - having regard to Recommendation No. 20 of July 1990 of the Committee of Inquiry into Racism and Xenophobia,
- A. whereas the rise of racism and xenophobia is a real threat in Europe today,
- B. having regard to the growing number of movements which ascribe all society's ills to those who are 'different',
- C. whereas elections to the European Parliament will be held in 1994,
1. Considers that the Commission should designate 1994 as European Racial Harmony Year, which should be widely promoted and based on the premise that:
- (a) issues relating to minorities can only be dealt with in a democratic political framework based on a state of law, with an independent, effective judicial system;
 - (b) persons belonging to minority groups are entitled to the full, effective exercise of their human rights and fundamental freedoms, with no discrimination and full equality in the eyes of the law;
2. Calls on the governments of the Member States to cooperate with the Commission in promoting European Racial Harmony Year.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION

pursuant to Rule 63 of the Rules of Procedure

by Mrs BINDI

on the recrudescence of right-wing movements in Europe

The European Parliament,

- A. having regard to the upsurge of extreme right-wing movements and organizations in various Community Member States,
 - B. having regard to the demonstrations held by such organizations on Community territory which have resulted in episodes of violence and intolerance,
 - C. having regard to the concern and anxiety which such events engender in the mind of the public in democratic societies,
 - D. having regard to the adverse effects which the re-emergence of such organizations is having upon democratic life in the Community Member States,
- 1. Considers that it is necessary to consider all the implications this has for public order, the safety of citizens and the full exercise of civil liberties;
 - 2. Calls on the committee responsible to consider the matter at the earliest opportunity.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION

pursuant to Rule 63 of the Rules of Procedure

by Mr KOSTOPOULOS

on the recent racial disturbances in Rostock

The European Parliament.

- A. taking into account that over the past few nights German police have clashed with gangs of youths attempting to set fire to a block of flats in Rostock, sheltering mainly Romanian and Vietnamese refugees who have requested asylum,
- B. taking into consideration that similar racial disturbances occurred a year ago,
 - 1. Calls for the German authorities to take urgent measures, and in particular preventive measures, to restrict racism and xenophobia;
 - 2. Calls for the exemplary punishment of those responsible for the disturbances.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION

pursuant to Rule 63 of the Rules of Procedure

by Mr SAPENA GRANELL

on racist attacks

The European Parliament,

- A. whereas Europe has recently been facing a serious threat, which is spreading and severely endangering coexistence, namely nationalist fanaticism and the resulting tragic instances of racism and violence,
- B. whereas in many European states intolerance is gaining ground daily, in some cases giving rise to appalling civil wars (Yugoslavia, the Caucasus) and in others unacceptable political discrimination (the Baltic States); further cause for concern being that a great country, Germany, which had managed to become a model of democratic coexistence, is now suffering the onslaught of neo-Nazi groups, which although a tiny minority are becoming increasingly active,
- C. whereas for several months neo-Nazi gangs have been mounting attacks on the homes of refugees and immigrants in eastern Germany, in the face of public passivity and a police force stretched beyond its capacities,
- D. whereas racial terrorism has already caused more than ten deaths this year,
- I. Calls on the governments of the Member States to adopt all available measures to prevent and suppress outbreaks of ethnic violence, within the terms of their constitutional laws and the CSCE Paris Charter.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION

pursuant to Rule 63 of the Rules of Procedure

by Mrs MUSCARDINI

on the institution of an anti-racism day

The European Parliament,

- A. whereas racism is a poison created by ignorance and philistinism,
- B. noting that the recent demonstrations of anti-Semitism - the posting of Stars of David on shops owned by Jews, the desecration of Jewish cemeteries, the shouting of anti-Jewish slogans at sports grounds - have resulted only in the adoption of futile stances by the same old politicians.
- C. concerned at the indifference of too many people toward racial intolerance and at the scant awareness of a problem which is sadly endemic in Europe,
- D. emphasizing that anti-Semitism is spreading very openly in the countries of Eastern Europe,
- 1. Calls for the preparation of a specific European educational programme to combat racism in general and anti-Semitism in particular;
- 2. Calls for the institution of an annual anti-racism day.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION

pursuant to Rule 63 of the Rules of Procedure

by Mr ROBLES PIQUER

on the Conference on Hatred

The European Parliament,

- A. whereas virtually all of the EC Member States are witnessing an upsurge of racist movements and extreme violence directed against immigrants,
- B. whereas Parliament has adopted two resolutions condemning all xenophobic, racist and anti-Semitic movements (Resolutions B3-1386/92 and B3-1393/92),
- C. whereas three conferences on the 'anatomy of hatred', which brought together experts from all over the world with the aim of analysing the reasons for the expansion of racism and possible solutions to the problem, have already been held in Oslo (1990), Moscow (1991) and New York (1992),
- 1. Calls on the Commission to hold the fourth Conference on Hatred in one of the European Community capitals and to invite a wide range of eminent persons in science, the arts and politics to discuss the topic.

Petition No. 463/92

on the revival of fascism and racism in Europe

- No. 463/92 by Mr Nikos TERZOGLOU (Greek) on behalf of the pan-Hellenic association of national resistance fighters on the revival of fascism and racism in Europe

The petitioners express great concern at the menacing rise of neo-nazism and fascism in Europe, particularly in the former East Germany, and the racist treatment of foreigners, particularly coloured workers.

The petitioners give a number of examples to illustrate the gravity of the situation and, recalling Auschwitz and Dachau, request the European Parliament to bring its influence to bear to 'eliminate neo-nazi trends in politics and public life in general in all countries'.

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

EN.

17 April 1993

A3-0127/93/Corr.

C O R R I G E N D U M *

to the report by
the Committee on Civil Liberties and Internal Affairs

on the resurgence of racism and xenophobia in Europe and the danger of
right-wing extremist violence
(A3-0127/93)

Rapporteur: Mr DE PICCOLI

Motion for a resolution

Recital C to read as follows:

C. drawing attention to the proliferation in the Member States of extreme right-wing groups, parties and movements - some of which are organized and maintain links with each other - which have in common an 'ideology' based on racist and anti-Semitic attitudes, leading them to commit acts of violence, acts of vandalism of every kind and crimes against Community and non-Community citizens, refugees, asylum-seekers, nomads, gypsies, Jews and other minority groups and exploit a situation of social discontent and disarray to incite others - particularly young people - to racial hatred by blaming 'foreigners' for current economic problems and the rise in unemployment,

Paragraph 10 to read as follows:

10. Considers, therefore, the following legal and institutional measures to be essential:
- the adoption by the Council of a directive under Article 235 of the EEC Treaty for the introduction of national legislation designed to combat racism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism on the basis of the most stringent measures existing in the Member States; such legislation must acknowledge that racism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism are not just extremist attitudes but in fact criminal offences and hence must introduce 'Community penalties' for groups and associations whose goal is to incite racial, religious or ethnic hatred and must properly protect minorities,
 - ~~(second indent deleted)~~
 - the setting up of a European Parliament working party to draw up the necessary amendments to Title VI of the Maastricht Treaty in preparation for its revision scheduled for 1996,
 - the fight against racial discrimination and xenophobia being made part of the responsibilities of a Commissioner,
 - the adoption of a Resident's Statute for 'non-nationals',
 - the possibility for the legal persons and organizations concerned to initiate proceedings against perpetrators of racist acts and to claim damages;

(*) Applies to the English version