

# The European Parliament and the origins of environmental policy

## SUMMARY

Today's European Parliament is an influential advocate and player in European Union environmental policy. Even before the 1979 direct elections, its Members took a keen interest in emerging new policy issues – such as the environment. When a dramatic fish kill occurred in the River Rhine, western Europe's major cross-border river and worst 'sewer', Members of the European Parliament used the attention in the European public sphere to argue and demand that the European Community should have an environmental policy to address cross-border issues like water and air pollution.

This briefing explores how the political groups, committees and individual Members contributed to the establishment of a European Community environmental policy in the 'long 1970s'. At the time, the Parliament placed this novel policy issue on the agenda of a European Community traditionally devoted, first and foremost, to economic integration and growth. By carefully emphasising market-related implications of pollution while also responding to the public outcry against bird hunting in southern Europe, the Parliament co-shaped the direction and content of the emerging policy field.

In addition, the briefing explores the strategies and instruments that both individual Members and responsible committees used to influence agenda-setting and policy-making: through entrepreneurial leadership, institutional strategies, cooperating with other actors and working with the media. Clearly, the Parliament's initiatives and demands were central to establishing and defining environmental policy, which is, today, one of the European Union's flagship policies.

*This briefing is a summary of a [study](#) drafted at the request of the European Parliamentary Research Service, published in March 2024.*



## IN THIS BRIEFING

- Introduction
- Protecting birds: the 1979 Birds Directive
- Maximising impact: policy strategies and instruments
- Conclusions



## Introduction

The environment is one of the European Union's (EU) flagship policies. Announcing the 'Green Deal' in 2019, European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen, a German Christian Democrat, promised to prioritise the environment during her entire presidency.

In the late 1960s, the environment was still a new issue in domestic and international policy and law. To be sure, nature conservation had deep roots. Nature and bird protection groups date back to the turn of the 20th century, in some cases even longer. However, it was only in the late 1960s that the new concept of the environment integrated both older nature conservation issues and the increasing concern over air and water pollution, chemicals, particularly pesticides, and nuclear energy. While nature conservationists traditionally tried to win the support of elites, from the early 1970s onwards the issue of the environment became more politicised. Environmentalists were increasingly vocal and mobilised much more broadly. The issue also changed sides on the political spectrum. Whereas traditionally nature conservation had primarily been popular in middle-class conservative and, in some cases, even far-right circles, in the 1970s the environment increasingly became an issue of the left, often with clear anti-capitalist overtones. This transformation was slow and never complete, however. Political sociology has identified the environment as one of the so-called 'post-materialist' issues that marked a new political cleavage that, by the early 1980s, also led to the rise of new 'green' alternative parties.

At the turn of the 1970s, not only the United States (US) introduced far-reaching environmental legislation, but also many European countries set up environmental programmes and implemented new laws. Various international organisations, such as the Council of Europe, had been preoccupied with the new issue for some time. Among international organisations, the European Community was, in fact, a late arrival. Crucially, the European Parliament was largely responsible for drawing attention to international activity on the issue. Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) considered the nascent environmental issue both popular and highly relevant, linked to people's 'quality of life'. Hence, they started pushing the Commission and Member States to become active in this field and define its direction and contents.

When a major – and much publicised – fish kill occurred in the Rhine in the summer of 1969, with dead fish floating belly-up down the river from Germany to the Netherlands, Dutch MEPs and members of the Committee for Public Health and Social Affairs raised the transnational implications of cross-border pollution, notably its economic cost, and argued for a new common policy to address the issue. Through a combination of own-initiative reports on water and air pollution, plenary debates and a barrage of questions, MEPs pushed the Commission and Member States to take action, suggesting possible legal bases for policy in this field. From 1971 onwards, they carefully scrutinised the documents that the Commission proposed for a first step towards a new policy. MEPs made numerous suggestions, most of which were taken up in the first environmental action programme (EAP) in 1973. Formally a declaration by the Council and Member States, this document outlined the main priorities and directions of the new policy, serving in lieu of a specific legal base, which was only included in the treaties with the 1987 Single European Act.<sup>1</sup>

The two sections that follow explore the Parliament's role: firstly, through the concrete example of bird conservation, how the Parliament influenced environmental policy-making in the 1970s; and secondly, by discussing systematically the instruments that the Parliament used to achieve its objectives. The conclusion highlights some continuities and changes since then.

## Protecting birds: the 1979 Birds Directive

It was hardly self-evident in the late 1960s and early 1970s that bird conservation, notably the protection of small migratory birds, would become a Community concern. This happened primarily due to the efforts of the European Parliament and a small number of committed MEPs. They responded to public debates and cooperated with environmental activists, highlighted the

problem's transboundary scope and framed it as a European concern. Without persistent pushing by the Parliament, the Community Directive on the Conservation of Wild Birds of 1979,<sup>2</sup> the 'Birds Directive', would never have been enacted. The directive restricted the hunting of certain bird species and the use of certain hunting methods. Prescribing the protection of birds' habitats, it also paved the way for subsequent nature protection legislation.

Bird protection had been one of the oldest nature protection concerns, with bird conservation groups emerging at the turn of the century. Small birds had long been considered 'useful for agriculture' as natural insecticides.<sup>3</sup> However, in Europe there was a north-south divide concerning the hunting, catching, and eating of songbirds. In southern Europe, bird hunting was considered a working-man's pastime. However, in northern Member States it was considered taboo, at least since the turn of the 20th century; there, songbirds were a symbol of wholesome nature. Moreover, Rachel Carson's alarming dystopia of a pesticide-induced 'Silent Spring' was a central part of the rise of environmentalism in the 1960s.

Rather than focusing on pesticides and the increasing destruction of birds' habitats through intensified agriculture, media and bird protection groups from northern Europe – alongside their Italian partners – targeted bird hunting as the most important concern. Conveniently, it was a concern that stirred public attention and provoked a moral outcry. Changes in Italian regional legislation, relaxing rules on bird hunting, created much attention and outrage.

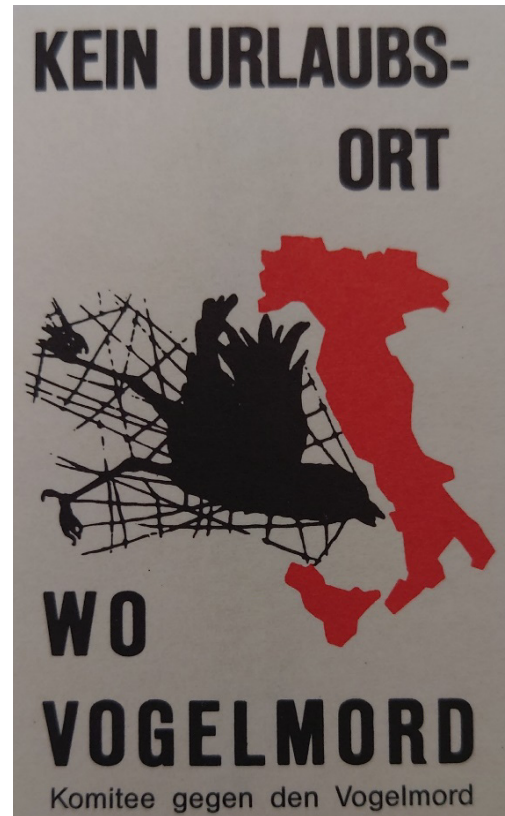
In Europe, international aspects of nature conservation, including migratory birds, had traditionally been the responsibility of the Council of Europe. In October 1967, it issued two resolutions regarding the protection of birds' habitats and bird hunting.<sup>4</sup>

Shortly after the Council of Europe's 1967 resolutions, compounded by West German, British and French bird protection organisations' protests in Brussels,<sup>5</sup> West German Christian Democrat MEP Hans Richarts posed a parliamentary question to the Commission on this issue for the first time. Given the great variation in bird protection legislation between Member States, he asked about the possibility of harmonising these rules, or facilitating intergovernmental agreements.<sup>6</sup> The Commission's response was brief and negative: it was aware of the problem but did not consider that it fell within its competences.<sup>7</sup>

The Parliament's efforts to build an environmental policy in the early 1970s slowly changed the Commission's views regarding the limits of the treaties. In the Parliament's first debate on water pollution in November 1970, the Dutch Commissioner for Agriculture, Sicco Mansholt, voiced his outrage over what he considered a veritable 'massacre of birds' by hunting. He argued that bird protection should be included in the new Community environmental policy, based on Article 235 and on Article 43 for provisions in 'the general interest of agriculture'.<sup>8</sup>

From 1971 onwards, MEPs from Luxembourg and West Germany – Christian Democrats and Social Democrats – posed numerous questions to the Commission, demanding the restriction of hunting

Figure 1 – Poster against bird killing, Germany



Source: with permission of the Committee against Bird Slaughter (CABS), Bonn.

and an end to the 'murder of birds' that threatened 'the balance of nature'. In its responses, the Commission was now more sympathetic: it would consider 'if necessary, suitable measures to terminate the destruction of songbirds in the Community'.<sup>9</sup>

Figure 2 – Hans Edgar Jahn during a session in Luxembourg, February 1977



Source: European Parliament Multimedia Centre.

Against this backdrop, MEPs were disappointed when bird protection did not feature in the first Commission communications on environmental policy. Only after substantial parliamentary pressure and a barrage of protest letters from NGOs and individuals to the Commission was the issue included in the Commission's 1973 EAP proposal. It envisaged two measures for implementation by 31 December 1974: common action by the Member States in international organisations such as the Council of Europe, and a study on possible harmonisation of bird protection legislation. After enlargement, British Liberal and Conservative MEPs – one of them a former president of the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds – took a keen interest in the issue and sought to shape the expertise that the Commission planned to collect with a view to preparing legislation.<sup>10</sup>

Hans Edgar Jahn, a West German Christian Democrat, was the main advocate of bird protection within the Parliament. On behalf of the Committee on Public Health and Social Affairs, subsequently the Committee on Public Health and the Environment, he was rapporteur on a variety of Commission communications and proposals that paved the way for the EAP, and ultimately became vice-chair of this committee. He considered that relying on international organisations was ineffective and demanded binding Community legislation.

When the Commission only issued a recommendation encouraging Member States to ratify relevant international agreements, Jahn and the Environment Committee decided to put more pressure on the Commission. They used the opportunity of a petition that a consortium of ecological and bird protection groups had submitted. Jahn produced an own-initiative report, the most important instrument the Parliament had for agenda-setting, and started collaborating with the bird protection groups from West Germany, Italy and the Netherlands which had sponsored the petition.

In February 1975, the plenary debated Jahn's report and draft resolution.<sup>11</sup> This event received substantial media attention in all Member States, as the newspaper clippings collected by the Parliament's administration demonstrate. The report explicitly demanded Community legislation regarding the hunting, trapping and sale of birds, with measures such as 'the creation of bird reserves'.<sup>12</sup> The Commission's response was hesitant, but did not exclude the possibility of Community legislation.<sup>13</sup>

For two years, the Parliament kept pushing for legislation until the Commission eventually submitted a draft proposal for a directive on bird conservation in December 1976.<sup>14</sup> Jahn – on behalf of the Environment Committee, of the Christian Democratic group, or sometimes both – continued to demand action, relying primarily on questions to build up pressure. In the face of a hesitant Commission, Jahn called for Community legislation whenever he could – for instance, in his report on the proposal for a second EAP in July 1976.<sup>15</sup>



In December 1976, the Commission eventually presented a proposal that addressed both bird hunting and habitat protection. As rapporteur on the proposal on behalf of the Committee on the Environment, Social Affairs and Consumer Protection, Jahn demanded concrete textual changes to strengthen the directive, such as shortening the implementation deadline.<sup>16</sup>

Despite Jahn's claims to speak on behalf of the Parliament when pushing for the directive, MEPs' views on bird protection diverged. MEPs representing constituencies where bird hunting was practiced, or speaking for rural working class citizens who hunted small birds, were less sanguine about hunting bans. They feared that such legislation might be unpopular locally, and difficult to implement. Italian Socialist Vera Squarcialupi, for instance, asked for more species to be included as game and for measures to inform local citizens to improve acceptance.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, in June 1977 the plenary debated, and a majority voted for, a resolution calling for stricter rules.<sup>18</sup> The Commission proved sympathetic and revised the proposal to take on board some of the Parliament's amendments.<sup>19</sup>

Throughout 1977 and 1978, the directive was negotiated in the Council of Ministers, as governments found it hard to agree. The French government in particular was opposed to the restrictions on hunting, since they feared domestic opposition. In regions where bird hunting was traditionally practiced, it was considered a hard-won right dating back to the French revolution; French Socialist MEP Pierre Lagorce defended this view, and tried to raise awareness regarding perceptions in France.<sup>20</sup> However, a vocal majority in the Parliament was in favour of cracking down on hunting through Community legislation, in conjunction and close cooperation with bird protection groups. These groups had intensified their transnational cooperation and coordinated their campaigns to massage their respective national governments to support the directive.

With the issue lingering in the Council, Jahn and other MEPs from the Environment Committee continued to submit written and oral questions to exert public pressure on the Member State governments.<sup>21</sup> Jahn strategically used letters from NGOs to legitimate his demands: quoting from a letter he had received from a Belgian bird protection group, he quite undiplomatically blamed France for the deadlock.<sup>22</sup> Eventually, the Member States agreed upon a proposal that would never have emerged without the Parliament's persistent pressure over what they considered both a popular and a pressing issue.

## Maximising impact: policy strategies and instruments

In the 1970s, the Parliament played an important role in starting and shaping the new Community environmental policy, even though it lacked formal powers. It did so in three ways: firstly, MEPs exerted entrepreneurial leadership; secondly, they developed various institutional strategies; and thirdly, they empowered themselves by cooperating with other actors, including the media.

Parliamentarians in the 1970s can be characterised as 'policy entrepreneurs', bringing about policy change through strategic behaviour: they routinely utilised certain strategies; they keenly observed public debates and political trends to use windows of opportunity; they framed and defined problems in a manner that suited them and made political goals compatible with the scope of the Community treaties; and they linked previously unrelated issues to advance arguments and build support. In providing entrepreneurial leadership, the Parliament exerted indirect influence. It used

Figure 3 – Vera Squarcialupi speaking during a plenary session, October 1984



Source: European Parliament Multimedia Centre.

various institutional strategies to raise the awareness of those Community institutions that wielded formal legislative power.

Figure 4 – Jacob Boersma in the hemicycle, May 1967



Source: European Parliament Multimedia Centre.

Own-initiative reports were the most prominent instrument for alerting other actors to environmental issues and placing them on the agenda, and the Parliament could choose the subjects of such reports. Cases in point were the reports by Jacob Boersma on the Rhine and water pollution in 1970, followed by a second one on air pollution, which called for a Community environmental policy in a step-by-step procedure.

The Parliament did not conjure up the topics of these reports out of thin air. Instead, it responded to events like the 1969 fish kill, publicised and turned into a scandal by the media. A growing number of petitions from third parties on environmental issues provided another opportunity to produce own-initiative reports on the issue at hand and, thus, to influence the scope of the new policy. Apart from Jahn's report

on birds, Italian Liberal MEP Augusto Premoli also produced a petition-based own-initiative report on Mediterranean pollution in 1975. Both led to intense debates in the plenary, and raised media attention, which was usually difficult to achieve for the powerless assembly. These reports helped the Environment Committee to maximise the attention given to an issue they deemed relevant.<sup>23</sup>

Parliamentary questions were a second important instrument for MEPs, in two respects: firstly, to obtain information, and secondly to build up pressure and push for action, frequently in conjunction with other means. For instance, MEPs followed up on the own-initiative reports on the Mediterranean with numerous parliamentary questions. They often phrased their questions to suggest the need for particular action, or used information obtained in answers to previous questions. They routinely referred to their own or other MEPs' questions to corroborate their cause. They used Commissioners' statements in response to earlier questions, treated them as promises, and asked for more. In many ways, questions, reports and resolutions buttressed each other, forming part of what can be understood as the Parliament's 'communicative entrepreneurship' to make up for its lack of real power.

Committees had a distinct scope of action and at times even distinct identities, acting as important 'policy entrepreneurs'. The Committee on Public Health and Social Affairs took the lead in 'Europeanising' the environment. In 1973, it transformed into the Committee on Public Health and the Environment and became an ardent advocate of Community environmental policy, defending strict environmental protection vis-à-vis other committees with other priorities. For instance, when the Committee on Energy, Research and Technology prioritised energy security over environmental concerns in 1974, the Environment Committee advocated energy saving, use of waste heat and fiscal incentives for energy saving.<sup>24</sup>

Individuals mattered also. Members outside the Environment Committee posed questions on environmental issues, responding to events, such as a shipwreck in the Mediterranean. However, a small number of key individuals advanced environmental policy in the 1970s. For example, Hans Edgar Jahn, mentioned above, actively engaged in public relations regarding environmental policy and made use of the emotional appeal of the birds' issue, with a view to the 1979 direct elections. Jahn had a background in propaganda and public relations. As a committed National Socialist, he had worked as a propaganda officer during the Second World War. In the 1950s, he built up a government-funded PR organisation to lobby for European integration and West German

rearmament. When German magazine *Der Stern* disclosed in 1979 that he had written an antisemitic book during the war, he stepped down from the mandate he had just won in the elections.<sup>25</sup>

How did these actors learn about environmental problems? Initially, media reporting about evidently scandalous events – such as the Rhine fish kill – or practices like bird hunting indicated to MEPs that these were issues not only of importance and public interest, but also of a cross-border nature and, thus, relevant for the European Community. National parliamentary questions and debates played a role, too. MEPs often transferred issues from the national to the Community level; as members of national parliaments until 1979, MEPs were acutely aware of reports by and views of national expert bodies.

Contacts with organised societal groups initially developed only slowly, at a time when the new environmental movement was only beginning to form and become more transnational. Jahn's intensive cooperation with bird protection groups indicates the mutual empowerment of such collaboration.

Individual actors, groups and committees specialised on issues that were meaningful to them – for reasons of nationality or personal preferences. Certain 'path dependencies' developed as rapporteurs accumulated specific knowledge of a field on which they had previously written. For instance, Italian Liberal MEP Augusto Premoli became a specialist on water issues.

In the early 1970s, there were few party political or ideological divisions regarding the desirability of environmental policy. Divisions concerned priorities or instruments, and thus the left-right cleavage did not matter so much. The main dividing line was between committees – for instance, regarding the relative importance of economic versus ecological perspectives. Individual MEPs, and sometimes groups of MEPs hailing from the same country, also shared policy preferences and advocated policy instruments imported from their own country, which they tried to raise to the Community level. Dutch and West German MEPs, for instance, defended the importance of the polluter pays principle, which was a central element in their countries' domestic environmental legislation. For reasons of industrial competitiveness, it thus made sense to raise the principle to the Community level.

Cooperation with other actors was key to maximising the Parliament's influence. Committees collectively, individual MEPs and groups cooperated with a broad range of actors in the policy field. They exchanged information via letters and meetings with a variety of individuals, groups and institutions. Although most of this exchange remained undocumented, Jahn's private papers provide some indication. Jahn exchanged information with the European Commission's Claus Stuffmann, the official in charge of the Birds Directive within the Commission, and the West German Federal Ministry of Agriculture. The ministry clearly took the Parliament's questions and activities on bird protection seriously and used them as arguments in support of the draft directive.<sup>26</sup>

The ministry also facilitated an improved understanding between Jahn and European hunting groups, with whom Jahn had previously been in contact without sympathising with them, although hunters were an important electoral constituency for the Christian Democrats. Eventually, Jahn met

Figure 5 – Augusto Premoli in the hemicycle, February 1975



Source: European Parliament Multimedia Centre.

European hunting organisations' representatives in Brussels in May 1977, and took a more conciliatory stance. In contrast, Jahn had strong ties with bird protection groups, and was part of an informal coalition around those groups that had submitted the initial petition, which continued to stage protest and letter-writing campaigns. Jahn even had bird protection groups' pamphlets and press releases distributed to the members of the Environment Committee as an official Parliament document. Such cooperation was mutually beneficial, as it amplified their potential impact with the European institutions.<sup>27</sup>

For MEPs, cooperation with the media was both important, not least in view of the 1979 elections, and challenging. In the 1970s, the European public sphere of the media was hardly developed. National media, and newspapers in particular, played a crucial role for MEPs as sources of information and indicators of public concerns. In their statements, MEPs frequently pointed to media reporting.

For MEPs to become visible in the media required skill and effort, as well as close ties with relevant journalists, notably in their constituency. Jahn's files give some insights into his media-related activities. As a former PR professional, he was clearly aware that bird protection was a newsworthy, highly emotional issue. Journalists and activists routinely illustrated their claims with emotionally touching images of birds as tinned food, or birds caught up in nets, occasionally highlighting the Community dimension.<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless, even for Jahn it was difficult to insert his and the Parliament's views in the media. Jahn sent press releases and some resulted in articles while others did not. He wrote a letter to the editor of the mass-distribution TV guide *Hörzu*, which ran a 'Save the birds' campaign where he was identified as the relevant Parliament rapporteur. Jahn also organised an event with bird protection groups in his constituency of Braunschweig, thus generating local news – a highly relevant point given the upcoming direct elections.<sup>29</sup> There is no evidence that Jahn appeared on TV; at a time when there were only two or three public TV channels, chances for TV appearances were clearly limited.

In the face of these structural, legal and institutional challenges, MEPs proved highly skilled policy entrepreneurs who maximised their impact in the making of environmental policy through strategic action, the use of opportunities such as scandals, and cooperation within the Parliament and with multiple external actors.

## Conclusions

What can we learn from the Parliament's role in early environmental policy in relation to its current involvement in environment and climate change policy?

Conditions for environmental policy are very different today, as much as the EU is different from the European Community in the 'long 1970s'.<sup>30</sup> In the wake of numerous enlargements, the Parliament has become much more heterogeneous. The Environment Committee is also more diverse. Political groups are keenly aware of the importance of the decisions prepared by the committee, such as those on the control of pesticides, and carefully select whom to delegate to the committee in line with their political preferences, in contrast to the self-selection of those committed to the cause in the 1970s. More generally, in the face of recent crises, parties and voters' political priorities have evolved, at times very quickly, and this holds true for the environment and climate change.

At the same time, the environment and the Parliament's role in legislation are now firmly established in the treaties. Since the 1992 Maastricht Treaty, the Parliament has exercised co-decision powers in this field, which became generalised in the Lisbon Treaty, while committee representatives negotiate on a par with the Council in the trilogue. However, this enlarged and formalised role has also reduced the involvement of and opportunities for individual committee members to shape policy-making.

Technically, the Parliament no longer has to rely solely on own-initiative reports and questions to influence the agenda. However, it continues to use these instruments, as in the European Parliament



resolution of 28 April 2021 on soil protection, which in turn led to a Commission proposal for a directive on soil monitoring and resilience in 2023.

Remarkably, Jacob Boersma already flagged the issue of soil protection in the first debate on environmental issues in 1969. Subsequently, it was never really used in policy-making, perhaps because it was likely to antagonise important economic interests, notably Europe's farmers. In 2021, as in the 1970s, MEPs seized an opportunity, now provided by the Green Deal, and once more called for action to be taken on this issue. Sometimes, things take time. Without the Parliament's early activism, the Europeanisation of environmental protection would very likely have taken place later and in a less comprehensive manner.

## FURTHER READING

Jackson A., *Conserving Europe's Wildlife, Law and Policy of the Natura 2000 Network of Protected Areas*, Routledge, 2018.

Leucht B. and J-H. Meyer, *Environmental and Consumer Policy*, in B. Leucht et al. (eds), *Reinventing Europe: The History of the European Union since 1945*. Bloomsbury, 2023, pp. 203-220.

Meyer J-H., *Pushing for a Greener Europe: The European Parliament and Environmental Policy in the 1970s and 1980s*, *Journal of European Integration History*, 27 (1), 2021, pp. 57-78.

Meyer J-H., *Indispensable, safe and sustainable? How the European Parliament debated nuclear energy megaprojects in the 1970s energy transition*, *Journal of Mega Infrastructure & Sustainable Development*, 2 (2), 2022, pp. 187-205.

## ENDNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Council of the European Communities, Declaration of the Council of the European Communities and of the representatives of the Governments of the Member States meeting in the Council of 22 November 1973 on the programme of action of the European Communities on the environment, *Official Journal of the European Communities*, 16 (C 112, 20 December 1973), pp. 1-53.
- <sup>2</sup> European Community, Council Directive of 2 April 1979 on the Conservation of Wild Birds (79/409/EEC), *Official Journal of the European Communities*, 22 (L 103, 25 April 1979), pp. 1-18.
- <sup>3</sup> [Convention for the Protection of Birds Useful to Agriculture](#), signed in Paris on 19 March 1902 (accessed 20 January 2022).
- <sup>4</sup> Council of Europe Resolution (67) 25, Various causes of the disappearance of Wild Life (adopted on 27 October 1967); Council of Europe Resolution (67) 24, Birds in need of special protection (adopted on 27 October 1967).
- <sup>5</sup> Protest gegen den Vogelfang: Lerchenpasteten in Dosen, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 11 September 1967.
- <sup>6</sup> Hans Richarts, Written Question No. 254/67, 11 December 1967, to the Commission concerning the Harmonisation of Rules for Bird Protection, and answer, 1 March 1968, HAEP, PE0 AP QP/QE E-0254/67, 1.
- <sup>7</sup> Richarts, Written Question No. 254/67.
- <sup>8</sup> Sicco Mansholt, Intervention, Lutte contre la pollution des eaux fluviales, 19 November 1970, *Journal officiel des Communautés européennes*, Annexe (130, November 1970), pp. 165-166.
- <sup>9</sup> Horst Seefeld, Schriftliche Anfrage Nr. 259/72, 14 August 1972, an die Kommission der Europäischen Gemeinschaften, Schutz der Singvögel, und Antwort der Kommission, HAEP PE0 AP QP/QE E-0259/72.
- <sup>10</sup> e.g. Lord O'Hagan, Written question 666/73, 31 January 1974, on migratory birds, and Commission answer, 18 March 1974, *Official Journal of the European Communities*, 17 (C 49, 27.04.1974), p. 19.
- <sup>11</sup> European Parliament Debate on Petition No. 8/74 Save the Migratory Birds, 21 February 1975, *Official Journal of the European Communities*, Annex (186, February 1975), pp. 262-264.
- <sup>12</sup> Hans Edgar Jahn, Report drawn up on behalf of the Committee on Public Health and the Environment on Petition No. 8/74 Save the Migratory Birds, 7 February 1975, HAEP, EU.HAEU/PE0.AP.ENVI.1973.RP//A0-0449/74/0010, 5.
- <sup>13</sup> Parliament Debate on Petition No. 8/74, 21 February 1975, 264 (Intervention Guido Brunner).
- <sup>14</sup> European Commission, Proposal for a Council Directive on Bird Conservation, COM(76) 676 final, 20 December 1976.
- <sup>15</sup> European Parliament, Politique et programme matière d'environnement (PE 44.545/fin), *Rapports de la Commission de l'environnement, de la santé publique et de la protection des consommateurs*, HAEP, PEO-AP RP/ENVI 1976 AO-0215/76.

- <sup>16</sup> Resolution of the European Parliament on the Proposal of the Commission of the European Communities to the Council concerning a Directive on Bird Conservation, 14 June 1977, Official Journal of the European Communities, 21 (C 163, 11.07.1977), pp. 28-32.
- <sup>17</sup> Vera Squarcialupi, Amendment 2-5 to draft report by Mr Jahn, Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection, 1977, HAEP, EU.HAEU/PE0.AP.ENVI.1976.RP//A0-0113/77/0080), 1.
- <sup>18</sup> European Parliament Debate on the Directive on bird conservation, 14 June 1977, Official Journal of the European Communities, Annex (218, June 1977), pp. 76-91.
- <sup>19</sup> European Commission, Modification of the proposal for a Directive of the Council concerning the Conservation of Birds, COM (77) 379 final, 29 July 1977, Archive of the Economic and Social Committee (AESC), [340.145:591.615] 636.6.
- <sup>20</sup> Pierre Lagorce, Intervention on Directive on bird conservation, oral question with debate, 5 July 1978, Official Journal of the European Communities, Annex (232), pp. 184-185.
- <sup>21</sup> e.g. Vera Squarcialupi, Question écrite no. 0393/78 à la Commission européenne: Adoption de la directive sur la protection des oiseaux, HAEP, EU.HAEU/PE0.AP.QP.QE.1978//E-0393/78/0010, 1.
- <sup>22</sup> Hans Edgar Jahn, Intervention, Directive on bird conservation, oral question with debate, 5 July 1978, Official Journal of the European Communities, Annex (232), pp. 181-183.
- <sup>23</sup> European Parliament Debate on Petition No 3/74: Protection of the Mediterranean, Debate on the report drawn up by Mr Premoli on behalf of the Committee on Public Health and the Environment (Doc. 386/74), 10 March 1975, Official Journal of the European Communities, Annex, (187), pp. 15-27.
- <sup>24</sup> Hans Edgar Jahn, Report drawn up on behalf of the Committee on Public Health and the Environment on the Outcome of the Third International Interparliamentary Conference on the Environment held in Nairobi from 8 to 10 April 1974, 2 December 1974, HAEP, EU.HAEU/PE0.AP.ENVI.1973.RP//A0-0361/74/0010, 1-20, 12, §9.
- <sup>25</sup> J-H. Meyer, A good European: Hans Edgar Jahn – Anti-Bolshevist, Cold-Warrior, Environmentalist, in A-C. Knudsen and K. Gram-Skjoldager (eds), Living Political Biography: Narrating 20th Century European Lives, Aarhus University Press, 2012, pp. 137-159.
- <sup>26</sup> Bundesministerium für Ernährung, Landwirtschaft und Forsten, Betr. Entwurf der EG-Kommission für eine Richtlinie über den Schutz wildlebender Vogelarten (Stand: 21.Mai 1976), Einleitende Erklärung der Deutschen Delegation zu Protokoll, Bonn, 9 June 1976, BK B 116/38203, pp. 1-2.
- <sup>27</sup> Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection, Notice to Members, Subject: Inadequate measures in the Commission draft directive on the protection of birds, For information, extracts from statements by bird protection organisations and the press on the topic, 16 September 1976, HAEP, EU.HAEU/PE0.AP.ENVI.1976.RP//A0-0113/77/0085, 1-7.
- <sup>28</sup> E. Kleßmann, Friss Vogel und stirb: Die Hälfte aller bei uns lebenden Vogelarten ist zum Tode verurteilt, Zeit Magazin, 19 September 1975.
- <sup>29</sup> Experten für den Vogelschutz tagen, Braunschweiger Zeitung, ACDP, Nachlaß Jahn, 93/1, 15 March 1978.
- <sup>30</sup> The 'long 1970s', in socio-economic terms, lasted from the new social movements in the late 1960s and the 1973 oil crisis through to the reforms and transformation in the 1980s. Institutionally, it began with the 1969 summit in The Hague and extended beyond the 1979 direct elections to the European Parliament, which were far from a 'zero hour' for Parliament, let alone the European Community.

## DISCLAIMER AND COPYRIGHT

This document is prepared for, and addressed to, the Members and staff of the European Parliament as background material to assist them in their parliamentary work. The content of the document is the sole responsibility of its author(s) and any opinions expressed herein should not be taken to represent an official position of the Parliament.

Reproduction and translation for non-commercial purposes are authorised, provided the source is acknowledged and the European Parliament is given prior notice and sent a copy.

© European Union, 2024.

Cover: Capercaillie Tetrao urogallus. © Erland Haarberg/naturepl.com

[epprs@ep.europa.eu](mailto:epprs@ep.europa.eu) (contact)

[www.epprs.ep.parl.union.eu](http://www.epprs.ep.parl.union.eu) (intranet)

[www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank) (internet)

<http://epthinktank.eu> (blog)