

**President**

- Doc. B 2-211/89 by Mr Coimbra Martins, on behalf of the Socialist Group, on the visit by Mr Gorbachev and the situation in China;
- Doc. B 2-219/89 by Mr Carossino and others, on behalf of the Communist and Allies Group, on the situation in China.

**ROBLES PIQUER (ED).** — (ES) Madam President, a North American specialist on Asian affairs has just reminded us that, like all Communist countries, China does formally have democratic institutions, but Deng Xiaoping regards them as mere decoration, not as channels for change and debate. And another commentator has just assured us that the events of May in China have already become part of history.

It is unlikely that armed repression will solve the problems China is experiencing, for one thing because, as has happened before in the Philippines and in Iran, the soldiers are not prepared to fire on the students and the workers who are demonstrating solidarity with them. So negotiation with the people's own leaders is the path the Chinese Government should take, and that is what is called for in the joint resolution tabled by various political groups in this Parliament and supported by mine. Such negotiations would give the Chinese political freedom, respect for their human rights and honest information.

Madam President, one of the books that most impressed me when I was at university was *The Long March* by Simone de Beauvoir. That book was an ardent glorification of Chinese Communism, of the new order which would put an end to the chaos of the Warlords, also described later in another French book, *Monsieur le Consul*, by Lucien Bodard. Forty years ago that long march ended with the rise to power of its leader Mao Tse Tung. Later on young people and even children were tragically manipulated by that very leader in something cynically known as a 'cultural revolution'. Forty years of all that is ending now, with the Chinese people wanting to take their destiny into their own hands, and we must help them because they deserve it, because freedom will triumph in the end against totalitarianism — that is our hope and belief — and also because one in every five of the inhabitants of our planet is Chinese and their fortunes affect the lives and interests of all of humanity, including a small and concealed peninsula on the vast continent of Eurasia which is our home and which we call Europe.

**BEYER DE RYKE (LDR).** — (FR) Madam President, great events can be summed up, acclaimed in a few words. To juggle with the dates, May 1989 could be said to be China's May 1968, but with a greater intensity, an even stronger sense of urgency, a seemingly unstoppable determination. Freedom is a contagious idea, it spreads, propagates, winning hearts and minds, it is like an ember that has caused a conflagration which is sweeping across the whole of China.

Parliament seeks to do no more than wish the students and workers well in their campaign and to entreat the Chinese Government to show that it is a government of the people by meeting their deeply-felt wishes. One cannot stop a people when they are bent on liberty.

(Applause)

**LEHIDEUX (DR).** — (FR) Madam President, ladies and gentlemen, even as we discuss the situation in China, the news is that conditions are deteriorating badly and that the army is supporting the regime in power, so that the people find themselves in the midst of a serious rebellion. At this stage no one can say whether the course of events is going to remain peaceful or turn into a blood bath, as generally happens in Communist States. It is with cries of 'democracy and freedom' that millions of students, now joined by workers and farmers, are marching through the streets of Peking and occupying Tiananmen Square. Democracy and freedom are notions totally unknown to Communist leaders of whatever country, and it is also significant that 40 years of Maoist Communist dictatorship have left the Chinese people with no political culture or references.

With 1 300 million Chinese living under a dictatorship in an archaic economic system, there was inevitably going to be a revolt, a revolution. What options are open to Communist leaders who have maintained the status quo in their country by authority and dictatorship alone? Some people will today be welcoming the restoration of Sino-Soviet relations. But there is also reason to fear this.

A hope of freedom? Bloody repression? That is the question for a government that bears full responsibility for the plight of its people.

**COIMBRA MARTINS (S).** — (PT) Madam President, those doubtful about democracy and the essential values on which we are more or less faithfully and successfully building Europe would have their wavering convictions strengthened by recent events in China and Russia.

The democracy of the market is all very well, but the hope for freedom, the trust in freedom, the youth movement for freedom and justice against corruption and gerontocracy, against ghastly conformism, offer a more ennobling picture of the dignity of mankind.

But there are some in Europe who doubt it and deny it and even some, nostalgic for the aberrations of a still recent past, who would like to restore the rich and bring back death and education for death. Even in my country, Madam President, the country of dreary interminable fascism, the Nazi salute and the uniforms of that time have reappeared and there is a growing number of articles and debates about the dictator and pilgrimages to his birthplace.

### Coimbra Martins

Is it therefore in Russia and China that freedom is most pressing, now that freedom is providing inspiration, mobilization, change and transformation? We must recognize that an aspiration such as that which has suddenly invaded Tiananmen Square would not take place without the effect of a previous stage which has made it possible to reflect critically on this very situation and to plan for a different situation sincerely reflecting the values which we hold.

Lack of progress is the absence of a plan, an unchangeable present lifestyle and the inability to imagine change. It is to the credit of the modern leaders of China that they have created the situation in which such a plan and such a debate could emerge. But now the leaders of China must conquer the present temptation to seek a remedy in restraint and suppression, they must abandon medicines of ill-repute such as martial law or silencing the national and foreign press and must get rid of the doctors of the old school who know of no other prescriptions.

This therefore is the purpose of the proposal we put before Parliament: that dialogue should give rise to hope and that the progress of China should be based on solid foundations for the happiness of the Chinese people, master of its destiny, courageous and exemplary in many ways on the threshold of a fresh stage in its long history.

**BARZANTI (COM).** — (IT) Madam President, on behalf of my group let me too express our profound solidarity with the people of China — students and others — who went into the square, in a vast and peaceful challenge to the present leadership, to call for full democratic rights and freedoms. We believe that this phenomenal event forms part of an unstoppable process which will encompass every region in the world and which proves quite clearly that democracy, respect for fundamental rights, freedom of speech and opinion are regarded as constituent elements of every regime.

So we hope that a political solution can be found to the current events in the Chinese Republic. There have been some indications of this and we hope they will become even clearer. They will be encouraged, followed with the closest attention, and we must do our utmost, do all we usefully can — as must the Community, and as I believe Parliament now wishes to do — to resolve this increasingly acute crisis — unfortunately, the latest news this morning was not good — and ensure the establishment of full democracy with the rights to freedom that that involves and with all the hallmarks of a Socialist system.

**CROUX (PPE).** — (NL) Madam President, on behalf of my Group I support this motion for a resolution. It is very hard to say exactly what is happening in China at the moment. Reports are sometimes confused and

contradictory. There are thousands of rumours. But one thing is certain: an historic process has started. My colleagues have all pointed this out. Later in history it will provoke much thought and reflection. With Gorbachev's visit to Peking these two gigantic powers have met and at the same time hundreds of thousands of students, supported by workers and with the sympathy of the army and the whole population, have demonstrated for human rights, freedom and democracy.

What should our attitude in the West be to all this? First there is the humanitarian consideration: we hope that events may take place peacefully and without bloodshed. That is why paragraph 2 of the resolution is so important, namely, that a dialogue may ensue, and for the first time perhaps in the history of that huge country — after the cultural revolution not so long ago — that a peaceable dialogue may now ensue for China to take a new direction. We therefore believe that our representatives in the Commission and Council and parliamentary delegations too perhaps can contribute, modestly yet concretely, in relation to what is happening there, by watchfully, prudently yet insistently defending our values and ideas and by lending assistance wherever we can.

**VON UEXKULL (ARC).** — Madam President, the events in China prove the power of non-violence, so often derided in the West. Here a government with an army of millions has been *de facto* defeated because the army has not been sufficiently dehumanized to shoot unarmed protesters. Let us congratulate, therefore, not just the millions struggling for democratic rights but also the Chinese army who have not been brainwashed into becoming unthinking, order-obeying automatons.

Let us hope that in the West also the people will soon rise nonviolently against an ideology which favours short-term profits for the few and threatens the very basis of future life on this planet. President Lincoln's saying that 'you cannot fool all the people all the time' applies not just to China where the dictator, Deng Xiaoping, that hero and friend of western leaders, now faces the bankruptcy of his policies. Here too, we need new politicians. We need soldiers who will refuse to shoot, who will refuse to carry out orders. We reject the hypocrisy of those who welcome revolt, who welcome democracy, only elsewhere, as in China and Moscow, but certainly not in Paris in 1968. Let us welcome the new spring in China, not with self-righteousness but with the awareness that we too need to look at ourselves and to see that the others do not have a monopoly on self-criticism. Let us therefore hope that the events in Moscow and Peking will wake up Europe too.

**ANDRIESEN, Vice-President of the Commission.** — (NL) Madam President, together with the European Parliament the Commission is following events in

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China with the greatest attention. The Commission pays tribute to all sectors of the Chinese population, who have so far evidenced a high level of political maturity in seeking for a new policy aimed at democracy and economic reforms. The Commission shares Parliament's concern regarding the declaration of a state of emergency in Peking. It subscribes to the appeal made by all who wish to see the present conflict resolved through dialogue between all the parties concerned.

The Commission is confident that China will emerge strengthened from its present ordeal. The policy of openness pursued in recent years by China has considerably contributed to the country's impressive economic development.

The Commission can only hope that this policy will be maintained so that the cooperation that has already been achieved between China and the Community may be able to develop in the future under the most favourable circumstances.

**PRESIDENT.** — The joint debate is closed.

*(Parliament adopted the joint resolution<sup>1</sup> replacing motions for resolutions Docs. B 2-154/89, B 2-193/89, B 2-211/89 and B 2-219/89 with a new text)*

**Human rights**

**PRESIDENT.** — The next item is the joint debate on the following motions for resolutions:

- Doc. B 2-138/89 by Mr Tridente, on behalf of the Rainbow Group, on the massacres in Georgia;
- Doc. B 2-142/89 by Lord Bethell, on behalf of the European Democratic Group, on human rights in the USSR and the threat to freedom of expression;
- Doc. B 2-144/89 by Mr Antony, on behalf of the Group of the European Right, on police repression in Georgia;
- Doc. B 2-184/89 by Mr de la Malène, on behalf of the Group of the European Democratic Alliance, on the release of the members of the Karabakh Committee;

<sup>1</sup> Joint motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Hänsch and Mr Coimbra Martins, on behalf of the Socialist Group, Mr Habsburg and Mr Blumenfeld, on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party, Mr Welsh, on behalf of the European Democratic Group, Mr Carossino, Mr Alavanos, Mr Iversen and Mr Perez Royo, Mr Beyer de Ryke, on behalf of the Liberal and Democratic Reformist Group, and Mr Tridente, on behalf of the Rainbow Group.

- Doc. B 2-200/89 by Mr de la Malène and others, on behalf of the Group of the European Democratic Alliance, on the use by the Soviet Union of toxic gases in Georgia;
  - Doc. B 2-222/89 by Mrs Veil, on behalf of the Liberal and Democratic Reformist Group, on the imprisonment of the members of the Karabakh Committee;
  - Doc. B 2-223/89 by Mr Vandemeulebroucke and Mr Kuijpers, on behalf of the Rainbow Group, on the national movements in the USSR;
  - Doc. B 2-146/89 by Mr Antony, on behalf of the Group of the European Right, on the massacres in Mauritania and Senegal;
  - Doc. B 2-167/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru, on behalf of the Socialist Group, on the ethnic disturbances in Senegal and Mauritania;
  - Doc. B 2-139/89 by Mr von Nostitz and Mr Tridente, on behalf of the Rainbow Group, on the May Day events and continuing aggravation of the domestic political climate in Turkey;
  - Doc. B 2-172/89 by Mr Balfe and others, on behalf of the Socialist Group, on police action in Istanbul on 1 May and 4 May 1989;
  - Doc. B 2-190/89 by Mrs Castellina and others, on behalf of the Communist and Allies Group, on the May Day celebrations in Turkey;
  - Doc. B 2-194/89 by Mr Beyer de Ryke, on behalf of the Liberal and Democratic Reformist Group, on the imprisonment of schoolchildren in Turkey;
- Doc. B 2-212/89 by Mrs Buron, on behalf of the Socialist Group, on the detention of a prisoner of conscience in Turkey;
- Doc. B 2-171/89 by Mr Sakellariou and others, on behalf of the Socialist Group, on the violation of human rights in El Salvador;
  - Doc. B 2-189/89 by Mr Gutiérrez Diaz and others, on behalf of the Communist and Allies Group, on the creation of a paramilitary group and repression in El Salvador;
  - Doc. B 2-195/89 by Mr Tridente and others, on behalf of the Rainbow Group, on the latest wave of arrests and increased repression in El Salvador after the elections;
  - Doc. B 2-215/89 by Mr Pranchère and others, on behalf of the Communist and Allies Group, on the murder of a French nurse in El Salvador;
  - Doc. B 2-220/89 by Mr Ulburghs and others, on El Salvador and Central America;